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Yours Truly
James Hall

THE
ROMANCE
OF
WESTERN HISTORY:

OR,
Sketches of History, Life, and Manners,

IN THE WEST.

BY JAMES HALL,

AUTHOR OF "LEGENDS OF THE WEST," "TALES OF THE BORDER,"
"THE WILDERNESS AND WAR PATH,"
"THE WEST," ETC.

CINCINNATI:
APPLEGATE & COMPANY.

1857.

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P R E F A C E .

It has not been the object of the writer to attempt a regular history of the Western States, or any connected description of the country or its institutions. The materials for such a work are not in existence, in any available form; no complete collection of political or statistical facts, or scientific observations, has yet been made, from which it could be compiled. Ignorant and presumptuous travelers have published their own hasty and inaccurate conclusions; and careless writers have selected from these, such supposed facts as comported with their own theories or notions of probability; and we hesitate not to say, that the works which have professed to treat of the whole western region, have been far from satisfactory.

Particular departments of this great subject have been well treated. A few of the early residents have published their reminiscences, which are highly interesting and valuable as evidences of the facts which occurred within the observation of the writers. It is to be regretted that so little attention has been bestowed upon the collection and preservation of these authentic narratives of early adventure.

The travels of Pike, Lewis and Clarke, and Long, are replete with valuable facts, carefully collected, and reported with scrupulous fidelity; and a mass of information may be found scattered through the reports of officers employed by the General Government in making surveys, and constructing public works.

A few scientific gentlemen have written with ability on subjects connected with the general history of this region. Dr. Drake's admirable description of the valley of the Miami, entitled "A Picture of Cincinnati," is composed in the calm spirit of philosophical inquiry, and is worthy of entire confidence. The contributions of Colonel M'Kenney, Governor Cass, Mr. Schoolcraft, Mr. Brackenridge, Mr. M'Clung, the writer of Tanner's Narrative, and a number of other intelligent individuals, are replete with valuable and interesting matter. Marshall's History of Kentucky, also, is replete with interesting facts, from which we have extracted. In naming these writers, however, we design no disrespect towards others whose names are omitted, as our object is not to attempt to give a complete list of authorities, but to suggest the names of a few of the most prominent.

Of the compilations from these and other authorities, the statistics embraced in Darby's "Views of the United States," Tanner's "Guide to Emigrants," and the recently published work of Mr. Pitkin, are those which may be most safely relied upon.

When the materials shall be accumulated—when the loose facts and scattered reminiscences which are now

floating along the stream of tradition—shall be gathered together, then may such a work be prepared as will be creditable to our country; and then will the pioneers, the warriors, and the patriots of the West, take the proud station which they deserve among the illustrious founders of the American republic. In the meanwhile, we can only aim at presenting to the public such fragments of history as may be rescued from oblivion by individuals, and such observations as the few who are curious in collecting the statistics of their own times, may have been able to accumulate.

In the following volumes, therefore, nothing further is attempted than a collection of facts, some of which are the result of the writer's own observation, and all of which are intended rather as examples and illustrations of topics connected with the Western States, than as a regular narrative of its history. They are not presented in any connected series, nor with any embellishment of style, but are placed before the reader under the most unambitious form consistent with convenience of arrangement and propriety of expression. This is not said to disarm criticism—an author has no right to interpose himself between the critic and his duty, either to secure his clemency or resent his decision—we intend simply to explain to the reader the unpretending character of the work, in order that its title may not awaken expectations which it is not calculated to satisfy.

Nor is the matter contained in this volume presented now to the reader for the first time. It has no claim to

originality, but is properly a compilation. During a long residence in the West, the author has, from time to time, employed his pen in the discussion of various subjects relating to this region, and he has now done little more than to collect together the fragments, which were scattered through the pages of periodical and other publications. It was due to himself thus to identify and resume his property—the more especially as these writings have been freely used by a number of compilers, some of whom were not careful to acknowledge the debt, while others have misunderstood or perverted the author's meaning.

In addition to the papers thus re-published, there will, however, be found some facts which are now laid before the public for the first time, and some valuable documents have been thrown into an appendix. The latter are not specially referred to by marginal notes, as the attentive reader will readily trace their connection with the text.

In another series, now in preparation, a collection of facts of more recent date will be laid before the public.

INTRODUCTION.

BUT few of the writers who have treated of the Western country, rank above mediocrity; and little of all that has been written on this subject is interesting or true. Books we have had in abundance; travels, gazetteers, and geographies inundate the land; but few of them are distinguished by literary merit or accurate information. Perhaps a reason for this is to be found in the character of the country. The subjects of interest, in a land which has long been inhabited by a civilized people, are such as are familiar to the student, and, in traveling through such a region, he treads on classic ground with a knowledge of all the localities. He knows the points of attraction, and, having reached them, is learned in their history. If in Italy, he hastens to Rome; if in the Mediterranean, to Naples, Vesuvius, and the ruins of Carthage; if in Greece, to Athens; if in Palestine, to the Holy Sepulcher. Whether in Europe or in Asia, he finds, at every step, some object to awaken classic recollections, and expatiates on a field already familiar to his imagination. In collecting information, he but fills an outline previously sketched out in the seclusion of his closet; and the de-

sign itself is but a copy; for such narratives exhibit, in general, the same pictures, colored by different hands—each correcting the faults, and improving on the failures, of the other. The accomplished writer, in short, who treats of the countries to which we have alluded, must be familiar with their history, their antiquities, their arts, their literature, their every thing which has been open to the observation of the hundreds and thousands who have preceded him; and, if not altogether devoid of genius, he can not fail to throw some new light upon subjects, which, however hacknied, are always interesting, and to which every day brings some change, as each year gives moss to the rock and ivy to the ruin.

All this is different in the west. The traveller, who launches his bark upon the silver wave of the Ohio, leaves behind him every object which has been consecrated by the pen of genius. He beholds the beauties of nature in rich luxuriance, but he sees no work of art which has existed beyond the memory of man, except a few faint and shapeless traces of a former race, whose name and character are beyond the reach even of conjecture. Every creation of human skill which he beholds is the work of his cotemporaries. All is new. The fertile soil abounds in vegetation. The forest is bright, and rich, and luxuriant, as it came from the hands of the Creator. The hundred rivers, that bear the treasures of western industry to the ocean, present grand and imposing spectacles to the eye, while they fill the mind with visions of the future wealth and greatness of the lands

through which they roll. But they are nameless to the poet and historian; neither song nor chivalry has consecrated their shores.

The inhabitants are all emigrants from other countries; they have no ruins, no traditions, nothing romantic or incredible, with which to regale the traveler's ear. They can tell of their own weary pilgrimage from the land of their fathers; of exploits performed with the rifle and the axe; of solitary days and fearful nights spent in the wilderness; of sorrows, and sickness, and privation, when none was near to help them; and of competence and comfort, gained by years of toil and suffering; but they have no traditions that run back to an illustrious antiquity.

Scenes and objects of interest occur at every step, but they are of a character entirely new. All that the traveler tells must be learned upon the spot. The subjects are such as appeal to the judgment, and require the deliberate exercise of a cool and discriminating mind. The author has not now to examine the conflicting or conforming opinions of others, but to form a decision for himself upon matters which have not previously been investigated. He must describe a new country, with its various features and productions; a new people, with novel laws, habits, and institutions. He is not now in Italy or France, surrounded by the illustrious dead, and scarcely less illustrious living, where the canvas glows, and the marble speaks, where every grove shadows the tomb of a martyr, a hero, or a poet; and where every

scene awakens a familiar image or a poetic thought. A vast but silent scene surrounds him. No object speaks to his classic recollections. The face of the country, its climate, productions, and industry, must be described, and, to do this, he must dwell long and examine patiently. Books he will find, it is true, but they are the hasty productions of careless writers, whose opinions are often wrong, and whose observations are confined to a few subjects of minor interest.

To acquire an adequate knowledge of such a country, requires extensive personal observation. It is necessary to examine things instead of books, to travel over this wide region, to become acquainted with the people, to learn their history from tradition, and to become informed as to their manners and modes of thinking, by associating with them in the familiar intercourse of business and domestic life. There is no other mode of collecting facts in relation to a country whose history has never been written, and with regard to which no accurate printed statistics, embracing the whole region, are in existence.

Yet the country affords ample materials. In the historical department a wide and various field is opened. The history of the western country has never been barren of incident. The valley of the Mississippi has been the theater of hardy exploit and curious adventure, throughout the whole period of our national existence, and its fertile plains present at this time a wide field of speculation. To whatever point in the annals of this immense region we turn, we find them fraught with strange, and

novel, and instructive matter. If we trace the solitary path of the fearless Boone; if we pursue the steps of Shelby, of Clarke, of Logan, and of Scott, we find them beset with dangers so terrible, adventures so wild, and achievements so wonderful, as to startle credulity, and we encounter tastes, and habits, and sentiments, peculiar to our own frontier. In the disastrous campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair, and the brilliant successes of Clarke and Wayne, there is a sufficiency of those vicissitudes which enliven the narratives of military daring, while a host of lesser worthies present respectable claims to our applause. "Grim visaged war" has so recently "smoothed his wrinkled front," in this vast territory, that thousands of living witnesses remain to show their scars and attest its dangers. The time is within memory, when every dwelling was a fortress, when to fight "*pro aris et focis*"—for our hearths and altars—was not merely the poet's figure, but the literal and constant business of a whole people, when every father defended his own threshold, and even mothers imbrued their hands in blood, to protect their offspring.

Few of these events will be recorded, with their interesting details and attendant circumstances, on the dignified page of national history. The greater part of them formed no part of any national war, either for independence or for conquest; they neither accelerated nor retarded our march to national greatness; they brought no blot, and added but little fame, to the federal escutcheon. They are preserved chiefly in tradition, and will form a rich

vein of romantic adventure for the future novelist and poet. But, although the historian of our common republic may not record them at large, they should find an honorable place in the annals of the respective States. They belong to them and to their history.

The shores of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, present to the world a singular and most enchanting picture—one which future ages will contemplate with wonder and delight. The celerity with which the soil has been peopled, and the harmony which has prevailed in the erection of the governments, have no parallel in history, and seem to be the effect of magic, rather than of human agency. Europe was at one time overrun by numerous hordes, who, rushing like a torrent from the north, in search of a more genial climate, captured or expelled the effeminate inhabitants of the south, and planted colonies in its richest provinces; but these were savages, who conquered with the sword, and ruled with the rod of iron. The “arm of flesh” was visible in all their operations. Their colonies, like ours, were formed by emigration; the soil was peopled with an exotic population; but here the parallel ends. The country, gained by violence, was held by force; the blood-stained soil produced nothing but “man and steel, the soldier and his sword.”

What a contrast does our happy country present to scenes like these? It remained for us to exhibit to the world the novel spectacle of a people coming from various nations, and differing in language, politics, and religion, sitting down quietly together, erecting States,

forming constitutions, and enacting laws, without bloodshed or dissension. Never was there an experiment of greater moral beauty, or more harmonious operation.

Within a few years past, there has been much curiosity awakened in the minds of the American people, in relation to the recent history and present state of their country. The struggle for independence, so brilliant in its achievements, so important in its results, so gratifying to national pride in all its details, long absorbed the sympathies and occupied the thoughts of our countrymen. From that period they drew their brightest recollections; to that period they referred for all their examples of national virtue. There was a classic purity and heroism in the achievements of our gallant ancestors, which hallowed their deeds; but there were also substantial comforts and privileges secured to us by these disinterested patriots, which called forth all our gratitude, and in some measure blunted our perceptions of more recent and cotemporary events. With the recollections of Bunker's Hill and Brandywine before him, what American exulted in the trophies of an Indian war? What political transaction could awaken the admiration of those who had witnessed the fearful energies which gave existence to a nation? What hero or statesman could hope to win the applause of a people whose hearts dwelt with reverence upon the exalted standards of civil and military greatness exhibited in the founders of the American republic? Those luminaries, while they shed an unfading luster on their country, cast a shadow over

succeeding events and rising men; but their mantles silently fell upon the shoulders of their successors, who, with unpretending assiduity, pursued the course which was to consummate the glory of the nation.

The excitement caused by those splendid national events has passed away, and they are now contemplated with calmness, though still with admiration. Other incidents have occurred in our history, sufficiently striking to attract attention. Of these the settlement and growth of the country lying west of the Allegheny mountains, are among the most important, and those which, perhaps, are destined to affect, more materially than any other, the national character, institutions, and prosperity.

But a few years have elapsed since the fertile regions watered by the beautiful Ohio began to allure the footsteps of our countrymen across the Allegheny mountains. Covered with boundless forests, and protected by Alpine barriers, terrific to the eye, and almost inaccessible to the most adventurous foot, this lovely country remained not only uninhabited, but wholly unexplored, until Boone and his associates resolved to subdue and people it. The dangers and inquietude of a border life presented no obstacles to the adventurous spirit of the first settlers; nor were such hardships altogether new to those who thus voluntarily sought them. They were generally men inured to danger, or whose immediate predecessors had been, what they themselves now became, warriors and hunters.

The revolutionary war, which had just terminated

with infinite glory to the American arms, had infused a military spirit into the whole nation, besides affording to all whose bosoms glowed with the love of liberty, or swelled with the aspirations of ambition, opportunities of acting a part, however trivial, in the bloody but interesting drama. With the return of peace, when our citizens resumed their domestic avocations, cheerfully abandoning the arms they had reluctantly assumed, the inhabitants of the western frontiers alone formed an exception to the general tranquillity. Here the tomahawk was still bathed in gore: the husbandman reaped his harvest in the garb of the soldier, and often forsook his plough to mingle in the tumult of the battle, or enjoy the dangerous vicissitudes of the chase.

Of these hardy woodsmen, or their immediate descendants, was composed that gallant band of pioneers who first peopled the shores of the Ohio—men whose infant slumbers had been lulled by the midnight howl of the panther, and to whose ears the war-whoop of the Indian was as familiar as the baying of the faithful watch-dog. To such men, home was no indissoluble tie, if that word be employed in its usual sense, as referring to local attachments, or implying any of those associations by which the heart is bound to a spot endeared by fond recollections. The dwelling-place of the woodsman is a frail cabin, erected for temporary shelter, and abandoned upon the lightest cause. His home is in the bosom of his family, who follow his erratic footsteps, as careless of danger, and as patient under privation, as himself.

With these men were mingled a few others, whose character ranked higher in the scale of civilization, and who gave a tone to the manners of the new settlements, while they furnished the people with leaders in their military, as well as their civil affairs. Several revolutionary officers of gallant name; many promising young men, seeking, with the eagerness of youthful ambition, for scenes of enterprise more active than the quiet prosperity of their own homes afforded; and substantial farmers, from the vicinity of the frontiers, who to the hardihood and experience of the woodsman, added the industry and thrift of rural pursuits—such were the men who laid low the forest, expelled the ferocious Indian and the prowling beast of prey, and possessed themselves of a country of vast extent and boundless fertility.

They came in a manner peculiar to themselves, like men fond of danger, and fearless of consequences. Instead of settling in the vicinity of each other, insuring to themselves society and protection by presenting the front of a solid phalanx to the foe, they dispersed themselves over the whole land in small companies, selecting the most fertile spots, without reference to the locality of others. The tide of emigration, as it is often called, came not like the swelling billows of the ocean, overwhelming all the land with one vast torrent, but like the gradual overflowing of a great river, whose waters at first escape the general mass in small streams, which, breaking over the banks, glide through the neighboring

country by numberless little channels, and forming diminutive pools, swell and unite, until the whole surface is inundated. So came the pioneers. Depending more upon their valor than their numbers, these little communities maintained themselves in the wilderness, where the Indian still claimed dominion, and the wolf lurked in every thicket. Between the settlements were extensive tracts, as desert, as blooming, and as wild, as hunter could wish, or poet could imagine.

So long as the frontier was subject to the hostile irruptions of the Indians, the first care of every little colony was to provide for its defense. This was, in general, effected by the erection of a rude fortress, constructed of such materials as the forest afforded, and in whose design no art was displayed, beyond that which the native ingenuity of the forester supplied. A block-house was built of logs, surrounded by a palisade, or picket-work, composed of long stakes driven into the ground, forming an inclosure sufficiently large to contain the people of the settlement, and affording a sufficient protection against the sudden irruptions of savage warfare. This was a temporary refuge for all, in time of danger; but it was also the permanent residence of a single family, usually that of the man whose superior skill, courage, or opulence, constituted him for the time being a sort of chieftain in this little tribe. For, as in all societies there are master spirits, who acquire an influence over their fellow men, there was always in a frontier settlement some individual who led the rest to battle, and

who, by his address or wisdom in other matters, came into quiet possession of many of the duties and powers of a civil magistrate. There remain traditions of able stratagem and daring self-devotion on the part of such men, which may be proudly compared with the best exploits of Rome or Greece. When one of these primitive fortifications formed the rallying point of a numerous population, or was placed at an important point, it was called a "fort;" but in other cases they were known by the less dignified title of "station." Of the latter, there were many which afforded protection only to single families, who had boldly disconnected themselves from society, either for the purpose of acquiring possession, by occupancy, of choice tracts of land, or to gain a scanty emolument by supplying the wants of the chance travelers who occasionally penetrated into these wilds, and who accomplished their journeys to the most distant settlements, as a general penetrates to the capital of an enemy, by advancing from post to post.

Such was the general character of the first settlers who followed the adventurous footsteps of Boone; and whose exploits were not confined to the forests of Kentucky. From the shores of the Ohio the hardy pioneers moved forward to those of the Wabash, and from the Wabash to the Mississippi, subduing the whole country, and preserving in Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, the same bold outlines of character which they first exhibited in Kentucky.

If we trace the history of this country still further back into the remote periods of its discovery and earliest occu-

pation of European adventurers, a fund of interesting though somewhat unconnected information is presented. We are favorably impressed with its features and character, by the manner in which the first travelers invariably speak of its fertility and beauty. The Spaniards, who discovered the southern coast, called it *Florida*, or the land of flowers; the French, who first navigated the Ohio, named it the *Beautiful river*, and La Salle, when he beheld the shores of the Illinois, pronounced them a terrestrial paradise. The imaginations of those adventurous spirits warmed into a poetic fire as they roamed over the extensive plains of the West, reposed in its delightful groves, or glided with hourly increasing wonder along those liquid highways which have since become the channels of commerce as mighty in its extent as it has been rapid in its growth.

The French were the first allies and earliest friends of our nation; and of all the emigrants from foreign countries, they most cheerfully submit to our laws, and most readily adopt our manners and language. They engraft themselves on our stock, and take a deep root in our affections. It is more than a century since a colony of that nation settled at Kaskaskia, a thousand miles from the ocean, a thousand miles from any community of civilized men. Here they flourished for many years, increasing in wealth and population, cultivating the most amicable relations with the Indian tribes, and enjoying a more than ordinary portion of health, prosperity, and peace. They were not a literary race, and have left few records behind

them, but many valuable traditions, fraught with curious matter, are yet extant, which ought to be preserved.

The Indians still linger on our borders, and sometimes pass through the settled parts of our country, the squalid and miserable remains of a once warlike population. Can it be that they have not degenerated? Is it possible that these wretched beings exhibit fair specimens of savage men? If they have indeed fallen from a better estate, it should be our task to rescue from oblivion the memory of their former virtues. Our immediate predecessors saw them in their untamed state, in the vigor of their power, and the pride of their independence. Many of these have left behind them testimonials of what they saw, and a few, who properly belong to a departed generation, yet linger on the confines of existence, as if destined to instruct the present generation by their knowledge of the past.

Passing down to periods still more remote, a boundless field of inquiry is presented to our attention. The inexhaustible fertility of the soil, the salubrity of the climate, and the various and amazing resources of our country, evince its capacity to support a dense population. Such a country was not made in vain, nor can it be believed that it was intended by a wise Creator as the residence of savages and beasts of prey. That it once sustained a numerous population, may be inferred from indications which admit of little doubt; that the character of that population was superior to that of the present race of Indians, has been suspected, upon evidence, which, if not conclusive, is worthy of great consideration.

ROMANCE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

First Explorers—Discovery of the Mississippi—French Missionaries—La Salle's Voyages—Settlements on the Mississippi—Manners of the French Colonists—Kaskaskia—Fort Chartres.

THE French,* who first explored the beautiful shores of the Mississippi, and its tributary streams, believed they had found a terrestrial paradise. Delighted with this extensive and fertile region, they roamed far and wide over its boundless prairies, and pushed their little barks into every navigable stream. Their inoffensive manners procured them every-where a favorable reception; their cheerfulness and suavity conciliated even the savage warrior, whose suspicious nature saw no cause of alarm in the visits of these gay strangers. Divided into small parties, having each a separate object, they pursued their several designs without concert, and with little collision. One sought wealth, and another fame; one came to discover a country, another to collect rare and nondescript specimens of natural curiosities; one traveled to see man

* I take pleasure in acknowledging my obligations for the greater part of the interesting facts contained in this chapter, to a series of articles written for the *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, by my friend Wilson Primm, Esq., of St. Louis, to whose able pen that city and the public are indebted for many valuable contributions to the history of the early settlements on the Upper Mississippi.

in a state of nature; another brought the gospel to the heathen; while many roved carelessly among these interesting scenes, indulging their curiosity and their love of adventure, and seeking no higher gratification than that which the novelty and excitement of the present moment afforded. With the greater number, however, and probably with all who planned and sustained these enterprises, the grand object of pursuit was the precious metals, with which they hoped to be enriched, as the Spaniards had been in their discoveries.

The adventurers of no other nation have ever penetrated so far, or so fearlessly, into the interior of a newly discovered country. The fathers of New England were circumscribed to narrow boundaries, on the sterile shores of the Atlantic: the first settlers of Virginia were equally unfortunate. The gallant Raleigh barely effected a landing for his colony, on the shores of North Carolina; even the indefatigable William Penn, several years after the settlement of Pennsylvania, speaks of the Delaware as a "glorious river," but is wholly unacquainted with its extent and character. The unsuccessful attempts of British travelers, stimulated by the highest rewards of ambition and avarice, to penetrate the continent of Africa, are well known. The Spaniards traversed the plains of South America, only by force of arms.

We read, therefore, with a surprise bordering on incredulity, of the adventurous voyages of the French. Small parties, and even single individuals, explored the shores of the St. Lawrence and its mighty chain of tributary lakes, inhabited by the most savage of the Indian tribes. While the whole American continent was yet a wilderness, and it was an unsettled point among Christian nations to whom the honor of its conquest should belong, the French priests ascended the Mississippi, from its

mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony, a distance of three thousand miles, and explored the Arkansas, the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Wisconsin, and other large tributaries. Not only did they pass with impunity, but were received with hospitality, and entertained with marks of distinguished respect; the fat hump of the buffalo was dressed for them: and troops of beautiful Indian girls stood around them, waving the golden plumes of the paroquet over their heads, to keep the uncivilised musquitoes from biting them as they slept.

It is difficult, at this day, to determine to whom should be awarded the honor of having discovered this beautiful section of our country. That the materials for an accurate history of its first exploration and settlement, are in existence, we are well aware; and there is reason to believe, that, in addition to what is already known, there is a vast deal of documentary evidence remaining unpublished, or inaccessible to the English reader. The missionaries, who were always men of some literary acquirements, and often possessed considerable learning, accompanied the first French explorers. So far as their characters can now be ascertained, they seem to have been amiable and zealous men, earnestly bent on spreading the doctrines of the cross. Unlike the Spanish priests, who were avaricious, blood-thirsty, and always foremost in subjugating or destroying the Indians, we find them invariably conciliating the natives, and endeavoring to allure them to the arts of peace. The only departure from this policy, on their part, is found in the practice, which they doubtless sanctioned, and which was pursued by both French and English, of arming the savages in the colonial wars.

The French missionaries, therefore, wrote with less prejudice than most of the early adventurers to Ame-

rica; and their accounts of the country are the result of accurate personal observation. They had fewer insults to resent than others; and their statements are more candid, because, in general, they were intended only for the perusal of their superiors. True, their writings are imbued with exaggerations. Ardent in their temperament, and deeply tinctured with the superstitions which at that time pervaded Christendom, they hastily adopted the marvelous tales of the natives, and have transmitted some curious fictions to posterity. But all history is liable to the same objection; and the writings of the persons to whom we allude, being now the only records of the early settlement of our country, are as valuable as they are interesting. Some of them have been published, but, doubtless, there yet remain in the public depositories of France, and in the monastic institutions of that country, a mass of reports and letters, in manuscript, which might shed additional light on this portion of our national history. For the present, we must content ourselves with the few but precious morsels of this ancient lore, which have been rescued from oblivion. But we hope that the day is not far distant when those who rule our nation, instead of spending month after month, and million after million, in the discussion of worse than useless questions, tending only to the gratification of personal ambition, will consult the true honor of the country, by expending a portion of its treasure in the development of its history and moral resources. Whenever that time shall arrive, we hope to see an effort made for the recovery of these invaluable memorials of a past age. There is one distinguished individual in the national cabinet,* whose pen has been successfully

* Lewis Cass was then Secretary of War.

employed on these subjects, to whose researches into Indian and French colonial history, the national literature is largely indebted, and from whose influence, should it be equal to his zeal and merits, we may expect much.

We shall not trace the adventurous footsteps of Jacques Cartier, the first European explorer of Lower Canada, who ascended the St. Lawrence to the island of Montreal, in the year 1535, more than three centuries ago. Nor shall we attempt to follow the heroic Champlain, who planted and sustained, on the shores of the St. Lawrence, the infant colony which was destined to people that extensive region. But a few years elapsed after the French had gained a foothold upon the continent, before we find them pushing their discoveries toward the most remote tributaries of the St. Lawrence. The Indian birch canoe, which they adopted, and in the management of which they soon acquired unrivaled skill, afforded remarkable facilities for these long and painful journeys; for these little vessels combine so remarkably the properties of strength and lightness, that while they are capable of transporting heavy burthens, and of making long and dangerous voyages, they can, when unladen, be carried with ease upon the shoulders of men. They are propelled by oars, through the water, with astonishing swiftness, and when the stream is impeded by any impassable obstacle, they are unloaded, carried over land to the nearest navigable point, and again launched in their element.

The principal trade of Canada was carried on in these frail boats for two centuries; and it is interesting to observe, in an invention so simple, and so apparently insignificant, an illustration of the important aid which may be afforded by the mechanical arts, to political and moral power. The birch canoe was to the French, not only what the steamboat is to us, enabling them to navi-

gate the lakes and rivers of Canada, and to ascend the Mississippi and all its tributaries, but it also afforded the means of surmounting the most dangerous rapids; of passing from river to river; of penetrating into the bosom of trackless forests, and of striking into the recesses of inhospitable mountains. It was this simple boat which afforded to the French the means of traversing this vast region, securing its trade, cultivating the friendship of its inhabitants, and gaining a power, which, if ably wielded, must have permanently subjected the whole of this country to their language, their customs, their religion, and, perhaps, to their dominion.

In the year 1632, seven years only after Quebec was founded, the missionaries had penetrated as far west as Lake Huron. The Wyandots and Iroquois were at that time engaged in an exterminating war, and the priests, following their converts through good and evil fortune, tenaciously adhering to the altars which they had reared by perilous exertion in the wilderness, shared all the privations and dangers which usually attend these border feuds.

In their intercourse with the Indians on the shores of the northern lakes, the French became informed of the existence of a river flowing to the south, and desired to ascertain its character. Father Marquette, a priest, and Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, were employed to prosecute this discovery; and having ascended Fox river, crossed the portage, and descended the Ouisconsin, entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, 1673. They pursued the meanders of the river to its confluence with the Arkansas, and on their return, ascended the Illinois, and re-entered Lake Michigan near the present site of Chicago.

La Salle, a man of talent, courage, and experience,

determined to complete, if possible, a discovery so important to the interests of the French Government, and embarked in the prosecution of this undertaking in 1679. He built the first vessel, larger than a canoe, that ever navigated these lakes. It was launched at Erie, and called the Griffin.

“He reached Michilimackinac, where he left his vessel, and coasted Lake Michigan in canoes, to the mouth of the St. Joseph. The Griffin was dispatched to Green Bay for a cargo of furs, but she was never more heard of after leaving that place. Whether she was wrecked, or captured and destroyed by the Indians, no one knew at that day, and none can now tell. La Salle prosecuted his design with great vigor, amid the most discouraging circumstances. By the abilities he displayed; by the successful result of his undertaking; and by the melancholy catastrophe which terminated his own career, he is well worthy a place among that band of intrepid adventurers, who, commencing with Columbus, and terminating with Parry and Franklin, have devoted themselves, with noble ardor, to the extension of geographical knowledge, and have laid open the recesses of this continent.”—*Cass's Address.*

We have met with an old volume, containing an account of La Salle's second voyage into North America, in 1683, written in French, “by Monsieur Joutel, a commander in that expedition.” They landed at the mouth of the Mississippi, and ascended that river. Of the Wabash, he says: “We came to the mouth of a river called the Houabache, said to come from the country of the Iroquois, towards New England.” * * * * “A fine river; its water remarkably clear, and current gentle.” The expression, “towards New England,” shows how inadequate an idea they had of the extent of our country.

On reaching the Illinois, he remarks, "We found a great alteration in that river, as well with respect to its current, which is very gentle, as to the country about it, which is more agreeable and beautiful than that about the great river, by reason of the many fine woods, and variety of fruits, its banks are adorned with. It was a very great relief to us, to find so much ease in going up that river, by reason of its gentle stream, so that we all stayed in the canoe, and made much more way."

Meeting with some of the natives, he remarks, "We asked them, What nation they were of? They answered, they were *Islinois*, of a canton called Cascasquia." This account settles the question some times propounded, as to the origin of the name of this country, which some have supposed to be of French origin, and to be derived from the words *Isle aux noix*, but which is undoubtedly aboriginal, although the orthography may be Gallic. The tribe alluded to were called the *Illini*.

Another passage shows, that the Indians of those days were very similar to their descendants; and that, however the savage character may have become deteriorated in some respects, by intercourse with the whites, it is essentially the same under all circumstances. "They are subject," says our author, "to the general vice of all other Indians, which is, to boast very much of their warlike exploits, and that is the main subject of their discourse, and they *are very great liars*."

The map attached to this book, is quite a curiosity—it is so crude, and so admirable a specimen of the rude state of the arts at the time when it was made. It is such as an Indian would trace in the sand with his finger, or the biggest boy in a school would draw on the black-board.

Shortly after the country had been thus explored, it was settled by colonies from Lower Canada, who founded

the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Peoria. The exact date of this emigration is not known, but it was probably between the years 1680 and 1690.

In 1712, Louis XIV., by letters patent, granted to Anthony Crozat, counsellor of state, &c., and his heirs, in perpetuity, all the mines within the tract of country then called Louisiana, and described in these words: "Bounded by New Mexico on the west, and by lands of the English of Carolina on the east, including all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and principally the port and haven of the isles of Dauphin, heretofore called Massacre; the river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea as far as the Illinois, together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called Ouabache; with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river of St. Louis. This included all the territory now comprised in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas. The exclusive privilege of commerce was granted to him in the same district, for fifteen years.

In 1717, M. Crozat relinquished his grant; and in the same year, letters patent were granted to an association of individuals at Paris, under the style of the "Company of the West;" by which they were invested with the same privileges which had been enjoyed by Crozat, together with others, far more extensive. The territory was granted to them in *allodium (en franc allieu)* in lordship and in justice, the crown reserving no other right than those of fealty and homage.

In 1718, the Company of the West formed an establishment in Illinois, at Fort Chartres; and this part of the country being reported as remarkably fertile, received a great accession of population.

In 1719, Philip Francis Renault, who is styled *Director General of the Mines of the Royal India Company in Illinois*, left France with two hundred artificers, and some time in the following year, reached Kaskaskia. He established himself near Fort Chartres, at a place called by him St. Philippe, and since called Little Village. Renault was disappointed in his expectations of finding gold and silver, but is supposed to have made great quantities of lead, and to have discovered a copper mine near Peoria. His operations were checked by an edict of the king, made in May, 1719, by which the Company of the West was united to the East India and Chinese Company, under the title of "*La Campagnie Royale des Indes.*" Finally, in 1731, the whole territory was re-conveyed to the crown of France, the objects of the company having totally failed.

From the great number of grants of land made during the existence of these companies, it appears that Illinois, even at that time, had attracted considerable attention. In making these grants, the officers of the company united with those of the crown. We have examined some of these concessions, dated in 1722, which are made by "Pierre Duquet de Boisbriant, first lieutenant of the king in the Province of Louisiana, and commandant for the Illinois; and Marc Antonie de la Loir des Versins, principal commissary for the Royal Company of the Indies, at their factory in the Illinois."

In 1723, a grant was made to Philip Renault, including the site of St. Philippe, of "one league in front by two in depth, at Grand Marias, on the Mississippi river. This stream is now called Mary, and by one of our geographers, St. Mary.

August 14, 1743, Monsieur Vaudriauel, governor, and Monsieur Salmon, commissary ordonnateur of the prov-

ince of Louisiana, granted to the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, a tract of land as a common, for the use of said inhabitants for ever, which was bounded north by the southern limit of said village, east by the Kaskaskia river, south and west by the Mississippi, and the limits of the "common field." The common field is a tract composed of various grants in severalty, made to individual inhabitants in *franc allieu* (fee simple), and which, from the first, has been inclosed in one common fence, and subjected to certain regulations. We see here a custom peculiar to the French. There was attached to almost every village a *common* belonging to the village in its municipal character, which was left uninclosed for pasturage and other purposes. No portion of this could be alienated or converted into private property, but by the unanimous act of the villagers. When a young couple married, or a person settled in the village, who was too indigent to purchase land, they sometimes made to such parties donations of a few acres of the common, by deed, signed by all the inhabitants; and the lot thus severed, became private property, and might be added, if conveniently situated, to the *common field*. The latter was owned in parcels by individuals, who held a larger or smaller number of acres, in separate lots, each tilling his own land, although the whole was surrounded by a single fence, and the several parts were not divided by inclosures.

Previous to the year 1748, Spain, France, and England, claimed the greater part of North America, by right of conquest, or of discoveries made under their patronage, respectively. The treaty of Aix la Chapelle, made in that year, contained a provision for the restitution of the territories which each had wrested from the other, but was wholly silent as to boundaries. France,

however, owned Canada on the north, and Lower Louisiana on the south, besides claiming the intermediate discoveries of La Salle and others, on the upper lakes, the Mississippi, and the Illinois.

The French government, at a very early period, adopted the policy of uniting their possessions in Canada with those in Louisiana, by a chain of posts, which, extending along the whole course of the northern lakes, and the Mississippi, should open a line of interior communication from Quebec to New Orleans, and which would secure to them the expansive territory of the west, by confining their English neighbors to the country east of the Alleghany ridge. It happened, however, with the French as with the English, that all their calculations in reference to their American colonies, were formed upon a scale too small, as well in regard to the objects to be secured, as in relation to the extent of the means to be employed. The minds of their statesmen seem to have never embraced the whole vast field upon which their policy was to operate. They appear to have had but feeble conceptions of the great extent of the country, and to have been entirely ignorant of the amount and character of the means necessary for its subjection.

Their schemes wanted unity of design, and the ill-assorted parts seldom harmonized together. Thus, although the French established military posts, and planted colonies throughout the whole of this region, they were so distant from each other, and so unconnected, as to afford no mutual support, nor could they ever be brought to act efficiently together, as component parts of any colonial or military system. The plan, or want of plan, was happily conceived for our benefit; and was disadvantageous only to those whose want of wisdom, and of

vigor, deprived them of territory at an earlier period than that at which they would otherwise have lost it.

It is curious to reflect upon the situation of these colonists. Their nearest civilized neighbors were the English on the shores of the Atlantic, distant a thousand miles, from whom they were separated by a barrier then insurmountable, and with whom they had no more intercourse than with the Chinese. Their countrymen, it is true, had posts throughout the west, but they were too distant for frequent intercourse, and they were peopled by those, who, like themselves, were disconnected from all the rest of the world. But the French brought with them, or found in their vicinity, certain elements of prosperity, which enabled them to flourish in spite of the disadvantages of their unprotected situation. They were unambitious and contented. It was always their policy to conciliate the natives, whom they invariably treated with a kindness and consideration never shown to that unhappy race by other Europeans, and with whom they preserved a faith unbroken upon either side.

In a few years, Kaskaskia grew into a town, whose population has been variously estimated at from 1,000 to 8,000 inhabitants; the latter number is doubtless an exaggeration, but either of them indicates a wonderful population for a place having little commerce, no arts, and no surrounding territory. They lived chiefly by agriculture, hunting, and trading with the Indians. They possessed a country prolific in all the bounties of nature. The wild fruits were abundant. The grape, the plum, the persimmon, and the cherry, attain here a size unknown in less favored regions. The delicate *pecan*, the hickory nut, the walnut, and the hazle, strew the ground during the autumn, excelling the corresponding productions of the Atlantic States, as much in size and

flavor as in quantity. Of domestic fruits, the peach, the apple, and the pear, attain great perfection. Here the maple yields its sugar, and the cotton its fibre, the sweet potatoe and Indian corn yield abundantly, while wheat, and many other of the productions of colder countries, come to perfection. Around them were spread those magnificent natural meadows that mock, in their extent and luxuriance, the highest efforts of human labor. The deer, the buffalo, and the elk, furnished in those days bountiful supplies; the rivers abounded with fish; while the furry and the feathered tribes afforded articles for comfort and for trade. Surrounded thus by good things, what more could a Frenchman have desired, unless it were a violin and a glass of claret? The former, we are told they had, and we have good authority for saying, that they drank pretty good wine from their own grapes.

Of their civil, military, and religious institutions, we have little on record, but enough may be gathered to show that, though simple and efficient, they were entirely anomalous. The priests seem to have been prudent men. At a time when religious intolerance was sufficiently fashionable, we hear of no trouble among our French. The good men who regulated their consciences seem, to have prized "the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit," so highly as to be content to pursue their own vocation in peace with all the world. The military sway, which was paramount, seems to have been equally mild—perhaps because it was equally undisputed; and as for the civil jurisdiction, we find so little trace of it, either on record or in tradition, as to induce the belief that the people seldom needed its interposition. Some old deeds which remain on record at Kaskaskia, are dated as far back as 1712, framed, of course, on the model of the civil law, and written in a choice old provincial dialect. Their legal

proceedings were brief and simple—so much so, that we, with our notions, should have called them arbitrary. Yet such was their attachment to their ancient customs, that with the kindest feelings towards our country and our people, they could ill brook the introduction of the common law, when their territory was ceded to our government. They thought its forms burthensome and complicated; and many of them removed to Louisiana, where the civil law was still in force.

Separated thus from all the world, these people acquired many peculiarities. In language, dress, and manners, they lost much of their original polish; but they retained, and still retain, many of the leading characteristics of their nation. They took care to keep up their ancient holidays and festivals; and with few luxuries and fewer wants, they were, probably, as cheerful and as happy a people as any in existence.

Kaskaskia, called in the old French records, "Notre dame de Cascasquias," is beautifully situated on the point of land formed by the junction of the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers. It is not at the point of confluence, but four miles above, where the rivers approach to within less than two miles of each other; and the original plan of the town extended across from river to river. In this respect, the position is precisely analogous to that of Philadelphia. The point widens below the town, and embraces a large tract of immensely fertile land, mostly common, covered with plum, grape, pecan trees, and other of the richest productions of nature. Here a number of horses, turned loose by the first settlers, increased to large droves of animals, as wild as the original stock. They have now been in a state of nature for more than a century. The inhabitants catch and tame them when wanted for use; and the "point horses," though small,

are celebrated for their spirit and hardiness. The site of the town is on a level alluvial plain, composed of a deep and extremely rich soil. On the opposite side of the Kaskaskia river, the land is high and broken. This river is three hundred and fifty feet wide opposite the town, and preserves a considerable width and depth, with a scarcely perceptible current, uninterrupted by any obstruction for more than fifty miles upwards; beyond that, the current is still gentle, and the stream would be navigable for small boats, in high water, to Vandalia—distant ninety-five miles by land, and more than two hundred by the meanders of the river—if a few obstructions, consisting entirely of fallen timber, were removed.

This village still retains many striking evidences of its origin, and of the peculiar character of its inhabitants. Many of the old houses remain, and afford curious specimens of the architecture of the people and the period. Some of them were built of stone, others were of framed timber, with the interstices filled with cement. They were usually plastered over with a hard mortar, and whitewashed. The gable-ends are often placed to face the streets, and the great roofs exhibited a heavy and singular construction. The houses were generally but one story high, and spread out so as to occupy a large surface; and those of the better order were surrounded by piazzas, a comfortable fashion still retained in the dwellings of the planters of Louisiana. To almost all the houses, large gardens were attached, inclosed with high stone walls, or by picketing, composed of large stakes planted perpendicularly in the ground. The inhabitants cultivated a great profusion of fruits and flowers; and, although abstemious in their diet, they lived in ease and comfort.

The old church at Kaskaskia is a venerable pile, which,

although more than a century old, is still in a tolerable state of preservation, and is used as a place of worship by the Catholic inhabitants. It is very large, and is built in a quaint, old-fashioned style. The construction of the roof is a great curiosity; its extensive and massy surface being supported by an immense number of pieces of timber, framed together with great neatness and accuracy, and crossing each other at a variety of different angles, so that no part of the structure can, by any possibility, sink until the whole shall fall together. In this church are several valuable old records, and, among others, a baptismal register, containing the generations of the French settlers from about the year 1690.

In 1793, France ceded her possessions east of the Mississippi, to England. Captain Philip Pittman, of the English army, visited "the country of Illinois" in 1770, and published an account of it, from which we glean the following particulars: Kaskaskia contained at that time, according to Captain Pittman, sixty-five families, besides merchants, casual people, and slaves, an enumeration which, we have reason to suppose, fell greatly short of the truth. The fort, which was burnt down in 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock, opposite the town, on the other side of the Kaskaskia river. Its shape was an oblong quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured 290 by 251 feet. It was built of very thick, squared timber, dovetailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers were quartered at the village in 1770, and the inhabitants were formed into two companies of militia. The officer governed the village, under the direction of the commandant at Fort Chartres.

La Prairie de Rocher, thirteen miles from Kaskaskia, is described as being at that time, a "small village, with twelve dwelling-houses." The number must have been

much greater, as there were two hundred inhabitants in 1820, when the village had fallen into decay. Here was a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The village was distant from the fort seven miles, and took its name from its situation, being built at the base of a high parapet of rock, that runs parallel to the Mississippi.

“Saint Philippe,” says Captain Pittman, “is a small village, about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias; there are about sixteen houses, and a small church, standing; all the inhabitants, except the captain of militia, deserted it in 1765, and went to the French side. The captain of militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi.”

“The village of St. Famille de Kaoquias,” says the same writer, “contains forty-five dwellings, and a church, near its center. The situation is not well chosen, being overflowed. It was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages, by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada. The inhabitants depend more on hunting and their Indian trade, than agriculture, as they scarce raise corn enough for their own consumption. They have a great deal of poultry, and good stocks of horned cattle. The mission of Saint Sulpice had a fine plantation here, and a good house on it. They sold this estate, and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman, who chose to remain here under the English Government. What is called the fort, is a small building in the center of the village, which differs nothing from other houses, except being the meanest. It was inclosed with palisades,

but these are rotted or burnt. There is no use for a fort here."

Some curious facts are also recorded in a rare volume, written by Daniel Coxe, of New Jersey, who visited this region during the occupancy of the French.

Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois country. It was afterwards the head quarters of the English commanding officer, who was in fact the arbitrary governor of this region. The shape of the fort was an irregular quadrangle, with four bastions. The sides of the exterior polygon were about four hundred and ninety feet in extent. It was designed only as a defense against Indians. The walls, which were of stone, and plastered over, were two feet two inches thick, and fifteen feet high, with loop-holes at regular distances, and two port-holes for cannon in each face, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch was never finished. The entrance was through a handsome rustic gate. Within the wall was a small banquette, raised three feet, for the men to stand upon when they fired through the loop-holes. Each port, or loop-hole, was formed of four solid blocks of rock, of freestone, worked smooth. All the cornices and casements about the gate and buildings were of the same material, and appeared to great advantage.

The buildings within the fort were the commandant's and commissary's houses, the magazine of stores, *corps de gard*, and two barracks, occupying the square. Within the gorges of the bastions were a powder magazine, a bake-house, a prison (in the lower floor of which were four dungeons, and in the upper two rooms), and some smaller buildings. The commandant's house was ninety-six feet long and thirty deep, containing a dining-room, a bed-chamber, a parlor, a kitchen, five closets for servants, and

a cellar. The commissary's house was built in a line with this, and its proportions and distribution of apartments were the same. Opposite these were the store-house and guard-house; each ninety feet long by twenty-four deep. The former contained two large store-rooms, with vaulted cellars under the whole, a large room, a bed-chamber and a closet for the keeper; the latter, soldiers' and officers' guard-rooms, a chapel, a bed-chamber and closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks, two in number, were never completely finished: they consisted of two rooms in each line for officers, and three for soldiers; they were good, spacious rooms, of twenty-two feet square, with passages between them. All these buildings were of solid masonry, and well finished. There were extensive lofts over each building, reaching from end to end, which were made use of to contain regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, etc. It was generally allowed that this was the most commodious and best built fort in North America. The bank of the Mississippi next the fort, was continually falling in, being worn away by the current which was turned from its course by a sand-bar, that soon increased to an island, and became covered with willows. Many experiments were tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. When the fort was begun in 1756, it was half a mile from the water side; in 1766, it was eighty paces; and the western angle has since been undermined by the water. In 1762, the river was fordable to the sand-bar; in 1770, the latter was separated from the shore by a channel forty feet deep. Such are the changes of the Mississippi. In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village of Fort Chartres, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to St. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they aban-

doned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled at the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French Government.

The writer visited the ruins of Fort Chartres, in 1829. It was situated, as well as the villages above named, on the American Bottom, an extensive and remarkably fertile plain, bounded on one side by the river, and on the other by a range of bluffs, whose summits are level with the general surface of the country. The bluffs are steep, and have the appearance of having once formed the eastern bank of the Mississippi. It would seem that they composed a continuous, even, and nearly perpendicular parapet, separating the plain which margins the river, from the higher plain of the main land. But the ravines, washed by rains, have indented it in such a manner, as to divide the summit into a series of rounded elevations, which often present the appearance of a range of Indian mounds. These bluffs are so called when bare of timber, which is their usual character; and when their beautifully graceful undulations are exposed to the eye, they form one of the most remarkable and attractive features of the scenery of this country. When timbered, they do not differ from ordinary hills. We approached Fort Chartres in the summer, when the native fruit trees were loaded with their rich products. Never did we behold the fruits of the forest growing in such abundance, or such amazing luxuriance. Immense thickets of the wild plum might be seen, as we rode over the prairie, extending for miles along its edges, so loaded with crimson fruit as to exhibit to the eye a long streak of glowing red. Sometimes we rode through thickets of crap-apple, equally prolific, and sometimes the road wound through copses matted with grape vines, bearing a profusion of rich clusters. Although the spot was familiar to my com-

panion, it was with some difficulty that we found the ruins, which are now covered and surrounded with a young but vigorous and gigantic growth of forest trees, and with a dense undergrowth of bushes and vines, through which we forced our way with considerable labor. Even the crumbling pile itself is thus overgrown, the tall trees rearing their stems from piles of stone, and the vines creeping over the tottering walls. The buildings were all razed to the ground, but the lines of the foundations could be easily traced. A large vaulted powder magazine remained in good preservation. The exterior wall, the most interesting vestige, as it gave the general outline of the whole, was thrown down in some places; but in many, retained something like its original height and form; and it was curious to see in the gloom of a wild forest, these remnants of the architecture of a past age. One angle of the fort, and an entire bastion, had been undermined and swept away by the river, which, having expended its force in this direction, was again retiring; and a narrow belt of young timber had grown up between the water's edge and the ruins.

Many curious anecdotes might still be picked up in relation to these early settlers, whose simplicity of character contrasts strongly with the shrewdness and energy of our backwoodsmen; in Illinois and Missouri, especially, where the Spanish, French, and American authorities have had sway in rapid succession. At one time the French had possession of one side of the Mississippi, and the Spaniards of the other; or, more probably, the rumor of a transfer of jurisdiction, recently negotiated, but not yet carried out, placed the inhabitants of these remote regions in doubt who were their real masters, and left them for a time to choose the allegiance which they

preferred. The French peasantry, especially, illiterate and satisfied, smoked their pipes and played their fiddles in happy ignorance of any changes beyond the limits of their own villages, while even the local authorities were about as much mystified, as to the actual state of things, as the people.

A story is told of a Spaniard living on one shore, who, being the creditor of a Frenchman residing on the other, seized a child, the daughter of the latter, and having borne her across the river, which he supposed formed a national boundary, held her as a hostage for the payment of the debt. The civil authorities, respectively, declined interfering; the military did not think the matter sufficiently important to create a national war, and the Frenchman had to redeem his offspring by discharging the creditor's demand. The lady who was thus abducted is still living, or was living a few years ago, near Cahokia, the mother of a numerous progeny of American French people.

Having spoken of the pacific disposition evinced by the French in their early intercourse with the Indian tribes, it is proper to remark, that we allude particularly to those who settled on the Wabash and upper Mississippi. They have every-where treated the savages with more kindness and greater justice than the people of other nations; but there have been exceptions which we are not disposed to conceal or palliate. In lower Louisiana they emulated, in some instances, the cruelty of the Spaniards and the rapacity of the English; but in Illinois, their conduct towards their uncivilized neighbors seems to have been uniformly friendly and amiable; and the descendants of the first settlers of that state still enjoy the confidence of the Indian tribes.

We have heard of an occasion on which this reciprocal

kindness was very strongly shown. Many years ago, a murder having been committed in some broil, three Indian young men were given up, by the Kaskaskia tribe, to the civil authorities of the newly established American government. The population of Kaskaskia was still entirely French, who felt much sympathy for their Indian friends, and saw these hard proceedings of the law with great dissatisfaction. The ladies, particularly, took a warm interest in the fate of the young aboriginals, and determined, if they must die, they should at least be converted to Christianity in the meanwhile, and be baptized into the true church. Accordingly, after due preparation, arrangements were made for a public baptism of the neophytes in the old cathedral of the village. Each of the youths was adopted by a lady, who gave him a name, and was to stand godmother in the ceremony; and these lady patronesses, with their respective friends, were busily engaged for some days in preparing dresses and decorations for their favorites. There was quite a sensation in the village. Never were three young gentlemen brought into fashion more suddenly or more decidedly; the ladies talked of nothing else, and all the needles in the village were plying, in the preparation of finery for the occasion. Previous to the ceremony—that is, the ceremony of hanging—the aboriginals gave their jailor the slip, and escaped, aided most probably by the ladies, who had planned the whole affair with a view to this result. The law is not vindictive in new countries; the danger soon blew over; the young men again appeared in public, and evinced their gratitude to their benefactresses.

At the secluded little village of Carondolet, popularly called *Vide Poche*, there resided an individual who ruled the hamlet with absolute sway, but with no other warrant than a strong will, flanked on the one hand by personal

proWess, and on the other by a popular character. With a little more intellect than his fellows, his control over them was as undisputed, as it was kind and parental. To him they all brought their differences for decision, and no man drove a pony, or tuned a violin, in defiance of his will. A faithful retainer acted as his messenger and marshal, to carry his orders, to summon witnesses, and to bring offenders into his presence; and on grave occasions, when a warrant was thought to be required, the self-constituted magistrate handed his jackknife to his official, as the oriental sovereign sent his ring in evidence of his mandate, and none were so hardy as to disobey the significant symbol of authority. He judged them many years, and no one envied or gainsayed him. The song and the dance alternated with just barely labor enough to supply esculents and flesh for their simple tables; they smoked the pipe in peace under their spreading catalpa trees; the roses and honeysuckles bloomed around their dwellings, while no officious mail, or tattling newspaper, brought tidings of any better government, or more prosperous community. They were a happy people! and great was their astonishment, and many the "*sacres*" and "*diables*" that were uttered, when the government of the United States was extended over them, and they were made acquainted with the vast, the complex, and to them vexatious machinery of republican law and liberty.

It is with regret that we record the dispersion of this kind-hearted people from the dwellings of their fathers. Several generations flourished happily in Illinois, under the mild sway of the French government. The military commandants and the priests governed them with an uncontrolled, but parental authority; they were not oppressed with taxes; nor do we read of their having any political grievances. They were unambitious and submissive.

The first adventurers to Louisiana and Canada had exchanged the fruitful fields and vinyards of France for the inhospitable wilds of the new world, not to pursue their former occupations, but to amass opulent fortunes by mining. They expected to find a country rich in precious minerals, and great was their disappointment when they came to realize their condition. The Indian trade furnished their only means of subsistence. They took little pains to examine the quality of their lands, or to ascertain what products were suited to the soil and climate. The consequence was that the great mass of them became poor, the spirit of enterprise was extinguished, and they grew as inert as they were inoffensive. They became boatmen and hunters, and the labors of nine-tenths of the population on distant lakes and rivers, exposed to danger, privation and death, served only to augment the wealth of a few traders and merchants. The physical strength of a community depends more on agriculture than on any other pursuit. The ancient French were ignorant of this truth, and their descendants have not learned it to this day. They seldom attempted any thing more than the cultivation of their gardens, and the raising of a little grain for their own consumption. In the mechanic arts they made no progress; they still use some of the implements of agriculture introduced by their forefathers a century ago; and drive vehicles, such as were in fashion in some provinces of France at the same period. But they were contented. The most perfect equality reigned among them. They lived in harmony; all danced to the same violin, and preserved their national vivacity and love of amusement.

When their country came into the possession of the American government, they were displeased with the change. There never was a stronger instance of the unfitness of republican institutions for an ignorant people.

Accustomed to be ruled by the officers of the French crown, and to bestow no thought on matters of public policy, they disliked the machinery of municipal institutions, which they did not understand, and considered it a hardship to be called upon to elect officers, or perform civil duties. It is said that a few years ago, when the inhabitants of one of these villages were told that it would be proper for them to attend an election, to vote for a member of congress, one of their principal men declared that it was an imposition to send any man so far from home—that *he* would not go to congress, nor would he assist in imposing such an unpleasant duty upon any of his neighbors.

The influx of a population dissimilar to themselves in manners, language, religion, and habits, displeased them; the enterprise and fondness for improvement of the American settlers, fretted and annoyed them. The land lying waste around them, they had considered as a kind of common property—the natural inheritance of their children and countrymen; and when any one wished to convert a portion of it to his own use, he applied to the lieutenant-governor, who granted a *concession* for a certain number of acres. But now they saw all this domain surveyed and offered for sale to the highest bidder; and there was a fair prospect, that, in a few years, there would be no wilderness remaining to hunt in, and no range for their wild ponies and cattle.

When the American government, therefore, took possession of the country, the majority of the wealthiest inhabitants removed,—some to St. Louis, which was rising into a promising commercial town, and others to lower Louisiana, where they could enjoy their own laws, customs, and language. The more indigent scattered themselves along the frontier, and became boatmen, hunters,

and interpreters in the employ of Indian traders. A remnant remained, whose descendants are still a peculiar people, but are slowly, though perceptibly, losing their distinctive character, and becoming amalgamated with the surrounding population.

Another anecdote of these times is worth recording: When General George Rogers Clarke, the Hannibal of the west, captured Kaskaskia, he made his head-quarters at the house of a Mr. Michel A——, one of the wealthiest inhabitants. Michel lived in a capital French house, enveloped with piazzas, and surrounded by gardens—all in the most approved style. He was a merry, contented, happy man, abounding in good living, and good stories, and as hospitable as any gentleman whatever. The general remained his guest some time, treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and took leave of Mr. A. with a high respect for his character, and a grateful sense of his warm-hearted hospitality. Years rolled away; General Clarke had retired from public life, and was dwelling in a humble log house in Indiana, a disappointed man. His brilliant services had not been appreciated by his country; his political prospects had been blighted; he was unemployed and unhappy—a proud man, conscious of merit, pining away his life in obscurity. One day, as he strolled along the banks of the Ohio, he espied a circle of French boatmen, the crew of a barge, who were seated round a fire on the beach, smoking their pipes, and singing their merry French songs: one voice arrested his ear—it was that of his old friend Michel; he could not mistake the blithe tones and ever-buoyant humor of his former host. He approached, and there sat Michel in the garb of a boatman, with a red cap on his head, the merriest of the circle. They recognized each other instantly. Michel was as glad to see the

general, and invited him to take a seat on the log beside him, with as much unembarrassed hospitality, as if he had still been in his spacious house, surrounded by his train of servants. He had suddenly been reduced from affluence to poverty—from a prosperous gentleman, who lived comfortably on his estate, to a boatman—the cook, if we mistake not, of a barge. Although a man of vivacity and strong mind, he was illiterate and unsuspecting. The change of government had brought in new laws, new customs, and keener speculators than the honest French had been accustomed to deal with, and Michel was ruined. But he was as happy as ever; while his friend, the general, whose change of circumstances had not been so sudden or complete, was a moody, discontented man. Such is the diversity of national character.

CHAPTER II.

Founding of St. Louis—History of that Colony—Transfer to Spain—Attack by the Indians—Intercourse with New Orleans—A gallant exploit—Other French Settlements.

THE city of St. Louis was founded in the year 1764, by Monsieur Laclède, one of the partners in a mercantile association, known under the name of Laclède, Liguette, Maxan & Company, to whom the director general of the province of Louisiana had granted the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far up as the river St. Peter. The traffic in furs and peltry with these distant tribes, though of great value, would have been unavailable without a suitable place for the deposit of merchandize; and to induce the company to hazard the establishment of such a depôt, which would also serve as the nucleus of new settlements west of the Mississippi, extensive powers were given to the gentlemen engaged in this enterprise. M. Laclède, therefore, formed an expedition, at the head of which he set out from New Orleans, on the 3d of August, 1763, and arrived at Ste. Genevieve, where it seems there was already a small settlement, on the 3d of November, the voyage, which is now accomplished in ten days by our steamboats, occupying those adventurers three months, with their inferior means of transportation. This point being too distant from the

Missouri, he proceeded to the mouth of that river, and on his return fixed upon the site. Having wintered at Fort Chartres, and gained some recruits at that place, Cahokia, and Ste. Genevieve, he commenced, on the 15th of February, 1764, the work of cutting down trees and laying out a town, which he called St. Louis, after the reigning king of France. In consequence of some subsequent distress, on account of a scarcity of provisions, it received the popular name of *Pain Court*, by which it was called for many years. M. Augustine Chouteau, then about fourteen years of age, who has since been one of the most opulent and enterprising of the citizens of that place, and is but recently deceased, was of the party which laid the foundation of this flourishing city.

In the selection of this site, a degree of sagacity was shown, which has seldom marked such transactions. The spot is elevated above the inundations of the river, from whose margin the ground rises gradually, and is based on a thick stratum of rock, which affords the most admirable materials for building. Above and below, along the river, was an abundance of timber, and to the west an unlimited expanse of fertile prairies; while on the east were the rich plains of Illinois. A short distance below were the lead mines, which have, for half a century past, afforded a valuable article of trade; a few miles above the town, the Missouri and Illinois rivers united their waters with those of the Mississippi, extending the channels of intercourse throughout a vast interior region; and this obscure spot in the heart of a great continent, and far distant from the ocean, was visited by the birch canoes from Quebec, as well as by the barges from New Orleans.

In July, 1765, Fort de Chartres was evacuated by the French, and *M. de St. Ange de Belle Reve*, the commander, proceeded to St. Louis with the troops, and assumed the

reins of government. From this time St. Louis was considered as the capital of Upper Louisiana. Having organized a government, one of his first acts was to parcel the land to the settlers, to whom M. Laclède had given possession, but not titles.

He accordingly made the *Livre Terrein*, or land-book, in which grants of land were not *recorded* only, but originally written, and a copy of the entry made in this book constituted the evidence of title in the hands of the grantee. These concessions were not considered as inchoate grants, which were to be ratified by a higher authority, but as perfect titles, independent of any condition, except those of the land being subject to taxation, and being improved by the grantee, within a limited time. The mode of obtaining grants was by petition or *requete*, addressed to the commandant; and the concession generally ran, after reciting the application, thus: "On the day and year aforesaid, at the request of ——, we have granted, and do grant to him, his heirs, and assigns, the lot (or piece of land, describing its contents, boundaries and locality), which he prays for, with the condition that he shall establish it within a year and a day, and that it shall be subject to the public charges. ST. ANGE."

Nearly the same form of concession was used under the Spanish authority. There was usually, however, a stipulation contained in them, that in case the conditions of improvement and cultivation should not be complied with, the lands should revert to the king, and some instances are found in the *Livre Terrein*, where that resumption has taken place. At first these grants were proportioned to the means of the applicant, but at a later period they were made to all who chose to apply for them, to any extent, unconditionally, and without reference to the ability of the applicant. The policy of the government, in making the

grants, was to settle the country; but the remoteness of this province, and the extent of the authority, necessarily placed in the hands of the lieutenant governors, enabled them to abuse this power, and it is said to have degenerated into a spirit of favoritism. Up to a certain period, the means of the cultivator were taken as the criterion by which the magnitude of the grant was regulated, and as there was no public surveyor, the difficulty of locating large tracts, and setting the boundaries, may have deterred many from attempting such speculations. But these obstacles, if they were such, were removed by the appointment of a surveyor general, in 1795, and the number of concessions increased with incredible rapidity, especially in the period immediately preceding the occupation of the country by the American government. Previous to the appointment of M. Soulard, as surveyor general, in 1795, the whole number of arpens of land conceded to individuals did not exceed 50,000; but the number granted after that appointment, amounted to 2,150,969. The government of the United States recognises the validity of all titles to real estate acquired under the French or Spanish governments; but the great number of these grants, and the negligence with which they were made, has caused great perplexity to congress, and to the courts of law.

Under the administration of M. St. Ange, St. Louis, assumed the appearance of a town, and the foundations of social order were laid. The soldiers became amalgamated with the inhabitants; comfortable dwellings were erected; and the *common fields*, as they are now called, were opened and improved. All accounts which have reached us, agree in describing the government as mild and patriarchal; the whole community seemed to have lived together as a single family, under the guidance of a common father, enjoying a common patrimony.

A curious remark has occurred to us upon a comparison of the first settlements of the English and the French. Though the latter nation has always been inferior to the former in the mechanical arts, especially in those of the useful kind; and though the English invariably deny to the French any adequate perception of the enjoyments embraced by themselves under the word *comfort*, both these propositions would seem to be reversed by the evidence to which we allude. The first habitations of the English were log-cabins, the most unsightly and comfortless, and their descendants, to this day, commence all their villages with the same rude dwellings, or with frail erections of framed timber, while the garden and the orchard have been tardily introduced. The old French villages, on the contrary, consisted of substantial houses of stone, or of heavy timber, plastered with excellent mortar, encompassed by piazzas, and surrounded by gardens, stocked with fruit, and inclosed with walls, or strong stockades. The first habitations of the English have mouldered away, and comparatively few relics remain to attest their character, while many houses in the French villages have been left, by the hand of time, in their primitive integrity, durable monuments of the taste and comfort of the original proprietors. The excellence of their masonry has been often remarked; the walls of Fort Chartres, though long since abandoned, and left exposed to the elements, are so indestructible, that the inhabitants of the neighborhood, in attempting to remove the materials, have found it difficult to take them apart.

In 1768, after St. Ange had governed at St. Louis three years, Mr. Rious arrived with Spanish troops, and took possession of Upper Louisiana, in the name of his Catholic Majesty; but did not exercise any jurisdiction, as it

appears from the records in the *Livre Terrein*, that St. Ange continued to perform official acts until 1770. It is inferred that the reluctance of the inhabitants to submit to the change of rulers was so great, that it was judged prudent to defer the assertion of the new authority until the dissatisfaction caused by the transfer of the country had worn away, and the people become reconciled to their new master. The wisdom of this policy became apparent in the firm attachment which was displayed toward the Spanish Government, so that when the province was retroceded to France, in 1800, the people again expressed their dissatisfaction at the change; and they were not less displeased at the subsequent transfer to the United States.

In 1767 was founded Vide Poche, which, in 1796, took the name of Carondelet. Florissant was founded in 1769; Les Petites Cotes was settled in 1769, and called St. Charles in 1804.

The inhabitants of St. Louis continued for about fifteen years to live in perfect harmony with the Indians, without molestation, and without any apprehension of danger. The first hostilities do not appear to have arisen out of any quarrel between the parties themselves, but resulted from the contest raging between Great Britain and her colonies. In 1777, a rumor came to this remote spot, that an attack would shortly be made upon the town, by the Canadians, and such Indians as were friendly to the English. The village was then almost destitute of military defenses, but the inhabitants, including little more than a hundred men, immediately proceeded to inclose it with a kind of wall, about six feet high, formed of the trunks of small trees, planted in the ground, the interstices being filled with earth. It described a semicircle, resting upon the river, above and below the town, flanked

by a small fort at one extremity, and a less important work at the other. It had three gates for egress towards the country, each defended by a piece of heavy ordnance, which was kept continually charged. For a while, these preparations seemed to have been needless; winter passed away, and spring came, without any attack; the labors of husbandry were resumed, and the villagers laid aside their fears, and their military exercises.

In May, 1778, the attack was made, in a manner characteristic of the times and place. The force of the enemy, consisting of a motley band of about fourteen hundred men, collected from various tribes residing on the lakes, and the Mississippi—Ojibeways, Menomenies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Saukies, and some Canadians—assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 6th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 5th of May was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. An assault on that day would have been fatal; for after attending divine service, the villagers, old and young, men, women, and children, sallied out in all the glee of a Catholic holiday, unsuspecting of danger, to the neighboring prairie, to gather the ripe strawberries, of which there was a great profusion. The town, left unguarded, could have been easily taken. A few only of the enemy, however, had crossed the river: and these, lying ambushed on the prairie, made no effort to disturb the peaceable villagers, who were frequently so near as to be almost in contact with the lurking savages. But the latter either did not discover the total desertion of the town, or with the known pertinacity of the Indian character, determined to adhere to the preconcerted plan of attack.

The enemy crossed the river on the 6th, and marched

to the fields, where they expected to find the most of the villagers engaged in their agricultural pursuits. It happened that but few were there, who fled under a shower of bullets, and barely escaped with the aid of their friends in the village, who, on hearing the alarm, rushed to the gates, which they threw open to receive their comrades, and then closed against the enemy. The inhabitants, men and women, acted with spirit, and the savages, after receiving a few discharges of grape shot, retired, after killing about twenty of the whites. An indelible stain was fixed upon the character of the commandant, Leyba, who not only took no share of the danger, but even commanded the inhabitants to cease firing, and used such exertions to cripple the defence, that he was suspected of treachery; while his lieutenant, Cartabona, with sixty soldiers, remained concealed in a garret during the whole action. The reader of colonial history will be struck with the coincidence of this event with many which occurred in all the American colonies, under whatever foreign dominion; the inhabitants were often plunged into wars with the Indians, with whom they had no quarrel, by the policy of their superiors—wars, of which the effects fell solely upon themselves, which were prosecuted by their arms, and successfully terminated by their valor. This first attack upon St. Louis, formed an era in the history of the place, and the year in which it occurred is still designated by the inhabitants as "*L'annee du grand coup.*" The town was afterwards more strongly fortified, and was not again molested by the Indians.

In the month of April, 1785, there was an unparalleled rise of the Mississippi, which swelled to the extraordinary height of thirty feet above the highest water mark previously known. The town of Kaskaskia was completely inundated, and the whole of the *American Bottom* over-

flowed. This year forms another era in the reminiscences of the old inhabitants, who call it the *year of the great waters*—"L'annee des grandes eaux."

The intercourse with New Orleans was at this period neither frequent nor easy. The only mode of transporting merchandise was by means of keel-boats and barges, which descended the river in the spring, and returned late in the autumn. The preparations for a voyage to *the city*, as New Orleans was called, were as extensive and deliberate as those which would now be made for a voyage to the East Indies. Instead of the rapid steamboats which render the navigation of our long rivers so easy, they had the tardy and frail barge, slowly propelled by human labor. There was also danger, as well as difficulty, in the enterprise; a numerous band of robbers, under the command of two men named Culbert and Magilbray, having stationed themselves at a place called "La riviere aux liards," *Cottonwood creek*, where they carried on a regular and extensive system of piracy. As the voyage was long, and the communication between the two ports was attempted but once a year, the boats were generally so richly laden, that the capture of one of them afforded wealth to the plunderers, and brought ruin upon the owner. An incident of this description, illustrative of the facts to which I allude, I will narrate, as I find it in an excellent article on the history of St. Louis, from which I have already quoted liberally.*

In the spring of 1787, a barge, belonging to Mr. Beau-soliel, had started from New Orleans, richly laden with merchandise, for St. Louis. As she approached the Cottonwood creek, a breeze sprung up and bore her swiftly by. This the robbers perceived, and immediately despatched a

* Illinois Monthly Magazine.

company of men up the river for the purpose of heading. The manœuver was effected in the course of two days, at an island which has since been called Beausoliel's island. The barge had just put ashore. The robbers boarded, and ordered the crew to return down. The men were disarmed, guards were stationed in every part of the vessel, and she was soon under way. Mr. Beausoliel gave himself up to despair. He had spent all he possessed in the purchase of the barge and its cargo, and now that he was to be deprived of them all, he was in agony. This vessel would have shared the fate of many others that had preceded it, but for the heroic daring of a negro, who was one of the crew. Cacasotte, the negro, was a man rather under the ordinary height, very slender in person, but of uncommon strength and activity. The color of his skin and the curl of his hair, alone told that he was a negro, for the peculiar characteristics of his race had given place in him to what might be termed beauty. His forehead was finely moulded, his eyes small and sparkling as those of a serpent, his nose aquiline, his lips of a proper thickness; in fact, the whole appearance of the man, joined to his known character for shrewdness and courage, seemed to indicate that, under better circumstances, he might have shone conspicuous in the history of nations. Cacasotte, as soon as the robbers had taken possession of the barge, began to make every demonstration of uncontrollable joy. He danced, sang, laughed, and soon induced his captors to believe that they had liberated him from irksome slavery, and that his actions were the ebullitions of pleasure. His constant attention to their smallest wants and wishes, too, won their confidence; and whilst they kept a watchful eye on the other prisoners, they permitted him to roam through the vessel unmolested and unwatched. This was the state of things that the negro

desired. He seized the first opportunity to speak to Mr. Beausoleil, and beg permission to rid him of the dangerous intruders. He laid his plan before his master, who, after a great deal of hesitation, acceded to it. Cacasotte then spoke to two of the crew, likewise negroes, and engaged them in the conspiracy. Cacasotte was cook, and it was agreed between him and his fellow conspirators, that the signal for dinner should be the signal for action. The hour of dinner at length arrived. The robbers assembled in considerable numbers on the deck, and stationed themselves at the bow and stern, and along the sides, to prevent any rising of the men. Cacasotte went among them with the most unconcerned look and demeanor imaginable. As soon as he perceived that his comrades had taken the stations he had assigned to them, he took his position at the bow of the boat, near one of the robbers, a stout, herculean man, who was armed cap-a-pie. Every thing being arranged to his satisfaction, Cacasotte gave the preconcerted signal, and immediately the robber near him was struggling in the waters. With the speed of lightning, he went from one robber to another, and in less than three minutes, he had thrown fourteen of them overboard. Then seizing an oar, he struck on the head those who attempted to save themselves by grappling the running boards, then shot with the muskets that had been dropped on deck, those who swam away. In the mean time, the other conspirators were not idle, but did almost as much execution as their leader. The deck was soon cleared, and the robbers that remained below, were too few in number to offer any resistance.

Having got rid of his troublesome visitors, Mr. Beausoleil deemed it prudent to return to New Orleans. This he accordingly did, taking care when he arrived near the

Cottonwood creek, to keep the opposite side of the river, He reached New Orleans, and gave an account of his capture and liberation to the governor, who thereupon issued an order, that the boats bound for St. Louis in the following spring, should all go in company, to afford mutual assistance in case of necessity. Spring came, and ten keel-boats, each provided with swivels, and their respective crews well armed, took their departure from New Orleans, determined, if possible, to destroy the nest of robbers. When they neared the Cottonwood creek, the foremost boat perceived several men near the mouth, among the trees. The anchor was dropped, and she waited until the other boats should come up. In a few moments they appeared, and a consultation was held, in which it was determined that a sufficient number of men should remain on board, whilst the others should proceed on shore to attack the robbers. The boats were rowed to shore in a line, and those appointed for that purpose, landed and began to search the island in quest of the robbers, but in vain! They had disappeared. Three or four flat-boats were found in a bend of the creek, laden with all kinds of valuable merchandise—the fruits of their depredations. A long low hut was discovered—the dwelling of the robbers—in which were stowed away numerous cases of guns, (destined for the fur trade,) ammunition and provisions of all kinds. The greater part of these things were put on board the boats, and restored to their respective owners, at St. Louis.

This proceeding had the effect of dispersing the robbers, for they were never after heard of. The arrival of ten barges together at St. Louis, was an unusual spectacle, and the year 1788 has ever since been called the *year of the ten boats*.

As we do not design to speak of the history of the

French settlements in minute detail, we shall only add that there were several others, cotemporaneous with those which we have mentioned, the chief of which were Detroit and Vincennes. The former was founded in 1670, the latter in 1702. The manners and habits of the people, and their adventures, were similar to those we have described; except that Detroit, being situated at a more exposed point, and surrounded by warlike tribes, who were engaged in hostilities with each other, experienced more of the vicissitudes of war.

The French seem to have been mainly induced to penetrate into these remote regions, in search of the precious metals; an eager desire for which had been awakened in Europe by the discoveries of the Spaniards in South America, and by a general belief of the existence of similar treasures on the northern continent. That such was the fact, is sufficiently proved by the frequent mention of mines and minerals, in all the charters and larger grants of territory made by the French crown, as well as by the numerous and expensive efforts of individuals and companies, in the pursuit of the precious ores.

The leaders in these enterprises were gentlemen of education and talents, who had no inducements to remain in these remote settlements, after the disappointment of their hopes, and either returned to France, or settled in Lower Louisiana, where they found a more genial climate than in the higher latitudes. The remainder were pacific and illiterate rustics, who brought no property, nor entertained any ambitious views. Few of them had come prepared for either agricultural or commercial pursuits, and when the dreams of sudden wealth, with which they had been deluded, faded from before them, they were not disposed to engage in the ordinary employments of enlightened industry. Perhaps the inducement, as well as

the means, was wanting. There was little encouragement for agriculture, where there was no market for produce; there could be but few arts, and but little commerce, at points so distant from the abodes of civilized men. They were besides an unenterprising and contented race, who were ignorant of the prolific resources of the country around them, and destitute of the slightest perception of its probable destiny—its rapid advancement in population and improvement. Whatever might have been the views of their government, the French settlers indulged no ambitious visions, and laid no plans, either for territorial aggrandisement, or political domination. They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organize a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defences; but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessaries of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace, and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them, as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind*, or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practiced among the English or American first settlers;

but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessities of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

The only new arts which the French adopted, in consequence of their change of residence, were those connected with the fur trade. The few who were engaged in merchandise, turned their attention almost exclusively to the traffic with the Indians, while a large number became hunters and boatmen. The *voyageurs*, *engagees*, and *couriers des bois*, as they are called, form a peculiar race of men. They are active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among boatmen and mariners. They are patient of fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indian, abiding for long periods, and even permanently, with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen, they navigate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods, so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him, they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury.

The French had also a fort on the Ohio, about thirty-six miles above the junction of that river with the Mississippi, of which the Indians obtained possession by a singular stratagem. A number of them appeared in the day-time on the opposite side of the river, each covered with a bear-skin, walking on all-fours, and imitating the motions of that animal. The French supposed them to be bears, and a party crossed the river in pursuit of them. The remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river, in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime a large body of Indian warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, entered it without opposition, and very few of the French escaped the carnage. They afterwards built another fort on the same ground, which they called *Massacre*, in memory of this disastrous event, and which retained the name of *Fort Massac*, after it had passed into the hands of the American government.

The history of Louisiana is full of romance, but as we have only designed to touch upon the small portion of it which is properly embraced within our limits, by being connected with that of the settlements upon the Ohio and Mississippi, we shall not wander further into that field. And had we been so disposed, we should not now venture to encroach upon the ground so satisfactorily occupied by the Hon. Charles Gayarre, in his *Romance of the History of Louisiana*, which has appeared since the publication of the first edition of this work.

CHAPTER III.

Settlements on the Ohio—Early movements in Virginia—Views of Gov. Spotswood—Settlement of Pittsburgh—Travels of Carver—Expedition of Dunmore.

WHILE the French were engaged in exploring and occupying the region of the Mississippi, the shores of the Ohio remained, for a series of years, unnoticed. Between them and the English colonists there was a wide expanse of country, of the extent and value of which they seemed alike ignorant. We have seen that the former spoke vaguely of the Wabash, as a river "coming from the country of the Iroquois towards New England," and the latter only knew of the West as a wilderness beyond the mountains. A natural transition, therefore, brings us to the period when our own immediate ancestors began to become acquainted with the importance of that country which was destined to be the richest inheritance of their children.

It is not our design to trace the footsteps of the pioneers through all their wanderings, to depict their personal adventures, or to describe their various conflicts with the savage tribes. These minute details, however interesting, must be left to other hands. We shall only attempt a rapid summary of a few prominent events.

We have no means of ascertaining how the early English colonists became impressed with a sense of the

importance of the country west of the mountains, or what was the extent of their knowledge. It was probably derived chiefly from the French, who were not solicitous to publish their discoveries, and came with all the vagueness of rumor, and all the exaggerations of surmise. Certain it is, that a belief was entertained in Virginia, at a very early period, of the existence of a wide and fertile territory beyond the mountains; and the English governors cast a jealous eye at the movements of the French in that direction. In 1719, Law's celebrated Mississippi scheme was at the climax of its popularity; and this event, if no other had previously attracted notice, must have turned the attention of our ancestors to that region.

In a work entitled "The Present State of Virginia, by Hugh Jones, A. M., chaplain to the honorable assembly, and minister of Jamestown," printed in 1724, we find the following information:

"Governor Spotswood, when he undertook the great discovery of the passage of the mountains, attended with sufficient guard of pioneers and gentlemen, with sufficient stock of provisions, with abundant fatigue passed these mountains, and cut his majesty's name in a rock upon the highest of them, naming it *Mount George*; and in complaisance, the gentlemen, from the governor's name, called the mountain next in hight, *Mount Alexander*.

"For this expedition they were obliged to provide a great quantity of horse-shoes, (things seldom used in the lower part of the country, where there are few stones,) upon which account the governor, upon their return, presented each of his companions with a golden horse-shoe, (some of which I have seen studded with valuable stones, resembling the heads of nails,) with this inscription on one side: *sic juvat transcendere montes*; and on the other is written, *The Tramontane Order*.

“This he instituted to encourage gentlemen to venture back, and make discoveries and new settlements; any gentleman being entitled to wear this golden shoe, who can prove his having drunk his majesty’s health upon Mount George.”

These facts, the accuracy of which we have no reason to doubt, are very curious. One hundred years ago, the region that we inhabit was almost unknown, and entirely inaccessible to the inhabitants of Virginia. Governor Spotswood “undertook the great discovery,” in a spirit of enterprise similar to that which prompted the ardent genius of Columbus; we can imagine the preparation, the pomp, pride, and circumstance, which must have preceded and attended this novel enterprise. The colonial governor was no doubt arrayed in all the imposing insignia of vice-royalty. A body of pioneers preceded his march, guards surrounded his person, and a long train of pack-horses carried tents and provisions. The chivalrous gentry of Virginia pressed forward, with a noble emulation, to share in the dangerous adventure. They had long looked towards the blue summits of the distant mountains, that lined their western frontier, with intense curiosity; and perhaps had ventured singly, or in small parties, to the bases of these rocky acclivities, which seemed to present an impassible barrier against the advance of civilized man. Now they came prepared to scale the ramparts of nature, to discover new lands, and to extend the empire of their king into new regions. “With abundant fatigue,” they reached the summit of one of these ridges, and looked back in admiration upon the broad plains and wooded valleys of the *ancient dominion*. But we do not learn that they obtained a glimpse of the fertile west; and knowing, as we now do, that the Alleghany chain consists of a number of parallel

ridges, occupying a space of more than sixty miles in width, we suppose it probable that they did not penetrate far into these mountainous recesses. It is even possible that one of the lesser range, called the "Blue Mountains," might have been the limit of their travels.

They little dreamed of the breadth, the length, and the resources, of the great valley whose verge they had approached; nor imagined that a region lay beyond them, wrapped in the silent splendor of unbroken forests, which, in extent, beauty, and magnificence, far exceeded the territories previously subdued by our ancestors, at so great an expenditure of life and wealth. They were, perhaps, not even aware that the French were even then building forts and villages, planting the grape, and playing the violin, upon the borders of the Mississippi. Still less could they foresee the changes which a century would produce; that great States would grow up beyond these mountains, upon which, with so much triumph, they drank his majesty's health—that stages and pleasure-carriages would be rapidly whirled over these Alpine precipices—and that fashionable parties would resort in crowds to watering-places, in the romantic valleys of the Alleghany chain.

In 1739, at the commencement of the war between Great Britain and Spain, Spotswood, who was no longer governor, was placed at the head of the colonial troops of Virginia, and assured that his favorite project of occupying the regions watered by the Ohio, should be carried into immediate operation. Some preparations were made, and the spirit of adventure was again awakened in Virginia; but the death of Spotswood caused the enterprise to be abandoned.

The situation of Pittsburgh, at the head of the Ohio, and at the confluence of the Monongahela and Alleghany

rivers, was probably first noticed for its military, rather than its commercial advantages. When the French determined to establish a chain of posts from Canada to Louisiana, one of the most important was *Fort du Quesne*, situated at this point. It did not escape the military eye of Washington, when he visited this country several years before the revolution, on a mission from the government of Virginia; and, in his dispatches, he spoke of its importance with a prophetic spirit. During the struggle which is commonly called "Braddock's War," in 1755, *Fort du Quesne* changed masters; and the English, abandoning the original work, which was probably a mere stockade, built a more regular fortification on a site immediately adjoining, which they named *Fort Pitt*. This post, erected on a low point of land, and commanded by hills on every side, would appear, to a soldier of the present day, to have been untenable, and consequently useless; nor can the reasons of its original establishment and subsequent importance be ascertained, without recurring to the history of those times. As a place of deposit for military stores, it possesses singular advantages in the facilities which it affords for their transportation—as there is no other spot from which they could have been distributed with equal celerity, or over so large an extent of country. Nor was its situation, with regard to defense, so desperate as we might at first imagine. It is to be recollected that in those days there was little or no artillery west of the mountains; and that it was considered as almost impossible to pass the Alleghany ridge with a carriage of any description. There was little reason to apprehend that any ordnance would be brought to assail the ramparts of that insulated fortress, which seemed destined to assert the sway of Britain over a boundless wilderness. But, notwithstanding this imaginary security, the works, of

which there are extensive ruins still visible, seem to have been built after the usual fashion of that period, and to have had the strength, as well as the form, of a regular fortification. A bomb-proof magazine was extant a few years ago, in good preservation. This fort is said to have been built by Lord Stanwin, and to have cost the British government *sixty thousand pounds sterling*. As it would seem, by placing it at this exposed spot, that an attack by artillery was not apprehended; and as, if such an attack had been made, resistance would have been vain, it is difficult to conceive what could have been the motives of the builders in giving it such strength and regularity. We must either suppose that their military habits prevailed over the better dictates of prudence, or that they intended to impress their Indian neighbors with an exalted opinion of their security and power. It is said that, shortly after the English took possession, the Indian traders built a row of fine brick houses on the margin of the Alleghany, but that their foundation was sapped by the encroachments of the river; no vestige of them remains. About the year 1760, a small town was built near Fort Pitt, which contained nearly two hundred souls; but on the breaking out of the Indian war, in 1763, the inhabitants retired into the fort, and their dwellings were suffered to fall into decay. The British officers had some fine gardens here, called the "King's," and "Artillery" gardens, and large orchards of choice fruit. The old inhabitants of the present town recollect them; but there are now no remains of these early attempts at luxury and comfort.

After Fort Pitt came into the possession of the Americans, it was occupied but for a short time, when the garrison was removed to a spot about a mile further up, on the Alleghany river, where a picket-work and block-houses were erected, and called *Fort Fayette*. This post

was occupied by the United States troops until the erection, within a few years past, of the arsenal, two miles further up.

Pittsburgh was first laid out in the year 1765; it was afterwards laid out, surveyed, and completed on its present plan, in 1784, by Colonel George Woods, by order of Trench Francis, Esq., attorney for John Penn, and John Penn, junior. The increase of the town was not rapid until the year 1793, in consequence of the inroads of the savage tribes, which impeded the growth of the neighboring settlements. The western insurrection, more generally known as the "Whisky War," once more made this the scene of commotion, and is said to have given Pittsburgh a new and reviving impulse, by throwing a considerable sum of money into circulation. Since that time it has increased rapidly, and is now an important manufacturing city.

In 1765, John Carver explored the western country, confining himself chiefly to the regions in the vicinity of the northern lakes. He was a native of Connecticut, and a captain in the British army. After having spent two years and a half in dangerous and painful wanderings, and traveled seven thousand miles, he went to England with his family, in 1769, indulging the expectation of being rewarded for his labors. But the difficulties then existing between Great Britain and her colonies, induced the former to suppress every thing that tended to give information of the power, wealth, and future prospects of this country; and Captain Carver obtained merely a reimbursement of the sums he had actually expended on his travels, on condition of delivering up the original journals to the board of trade. He took care, however, to keep a copy, which he published several years afterwards.

CHAPTER IV.

War of 1763—Peace of 1764—Settlements in western Virginia—
Early land titles—Value of land—War of 1774—Lewis's expedition—
Dunmore's treaty—Heroism of Cornstalk—Character of General Lewis.

THE years 1763 and 1764 are memorable for the wide extent and destructive results of an atrocious war of extermination, carried on by a combination of all the Indian tribes of the western country, against the whole of the frontier settlements of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina.

The peace of 1763, by which the whole of Canada was ceded to Great Britain, was particularly unacceptable to the Indians, who disliked the English, and preferred the French to all other Europeans; and who were especially averse to this measure, because it was understood that the British claimed all the country west of the mountains. They recognized no distinction between jurisdiction and possession, and supposed that having gained Canada, the English would proceed to settle both that and the western plains, as rapidly as might suit their own convenience.

The erection of new forts, and improvement of those which had been established at Pittsburgh, Bedford, Ligonier, Niagara, Detroit, Presque Isle, St. Joseph, and Michilimackinac, confirmed this supposition; and the Indians finding themselves curbed by a strong line of

forts, which threatened an extension of the white population into the heart of their country, took up arms with alacrity, for the defence of their hunting grounds, and for the prosecution of a more decisive contest than any in which they had been heretofore engaged. They resolved on the general massacre of all the English settlers west of the mountains, as well as those in the region of the Susquehanna, to which they laid claim.

Never was a war carried on with more cunning and ferocity; and on no occasion did the Indian warriors exhibit a greater degree of military skill, and dauntless courage, than in this war, which was especially marked by all the horrors of savage malignity—the burning of houses, the massacre of women and children, and the torture of prisoners. The English traders were the first victims: of one hundred and twenty of these, scattered among the Indian tribes, only three escaped. The forts at Presque Isle, St. Joseph, and Mackinac, were surprised, and their garrisons slaughtered, while the other posts were maintained with great difficulty.

Detroit and Fort Pitt, being the most important posts, their capture was attempted with great eagerness, and a series of military operations occurred at these places, which we shall not repeat, as they have been related in detail in the general histories of those times.

This war was concluded in the latter part of 1764, by a treaty made at the German flats, by Sir William Johnstone; and a peace of nearly ten years' continuance ensued, during which the settlements on the Monongahela increased with great rapidity.

The settlements in western Virginia and Pennsylvania began to attract notice, along the Monongahela, and between that river and the Laurel Ridge, in the year 1772, and reached the Ohio in the succeeding year. The forts

at Redstone, now Brownsville, and at Wheeling, were among the first and most conspicuous. The settlers were chiefly from Maryland and Virginia; and the route they pursued was the scarcely practicable path called "Braddock's trail," which they traveled with no better means of conveyance for their furniture and provisions, than that afforded by pack-horses.

Another, but less numerous emigration, came from Pennsylvania, by way of Bedford and Fort Ligonier, to Fort Pitt, which was then supposed to be within the charter of Virginia.

The great object of most of these persons was to obtain the possession of land; the title to which cost little more than the payment of office fees. The Indian title was not then considered, by individuals, as presenting any obstacle, and Virginia confirmed the titles of settlers, with no other restrictions than such as were necessary to prevent the confusion of interfering claims. At an early period, that State appointed three commissioners to give certificates of settlement rights, which were sent with the surveyor's plot to the land-office, where they remained six months, to await the interposition of caveats, by other claimants, to the same land. If none were offered within that period, the patents were issued.

There was an inferior kind of title invented by those rude borderers, called a "tomahawk-right," which was made by deadening a few trees near a spring, and marking others, by cutting in the bark the initials of the person who thus took possession. This ceremony conferred no legal property, but was respected by the settlers as establishing a priority of claim, with which it was discreditable to interfere. These rights were therefore often bought and sold, because those who wished to

secure favorite tracts of land, chose to buy the tomahawk improvements, rather than quarrel with the persons who had made them.

The settlement right at that time, was limited to four hundred acres; and many of the primitive settlers seemed to regard this amount of the surface of the earth, as the allotment of Divine Providence for a single family, and believed that it would be sinful to monopolize a larger quantity. Most of them contented themselves with that number of acres, and those who evaded the law by availing themselves of the names of others, to obtain more than one settler's portion, were held in disrepute. It was thought that when an individual had gained as much land as was necessary to support his family, the remainder belonged of right to whoever might choose to settle upon it.*

An authentic anecdote is related of a worthy pioneer in western Virginia, who, in addition to his improvement right, became lawfully seized in fee simple, of an adjoining tract of two hundred acres; but being a pious and upright man, and thinking it wrong to appropriate to himself more than he considered the lawful share of one individual, his conscience would not permit him to retain it in his family. He gave it therefore to a young man who had been his apprentice; and the latter sold it for a cow and calf, and a wool hat.

The division lines between those whose lands adjoined, were amicably arranged between the parties, previous to any actual survey; and in making this partition, they were chiefly guided by the tops of the ridges, and the water-courses, but particularly the former. Hence a large number of the farms in western Pennsylvania and

* Doddridge's Notes.

Virginia, bear a striking resemblance to an amphitheater. The buildings occupy a low situation, near a spring, and the tops of the surrounding hills are the boundaries of the tract. The farmers prided themselves in an arrangement, which they alleged to be attended with the convenience, "that every thing came to the house down hill." The tracts of land in Ohio, and the other States west of the Ohio river, having been laid out by parallel lines, the farms do not present this peculiarity.

The pioneers placed little value upon their lands, in consequence of an apprehension that the soil would soon "wear out," or become impoverished by culture. They were unaccustomed to the use of manure, and wholly unacquainted with the modern system of agriculture, by which the exhaustion of the fertilizing juices of the soil is remedied; and had they known them, would have been disinclined to the labor of such careful husbandry. This is one of the most obvious causes of their migratory habits.

The race of pioneers inhabiting the head waters of the Ohio, had some peculiarities, which distinguish them from those of Kentucky, which we shall point out in another place. At present we shall proceed to give a rapid outline of the historical events which attended the first settlement of this part of the west.

The destructive war that broke out in 1774, and threw the whole frontier into consternation, was provoked by the misconduct of the whites. In the spring of that year, a rumor was circulated that the Indians had stolen several horses from some land speculators, who were exploring the shores of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers. No evidence of the fact was produced, and the report has since been considered to have been false. It was, however, believed at the time, and produced a general

impression that the Indians were about to take up the hatchet against the frontier settlements. The land jobbers ascended the river, and collected at Wheeling, at which place was a small station commanded by Captain Cressap.

Here a scene of confusion and high excitement ensued. The report that a canoe containing two Indians, was approaching, was sufficient to kindle up the incipient fires of hatred and revenge. Captain Cressap proposed to take a party, and intercept the Indians;* while Colonel Zane, the proprietor of the place, decidedly objected to any act of hostility on the part of the whites, on the grounds that the killing of these Indians would bring on a general war, while the act itself would be a criminal murder, which would disgrace the names of the perpetrators. On the frontier, the counsels of humanity and peace are not often regarded as those of wisdom. The party set out, and being asked on their return, what had become of the Indians, the cool reply was, that "they had fallen overboard!" The fate of the savage warriors was not long a secret; the canoe was found bloody, and pierced with bullets; the tribes flew to arms, and a sanguinary war was the immediate consequence of this and other acts of unprovoked outrage. One of these was an atrocious attack upon a party of Indians encamped at the mouth of Captina creek, committed by thirty-two men under the command of Daniel Greathouse. On the same day on which the murder occurred which we have just described, another was perpetrated at Yellow creek, by the same party.

The whole family of the celebrated, but unfortunate Logan, were comprehended in the massacres at Captina

* Doddridge.

and Yellow creeks; and he who had always been the friend of the whites, and the efficient advocate of peace, was converted by the lawless acts of a few unprincipled individuals, into an active and daring enemy.

Those alone who have resided upon the frontier, are aware of the thrill of terror, spread by such an event, among the scattered inhabitants of the border. Anticipating immediate retaliation, and not knowing at what moment, or from what quarter, the blow may come, the panic spreads with the rapidity of the wind. Bold and hardy as the borderers are, when traversing the forest alone in pursuit of game, or when assembled for battle, they cannot, at the first rumor of an Indian war, avoid quailing under the anticipated terrors of a sudden inroad of savage hostility. They know that their enemy will steal upon them in the night, in the unguarded hour of repose, and that the innocent child and helpless female will derive no protection from their sex or weakness; and they shrink at the idea of a violated fireside, and a slaughtered family. The man who may be cool, when his own life alone is exposed to danger, or whose spirit may kindle into enthusiastic gallantry, amid the animating scenes of the battle-field, where armed men are his companions and his foes—becomes panic-struck at the contemplation of a merciless warfare which shall offer his dwelling to the firebrand of the incendiary, and his family to the tomahawk of the infuriated savage.

Such was the effect of the unadvised and criminal acts which we have related. A sudden consternation pervaded the whole frontier. A war, unwelcome, unexpected, and for which they were wholly unprepared, was suddenly precipitated upon them by the unbridled passions of a few lawless men; and a foe always quick to resent, and ever eager to shed the blood of the white race, was

roused to a revenge which he would not delay in obtaining. The settlers began to remove to the interior, or collect in log forts hastily erected for the occasion. Men who had acquired homes by years of perilous and toilsome labor, who had plied the axe incessantly in clearing away the immense trees of the forest, in making fences, in building houses, in disencumbering the land of its tangled thickets, and bringing it into culture, abandoned all, and fled in precipitation to places of safety. In every path might be seen the sturdy pioneer, striding lustily forward, with his rifle on his shoulder, casting wary glances into each suspicious dell and covert; and followed by a train of pack-horses, burthened with his wife, his children, and such movables as could be transported by this mode of conveyance.

After a few days, the whole scene was changed. The frontier, so lately peaceful, had become the seat of war. The fields of the husbandman were ravaged by the Indian; the cabins were burned, and the labors of many years desolated. The few settlers that incautiously remained in their homes, were slaughtered, or with difficulty rescued by their friends. The prudent men, whose backs had lately been turned upon the foe, having placed their families in security, were now seen in arms, either defending the rude fortresses, or eagerly scouring the woods in search of the enemy. However reluctantly they had been forced into the war, they had now entered into the spirit of the contest; the inconveniences they had suffered, the danger of their families, and the sight of their desolated hearths and blasted fields, had awakened in their bosoms a hatred not less implacable than that of their savage foemen.

Expresses were sent to Williamsburgh, the seat of government of Virginia, announcing the commencement

of hostilities, and a plan was immediately matured, for a campaign against the Indians. The active commander was General Lewis, of Botetourte county. The forces were to rendezvous in Greenbriar county. The Earl of Dunmore was to raise another army, to be assembled at Fort Pitt, and thence to descend the river to Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Kenawa.

On the eleventh of September, General Lewis, with eleven hundred men, commenced his march from his rendezvous in Greenbriar for Point Pleasant, distant one hundred and sixty miles. The country to be traversed, was at that time a trackless desert, wholly impassable for wheeled carriages; the ammunition and provisions were carried on pack-horses; and the army, led by a guide acquainted with the passes of the mountains and the Indian pathways, reached Point Pleasant after a laborious march of nineteen days.

Lord Dunmore, to the great disappointment of General Lewis, did not make his appearance, and it was not until after a painful delay of nine days, that he learned by an express from that nobleman, that he had changed his plan of operations, and marched for the old Chillicothe town, at which place he instructed General Lewis to join him.

On the next day, the Virginia troops were attacked in their camp, by a numerous body of Indians, composed of the Shawnee, Delaware, Mingo, and other tribes. General Lewis, keeping a strong reserve in camp, pushed forward a detachment, under Colonels Charles Lewis and Fleming, who met the Indians about four hundred yards in front of the camp, and formed in two lines for their reception. The battle commenced a little after sunrise, by a heavy firing from the Indians, and so vigorous was the onset, that the advance was soon driven in upon the main body. Here they were rallied, reinforced, and led gal-

lantly back to their former position. The Indians were now driven until they entrenched themselves behind a line of logs and trees, extending from the bank of the Ohio to that of the Kenawa, while our troops occupied the point of land formed by the junction of the two rivers. The brave Virginians, thus hemmed in, with rivers in their rear and on either flank, and a vindictive foe strongly intrenched in their front, were dependent on their courage alone for success. Their native gallantry, ably directed by the military skill of their distinguished leader, proved triumphant. The battle was kept up with great vivacity, and with little change of position, during the whole day, and at sunset the discomfited savages retreated across the Ohio.

Our loss in this sanguinary battle was seventy-five killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. Among the killed were Colonels Charles Lewis, and Fields; Captains Buford, Murray, Ward, Wilson, and M'Clenahan; Lieuts. Allen, Goldsby, Dillon; and some inferior officers.

The number of Indians engaged was never ascertained; but it was rendered certain that their loss was at least equal to ours. They were commanded by Cornstalk, the celebrated chief warrior of the Shawnese, who displayed the most consummate skill and bravery. During the whole of the day, his voice was heard vociferating, with terrific energy, in his own language—"Be strong! be strong!"

On the evening preceding the battle, he had proposed in a council of his confederates, to go personally to the camp of Gen. Lewis, to negotiate a peace. A majority of the warriors voted against the measure. "Then," said the intrepid leader, "since you are resolved to fight, you shall fight. It is likely we shall have hard work to-morrow; but if any warrior shall attempt to run away from the

battle, I will kill him with my own hand." It is said that he literally fulfilled this threat upon one of his followers.

After the Indians had returned to the Chillicothe town, Cornstalk again called a council. He reminded the war chiefs of their obstinacy in preventing him from making peace before the fatal battle of Point Pleasant, and asked, "What shall we do now? The Long Knives are coming upon us by two routes. Shall we turn out and fight them?" All were silent. He again addressed them: "Shall we kill all our squaws and children, and then fight until we shall all be killed ourselves?" Again a dead silence reigned among the stern leaders of the Indian host. He rose up, with the dignity of one who felt that he had discharged his duty, and striking his tomahawk into the war-post in the middle of the council-house, said, "Since you are not inclined to fight, I will go and make peace." He did so.

In the meanwhile, Lord Dunmore descended the river to Wheeling; and thence proceeded, with about a hundred canoes, a few keel boats, and some pirogues, to the mouth of Hocking, from which place he marched to a point within eight miles of Chillicothe, on the Sciota. Here the army halted, and threw up intrenchments of fallen trees and earth, which included about twelve acres, with an inclosure of strong breast-works in the center, containing about one acre. The latter, as an early writer significantly remarks, "was the citadel which contained the markees of the earl and his superior officers."—*Doddridge*.

Before the army reached this place, the Indian chiefs had sent several messages, suing for peace, which Lord Dunmore resolved to grant. He therefore ordered General Lewis to retreat. The brave Virginian, disregarding this mandate, continued his march until he joined his superior, when the order was repeated, and obeyed. The troops

were greatly chagrined at this termination of a campaign which had thus far been so successful. The murder of some of their relatives and friends, and the loss of many of their brave companions in the recent battle, had kindled a desire for revenge, which they were disposed to indulge by the destruction of all the Indian towns in the region of the Sciota. The order of Dunmore was therefore obeyed with indignation, and regret, and Lewis retired towards Virginia, while the earl remained with his army to treat with the Indians.

On this occasion, every precaution was used to guard against treachery, and only a limited number of chiefs, with a few warriors, were permitted to enter the fortified encampment. Cornstalk opened the discussions by an eloquent speech, in which he boldly charged the whites with having provoked the war, by the murders at Captina and Yellow Creeks; and is said to have spoken with such vehemence, that he was heard over the whole camp.

It was on this occasion that Logan, the Cayuga chief, sent to Lord Dunmore the speech which has rendered his name so celebrated, and which is justly considered as one of the finest specimens of eloquence upon record. Mr. Jefferson, who preserved this beautiful and affecting effusion of native feeling, in his *Notes on Virginia*, has been accused of palming upon the world a production of his own, by those who have no other ground for the suspicion than the force and feeling of the composition itself, and who forget that genuine eloquence is not the offspring of refinement. But all doubt on this subject has long since been removed, by the testimony of General Gibson, of Pennsylvania, who interpreted the speech when delivered, and of other officers who were present at the treaty, and who many years afterwards remembered distinctly the im-

pression made upon their minds by the affecting appeal of the unlettered chieftain.

General Andrew Lewis, who acted so conspicuous a part in this campaign, was a gentleman of whose military abilities General Washington entertained so high an opinion, that, when the chief command of the revolutionary armies was tendered to himself, he recommended that it should rather be given to General Lewis.

He was the companion of Washington in the fatal campaign under Braddock, and was a captain in the detachment that fought at Little Meadows in 1752. He commanded a company of Virginians, attached to Major Grant's regiment of Highlanders, in 1758; and, on the eve of the battle in which the latter was so signally defeated, was ordered to the rear with his men, in order that he might not share the honor of the expected victory. There he stood with his brave Virginians, impatiently listening to the reports of the musketry, at a distance of more than a mile from the battle-ground, until the Europeans were defeated, and wholly exposed to the merciless tomahawk of the Indians; when, without waiting for orders, he rushed to the scene of slaughter, and, by his coolness and skill, turned the scale of victory, drove back the savages, and saved the regulars from massacre. While advancing to the rescue, he met a Scottish Highlander under full flight; and on enquiring of him how the battle was going, the panic-struck soldier replied, they were "a' beaten, and he had seen Donald M'Donald up to his hunkers in the mud, and a' the skin aff his heed."

CHAPTER IV.

M'Intosh's Expedition—Fort Laurens—Moravian towns—Destruction of the Moravians—Crawford's campaign.

IN the spring of 1778, a small body of regular troops was sent out for the protection of the western frontiers, under General M'Intosh, who built a fort on the site of the present town of Beaver. It was a strong stockade, with bastions, mounting one six-pounder.

IN the fall of that year, having received instructions to make a campaign against the Sandusky towns, he marched in that direction with a thousand men, but it was too late in the season to operate efficiently. He therefore erected Fort Laurens on the bank of the Tuscarawa, and leaving a garrison there of one hundred and fifty men, retired to Fort Pitt.

The inexpediency of erecting forts so far in advance of the settlements, was soon experienced. In the month of January, the Indians came secretly in the night, and caught the horses that were grazing near the fort. These they carried off, having first taken from their necks the bells which the new settlers hung to their domestic animals, in order to be able to find them when running at large in the woods. They then formed an ambuscade by the side of a path leading from the fort, and in the morning early rattled the bells in that direction. A fatigue party of sixteen men, who were sent out as usual to col-

lect the horses, fell into the snare. Fourteen were killed on the spot, and two taken. In the evening of that day, the whole Indian army, in full dress and painted for war, appeared on the prairie in sight of the fort, marching towards it in single file, with every martial solemnity which could render their appearance imposing. Their number, as counted from one of the bastions, was eight hundred and forty-seven. They encamped on a rising ground on the opposite side of the river from the fort, and often approached so near as to hold conversation with our people—in which they deplored the war, but did not attempt to conceal their feelings of exasperation at the Americans for penetrating so far into their country. After besieging the fort for about six weeks, they retired; and the commander despatched Colonel Clark to Fort M^cIntosh, with the invalids, under a small escort. The Indians, anticipating that the garrison would be thrown off its guard by their retreat, had left a party lingering behind, which intercepted this little detachment, about two miles from the fort, and killed all but four.

A few days after this disaster, General M^cIntosh came to the relief of the garrison, with a body of seven hundred men, and a supply of provisions, of which the lately besieged party stood in great need, but the greater part of which was lost by an uncommon accident. When the relieving troops were about to enter the fort, the overjoyed garrison saluted them with a general discharge of musketry, at the report of which the pack-horses, taking fright, broke away suddenly from their drivers, and dashed off through the forest at full speed—scattering the provisions in every direction, so that a large proportion of them could never be recovered. To understand fully the extent of this misfortune, it should be stated that the garrison had been for two weeks on short allowance of

sour flour and damaged meat; even this wretched resource was exhausted, and, for several days previous to the arrival of relief, they had subsisted on raw hides, and such roots as could be found in the woods and prairies. Several men had suffered death, in consequence of eating poisonous herbs. Such were some of the incidents of border warfare, and the hardships of the brave pioneers who led the van of civilization into our beautiful valley!

About the year 1772, some missionaries, of the order of Moravian Brethren, succeeded in establishing a community of Indians, who embraced their faith, and who were collected into three villages on the Muskingum, called Salem, Gnaden-huetten, and Schoenbrund. What progress they made in imparting to their converts the arts of civilization, and the principles of Christianity, can not now be satisfactorily ascertained. It is only certain that they induced them to live in peace, and to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and that they prospered so far as to increase their numbers to four hundred people. The times, however, were adverse to a fair trial of their experiment, and their location was not less unpropitious. Occupying a position midway between the advanced settlements of the whites, and the villages of the hostile Indians, and practicing a pacific demeanor which both parties alike despised, they were suspected by each alternately of secretly favoring the other.

They continued, however, to be treated with some degree of respect, until the breaking out of the revolution in 1775, when their situation became in the highest degree embarrassing. Early in this contest, the British government enlisted under her banner the tomahawk of the Indian, and the whole western frontier became a scene of sanguinary warfare. The American colonies, barely able to sustain their fleets and armies on the seaboard,

had neither troops nor supplies to send to the frontier. The pioneers defended themselves against the combined forces of the British and Indians, appointed their own officers, erected forts, and bore, unaided, the whole weight of the revolutionary contest.

As they were not assisted, so they were not controlled by the government, and became a law unto themselves; carrying on a desultory warfare, without plan, and without restraint. A lawless disposition grew up, which led to the perpetration of many acts that would not have been approved under any system of social subordination, or military law.

The warfare between them and the Indians soon assumed a vindictive and merciless character; a hatred, deep, stern, and mutual, governed the contest, and the parties fought, not to conquer, but to exterminate.

The warriors of either side, in passing the neutral villages of the Moravians, situated midway between them, often found it convenient to stop, and it was no easy matter for that pacific community to preserve its character for neutrality. To avoid the suspicions of partiality was impossible. Even their aversion to the shedding of blood, led them into acts which, however humane, were incautious. On some occasions, they sent secret messages to the whites, to apprise them of plans, laid by the savages, to surprise a fort, or massacre a settlement; and they received the famished prisoners who escaped from the Indians, secreted and fed them, and enabled them to elude the pursuit of their enemies. On the other hand, the red warriors found a resting place in either of the Moravian villages, whenever they claimed its hospitality, and perhaps experienced all the offices of charity and friendship which were extended to our people.

It followed, as a matter of course, that whenever a

secret plan of one party was discovered and frustrated by the other, the Moravians were supposed to be the treacherous betrayers; and the failure of an expedition brought upon them the heavy imprecations of the side which had met with discomfiture. All the kindness which had been received from them was blotted out by their alleged treason, or the partiality that jealous warriors suspected them to entertain towards their foes.

The Moravian villages were called "The half way houses of the warriors;" and this phrase began to be used in fierce derision, by the stern and lawless men, who despised the peaceable tillers of the soil who took neither side, but opened their doors alike to all comers. In 1781, the war chief of the Delawares apprised the missionaries of their danger, and urged them to remove, but they declined. In the fall of the same year, a party of three hundred Indians destroyed the villages, desolated the fields, and turned the unhappy converts to Christianity, into the wilderness, upon the plains of Sandusky, where many of them perished of famine during the ensuing winter. The missionaries were carried to Detroit, and after being strictly examined, were permitted by the British officers to return to their people.

In the ensuing month of February, one hundred and fifty of the Moravian Indians returned to their ruined villages, to seek among the desolated hearth-stones, some remnants of their once plentiful stores of food, for their perishing families. Here they encountered a body of militia from the settlements, by whom ninety of these unoffending creatures were wantonly slain. A wretched remnant returned to their starving companions at Sandusky, affording a melancholy evidence of the little estimation in which the virtues of peace are held, during the stern excitement of a border war.

The celebrated campaign under Colonel Crawford, was undertaken in 1782, for the double purpose of completing the destruction of the Moravian Indians, in their new town at Sandusky, and of destroying the Wyandot towns on that river. The force employed consisted of 480 men, all of whom were volunteers, who were chiefly raised in the immediate vicinity of the Ohio.

We shall not repeat the details of this campaign, which seems to have been badly planned, and not well conducted. It was a voluntary expedition gotten up by the people of the Virginia border, under some sudden excitement. Crawford, a brave and popular man, was selected as the leader, in consideration of some military experience gained in former wars; but he seems to have been a man of little energy, and of moderate ability. An act of insubordination on the part of the men, upon first meeting with a few of the enemy, satisfied him that he did not command their confidence, and induced him to indulge in melancholy forebodings, which were but too fatally realized.

On the plains of Sandusky they were met by an Indian army, and a severe engagement ensued, which lasted from noon till sunset.

The next day the number of Indians increased, and the encampment was surrounded by a numerous host of savages. A retreat was resolved upon; but even this measure was almost impracticable, for the way was blocked up by enemies, who disputed every step, and threw every obstacle in the path of our discomfited countrymen. The army became panic-struck, and all its measures seem to have been the result of mere impulse. A difference of opinion arose, as to the best mode of retreating; the greater number considering it advisable to retire in a compact body, while a considerable number thought it

safer to break up into small parties, which should strike homeward in different directions. Unfortunately, both plans were attempted, but neither of them prosecuted with energy; and while the majority determined to preserve the force entire, small parties were continually detaching themselves, which fell into the hands of the enemy, who, quick-sighted in discovering the insubordinate and distracted state of our army, adapted their warfare to the occasion, and hovered about to cut off those who left the main body.

Colonel Crawford himself, missing his son, son-in-law, and two nephews, who were supposed to have fallen in the rear, lingered behind the troops to seek them, and was taken prisoner. He was conducted, with several other captives, to an Indian town, where he was beaten, tortured, and finally burnt at the stake, with every indignity and every aggravation of suffering, that savage malignity could invent. The infamous Simon Girty, an agent of the British government, witnessed these atrocities, and not only refused to intercede for the brave but unfortunate Crawford, but even laughed heartily at the agonies of the perishing captive.

This was the last campaign, in this quarter, during the revolutionary war; it was wretchedly planned, and worse conducted; and on no occasion did the savages obtain more ample revenge, or gratify their hatred of the whites with more brutal ferocity. But Crawford was the last white man known to have suffered at the stake.

We have passed over several minor expeditions, and a variety of individual adventures, which occurred at the period under review, in this interesting region. But we can not omit an incident which strongly marks the character of the times, and shows at how early an age the young pioneers imbibed those traits of cunning, of

patient endurance, and of self-possession, which distinguished our hardy borderers.

In the year 1793, two brothers, John and Henry Johnson—the one thirteen, and the other eleven years of age—whose parents lived in Carpenter's station, near Short Creek, on the west side of the Ohio, were roaming through the woods in search of their father's cattle. They were met and captured by two Indians, both of whom, as it turned out afterwards, were distinguished warriors.

The Indians had bridles in their hands, and were seeking the horses of the settlers, for the purpose of stealing; and they continued their ramble, taking the boys with them. John, the oldest, had the tact to accommodate himself at once to his situation; and, affecting great joy at being captured, informed the savages that his father had treated him cruelly, and that he had long meditated an escape to the Indian country. He said that he wished to live in the woods and be a hunter, and seemed to enter with spirit into the search of the Indians after the horses of the white men. This conduct conciliated the favor of the savages, who treated them kindly. They were careful, however, not to trust their little prisoners too far, but pinioned their arms; and at night, when they lay down, placed the boys between them, secured by a large strap, which was passed under their own bodies.

“Pretty late in the night,” says the narrator of this incident,* “the Indians fell asleep; and one of them, becoming cold, caught hold of John in his arms, and turned him over on the outside. In this situation the boy, who had kept awake, found means to get his hands

* Dr. Doddridge.

loose; he then whispered to his brother, made him get up, and untied his arms. This done, Henry thought of nothing but running off as fast as possible; but when about to start, John caught hold of him, saying, 'We must kill these Indians before we go.' After some hesitation, Henry agreed to make the attempt. John took one of the rifles of the Indians, and placed it on a log, with the muzzle close to the head of one of them. He then cocked the gun, and placed his little brother at the breech, with his finger on the trigger, with instructions to pull it, as soon as he should strike the other Indian.

"He then took one of the Indians' tomahawks, and, standing a-straddle of the other Indian, struck him with it. The blow, however, fell on the back of the neck and to one side, so as not to be fatal. The Indian then attempted to spring up, but the little fellow repeated his blows with such force and rapidity on the skull, that, as he expressed it, 'the Indian laid still and began to quiver.'

"At the moment of the first stroke given by the elder brother, the younger one pulled the trigger, and shot away a considerable portion of the Indian's lower jaw. This Indian, a moment after receiving the shot, began to flounce about and yell in the most frightful manner. The boys then made the best of their way to the fort, and reached it a little before day-break. On getting near the fort, they found the people all up, and in great agitation on their account. On hearing a woman exclaim, "Poor little fellows, they are killed or taken prisoners," the eldest one answered, 'No, mother! we are here yet.'"

Having brought away nothing from the Indian camp, their relation was not credited; but a party having been conducted by the boys to the spot, one Indian was found killed, and the other desperately wounded.

At the treaty held subsequently by General Wayne, a friend of the Indians who had been killed, inquired what had become of these boys; and on being answered that they lived in the same place, with their parents, the Indian exclaimed, 'You have not done right: you should make kings of those boys.'

CHAPTER VI.

Adventures of William Linn — A model pioneer.

THERE is no page in the history of the world, which is more ennobled by deeds of generous self-devotion, than that which records the incidents of the American revolution. Greece and Rome have left many examples of disinterested personal heroism, and virtuous self-sacrifice, which, embalmed by the genius of the poet, the orator, and the historian, have come down to us, preserved and decorated with the choicest flowers of classic literature. In those cases, art and learning have combined with contemporaneous gratitude, to cherish the perennial verdure of noble deeds. The severe virtue, and the romantic daring of our fathers, had not the advantage of being thus perpetuated by the pen and pencil of elaborate and inspired genius. In the infancy of our social institutions, the soil which gave birth to the warrior and the patriot, had scarcely begun to be adorned by the refinements of intellectual culture. This was especially true of the adventurers of our border warfare, where the boldest exploits, and even events of important bearing upon the great question then at issue, were the result of individual enterprise, formed no part of any general plan, and were scarcely sanctioned by the provisional governments.

While the colonies were engaged in an unequal war

with the enemies of England, their western frontiers were defended from the savage, and the new settlements established, by men who, for the most part, made war with their own means, and upon their own responsibility. The leaders in these wars were generally self-appointed, or chosen to command on account of their martial talents, by their neighbors or followers. They were a peculiar race, bred on the frontier, acquainted alike with the usages of social subordination and the turbulent scenes of the border; imbued on the one hand with the enlarged principles of government which at that epoch were undergoing such active discussion, and, on the other, familiar with the rough scenes of sylvan life, and all the cunning, strategy, and ferocious violence of savage warfare. Men of kind and generous natures, their hospitable homes teemed with plenty and cheerfulness; their houses were open to the stranger, and in the hour of danger, were staunch fortresses, receiving all who fled to them for protection.

William Linn, and many others of his class, combined in private life, the farmer with the hunter, while they were essentially military in character and habits, and were the men of mark and influence in their neighborhoods. In an emergency, they collected the people for defense, or led them on distant expeditions, without other warrant than the pressure of danger, and the duty of mutual and self-protection; while again they held commissions, acted with the regular armies, or were charged with special duties suited to their habits as woodsmen, and their wonderfully extensive knowledge of the country. As the country became organized into civil communities, they were the magistrates and civil functionaries; but office added but little to their dignity or influence, for at all times they were public men.

The father of Wm. Linn was born in Ireland, and came to America in 1701, with his father, who settled on Long Island, where he lived until he married, and then removed to New Jersey. He had four sons and two daughters, with whom, after the death of his wife, he removed to Maryland. Of the early life of Col. Linn we have no account, but as we find him, a young man, acting as a guide and spy in Braddock's army, we infer that he was reared in the hardy pursuits of frontier life, and was familiar with the toils of the hunter, and with all the vicissitudes of the forest. The office was one of great importance, requiring an intimate knowledge of a wide scope of country, an acquaintance with the habits, and especially the military stratagems of the Indians, expertness in hunting, unquestionable fidelity, prudence, and presence of mind. And as all these qualities were fully developed in the future career of Col. Linn, we may infer a youthful promise, and a training which would lead to such results. He is supposed to have reconnoitered Fort Du Quesne, and to have supplied to Gen. Braddock information in regard to that post and the intermediate region of wilderness and mountain, previous to the march of the British army for Fort Cumberland. And here we may as well remark, as the word will occur again, that the term "Spy," as used in the accounts of our border warfare, has a different meaning from the same word when employed technically in military history. It does not express a sinister or dishonorable service. The spy, in our western warfare, was an expert woodsman, an experienced hunter, a bold, active man, who roamed the forest in advance of an army, or marched on its flanks, to protect it from surprise, and to gain intelligence of the enemy. They differed from the flanking parties and pioneers of other armies in their remarkable adaptation for this service, in

their intelligent alertness, and self-reliance. Often roaming off to great distances from the main body, encamping separately from it, hovering secretly about the enemy, watching all his movements, the spies were a valuable body, whose services were as honorable as they were useful. Although their movements were secret, and their footsteps fell silently on the track they pursued, they wore no disguise, but were armed men engaged in legitimate warfare.

After Braddock's campaign, we lose sight of Linn until we find him settled on the Monongahela river, near where Cookstown now stands, and in what was then considered the territory of Virginia. How he was employed during the years intervening between that time and the active scenes of his revolutionary career, we are not informed. That he was idle, while the frontier was frequently disturbed by Indian hostilities, is not probable; as it would not be consistent with his known energy of character, nor with the knowledge and military experience which distinguished his after life. He made one campaign against the Indians, under Col. McDaniel, and was wounded in the shoulder, but in what capacity he served does not appear. He is known to have been engaged in other adventures, and is supposed to have led a busy and adventurous life; but no record was kept of these events, and the few glimmering beams shed upon them by the lamp of tradition, do not afford sufficient light to enable us to trace out the details. Early in the revolution, he received the commission of Lieutenant in the Virginia troops, and marched with the company commanded by Captain George Gibson, from Fort Pitt to Williamsburg, in Virginia. He participated in the battle of the Great Bridge, near Norfolk, and in the affair at Hampton, and was with the company when, in various encounters with the foe, it gave

those indications of the prowess of its members, which obtained for them the nickname of "Gibson's Lambs." The details of those services are no longer extant; but it is certain that Gibson and Linn, while thus acting under the immediate observation of the influential men who then directed the public affairs of Virginia, established that character which pointed them out as fit persons to be entrusted with the execution of one of the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in military history. We know not in whose vigorous mind, bold and fertile of expedient, the plan of this delicate and perilous expedition was conceived, but we shall see that it was carried out, with admirable address, by minds of kindred spirit to that of its author.

In the summer of 1776, Captain George Gibson and Lieut. William Linn were instructed to proceed, with a detachment from Gibson's company, from Fort Pitt to New Orleans, to procure from the Spanish authorities a supply of gunpowder. There is no evidence, nor intimation, of any preliminary negotiations, or secret intelligence, to encourage the hope that the application would be successful. The mission was secret, and was conducted with such caution as to attract no public attention. Gibson and Linn, wearing the guise of traders, and their attendants, clad as common boatmen, embarked at Fort Pitt, to follow the sinuosities of the Ohio and Mississippi for more than two thousand miles, through a wilderness, inhabited only by hostile savages, ever vigilant, but excited at this time by the existence of a general war. A diary of that voyage would afford a curious narrative. The noiseless transit of that little band of heroic men, along the stream upon whose bosom the thousand giant ships of a great commerce were soon destined to ride; the silence and the verdure of shores now inhabited by millions of industrious

men; the stealthy pace, the guarded watch, the patient endurance, the bold expedient by which the voyagers secured the smiles of fortune; the risks they ran, the dangers they eluded by cunning or overcame by audacious daring, the varied adventures, some of which still float in the traditions of border life, would all combine to form a legend of highly-wrought romantic interest.

The party arrived safely at New Orleans, being, if not the first, among the first white men who ever navigated the great western highway from Pittsburgh to that city. Gibson and Linn proved themselves able negotiators, and displayed a degree of address in the conduct of their affairs highly creditable to them as men of business. The Spanish authorities were friendly, but there were British residents who were watchful and suspicious of all Americans. To deceive the latter, Gibson was thrown into prison, and afterwards secretly released when on the eve of departure, while Linn quietly negotiated for the powder, and prepared for its removal. The portion intended for the service on the seaboard was shipped for a northern port, in packages bearing an exterior semblance which concealed the real contents, through the agency of Oliver Pollock, Esq., an American resident high in the favor of Don Galvos, the Spanish Governor. Gibson took the personal charge of the adventure by sea; while Linn, "with the barges," is said to have "fought his way back to Wheeling, in the spring of 1777," bringing, with triumphant success, one hundred and fifty kegs, as a supply to the western posts.

One of the episodes of this strange story, which I find in Butler's Kentucky, is remarkably indicative of the habits of those times. John Smith, lately of Woodford county, Kentucky, was employed, in 1776, with James Harrod, a distinguished pioneer, in exploring the country,

probably not far from the Kentucky river. Having completed their survey, the companions separated, each taking a direct course home—like honest backwoodsmen, to whom a lonely walk of a few hundred miles through an uninhabited forest, was but an ordinary excursion. Col. Harrod returned over the mountains, to North Carolina, while Mr. Smith, turning his face in nearly the opposite direction, set out for Peter's creek, on the Monongahela. As the latter roamed on his solitary way along the brink of the Ohio, he was discovered by Captain Linn's party, who easily persuaded him that besides affording an agreeable variety to his monotonous march, it would be less fatiguing to float down the river with them, than laboriously to ascend its shores on foot alone. And so Mr. Smith joined the party, returned with it, assisted in carrying the kegs of gunpowder round the portage at the falls of the Ohio, and lived many years afterwards, a respectable witness of the facts connected with this perilous adventure.

The truth of this narrative, in all its material points, is sufficiently established by contemporaneous evidence, and by the frequent recitals of the principal actors to their families and friends; and it is abundantly confirmed by the following extract from the instructions of Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, to General George Rogers Clarke, when about to depart on his expedition against Kaskaskia; "You are to apply to General Hand for the powder and lead necessary for this expedition. If he can not supply it, the person who has charge of that which Captain Linn brought from New Orleans can; lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered to you." And, in further evidence of this noble service, we find recorded in the annals of that day, the following receipt, given by an officer of Colonel Crawford's

command, and countersigned by the regular commissary, or ordnance officer:

“I do certify that nine thousand weight of powder, brought from New Orleans by Lieutenant Linn, was delivered to Colonel William Crawford, for the use of the continent.

“DAVID SHEPHERD,

Licut. Ohio.

“31st January, 1791.

“Philadelphia, January, 1791.

“WM. DAVIES.”

I am sorry to be obliged to add, that this successful exploit, conducted with such consummate boldness and address, and resulting in a supply of the means of war, so important to our needy patriots, has not found place upon a prominent page in the history of the revolution; and that neither Gibson nor Linn appear to have received any reward, or immediate promotion. Both of them acted afterwards in higher grades of command, and in many hard-fought battles; and among the brightest of the noble names of that period of disinterested patriotism, theirs will be hereafter perpetuated and honored.

In the autumn of 1777, shortly after the attack of the Indians on the fort at Wheeling, the Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, having previously determined to send an expedition against the Indian towns on the Sciota, ordered three hundred men to be raised in the counties of Youghiogheny, Monongahelia, and Ohio. The emergency appealed straight to the patriotism of the people of Western Virginia, and the gallant citizens turned out freely as volunteers. Captain William Foreman, a brave soldier, with some military experience, but wholly unfit for this service in consequence of his ignorance of border warfare, raised a company of volunteers, and by the middle of September reached Wheeling. On the 26th of that month, a smoke was seen in the direction of Grave

creek, and fears were entertained that the stockade and dwelling of Mr. Tomlinson might have been set on fire by the Indians. With the promptness which marked our border war, Colonel Shepherd, who was in command, dispatched Captain Foreman with his company, about forty-five men, and a few experienced guides, to ascertain the facts. One of the guides was William Linn, and another was Jacob Whetzel, one of four brothers who were all distinguished for their skill and prowess in these perilous wars.

Finding all quiet at Grave creek, the party encamped for the night on the Grave creek bottom, building up fires, and throwing themselves on the ground around them, contrary to the advice of Linn, who pointed out the unnecessary exposure which would be produced by lighting fires in the woods, through which the war parties of Indians were certainly roving, and the danger of sleeping near them. Foreman disregarded this prudent counsel; and Linn, with his little party of guides, retired to a secluded nook at some short distance, where they spent the night. With the vigilance of the remarkable class to which he belonged, Linn slept, as the Indians term it, with one eye open, and with an ear which, even in slumber, was sensitive to the slightest sound of unusual import. Just before daylight, he thought he distinguished slight sounds, such as might be made by launching rafts upon the water, proceeding from the direction of the river, above the camp of the main party. In the morning he reported this suspicious circumstance to Captain Foreman, with the opinion that their motions were probably watched by the enemy, who might ambuscade their path homeward, and advised him to quit the trace leading along the margin of the river, and return by a route over the hills. This advice being also rejected, Linn, who

seems to have been, to a certain extent, as, perhaps, his employment required, master of his own motions, prudently separated himself from the party, and, with the sagacity of one acquainted with the state of things, and aware of the impending danger, skirted along the hillside with his band of scouts—Whetzel and three others.

In passing the Grave creek narrows, where the hill pushes its base near to the river, leaving a narrow pass along the level ground on the bank, one of the soldiers discovered a quantity of beads and other Indian ornaments scattered along the path, and stopped to pick them up, while his companions, naturally attracted by the novelty of such an incident breaking in upon the monotony of their silent march, crowded about him. This was just what the Indians, who lay ambushed in the surrounding thickets, desired, and as soon as the Americans were huddled together, a galling fire was poured in upon them from different sides, by the hidden foe. They were instantly thrown into confusion. So many were killed by the first fire that resistance seemed vain; and flight appeared to be as hopeless, for while a line of foes was drawn across their path, the river bank was lined with yelling savages on their left, and the hill on their right presented a steep acclivity scarcely accessible to the footstep. The Indians pressed their advantage by an active firing, accompanied by exulting shouts, and but a few minutes would have sufficed for the massacre of the whole party, had not Linn shown himself as gallant as he was sagacious. Upon the first alarm, he, with his bold comrades, hastened to the relief of the main party, and rushing down the hill, with shouts which, echoed by the cliffs, were doubtless magnified to their ears, attacked the foe, who, scarcely waiting for the spirited fire of this hardy band, hastily retreated. It appeared afterwards, that the Indians, who

had dropped their ornaments for the purpose of attracting the attention of the whites, were lying concealed in two parties; one under cover of the river bank, and the other in what is called a sink-hole, on the right of the path, from which positions they fired, secure from any danger to themselves, until Linn advanced upon them. The number of the Indians was never ascertained, but it was supposed that it was small.

The day after this tragic affair, a party from Wheeling, under Col. Ebenezer Zane, went down to Grave creek to bury the dead. Andrew Poe and Martin Weitzell were of the party, as were also John Caldwell and Henry Yohn, both of whom were living lately, at Wheeling.

On the 31st of October, 1835, a monument was erected to the memory of the gallant men slain at Grave Creek Narrows; it stands about four miles below Wheeling, by the side of the road leading along the bank of the river.

The decided course of Linn in remonstrating against the rashness of his commander, is not mere conjecture, drawn from his well known character for sagacity. During the conversation just alluded to, a man named Robert Harkness, an inmate at the station, and a relative of Mr. Tomlinson, sat near the parties, on a log, and often afterwards repeated what was said. The discussion was conducted with earnestness on both sides. Captain Foreman, who regarded Linn as a rough backwoodsman, by no means competent to advise him on a point of military conduct, stood on his dignity, and maintained with pertinacity his incredulous contempt of the prognostics of danger indicated by the guide; while the latter, familiar with the subject, and well satisfied of the impending danger, urged his opinions with confidence, and pressed them upon his superior with all the powers of persuasion which he could command, and the occasion allowed him to use.

In 1778, Col. George Rogers Clarke, who to a chivalrous temperament, which led him to court the hazards of the most dangerous enterprises, united a consummate military sagacity and executive energy which secured success, planned and executed his brilliant campaign against the posts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, a brief account of which we give in another chapter. We are told, that, "on the passage down the river, Col. Clarke most fortunately received a letter from Colonel John Campbell, of Fort Pitt, informing him of the French alliance, a circumstance, as subsequent events showed, of the utmost importance to the American arms."* The bearer of that letter was no less a person than Col. Linn, who, allured by the kindred spirit of Clarke, and the prospect of gathering laurels in a distant field, inviting by its novelty and its peril, had embarked by himself, in a canoe, to join the expedition, which he overtook after a solitary voyage of about nine hundred miles. The yell of the savage, and the solitude of the wilderness, had no terrors for the man whose military zeal, or devotion to the service of his country, could induce him to undertake voluntarily, so perilous a voyage. Clarke received with joy an auxiliary whose reputation was now at its zenith, and who showed a spirit so congenial to the work before him, and assigned him a responsible command. He bore a conspicuous part in that eventful campaign, and so highly were his services estimated, and such was his popularity with the officers and men, that when it appeared afterwards, that as a volunteer he was not legally entitled to a share of the land granted to that army by Congress, his companions in arms made him a donation of several thousand acres out of their own portions.

Soon after Clarke's campaign, Colonel Linn removed

* Butler's History of Kentucky.

to Kentucky, and it is said that the first fort at Louisville was constructed under his direction; but this is not certain. He settled about ten miles from Louisville, near the spot where Colonel Richard C. Anderson soon after resided, and constructed a picket-work for protection against the Indians, which was known as Linn's Station. The savages were still troublesome. Their war parties roamed through the woods, creeping stealthily upon the settler's cabin, and prowling about the forts, in search of victims. Their ferocity was exceeded only by their cunning; and many were the artifices they practiced to entice their foes into the snares laid for them. Boats descending the river were hailed by unseen persons, or their crews induced to land by the cries of human distress, or by the appearance of a deer or a bear on the shore, partially exposed, but which, when approached by the unwary hunter, proved to be the skins of these animals, artfully disposed to decoy him to his ruin. Sometimes the wily savage concealed himself near a station, decoyed the hunter out, by a well executed imitation of the cry of some animal, and securely murdered him from his hiding-place. The backwoodsmen, who were apt scholars in all the arts and exercises of sylvan life, not only learned all these devices, but often practiced them with a skill superior to the best efforts of their teachers. It is related that at Linn's Station, for several mornings in succession, the gobbling of a wild turkey was heard, at day-break—at the hour when that noble fowl is wont to raise his cheerful voice. A hunter, who had gone out unsuspectingly to secure the game, disappeared. Colonel Linn's suspicions were aroused, and his skill as a woodsman enabled him to satisfy himself as to the exact spot from which the voice had proceeded. The next night he crept silently to the place, and, having

concealed himself, waited patiently for the dawn. At the first blush of day-light, a stately warrior presented himself, advancing with stealthy tread, but with confident alacrity, to his expected sport, and, stepping lightly upon the trunk of a fallen tree, with a keen glance toward the station, threw up his arms and gobbled aloud in imitation of the wild turkey. In another instant a ball from the unerring rifle of Linn laid the bold marauder in the dust.

The last service of Colonel Linn, was in the expedition commanded by General George Rogers Clarke, against the Indian towns on Mad River and the Little Miami, in Ohio, in 1780. The settlements in Kentucky having been greatly harassed by the predatory incursions of the Indians, an army of one thousand mounted volunteers was raised, to carry the war into their own country. Colonels Logan, Linn, Floyd, Harrod, and Slaughter, all distinguished and successful leaders in former wars, followed the popular banner of Clarke. Daniel Boone was one of the guides. Crossing the Ohio at the mouth of Licking, and landing at the present site of Cincinnati, then a wilderness, they marched to the old Chillicothe town, and thence to Piqua, destroyed those villages and more than five hundred acres of growing corn, and beat the Indians in several hard-fought battles. In one of these engagements, the notorious Simon Girty, a renegade white man, of infamous notoriety, living among the Indians under British pay, and commanding as a chief of the Mingoës, drew off a body of three hundred men, declaring that it was folly in the extreme to continue the action against men who acted like such madmen as the soldiers of Clarke, and who rushed into danger with a total disregard of consequences. In this successful campaign, Linn commanded a battalion, and acted a conspicuous part. The

late Bland Ballard, a hero of many battles, who survived to an honored old age, served in Linn's command, and always afterwards spoke with enthusiasm of the high courage and military talent displayed by Linn on this occasion. Ballard was severely wounded, and, on the return of the troops, was left at Linn's station, where he remained until after Colonel Linn's death.

The life of this noble soldier and estimable citizen, spent in the service of his country, and amid the turbulent and perilous warfare of the border, was closed by violence. On the first Monday of March, 1781, a party assembled at Linn's station, to go together to attend the Jefferson county Court, at Louisville. Colonel Linn, having business with some of the magistrates, whom he therefore desired to see before the opening of the Court, started in advance of the company. He had been gone but a little while, when the reports of several guns were heard, and a party instantly mounting, galloped off in the direction he had taken. His horse was found, shot down by the road-side, but a long and anxious search for Colonel Linn proved fruitless. The next day the pursuit was renewed, and the dead body of Linn discovered a mile from the station, and near the place which soon after assumed the name of Soldier's Retreat, the residence of the late Colonel Anderson. He had been waylaid by a party of Indians, concealed in a sink-hole by the road-side, who fired upon their gallant victim, and wounded him before he was aware of their presence. The horse was found at a short distance from this spot, indicating that an attempt was made to retreat, and that the mortally-wounded animal had borne his rider from the place where the attack was made. It is said that a man named Applegate, who had been recently taken by the same party of Indians, was their prisoner when they fired upon

Colonel Linn, and witnessed the sad catastrophe. He gave a detailed account of the affair, and asserted that after the horse was shot down, and Linn wounded and surrounded by the exulting savages, he refused to surrender, but sustained his high standing as a warrior, by fighting desperately to the last, and that he fell covered with wounds, after having killed several of his assailants.

It is to be regretted that so little is known of the domestic life and private character of this distinguished man. Highly endowed as he was, with noble and excellent qualities—with talents above the common order, with a generous nature, with military capacity and energy, with daring, zeal, and enterprize, tempered by sagacious prudence—it would have been gratifying to know that in him, as in the characters of many of his distinguished companions in arms, the sterner qualities that enabled them to serve their country so efficiently in her day of weakness and peril, were dignified and adorned by high moral rectitude, and the mild radiance of the gentler virtues. That Linn was such a man, we readily believe; we find no blot on his fame, and it is fair to suppose that the noble nature which gave birth to the numerous deeds of patriotism we find recorded, and which nurtured so chivalrous a bearing, was fruitful also in all good and generous impulses.

About four years after the death of Col. Linn, an incident occurred which is curiously illustrative of the vicissitudes of domestic life in the backwoods. Col. William Pope had built a house about five miles south of Louisville, and removed to it in the fall of 1784. There being no schools, he employed a teacher to instruct his own children at home, and for the same reason was induced to receive into his house the sons of some of his

friends: among them were the two sons of Col. Linn, whose guardian he was.

In February, 1785, five of these boys, the two Linns, Brashear, Wells, and another, whose name is not recollected, went out one Saturday to hunt. The ages of these boys are not now known; they were little fellows, however, probably between the ages of nine and thirteen. They encamped for the night, near the bank of the Ohio, at a place where a wide scope of bottom land was covered with heavy forest trees, and with ponds which were frequented by great numbers of swans, geese, and ducks. A snow fell during the night, and in the morning they found themselves surrounded by a party of Indians, who had lain near them in ambush, and who captured them. Brashear, being a very fleet runner, attempted to escape, but was overtaken, and secured with the rest. The elder Linn also attempted to run, but being stout and clumsy, and encumbered with some game which he had thrown over his shoulder, stumbled and fell, and was seized by a tawny warrior, who patted him on the back, and called him, in the Indian tongue, "the little fat bear;" while Brashear, on account of his agility, received the name of the "buck elk."

There are many incidents of this kind in the legends of the border; and there is nothing in history more striking than the address and presence of mind displayed by children, under such circumstances. Their mode of life, and education, render them prematurely vigilant and courageous. Accustomed from the first dawn of reason to sudden alarms, to the continual pressure of some impending danger, and to narratives of encounters and surprises, stratagems, and violence, they become familiar with peril, habitually watchful, and fertile of expedient. The child is father to the man; the boy is a young backwoodsman,

eager for adventure, and not stricken with helpless terror when suddenly involved in danger; for his eye has been accustomed from infancy to the weapons of war, and his ear to the many voices of the forest. "I was not born in the woods to be scared by an owl," is one of the expressive proverbs of the West. When Scott, in one of the most beautiful of English poems, describes the courageous bearing of the heir of Branksome, as he turned to face the blood-hounds, the picture is not imaginary, but portrays, with true philosophy, the training of the son of a border chief:

"I ween you would have seen with joy
The bearing of the gallant boy,
When worthy of his noble sire,
His wet cheek glowed 'twixt fear and ire!
He faced the blood-hound manfully,
And held his little bat on high;
So fierce he struck, the dog, afraid,
At cautious distance hoarsely bayed;
But still in act to spring."

Such was the nurture of these boys, who submitted to their fate with a manliness that would have been creditable to the elder Linn. The Indians, desiring to ascertain whether there was any unprotected house or settlement near, that might be pillaged, asked the boys where they came from? The guarded reply was, "From Louisville." "You lie!" responded the savage; but the boys, mindful of their friends, even at a moment so distressing to themselves, kept their own counsel, and neither by word nor sign gave any indication that their assertion was not true. Their sagacity and firmness saved the family of Colonel Pope from destruction. The Indians retired with their young captives, who marched off with apparent indifference. Crossing the Ohio, they were taken to an Indian

town in Northern Indiana, distant many days' journey; and on the way won the favor of their new masters, by the patience with which they suffered captivity and fatigue, and the cheerful interest they appeared to take in the occurrences of the march.

At the Indian village, the reception usually extended to prisoners awaited them. The women and children crowded around them with shouts of exultation, loaded them with reproaches, pelted them with dirt and stones, struck, pinched, and heaped indignities upon them. But the gallant little fellows were probably prepared for these and greater cruelties, and found them no worse than they expected. For awhile they submitted bravely; but at length the Linn blood became heated, and the younger of the brothers, whose temper was quick, and who had frequently been cautioned by his companions to restrain his passions, losing all patience, singled out a tawny boy bigger than himself, who had struck him, and being left-handed, returned the blow, in a way so unexpected that his foe, unable to parry it, was knocked down. The warriors were delighted with an exploit so much to their taste, and applauded it with loud shouts and laughter. Another champion assailed the little hero, who, springing upon the juvenile savage, with the ferocity of the panther, dealt him blows, kicks, and scratches, with a vigor which surprised and delighted the spectators. The whole mass of boyhood became pugnacious, his companions joined with alacrity in the fight—Kentucky against the field—the heroic lads fought against odds, but displayed such prowess that they soon cleared the ring, and were rescued from further annoyance by their captors, who were particularly amused by the efficiency and odd effect of the left-handed blows of the younger Linn.

Such fine boys soon became favorites; they had pre-

cisely the accomplishments to recommend them to the favor of the social circles of an aboriginal society. Bold and bright-eyed, muscular and healthy, equal to the Indian boys in all athletic sports, and superior to them in intelligence, they were readily adopted into the tribe, and domesticated in families. Wells, however, fell to the lot of an Indian belonging to some distant town, whither he was taken, and thus separated from his comrades, saw them no more. He remained with the Indians all his life; married a sister of the celebrated chief Little Turtle, and became the father of a family. The remainder of our narrative embraces only the adventures of the other four. They adapted themselves so completely to their new mode of life, and seemed so well satisfied with the employments and sports of the savage youth, with fishing and hunting, wrestling, racing, and riding the Indian ponies, that all suspicion in regard to them was quieted, and they were allowed to roam about unregarded. They were "biding their time:" with a watchfulness that never slept they sought an opportunity to make their escape.

The hour of deliverance came at last. In the autumn of the year of their capture, the warriors set out upon their annual hunt, roaming far off from home, in parties, and leaving their village in the care of the old men, the women, and the children. The four boys found themselves one day, at a camp, at some distance from the village, engaged in fishing or some other employment, with no other companions but an old Indian and a squaw. A severe conflict of mind took place. The long-sought opportunity for escape was at hand; but they could regain their liberty only by the death of a woman and an old man, with whom they were associating as companions. To remain in captivity was not to be thought of; to be the captives especially of a race in hostility with their

countrymen, whose scalps they must frequently see displayed in triumph—of a people they had been taught from infancy to fear and hate, and who had been the murderers of the father of two of them, was not to be tolerated. To leave their companions alive, was to ensure an early discovery of their flight, and a pursuit which must probably result in their capture and death. All their scruples yielded to a stern necessity, the bold resolve was taken; they killed the man and woman, and directed their steps homeward.

We know not by what instinct they were enabled to find their way through the trackless forest. Whether it was by that mysterious intelligence which conducts the irrational brute to a far distant home—whether it was the finger of that Providence that supplied understanding to the simple—or whether it was that they had already been taught to know the points of the compass, and to observe the landmarks which direct the footsteps of the experienced woodsman—so it was, that pursuing the nearest course, they struck for home through the wilderness. Traveling by night, and lying concealed during the day in coverts and hiding-places, living upon wild fruits and nuts, and upon such small game as could be taken with the least noise and the least delay, and practicing all the cunning, the patience, and the self-denial of the savage warrior, they reached the bank of the Ohio river, directly opposite to Louisville, after a journey of three weeks. Having no means of crossing the river, which here, at the head of the falls, is wide and rapid, they endeavored to attract the attention of the people at Louisville by firing their guns; but the Indians having lately been very troublesome, those who heard these signals, not understanding them, were unwilling to cross the river to ascertain their meaning. The persevering boys then

marched up the shore of the river nearly six miles, and at a place near what is now called the Six Mile Island, where the current is less impetuous than below, constructed a raft, with no tool to facilitate their labors but a knife. Even this frail and rough contrivance was not large enough to carry them all, and the elder Linn, who was an expert swimmer, plunged into the water, and pushed the clumsy craft before him, while his companions paddled with all their might, with poles. Thus they were wafted slowly and laboriously down and across the stream, until they were discovered from the town, and parties sent to their relief. About the same time, the Indians who had been pursuing them, reached the shore they had left, fired at them, and expressed their rage and disappointment by loud yells. Young Linn was nearly frozen by his immersion in the water, which, at that season, in the month of November, was very cold; but by the prompt and skillful remedies applied under the direction of his kind guardian, Col. Pope, who had been driven by the Indians from his residence in the woods, and was now living in Louisville, he was recovered.

Dr. Lewis F. Linn, for many years a Senator in Congress from the State of Missouri, was the son of one of those gallant lads, and grandson of Colonel William Linn. In earlier life he was a practicing physician of high repute in the town of Ste. Genevieve, and a member of the Missouri legislature, and was widely known as an intelligent and public-spirited citizen. An accomplished and polished gentleman, he was universally beloved and respected for his kindness, sincerity, and benevolence in private life, while, as a public man, his honorable bearing and devotion to the interests of the State of his adoption, won for him a wide-spread popularity. In the Senate of the United States, dignified as that body then

was, Doctor Linn was distinguished by his gentlemanly bearing, the uniform equanimity of his temper, and his unvaried courtesy, as well as by the general ability with which he discharged his high office. Though an active member of the Senate, and a leading supporter of the administration of General Jackson, during a period of great political excitement, he was never known to lose his self-possession, or to violate the etiquette of good breeding, so that he was sometimes called the Chesterfield of the Senate. He was a model of the *suaviter in modo*, as well as of the *fortiter in re*. Brave as his great ancestor, no man was more true to his principles, more fixed in his purposes, more firm and unflinching in the hour of trial; but he never uttered a sarcasm, nor lost for a moment the delicate sense of respect for the feelings of others, which marked his whole conduct. His good temper and good breeding were unvaried, his manners refined, his morals pure, and his attention to business assiduous and methodical. Having enjoyed for many years the friendship and correspondence of this excellent man, I can bear witness to the many fine qualities of his heart and conduct, and the amiable and courteous traits of his truly gentlemanly character.

CHAPTER VII.

A frontier adventure—The first fight of a revolutionary hero.

THE following anecdote, which is highly characteristic of the period in which it occurred, and of the persons engaged in the curious scene it portrays, was communicated to me in conversation, by a descendant of one of the parties, and is given without alteration, except such as has unavoidably occurred in clothing it in my own language.

Captain Crawford, of Virginia—the same who afterwards obtained a melancholy celebrity as Colonel Crawford, the leader of an unsuccessful expedition, in which he was taken prisoner, inhumanly tortured, and murdered by the Indians—was marching a company from the frontiers of his own State to the Ohio river. The occasion is not exactly known. We think it probable that it was in 1758, when he commanded a company in Washington's regiment in the expedition under General Forbes against Fort du Quesne. He was then about twenty-six years of age, and is said to have attracted the attention of Washington by his fine military bearing. The acquaintance thus formed, led to subsequent intercourse, in which Crawford is said to have won the friendship and esteem of that illustrious man, who never lightly bestowed his confidence. About 1769, Crawford settled upon the Youghiogheny river, near where the town of Connells-

ville now stands, where he practiced a generous hospitality, and was a popular and influential man. Like many of the leading men of that day, his original profession was that of a surveyor, and he was employed by Washington* in selecting and surveying western lands. On the breaking out of the revolution, he raised a regiment, with great personal effort, and was commissioned a Colonel in the service of Virginia.

To return to our anecdote. Crawford was marching his company to join a large body of troops at some rendezvous in the mountainous frontier. His men were, of course, hunters and farmers from the outskirts of the Virginia settlements; most probably young, daring, hardy volunteers, of the same class as the pioneers who, shortly after that period, overran the forests of Kentucky; and he was himself a young, bold man, unaccustomed to command, but eager for distinction. Previous to leaving the neighborhood of the settlement, Crawford, from some accident, found himself in want of transportation for some of his baggage or stores, and, at a place where he halted in the woods, fortunately fell in with a wagoner, who had stopped to rest his horses at the same spot. In such an emergency, Captain Crawford felt no hesitation in pressing the team and driver into his service, and accordingly announced to the latter his determination. The driver, highly incensed, was in no humor to submit to what he considered an oppressive act; but how could he help himself? He was alone, in the midst of a military band, who were ready and able, at a word, to enforce their commander's orders. He was a great bull-headed, two-fisted, square-built fellow, who bore on his face the marks of

* De Hass's "Early Settlements and Indian Wars in Western Virginia.

many a hard fought battle. He was, in fact, a noted bruiser, whose ferocity and prowess were well known in those parts. He received Captain Crawford's order with an air of grim dissatisfaction, and remained for a moment silent, looking sullenly at the armed men, as if measuring their strength against his own weakness. He then observed to the Captain, that it was hard to be forced to go into such hard service against his will; that every man ought to have a *fair chance*; that he had not a fair chance, inasmuch as the odds against him were so great as to deprive him of the power of protecting his own rights. He thought the Captain was taking a mean advantage of him. He was as good a man as any of them, and he was not one to be imposed upon because they happened to catch him by himself, if he could help it. He would, however, make a proposition, which he thought the Captain was bound in honor to accede to.

"I will fight you," said he, "or any man in your company; if I am whipped, I will go with you, without no grumbling, but if I conquer, you must let me off."

In making this proposal, the sturdy teamster showed himself well acquainted with the ground he stood on. He either knew Crawford's character, or had read it during the interview. The Captain was an expert woodsman, stout, active, and chivalrous, and prided himself on his personal prowess, for which he had already obtained some celebrity. He was young, and could not brook an imputation on his manhood. He was not a regular officer, restrained by rules of etiquette, but stood among his equals and friends, whose votes had elevated him to a temporary command over them. To refuse the waggoner's challenge, might seem to indicate a want of spirit, or of confidence in his own manhood; it might lessen him in the eyes of his men; and his own disposition and code

of ethics, perhaps, suggested that the knight of the whip was entitled in justice to the *fair chance* he claimed. He accordingly accepted the challenge, both parties began to strip, and the men prepared to form a ring, show fair play, and to see the fun.

At this moment, a tall young man, who had lately joined the company, but was a stranger to most of them, and who had been leaning carelessly against a tree, eyeing the scene with apparent unconcern, stepped forward and drew Crawford aside.

"Captain," said he, "you must let me fight that fellow; he will whip you; it will never do to have the company whipped!"

Crawford was not willing to *back out*, especially for such reasons; but the youth insisted that to have the Captain beaten, which would be the certain result if he persisted, would tarnish the honor of the company, and, moreover, that he himself was the only man present who could flog this doughty teamster. The confidence of the youth, and a certain something about him which inspired confidence in others, enabled him to carry his point. Captain Crawford, having done all that policy required in accepting the challenge, very prudently suffered himself to be persuaded by his men to let the stranger take his place.

The combatants were soon stripped and ready for the fight. There was a great disparity in their appearance, the odds being decidedly in favor of the wagoner. He was in the vigor of life, big, muscular, well filled out, hardened by exposure, and experienced in affairs of this kind. His air was cool and professional, his mien defiant and confident of success. The youth, who, when clad in his loose hunting-shirt, seemed slender, now showed himself a young giant. His frame had not yet acquired the fullness, the compactness, and the vigor of ripe manhood,

which it afterwards possessed in so high a degree; his limbs seemed to be loosely hung together, but his bones and muscles were enormous, his frame stalwart, and his eye full of courage.

The conflict, though bloody, was short. The wagoner was completely and terribly beaten. "He was no part of a priming," in the expressive slang of the border, to the young David of the Virginians. He was "*used up*." The youth sprang upon him with the ferocity of an enraged tiger, and the battle was no longer doubtful. Wherever the tremendous fist of the young man struck, it inflicted a severe wound. The blood followed every blow; and the Philistine, who had so vauntingly sought the battle, in a few minutes lay mangled and exhausted at the feet of his vanquisher, who was but little if at all hurt.

That youth was DANIEL MORGAN, who had now, for the first time, taken the field against the enemies of his country, as a private soldier; who soon came again to the frontier as the leader of a company, and rose rapidly to the grades of Colonel and Major-General; who so often led our armies in battle, and was perhaps more frequently engaged with the enemy than any other officer in the American revolution. He was as celebrated for his great bodily strength, activity, and personal courage, as for his military genius.

The above incident was related to me by my friend Morgan Neville, Esq., the grandson of General Morgan, an accomplished gentleman and scholar, an amiable and excellent man, who was widely known and respected. He was born in Pittsburgh, and lived many years in Cincinnati, where he died. He was an occasional contributor to the literature of the west, and was the author of that happy and well-known sketch, "Mike Fink, the Last of the Boatmen."

CHAPTER VIII.

Manners of the early settlers in Western Virginia—Mode of emigration—Habits of living—Hunting—Weddings—Religion.

THESE historical facts should be kept in mind by those who are curious in their researches, in reference to the springs of national character. The strong peculiarities, and prominent points of western character, are most properly sought among those who came first, who have lived longest under influences of a new country, and who have been least affected by the subsequent influx of emigrants from the sea-board. They are found best developed in western Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the more western settlements which have been formed chiefly from these States. They are least observable where the population is most mixed, and are scarcely perceptible in our large commercial towns and cities.

We shall add here a few illustrations of the character and habits of the early settlers, selected from the work of Dr. Doddridge, to which we have already more than once referred.

The book before us is the production of a reverend gentleman, who was reared in the wilderness, and was intimately acquainted with the whole subject on which he writes. His father came to western Virginia in 1773, during the deceptive calm which preceded the rupture of

1774, usually called Dunmore's war. Brought up in the wilderness, the inmate of a cabin, Dr. Doddridge spent his whole life in the midst of those dangers and vicissitudes which make up the life of the borderer, and has detailed a variety of minute circumstances, which render his book exceedingly valuable.

The author adverts, in an introductory chapter, to the feelings with which, at the age of fifty, he looks back upon a life, passed wholly amid the scenes of the wilderness, and embracing changes so rapid and so wonderful, as almost to exceed belief. His earliest recollections are of the log cabin, the fort, the boundless wilderness, and perils of the chase. His infant slumbers were disturbed by the yell of the Indian, and the scene of his sports was a forest in which danger lay ambushed under so many shapes, that even the child grew cunning in eluding, and self-possessed in meeting it. The exploits of the chase and of the border warfare formed the familiar gossip of the fire-side. Then followed the rapid expansion of the settlements, and the introduction of civil institutions—the ingress of inhabitants, the establishment of counties, the building up of villages, the erection of court-houses and places of worship, until at last, extensive farms, valuable manufactories, commercial marts, and richly freighted vessels, occupied the places, which, in the memory of the writer, had been solitary places and scenes of carnage.

Some of these reminiscences are amusing enough, yet afford matter of serious reflection, when we recollect that the privations described were those of thousands of the gallant men to whom we are indebted for the conquest of the country.

He says, “some of the early settlers took the precaution to come over the mountains in the spring, leaving their families behind, to raise a crop of corn, and then

return and bring them out in the fall. This I should think was the better way. Others, especially those whose families were small, brought them with them in the spring. My father took the latter course. His family was but small, and he brought them all with him. The Indian meal which he brought over the mountains, was expended six weeks too soon, so that for that length of time we had to live without bread. The lean venison, and the breast of wild turkeys, we were taught to call bread. The flesh of the bear was denominated meat. This artifice did not succeed very well; after living in this way for some time, we became sickly; the stomach seemed to be always empty, and tormented with a sense of hunger. I remember how narrowly the children watched the growth of the potato tops, pumpkin and squash vines, hoping from day to day to get something to answer in the place of bread. How delicious was the taste of the young potatoes when we got them! What a jubilee when we were permitted to pull the young corn for roasting-ears! Still more so, when it had acquired sufficient hardness to be made into johnny-cakes, by the aid of a tin grater. We then became healthy, vigorous, and contented with our situation, poor as it was."—p. 100.

"The furniture of the table, for several years after the settlement of this country, consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates, and spoons, but mostly of wooden bowls, trenchers, and noggins. If these last were scarce, gourds and hard-shelled squashes made up the deficiency. The iron pots, knives and forks, were brought from the east side of the mountains, along with salt and iron, on pack-horses."—p. 109.

"I well recollect the first time I ever saw a teacup and saucer, and tasted coffee. My mother died when I was about six or seven years of age. My father then sent

me to Maryland, with a brother of my grandfather, Mr. Alexander Wells, to go to school."

"At Colonel Brown's, in the mountains, at Stony creek glades, I for the first time saw tame geese, and by bantering a pet gander, I got a severe biting by his bill, and beating by his wings. I wondered very much that birds so large and strong, should be so much tamer than the wild turkeys: at this place, however, all was right, excepting the large birds which they called geese. The cabin and furniture were such as I had been accustomed to see in the backwoods, as my country was then called.

"At Bedford, every thing was changed. The tavern at which my uncle put up, was a stone house, and to make the changes still more complete, it was plastered in the inside, both as to the walls and ceiling. On going into the dining-room, I was struck with astonishment at the appearance of the house. I had no idea that there was any house in the world that was not built of logs; but here I looked round and could see no logs, and above I could see no joists; whether such a thing had been made by the hands of man, or had grown so of itself, I could not conjecture. I had not the courage to inquire any thing about it. When supper came on, my confusion was "worse confounded." A little cup stood in a bigger one, with some brownish-looking stuff in it, which was neither milk, homminy, nor broth; what to do with these little cups, and the little spoons belonging to them, I could not tell; but I was afraid to ask any thing concerning the use of them.

"It was in the time of the war, and the company were giving accounts of catching, whipping, and hanging tories. The word jail frequently occurred; this word I had never heard before; but I soon discovered, and was much terrified at its meaning, and supposed that we were in

danger of the fate of the tories; for I thought as we had come from the backwoods, it was altogether likely that we must be tories too. For fear of being discovered, I durst not utter a single word. I therefore watched attentively to see what the big folks would do with their little cups and spoons. I imitated them, and found the taste of the coffee nauseous beyond any thing I ever had tasted in my life. I continued to drink as the rest of the company did, with tears streaming from my eyes; but when it was to end, I was at a loss to know, as the little cups were filled immediately after being emptied. This circumstance distressed me very much, as I durst not say I had enough. Looking attentively at the grown persons, I saw one man turn his cup bottom upwards, and put his little spoon across it. I observed that after this his cup was not filled again; I followed his example, and to my great satisfaction, the result as to my cup was the same."

There is something in this anecdote very characteristic of the backwoods boy. All who have studied the habits of the people of the frontier, or indeed of any rude people, who are continually exposed to danger, have observed the wariness of the children, their independence, and their patience under suffering. Like the young partridge, that from the moment of its birth practices the arts necessary to its own safety, the child of the woods is self-dependent from early infancy. Such was the case in the scene so artlessly described by our author, where a child of six or seven years old, drank a nauseous beverage, for fear of giving offence, and instead of appealing to his relative for protection, observed and watched for himself, until he found out the means of relief by his own sagacity. An Indian boy would have done the same.

The following anecdote will be new to some of our readers: "A neighbor of my father, some years after the

settlement of the country, had collected a small drove of cattle for the Baltimore market. Amongst the hands employed to drive them, was one who had never seen any condition of society but that of the woodsmen. At one of their lodging-places in the mountain, the landlord and his hired man, in the course of the night, stole two of the bells belonging to the drove, and hid them in a piece of woods.

“The drove had not gone far in the morning before the bells were missed, and a detachment went back to recover them. The men were found reaping the field of the landlord. They were accused of the theft, but they denied the charge. The torture of sweating, according to the custom of that time, that is, of suspension by the arms, pinioned behind the backs, brought a confession. The bells were procured and hung round the necks of the thieves. In this condition they were driven on foot before the detachment until they overtook the drove, which by this time had gone nine miles. A halt was called, and a jury selected to try the culprits. They were condemned to receive a certain number of lashes on the bare back, from the hand of each drover. The man above alluded to was the owner of one of the bells; when it came to his turn to use the hickory, “now,” says he to the thief, “you infernal scoundrel, I’ll work your jacket nineteen to the dozen—only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore without a bell on my horse!”

The man was in earnest; in a country where horses and cattle are pastured in the range, bells are necessary to enable the owners to find them; to the traveler who encamps in the wilderness, they are indispensable, and the individual described had probably never been placed in a situation in which they were not requisite.

Hunting was an important part of the employment of the early settlers. For some years after their emigration, the forest supplied them with the greater part of their subsistence; some families were without bread for months at a time, and it often happened that the first meal of the day could not be prepared until the hunter returned with the spoils of the chase. Fur and peltry were the circulating medium of the country; the hunter had nothing else to give in exchange for rifles, salt, lead, and iron. Hunting, therefore, was the employment, rather than the sport, of the pioneers; yet it was pursued with the alacrity and sense of enjoyment which attends an exciting and favorite amusement. Dangerous and fatiguing as are its vicissitudes, those who become accustomed to the chase, generally retain through life their fondness for the rifle.

“The class of hunters with whom I was best acquainted,” says our author, “were those whose hunting ranges were on the western side of the river, and at the distance of eight or nine miles from it. As soon as the leaves were pretty well down, and the weather became rainy, accompanied with light snows, these men, after acting the part of husbandmen, so far as the state of warfare permitted them to do, began to feel that they were hunters, and became uneasy at home. Every thing about them became disagreeable. The house was too warm, the feather bed too soft, and even the good-wife was not thought, for the time being, an agreeable companion. The mind of the hunter was wholly occupied with the camp and chase.

“I have often seen them get up early in the morning, at this season, walk hastily out and look anxiously to the woods, and snuff the autumnal winds with the highest rapture, then return into the house and cast a quick and attentive look at the rifle, which was always suspended to a joist by a couple of buck-horns, or wooden forks. The

hunting dog, understanding the intentions of his master, would wag his tail, and by every blandishment in his power, express his readiness to accompany him to the woods."—p. 124.

A hunt usually occupied several days, and often extended to weeks; the hunter living in a camp, hidden in some secluded place, to which he retired every night, and where he kept his store of ammunition and other plunder. There were individuals who remained for months together in the woods, and spent the greater part of their lives in these camps, which are thus described:

"A hunting-camp, or what was called a half-faced cabin, was of the following form: the back part of it was sometimes a large log; at the distance of eight or ten feet from this, two stakes were set in the ground a few inches apart; and at the distance of eight or ten feet from these, two more, to receive the ends of poles for the sides of the camp. The whole slope of the roof was from the front to the back. The covering was made of slabs, skins, or blankets, or if in the spring of the year, the bark of the hickory or ash tree. The front was left entirely open. The fire was built directly before this opening. The cracks between the poles were filled with moss. Dry leaves served for a bed. It is thus that a couple of men, in a few hours, will construct for themselves a temporary, but tolerably comfortable defence against the inclemencies of the weather.

"The site for the camp was selected with all the sagacity of the woodsmen, so as to have it sheltered by the surrounding hills from every wind, but more especially from those of the north and south." The author might have added, that these shelters were so artfully concealed, as to be seldom discovered except by accident. He continues:

"An uncle of mine, of the name of Samuel Teter,

occupied the same camp for several years in succession. It was situated on one of the southern branches of Cross creek. Although I lived many years not more than fifteen miles from the place, it was not till within a very few years ago, that I discovered its situation. It was shown me by a gentleman living in the neighborhood. Viewing the hills round about it, I soon discovered the sagacity of the hunter in the site of his camp. Not a wind could touch him; and unless by the report of his gun or the sound of his axe, it would have been mere accident if an Indian had discovered his concealment.

“Hunting was not a mere ramble in pursuit of game, in which there was nothing of skill and calculation; on the contrary, the hunter, before he set out in the morning, was informed by the state of weather in what situation he might reasonably expect to meet with his game; whether on the bottoms, or on the sides or tops of the hills. In stormy weather, the deer always seek the most sheltered places, and the leeward sides of hills. In rainy weather, when there is not much wind, they keep in the open woods, on the highest ground.

“In every situation, it was requisite for the hunter to ascertain the course of the wind, so as to get to leeward of the game.

“As it was requisite, too, for the hunter to know the cardinal points, he had only to observe the trees to ascertain them. The bark of an aged tree is thicker and much rougher on the north than on the south side. The same thing may be said of the moss.

“The whole business of the hunter consists in a series of stratagems. From morning till night he was on the alert to gain the wind of his game, and approach them without being discovered. If he succeeded in killing a deer, he skinned it, and hung it up out of the reach of

the wolves, and immediately resumed the chase till the close of the evening, when he bent his course towards his camp; when he arrived there he kindled up his fire, and, together with his fellow-hunter, cooked his supper. The supper finished, the adventures of the day furnished the tales for the evening. The spike buck, the two and three pronged buck, the doe, and barren doe, figure through their anecdotes. After hunting awhile on the same ground, the hunters became acquainted with nearly all the gangs of deer within their range, so as to know each flock when they saw them. Often some old buck, by means of his superior sagacity and watchfulness, saved his little gang from the hunter's skill, by giving timely notice of his approach. The cunning of the hunter, and of the old buck, were staked against each other, and it frequently happened that at the conclusion of the hunting season, the old fellow was left the free uninjured tenant of his forest; but if his rival succeeded in bringing him down, the victory was followed by no small amount of boasting.

"Many of the hunters rested from their labors on the Sabbath day; some from a motive of piety; others said that whenever they hunted on Sunday they were sure to have bad luck for the remainder of the week."

Among other graphic sketches, the reverend historian gives the following account of a wedding in the olden times.

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

"Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor, or mantuamaker, within a hundred

miles, and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen, dressed in shoepacks, moccasins, leather breeches, leggins, and linsey hunting-shirts, all home-made; the ladies in linsey petticoats, and linsey or linen short-gowns, coarse shoes and stockings, handkerchiefs, and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons, or ruffles, they were relics of old times—family pieces from parents or grand-parents.

“The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and pack-saddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them; a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

“The march in double file was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no roads; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good, and sometimes by the ill-will of neighbors, by falling trees and tying grape-vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the way-side, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding company with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed; the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, an elbow, or an ancle, happened to be sprained, it was tied up with a handkerchief, and little more said or thought about it.”

The author describes minutely the dinner, which was “a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, venison, and bear meat, roasted and boiled, with plenty of potatoes, cabbage, and other vegetables,”—and the dan-

cing, which consisted of "three and four-handed reels, square sets, and jigs," and which "generally lasted till the next morning."

We leave out many amusing and curious descriptions, relating to the customs of this primitive people, to make room for the following remarks, which, coming from the pen of an aged and respectable Christian minister, are worthy of an attentive perusal. In a chapter on "civilization," the author remarks the happy change in the moral and physical condition of the people among whom he has spent his life, points out many of the causes, and then proceeds as follows:

"The ministry of the gospel has contributed, no doubt immensely, to the happy change which has been effected in the state of our western society. At an early period of our settlements, three presbyterian clergymen commenced their clerical labors: the Rev. Joseph Smith, the Rev. John M'Millan, and the Rev. Mr. Bowers; the two latter of whom are still living. They were pious, patient, laborious men, who collected their people into regular congregations, and did all for them that their circumstances would allow. It was no disparagement to them, that their first churches were the shady groves, and their first pulpits a kind of tent constructed of a few rough slabs, and covered with clapboards. He who dwelleth not exclusively in temples made with hands, was propitious to their devotions.

"From the outset, they prudently resolved to create a ministry in the country, and accordingly established little grammar schools at their own houses, or in their immediate neighborhoods. The course of education which they gave their pupils, was indeed not extensive; but the piety of those that entered into the ministry, more than made up the deficiency. They formed societies, most of which

are now large and respectable; and, in point of education, their ministry has much improved."

This is taken from a book published in 1824, and of course was not written with any view to the questions which have subsequently been vexed; but what a severe rebuke does it convey to those who are continually railing against the ignorance and irreligion of the west, and are inviting colonies from lands supposed to be more highly enlightened in reference to religion. The venerable pioneers of religion did not discover any sterility in the intellect of the west, which rendered instruction less efficacious here than elsewhere, and "they prudently resolved to *create a ministry in the country.*" Instead of inviting men from abroad, they established "grammar schools at their own houses," and prepared the sons of their neighbors for the pulpit and the bar. This is the true theory, and the only one under which any country can flourish.

"About the year 1792, an academy was established at Cannonsburgh, in Washington county, in the western part of Pennsylvania, which was afterwards incorporated under the name of Jefferson College.

"The means possessed by the society for the undertaking, were indeed but small; but they not only erected a tolerable edifice for the academy, but created a fund for the education of such pious young men as were desirous of entering into the ministry, but unable to defray the expenses of their education.

"This institution has been remarkably successful in its operations. It has produced a large number of good scholars in all the literary professions, and added immensely to the science of the country.

"Next to this, Washington College, situated in the county town of the county of that name, has been the

means of diffusing much of the light of science through the western country.

“Too much praise cannot be bestowed on those good men, who opened these fruitful sources of instruction for our infant country, at so early a period of its settlement. They have immensely improved the departments of theology, law, medicine, and legislation, in the western regions.

“At a later period, the Methodist Society began their labors in the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania; their progress at first was slow, but their zeal and perseverance at length overcame every obstacle, so that they are now one of the most numerous and respectable societies in this country. The itinerant plan of their ministry is well calculated to convey the gospel throughout a thinly scattered population. Accordingly, their ministry has kept pace with the extension of our settlements. The little cabin was scarcely built, and the little field fenced in, before these evangelical teachers made their appearance among the inhabitants, collected them into societies, and taught them the worship of God.

“Had it not been for the labors of these indefatigable men, our country, as to a great extent of its settlements, would have been, at this day, a semi-barbarous region. How many thousands, and tens of thousands, of the most ignorant and licentious of our population, have they instructed and reclaimed from the error of their ways? They have restored to society even the most worthless, and made them valuable and respectable as citizens, and useful in all the relations of life. Their numerous and zealous ministry bids fair to carry on the good work to any extent which our settlements and population may require.

“With the Catholics I have but little acquaintance, but

have every reason to believe, that, in proportion to the extent of their flocks, they have done well. In this country, they have received the episcopal visitations of their bishops. In Kentucky, they have a cathedral, a college, and a bishop.

“Their clergy, with apostolic zeal, but in an unostentatious manner, have sought out and ministered to their scattered flocks throughout the country; and, as far as I know, with good success.

“The Societies of Friends in the western country are numerous, and their establishments in good order. Although not much in favor of a classical education, they are nevertheless in the habit of giving their people a substantial English education. Their habits of industry, and attention to the useful arts and improvements, are highly honorable to themselves, and worthy of imitation.

“The Baptists, in the state of Kentucky, took the lead in the ministry, and with great success. Their establishments are, as I am informed, at present numerous and respectable.

“The German Lutheran and Reformed churches in our country, as far as I know, are doing well. The number of Lutheran congregations is said to be at least one hundred; that of the Reformed, it is presumed, is about the same amount.”

He remarks, that the Germans have the best churches, organs, and grave-yards; and adds—“It is a fortunate circumstance that those of our citizens who labor under the disadvantage of speaking a foreign language, are blessed with a ministry so evangelical as that of these very numerous and respectable societies.”

It is refreshing to read this simple and clear, yet impartial exposition of the labors of Christians of different sects, and to know that they have respectively done their

duty—refreshing to learn that a numerous and zealous ministry were industriously employed in laying the foundations of education and religion, while many of those were yet unborn, who now are most fluent in describing the ignorance, destitution and moral depravity, of our country.

CHAPTER IX.

Early discoveries in Kentucky—Its occupation by Indians—An anecdote of two of the pioneers—John Finley's visit—Those of M'Bride, Dr. Walker, Boone, and others.

It is a curious fact, that the first explorers of this region found no Indians settled upon the shores of the Ohio. Throughout the whole length of this beautiful river, not a single vestige of an Indian town is to be found. The aboriginal tribes, who are always at war, seem to have had regard chiefly to that state, in choosing the sites of their villages. For savages, situated as they were, the most commanding positions were those lying near the sources of large rivers, from which they could descend in their canoes to attack an enemy below them, while their own villages would be approached with difficulty by canoes attempting to ascend against the stream. Where the head waters of two rivers approached and flowed away in different directions, affording increased facilities for sending off hunting expeditions and war parties, a spot in contact with both streams possessed unusual advantages, and such places were generally occupied. But it will be seen, that, for the same reasons, the shores of a large river like the Ohio, into which numerous tributaries of great size and length poured their waters, would be exposed, above all others, to the attacks of savage warfare, as they would be easily accessible from a variety of directions.

It is not known that any tribe was ever settled permanently in Kentucky; no ownership was exercised over that region, when first visited by the whites; and no exclusive title was vested in any nation of Indians, though several claims were set up, the most important of which was that of the Cherokees. It was a common hunting-ground for many tribes, who visited it from a great distance, roaming over its rich pastures in the seasons for taking game, and making it their temporary residence during a part of every year, for that purpose. It was also the great battle-ground of the Indians, who met here in desperate conflict—either accidentally, when engaged in hunting, or by concert, in the mutual pursuance of a policy which induced them to carry their wars as far as possible from home. The name applied to it by the savages—*the dark and bloody ground*—is terribly significant of the sanguinary character of those conflicts, which rendered this region celebrated in the traditionary legends of that ferocious race. Whether any superstition invested the scenes of so many battles with a peculiar awe, and rendered the savage reluctant to reside here, where he might suppose the spirits of the fallen to be wandering, we have not the means of knowing; we are only informed of the fact, that a tract of country the most luxuriant, the most abundant in game, and the most prolific in all the fruits, and in the spontaneous productions of nature, which yield food or other necessaries of life to the wandering tribes, was an uninhabited wilderness.

Although the pioneers found the country unoccupied by a resident population, and might properly have taken possession, without violating any law of nations, or moral principle; yet it was precisely in that condition which rendered any attempt to settle the land particularly dangerous. These boundless forests swarmed with parties

of hostile savages, who resided too far from the settlements of the whites to fear their power, or to feel any wish to conciliate their friendship. Their own villages and families were, as they supposed, too distant to be exposed to the danger of retaliation. They were abroad, unincumbered with property or dependents, and prepared for war: no delay was suggested by prudence, nor any time required for consultation. A hated race had intruded into the hunting-grounds, for the possession of which they had long disputed among themselves, and with one accord the arms of all were turned against the invaders.

The pioneers were few; they acted on their own responsibility, with the countenance merely, not the aid of the government. In the whole history of the settlement of Kentucky, comprising a period of twenty years, neither men nor munitions were sent to these infant settlements. It was not until the Indians had been repeatedly beaten, and the power of our countrymen was completely established in Kentucky, that the government began to send troops to the west; and the names of Wilkinson, Har-mar, St. Clair, Clarke, and Wayne, are found in the annals of border warfare. And these officers acted chiefly on the Western shores of the Ohio. Yet the pioneers were almost always successful in their battles, and the progress of the settlements was never stopped. They continued to increase steadily in numbers, and to spread gradually over the land. Although the warfare of the Indians was of the most unsparing character, accompanied with all the atrocities of the tomahawk, the firebrand, and the stake, the courage of the pioneers was never damped, and their conduct was equal to every emergency. Without detracting in the least from their merits, it may be inferred, from some of the facts above stated, that the

war against them was never conducted with much skill or concert. Both parties were far from any place which could afford supply or relief, and neither possessed the requisite facilities for any long-sustained effort. The one party usually surprised the other, and the conflict was brief, sanguinary, and, for the time, decisive.

We have alluded, in our introductory chapter, to the character of the pioneers, and the mode of the earliest emigration to Kentucky. We shall now extend these remarks as far only as is necessary to an understanding of the peculiar habits of that remarkably original race, and to the elucidation of their early history.

About the year 1749, a citizen of Frederick county, in Virginia, who was subject to occasional fits of insanity, roamed off into the woods, as was usually his practice under such circumstances. Having rambled farther towards the west than was then customary with the hunters, he came to the waters of Greenbriar river; and, on his return, reported that he had found a stream whose waters ran to the west, and whose shores abounded in game. This intelligence excited the curiosity of the public; but we do not hear of any serious attempt to penetrate into the wilderness. The first desultory effort was that of Jacob Marlin and Stephen Sewell, who wandered out to Greenbriar, and established themselves in a cabin upon its banks. It seems, however, that if there be but two men in a country, they will find a subject for contention; at all events, it happened so with Marlin and Sewell, who quarreled, and the latter, for the sake of peace, quitted their cabin, and took up his abode in a hollow tree. In this situation they were found by General Andrew Lewis, who, in the year 1757, proceeded to the Greenbriar country, to superintend the survey of a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land, made to a company of

individuals by the governor and council of Virginia. On inquiring of these eccentric beings, what could induce them to live separately in a wilderness so distant from all other human beings, they replied, that a difference of opinion had induced them to part, and that, since the division of interests, their intercourse had been more amicable. Sewell added, that each morning, when they arose, Marlin came forth from his house, and himself from the hollow tree, and they saluted each other with, "Good morning, Mr. Marlin!" "Good morning, Mr. Sewell!" a practice which he considered as conclusive evidence of the good understanding and mutual courtesy of the parties. Mr. Sewell, however, was not fully satisfied even in this agreeable neighborhood, but removed about forty miles further west, where he was found by the Indians, and killed.

Previous to the year 1755, General Lewis had completed the survey of about fifty thousand acres; but, the war then commencing between England and France, the work was abandoned. In 1761, the British government issued a proclamation commanding all the colonists within the bounds of Virginia, who had made settlements on the western waters, to remove from them, as those lands were claimed by the Indians, and good policy required that the government should prevent any interference with their rights. As this is one of a very few instances in which Great Britain even pretended to respect the rights of the aborigines, we must, in searching for the true cause of this order, endeavor to find some other than the one assigned. The prevention of bloodshed had not, heretofore, formed any part of the policy of the mother country, whose plan had rather been to render the colonists more dependent upon herself, by keeping them embroiled with the Indians, and by confining their settlements to the

seaboard, where her own power could be most readily concentrated, and most vigorously exerted.

But although this measure of the government checked the spirit of enterprise which had just then been awakened, and caused the abandonment of schemes for the colonization of the western lands, which had been formed by gentlemen of wealth and education, it did not entirely crush the newly kindled desire for exploring this delightful region.

There is a tradition that a person named M'Bride visited Kentucky, and cut his name on a tree at the mouth of Kentucky river, in 1754. If there is any truth in the rumour, it does not appear that he made any report which was believed, or by which others were induced to follow his adventurous footsteps.

In 1747, Dr. Walker, a gentleman of Virginia, led a small party to explore Powell's valley, east of the Laurel ridge, which he called Cumberland mountain. Receiving intelligence, from some source which is now not known, that the Ohio might be reached, at no great distance, by traveling in a north-eastwardly direction, he proceeded on that course until he came to Big Sandy river, having entirely missed the Ohio and the fertile region of Kentucky.

He returned home after a journey of prodigious labor, chiefly among the mountains; and his report was rather calculated to repress than to excite curiosity.

In 1750, he crossed the Cumberland mountain, in company with Colby Chew, Ambrose Powell, and others, but did not reach the Kentucky river.

He made several subsequent excursions into this region, and it is probable that to this circumstance may be attributed the mistakes which have been made in reference to the date of his first visit. We adopt that which Mr.

Butler, in his History of Kentucky, has, upon good evidence, proved to be the correct one.

It appears by a manuscript affidavit of Dr. Walker, which we have examined, that in the month of April, 1750, he visited the waters of the Cumberland, and gave its present name to that river. Its original name was Shawanoe, and it is greatly to be deplored that a designation at once euphonious and appropriate, should have been abandoned, without reason, for a foreign appellation.

In Virginia, Lewis Evans made and published a map of Kentucky, in 1752, from a description given him by the Indians.

In 1766, James Smith visited Kentucky, but we know little of his adventures.

The first adventurer who is known to have penetrated through Kentucky to the Ohio, was John Finley, who, with a few companions, traversed this region in 1767. Of him or his adventures little is known. His account of the country—its extent, its fertility, the abundance of game, and the exuberance of the vegetation, were considered fabulous; and his name would probably have been lost, had it not become connected with that of Daniel Boone, to whom he acted as guide in a subsequent expedition.

Boone was a man of strongly marked character. There is no proof that he possessed great talents, or that he could have shone in any other station than that in which he was placed. His bodily vigor, his love of hunting, his courage, and his perfect equanimity of mind under every vicissitude of fortune, were the prominent points in his character; and his singular adventures, with the fact of his being the first successful explorer of this region, have rendered his name celebrated. He was not a misanthrope, who retired to the woods because he was disgusted

with the world, but a man of social and benevolent feelings, of mild and unassuming manners, and of the strictest integrity. He was bold and daring, deeply imbued with the spirit of adventure, and gifted with an uncommon share of that cool, indomitable courage, which cannot easily be daunted or surprised, that is seldom excited into rashness or chilled into despondency, and that enables its possessor to act with calmness in every emergency.

The character of Boone has been entirely misunderstood, and the inducements which first led him into the wilderness altogether mistaken. We shall not stop here to rebuke the mendacity of sordid writers, who have been tempted by pecuniary considerations, to palm upon the world, under guise of sober biography, a series of spurious adventures, which have composed the story of Boone, and corrupted the history of the times. Such impudent impostures carry within themselves a self-destroying influence, which puts an early period to their existence.

The only authentic account of the first visit of Daniel Boone to Kentucky, is found in a pamphlet written by John Filson, from the dictation of Boone himself, in the year 1789. In this, he mentions that, "on the first of May, 1769 he left his peaceable habitation on the Yadkin river, in North Carolina," and proceeded to explore the country of Kentucky, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, and three others. Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel, afterwards joined them in the wilderness. We find no record of any particular errand which induced the perilous wanderings of these men, other than that which allured so many others to this blooming desert; nor is there the slightest reason for setting Boone apart from his companions, as one differing from them in views or character. He was not an eccentric man, nor did he stand in a class by himself.

His character and adventures are studied and admired, not because he was *sui generis*, but because he was a complete and admirable specimen of the class to which he belonged. A naturalist, in selecting a specimen for description or preservation in a cabinet, takes that which is most perfect, and least adulterated by any foreign admixture. There were thousands of backwoodsmen, who belonged to the same class with Boone, and resembled him in their lives, tastes, and adventures, and he is only celebrated from the circumstance of his being the best specimen of this singular race, that has happened to attract public attention. The simplicity of his character made him more purely a backwoodsman, than any other man—just as simplicity of character attracts observation to talents or excellence of any kind, by creating a singleness of purpose and effort, which leaves the strong points of the natural mind, unincumbered by the artificial refinements, the distracting passions, and the diversified pursuits, which surround and conceal the native genius of most individuals.

Boone and his companions were inflamed with curiosity, by the accounts which they had heard of the surpassing beauty and fertility of Kentucky; and this, which was certainly a sufficient inducement to men of erratic habits and courageous temperament, might have been the only motive for their journey. But there is some reason to believe that even in his first visit to Kentucky, Boone came as the agent of some wealthy individuals in North Carolina, who were desirous to speculate in these lands, and who selected him to make the first reconnoissance of the country, not only because he was an intrepid hunter, but in consideration of his judgment and probity. It is certain that he was thus employed immediately after his return, and that he continued for many years to be engaged

in the transaction of business for others, to the entire neglect of his personal aggrandisement.

Be this as it may, the adventures of these bold explorers are full of romantic interest. They found the land filled with hostile Indians, against whose arts they were obliged to keep a continual watch. By day they wandered with stealthy steps, adding to their boldness of purpose, the vigilance that ensures success, and at night they crept into the most secret coverts for repose; practicing the arts of savage life for subsistence, and the stratagems of border warfare for protection. Superior to the red men in the devices of their own sylvan strategy, they eluded, or beat them, and continued to roam through these blooming deserts, if not with impunity, at least with a degree of success that seems marvellous.

Boone continued to explore the wilderness for two years, with no little variety of fortune, but with that indomitable perseverance which formed a leading trait in his character. Once, himself and a companion were captured, and escaped; more than once their camp was plundered; they were robbed of their arms and ammunition, and left to glean a subsistence as they might, without the weapons which in the backwoods are necessaries, equally requisite in defending life and procuring food. One of the party was killed; the rest returned home, except Boone, and his brother, the latter of whom having arrived since the disarming of the party, was able to supply the pioneer with a gun and ammunition. They wintered together in a cabin formed of poles and bark. In the spring of 1770, the brother returned to North Carolina, leaving Daniel Boone alone in the woods, the only white man known to be in Kentucky.

If any proof was wanting, of the ardor with which Boone pursued his designs, or the courage that he im-

parted to others, it would be found in this separation of the brothers; the one singly undertaking a painful and dangerous journey, of several hundred miles, without a path or a guide, the other remaining alone in the midst of a wilderness, separated from the habitations of white men by a range of almost inaccessible mountains, and surrounded by hundreds of enemies, who eagerly sought his life, and daily traced his footsteps with unwearied hostility. The intrepid pioneer continued to rove through the forest, subsisting upon game, and eluding the Indians by cunning devices, until the return of his brother, in the July of the same year; they explored the country together during the remainder of that year, again wintered in the wilderness, and in the spring of 1771, returned to their families.

In 1769, Hancock Taylor, Richard Taylor, and others, descended the Ohio to the falls, and proceeded thence to New Orleans, and back to Virginia by sea.

About the same time, a party, consisting of about forty hunters, from New River, Holston, and Clinch, united in an expedition to the west, and nine of the party, led by Colonel James Knox, reached Kentucky. They penetrated to the waters of Green River, and the lower part of Cumberland.

In the year 1773, Thomas Bullit, Hancock Taylor, and the M'Affees, engaged with ardor and success in the business of exploring and settling Kentucky, and became conspicuous individuals in the new community.

CHAPTER X.

Purchases from the Indians—Treaty of Fort Stanwix—Treaty of Lochaber—Purchases by individuals—The Transylvania Company.

IN the year 1774 commenced a series of events, which exerted a decided influence on the early growth of the settlements in Kentucky, but which, in most of the published narratives of the histories of those times, are not mentioned, and in others barely alluded to. As these facts will be new to the public, and as the writer has had the opportunity of investigating them carefully, from the original papers of some of the gentlemen concerned, placed in his hands through a source of unquestionable respectability, this fragment of the history of the pioneers will be developed with some degree of minuteness.

A few preliminary observations, however, may be necessary to elucidate this subject with greater clearness. The several explorations of the country bordering on the Ohio, to which we have alluded, although they did not elicit any great amount of accurate information, either in respect to its extent or advantages, threw into circulation a mass of reports which strongly excited the public mind, and induced the functionaries of Great Britain and of the colonies, as well as a number of intelligent individuals, to turn their attention to this region. In 1768, at a treaty held with the Six Nations by Sir William Johnson, the

claim of those nations to all the lands on the south-east side of the Ohio river, as far down as the Cherokee river, was purchased by Great Britain. The title of the Six Nations to any part of this country, seems to have been extremely problematical. We are not aware of any that a savage people can have, but that of actual occupancy; and there is no proof of their having ever resided in any part of it, or that their conquests were at any time extended into the Mississippi valley. It is probable that Great Britain did not investigate that matter with critical nicety, but rather pursued the policy, since adopted by the United States, of purchasing the conflicting Indian titles, and of making her own claim secure by merging in it all others. Nor was this purchase made for the purpose of facilitating the settlement of the west, which the parent country always discouraged; but to secure the possession to herself of the interior frontier, and to prevent the founding of colonies in juxta position with her own, by any other nation.

It was in accordance with these views, that Great Britain authorised the treaty of 1768, during the existence of an order in council which prohibited the settlement of the western lands; and that, in 1770, Lord Botetourte, at the urgent instance of the general assembly of Virginia, made arrangements for the extinguishment of the title of the Cherokees to the same territory. On the fifth of October of that year, a treaty was accordingly held with those Indians, at Lochaber, in South Carolina, by John Stewart, superintendent of Indian affairs, acting under the auspices of the colony of Virginia, when a boundary line was established between the contracting parties, "beginning at Holstein river, six miles above Big Island, thence running in a direct line till it should strike the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." John Donaldson, the surveyor

who traced this line by an appointment from the president and council of Virginia, states, in a manuscript affidavit which we have seen, "that, in the progress of the work, they came to the head of Louisa, now Kentucky river, when the Little Carpenter (a Cherokee chief,) observed, that his nation delighted in having their lands marked out by natural boundaries; and proposed that, instead of the line agreed upon at Lochaber, as aforesaid, it should break off at the head of Louisa river, and run thence to the mouth thereof, and thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Great Kenhawa." This boundary was accordingly agreed to by the surveyor. It is further stated, by the same authority, "that leave having been granted by the king of Great Britain, to treat with the Cherokees for a more extensive boundary than that which had been established at the treaty of Hard Labour, provided the Virginians would be at the expense of purchasing the same, the general assembly voted the sum of £2,500 sterling for that purpose, which sum was accordingly paid to the Cherokees," in consideration, as we presume, of the additional lands gained by the alteration of the line by the surveyor, and in confirmation of his act.

These proceedings are only important now, as they show that, by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Lochaber, the conflicting Indian titles were extinguished, south of the Ohio river, as far west as the Kentucky river.

About this period, a number of enterprising gentlemen in Virginia and North Carolina began to turn their attention to the region west of the Kentucky river, with the view of purchasing estates in fee simple, for themselves, directly from the Indians.

We have before us a deposition, in manuscript, of the celebrated Patrick Henry, in which he states, that, early in the year 1774, he entered into an arrangement with the

Hon. William Byrd, John Page, Esq., and Col. William Christian, all of Virginia, for the purpose of purchasing, from the Cherokees, "some of their land on the waters of their own river in Virginia," and that they sent a Mr. Kennedy to the Cherokee nation, to ascertain the practicability of the scheme. The report of the agent was, that they were willing to treat on the subject. "Not long after this," says the document in our possession, "and before any treaty was resolved on, the troubles with Great Britain seemed to threaten serious consequences; and this deponent became a member of the first Virginia convention, and a member of the first continental congress, upon which he determined with himself to disclaim all concern and connection with Indian purchases, for the reasons following: that is to say, he was informed, shortly after his arrival in congress, of many purchases of Indian lands, shares in most or all of which were offered to this deponent, and constantly refused by him, because of the enormity of the extent to which the bounds of those purchases were carried; that disputes had arisen on the subject of these purchases; and that this deponent, being a member of congress and convention, conceived it improper for him to be concerned as a party in any of these partnerships, on which it was probable he might decide as a judge. He was farther fixed in his determination not to be concerned in any Indian purchases whatever, on the prospect of the present war, by which the sovereignty and right of disposal of the soil of America would probably be claimed by the American States." This deposition is dated June 4, 1777.

Of the purchases alluded to in the above deposition, the most extensive, and the most important in its bearing upon the history of the pioneers, is that of the Transylvania company, composed of Richard Henderson, William

Johnston, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, David Hart, John Williams, James Hogg, and Leonard Henley Bullock. These gentlemen, who were residents of North Carolina, made certain preliminary arrangements in the fall of the year 1774, with the "Overhill Cherokee Indians," for a treaty to be held the following year. In March, 1775, Colonel Henderson, acting for the company, met the chiefs of that nation, attended by about twelve hundred of their people, at a fort on the Watauga, the south-eastern branch of the Holston river. A solemn council was held, and after several days spent in conference and full discussion of every matter relating to the purchase, the company obtained from the Indians, in exchange for a valuable consideration paid them in merchandise, two several deeds, signed by Okonistoto, their chief warrior, and by Atakullakulla, and Savonooko, the next in rank, in behalf of the nation, and with the assent of the warriors present. The two grants comprehended separate tracts, lying within the chartered limits of Virginia and North Carolina. The first was bounded as follows: "Beginning on the Ohio river, at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoe, or what by the English is called Louisa river; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course, to the top of the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a north-west course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river; thence down the said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river, and up the said river, as it meanders, to the beginning."

The other deed comprised a tract "beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain

strikes the same; thence up the said river, as it meanders, to where the Virginia line crosses the same; thence westward along the line run by Donaldson, to a point six English miles eastward of the long island in said Holston river; thence a direct course towards the mouth of the Great Canaway, until it reaches the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westward along the said ridge to the place of beginning."

The first of these grants, it will be perceived, is much the largest, and comprises the whole of Kentucky south of the river of that name, and by far the greater part of the lands now contained in that State. The other includes a vast territory within the then limits of North Carolina, lying on the rivers Holston, Clinch, Powel, and Cumberland, to the amount of many millions of acres.

This purchase from the aborigines having been made previous to the Declaration of Independence, and the Transylvania Company being put in possession of the territory by the Indians, the title of the grantees was supposed to be complete, and they proceeded immediately to make extensive arrangements for the settlement of their lands. Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and John Luttrell, were appointed to proceed to the new territory, which was called Transylvania, for the purpose of planting a colony; and they accordingly set out, at the head of a small party, early in the year 1775. Daniel Boone was their guide; and it seems to be extremely probable, though we have no direct evidence of the fact, that his previous visits to Kentucky were made at the suggestion of these gentlemen, and that their confidence in his report induced them to make the purchase. It is certain, from their letters to each other, many of which are in the possession of the writer, that they had obtained, from some source, a mass of accurate information

with which the public was not acquainted; and, as they would naturally resort to some confidential and secret means through which to obtain such intelligence, we give credit to a rumor which has reached us, that Boone was the agent employed for that purpose. These circumstances afford a new elucidation of the character of that intrepid pioneer; and, although they take nothing from the strong points of his character, entirely dissipate the romantic theories of some of his biographers, with regard to the motives which first led him to become a wanderer in the western wilderness.

Colonel Henderson and his associates reached Powell's Valley, one of the most western settlements of North Carolina, in the beginning of April, 1775, at the head of forty armed men, and an additional number, probably, of non-combatants—for they had under their charge forty pack-horses. This party was preceded by a smaller one, under the direction of Daniel Boone, who had been employed to mark out a road. We have before us a letter from Colonel Henderson, to his partners in North Carolina, dated Powell's Valley, April 8, 1775, from which we make the following extracts, for the purpose of illustrating the difficulties encountered in this expedition, in the language of one who was concerned.

“Few enterprises of great consequence continue at all times to wear a favorable aspect; ours has met with the common fate, from the incautious proceedings of a few headstrong and unthinking people. On the twenty-fifth of March last, the Indians fired upon a small party of men, in camp, near the Louisa, killed two and put four others to the route; and on the 27th, did likewise on Daniel Boone's camp, and killed a white man and a negro on the spot, but the survivors maintained their ground and saved their baggage. But for a more particular ac-

count I refer you to Mr. Boone's original letter on that occasion, which came to hand last night. You scarcely need information that these accidents have a bad effect with respect to us." * * * * "You observe from Mr. Boone's letter the absolute necessity of our not losing one moment, therefore don't be surprised at not receiving a particular account of our journey with the several little misfortunes and cross accidents, which have caused us to be delayed so that we are still one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty miles from our journey's end. We are all in high spirits, and on thorns to fly to Boone's assistance, and join him in defence of so fine and valuable a country. My only motives for stopping, are, first, that you should receive a just representation of the affair, and secondly, to request your immediate assistance; for want of workmen our wagons are laid aside at Captain Martin's in this valley; the chief of our salt and all our saltpetre and brimstone are left behind."

The letter from Daniel Boone, alluded to above, is also in our possession, and we copy it entire, as a valuable relic of that bold and successful pioneer; premising, that as Mr. Boone was less expert in the art of spelling than in the use of the rifle, we correct the orthography, except in the case of one or two words. The letter is addressed to "Colonel Richard Henderson—these with care," and runs as follows:

"April the first, 1775.

"Dear Colonel,

"After my compliments to you, I shall acquaint you of our misfortune. On march the 25 a party of Indians fired on my company about a half an hour before day, and killed Mr. Twitty and his negro, and wounded Mr. Walker very deeply, but I hope he will recover. On

March the 28 as we were hunting for provisions we found Samuel Tate's son, who gave us an account that the Indians fired on their camp on the 27 day. My brother and I went down and found two men killed and scalped, Thomas McDowell and Jeremiah McPeters. I have sent a man down to all the lower companies in order to gather them all to the mouth of Otter Creek. My advise to you, sir, is to come or send as soon as possible. Your company is desired greatly, for the people are very uneasy, but are willing to stay and venture their lives with you, and now is the time to flusterate their* intentions and keep the country, whilst we are in it. If we give way to them now, it will ever be the case. This day we start from the battle ground, for the mouth of Otter Creek, where we shall immediately erect a fort, which will be done before you can come or send—then we can send ten men to meet you, if you send for them.

I am sir your most obedient

DANIEL BOONE.

N. B.—We stood on the ground and guarded our baggage till day, and lost nothing. We have about fifteen miles to Cantuck at Otter Creek.”

This letter, with which we have taken no liberty except the one already indicated, is highly characteristic of the writer. It is a plain and sensible communication, from a cool-headed man, who uses no more words than are necessary to express his ideas. He takes no credit to himself for having beaten the Indians, nor makes any professions for the future, but modestly intimates that the presence of the leader of the enterprise is necessary to ensure its success. The suggestion, “now is the time to *flusterate*”

* Meaning the Indians.

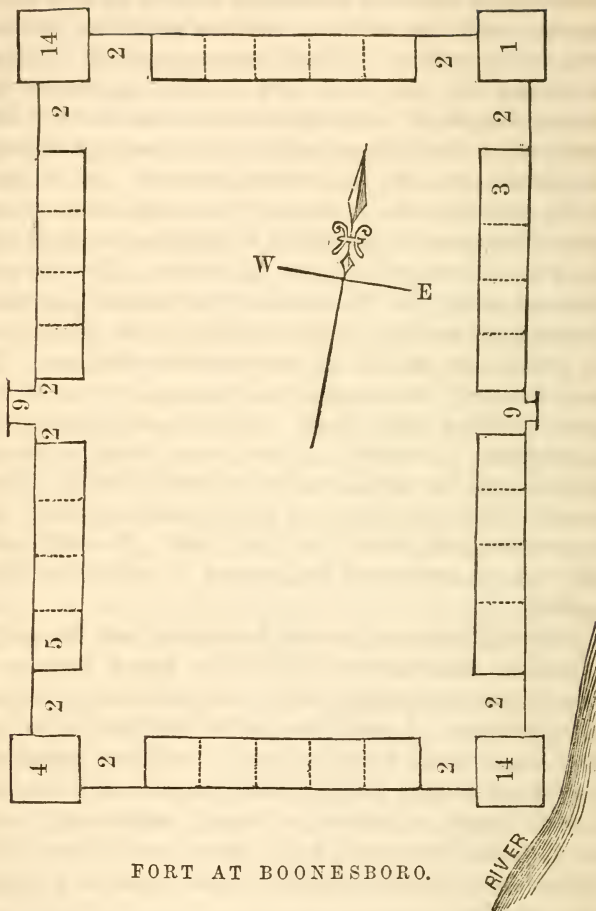
the intentions of the savages, "and keep the country while we are in it," is consistent with the known determination of his character, while the prediction, "if we give way to them now, it will ever be the case," comports well with the prudence and common sense which always governed him, when acting in his proper sphere, as a hunter or a warrior. We are even pleased with the commencement, "After my compliments," and the conclusion, "I am, Sir, your most obedient," which show that the sturdy woodsman was not unacquainted with courtesies of good society. We shall only add, that the word *Cantuck*, refers to Kentucky river, and that the fort which he proposed to erect, was that which was afterwards called Boonsboro.

The prospects of Colonel Henderson's party became still more gloomy, after the date of this letter to which we have referred. As they proceeded, they met persons returning from Kentucky, discontented or panic-struck, who gave the most exaggerated accounts of the dangers from which they had escaped, and represented the situation of Boone as being imminently precarious. The hired men became discouraged, and it required all the efforts of the leaders to urge them forward. Every sound they heard, every group of wayworn woodsmen they met, filled them with the apprehension that Boone had been obliged to abandon his post, or that the approaching travelers brought some disastrous tidings of the pioneer. "It was owing to Boone's confidence in us," says Colonel Henderson, in one of his letters, "and to the people's in him, that a stand was ever attempted, to await our coming;" and it was natural that great uneasiness should be felt for him in whom such confidence was placed, and whose post, in advance of the expedition, was so important. It became, therefore, desirable that he should be apprised of the approach of his friends, in

order that he might be encouraged to hold his post at all hazards, until their arrival. But how could the information be transmitted? What messenger would venture to traverse the wild, beset with Indians, and incur the various dangers of a solitary journey of one hundred and thirty miles, the distance which still intervened between the travelers and the end of their journey! Mr. William Cocke, observing the anxiety of his companions, generously volunteered to undertake the perilous mission, and the offer was too gratifying to be refused. The day was dark and rainy; the gloominess of the weather depressed the spirits of the party, and the parting of Mr. Cocke and his friends was marked by inauspicious forebodings. He was "fixed off," to use again the language of one of the party, "with a good Queen Anne's musket, plenty of ammunition, a tomhock, a large cuttoe knife, a Dutch blanket, and no small quantity of jerked beef." Thus equipped, and mounted on a good horse, he quitted his companions, and dashed into the forest. We shall only add, that he performed his mission in safety and with success.

Colonel Henderson reached Boonsboro, with his party, a few days afterwards, and found the people there in a state of careless security, which evinced the most perfect self-confidence. A small fort, which the labor of two or three days would have rendered a sufficient protection against any sudden inroad of the Indians, had been suffered to remain unfinished and wholly useless, and it was not until this little colony had suffered severely from their indiscretion, that Fort Boonsboro was placed in a defensible condition.

As this fortress affords one of the earliest specimens of the kind, we are glad to be able to present an authentic drawing of it.



FORT AT BOONESBORO.

1. Colonel Henderson's House....2. Stockades....3. Colonel Henderson's Kitchen....4. Mr. Luttrell's House....5. His Kitchen....9. Fort Gates....14. Houses built for Colonel Hart and Colonel Williams.

Those places not numbered were cabins.

The engraving is made from an original plan of Boonesboro, in the hand-writing of Colonel Henderson.

The fort was composed of four lines of cabins, those at the corners being larger than the others, and projecting so as to form bastions.

The dimensions of the enclosure are not stated; but if we allow an average of twenty feet for each cabin and opening, the length of the fort must have been about two hundred and sixty, and the breadth one hundred and eighty feet.

“We are now seated,” says Colonel Henderson, in one of his letters, “at the mouth of Otter Creek, on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles of each other. There were some time ago about a hundred persons at the two places, though now perhaps there are not more than sixty or seventy, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c., and some have returned, by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. These men in the course of hunting provisions, exploring lands, &c., are some of them constantly out, and scour the woods from the banks of the river, near forty or fifty miles southward. On the opposite side of the river, and north from us about 40 miles, is a settlement on the crown lands of about nineteen persons, and lower down towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some other settlers—how many, or at what place, I can’t exactly learn.” “Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements,—and is a very good man, Colonel Floyd, the surveyor, and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate with the utmost despatch, every piece of intelligence, respecting danger, or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of either, both the other parties are instantly to march, and relieve

the distressed if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so tender and luxuriant, that it is almost impossible for man or dog to travel, without leaving such a sign, that you might gallop a horse on the trail. It is impossible for any number of persons to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered, if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived, if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances I think myself secure against any formidable attack, &c."

Among the original letters in our possession, is one from Colonel John Williams, dated at Boonsboro, 27th December 1775, from which we extract the following incident. "Last Saturday, in the afternoon, Colonel Campbell, with two lads, went over the river, where they parted, and went different ways over the hill. About 300 yards from the fort, Colonel Campbell was fired on by a couple of Indians, who missed him. The gun was heard, the alarm given, and we got him safe to the fort. The two lads not returning that night, and having no guns with them, we had doubtful apprehensions, and not hearing any thing of them until Monday, we despatched a party of men to see if they could make any discovery,—as we had done on Saturday after Campbell returned. They found one killed and scalped about three miles from town, the other we have yet heard nothing of, but suppose he has shared the same fate. We had at that time a dozen or fifteen men over the river, hunting in separate parties, though they have since all returned except two. Whether they have been unsuccessful in their hunt, or have fallen into the hands of the enemy, is doubtful—the latter is apprehended. We yesterday despatched a party of twenty men under the command of Jesse Benton to scour the

woods, and discover if possible whether they are satisfied with what they have done, or whether they are lurking about to do more mischief before they go. So far, this is a bad story, but hear the circumstances, and it will appear less unfavorable. Last October, at the treaty at Pittsburgh, Cornstalk, king of the Shawnees, said that before application from the congress for a treaty, five or six of his men had set out for Kentucky, and he was apprehensive might do some damage, and that it was out of his power to apprise them of the terms of the treaty, as he did not know where to send a messenger to them; but that he would stop them for the future, and if any of his men got killed on that expedition it should give no umbrage. There was about that number of Indians seen near the war path about fifteen miles east of this place, two or three days before the mischief was done, all which we knew nothing of until since, &c."

While the Transylvania Company was employed in the fruitless attempt to establish a proprietary government in Kentucky, a number of individuals were engaged, either singly or in companies, in exploring the same territory, as well as the adjacent lands north of the Kentucky river, and in settling such spots as they chose to occupy, without any reference to the claim of Henderson and his partners. Monopolies are never popular, and in our country none are less acceptable than those which refer to real estate. Having never been accustomed to the existence among us of a privileged class, we do not readily submit to any measure, the tendency of which is to confer exclusive advantages upon a few individuals. Our sympathies are with the majority, and our judgments predisposed in favor of that which confers the greatest benefit on the largest number of citizens. Our notions with regard to land are perhaps peculiar to our country; but they are natural and

obviously just. The opinion is as old as the States, that the soil is common property held for the public good, and that individuals should not be permitted to appropriate to themselves more than they can use; with the exception only in favor of those, who accumulate large landed estates by successful industry, or purchase them in good faith, for valuable considerations. A grant therefore of enormous magnitude, either by the aborigines or the government, to a few gentlemen, for a consideration which, though technically valuable, was in fact inconsiderable, could not be otherwise than odious.

The Indian title has never been clearly defined, nor held in much esteem. Not having themselves very clear ideas of property, the savages could hardly impress others with distinct notions of the rights which they held by a tenure so vague—which they bartered away with careless prodigality, and claimed to resume upon the slightest pretext. Among them the soil had never been reduced to individual property; there was no title by allodium, or simple fee, and nothing that could be transferred to individuals. Their right was that of sovereignty, the possession that of the whole tribe, and the only cession they could make was such as by common usage is allowable alone between sovereigns, or established governments. Such was the decision of Virginia at first, and of congress afterwards, upon the purchase of Henderson and company; and such seems to have been the common-sense opinion formed by the adventurers who settled within the boundaries claimed by those gentlemen, in disregard of the treaty of the latter with the Cherokees.

Nor was the time propitious to the design of those enterprising individuals. The revolutionary war had commenced, and with it the doubt and misrule incident to such a crisis. The adventurer to the wilds of Kentucky

must have possessed a prophetic spirit, as well as a more than ordinary knowledge, political and legal, to have been able to decide between the proprietary rights of the Cherokees, and the Six Nations, the Transylvania Company, and the State of Virginia, the Congress, and the Crown of Great Britain; and to select from so great a number, the lord paramount under whom it would be most safe to hold. The obvious consequence was, that the Virginians who emigrated took out titles under their own State, the North Carolinians who came at the invitation of Henderson and company purchased from them, while a large class took possession of such tracts as suited them, determined to hold them against all adverse claimants, and to perfect their titles under the authority which should ultimately prove successful.

This then was the first of the numerous party divisions, by which the peace of Kentucky has been disturbed, and her prosperity impeded; and the early introduction of factional discussions may be regarded as having been not a little ominous of the future history of the State. Although little has been published in reference to those early differences, we find, from the documents in our possession, that there was in fact much angry controversy between the parties who respectively admitted or denied the validity of the cession to Henderson and company, and we believe that the germ of much subsequent dissension was unhappily planted at that time. But it is gratifying to observe, that however they might differ on that subject, they were always firmly united in the bond of patriotism, and acted with uniform vigor and harmony in repelling the inroads of the savages, and in resisting the tyranny of Great Britain. The best interests of Kentucky have been continually jeopardized by her intestine quarrels, but she has never for a moment swerved from

her fidelity to the Union, of which she is one of the brightest ornaments. The foundations of national, as well as of individual character, are early laid; and in the first settlement of all our American States, we find some indications of the character by which they have become distinguished. In the State of Kentucky, the evidences of this truth stand out in bold relief, in the original and strongly marked character of the inhabitants, among whom the daring, the hardihood, and the generosity of the pioneer, with the independence of thought peculiar to the revolutionary period at which their institutions began to be planted, remain conspicuously impressed upon the whole mass of the native population.

CHAPTER XI.

A proprietary government established—First meeting of a Convention of Delegates—Their proceedings.

THE Proprietors of Transylvania, as they supposed themselves to be, having led a gallant band of adventurers to the vast but blooming desert which they had purchased, and erected a few forts, at the several points where settlements were intended to be formed, proceeded at once to the formation of a colonial government, as well for the purpose of asserting thus early their rights of propriety and sovereignty, as for the establishment of social and civil order. As this is a curious and important event in the history of Kentucky, and as it can not be related in more suitable language than that of the persons engaged in it, we shall transcribe the record, from the original papers in our possession. It is in the following words :

“A Journal of the proceedings of the house of delegates or representatives of the colony of Transylvania, begun on Wednesday the 23rd of May, in the year of our Lord Christ, 1775, and in the fifteenth year of the reign of his majesty, king of Great Britain.”

The proprietors of said colony having called and required an election of delegates or representatives to be made for the purpose of legislation, or making and ordaining laws and regulations for the future conduct of the

inhabitants thereof, that is to say, for the town of Boonesboro' six members, for Harrodsburgh four, for the Boiling Spring settlement four, for the town of St. Asaph four, and appointed their meeting for the purpose aforesaid, on the aforesaid 23rd of May, Anno Domini 1775, and:

It being certified to us here this day by the Secretary,* that the following persons were returned as duly elected for the several towns and settlements, to wit:

For Boonesboro—Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, William Cocke, Samuel Henderson, William Moore, and Richard Calloway.

For Harrodsburgh—Thomas Slaughter, John Lythe, Valentine Harmon, and James Douglass.

For Boiling Spring settlement—James Harrod, Nathan Hammond, Isaac and Azariah Davis.

For the town of St. Asaph—John Todd, Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, John Floyd, and Samuel Wood.

Present—Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, &c.,” (repeating all the above names,) who took their seats at convention:

The house unanimously chose Col. Thomas Slaughter chairman, and Matthew Jewett clerk; and after divine service was performed by the Rev. John Lythe, the house waited on the proprietors, and acquainted them that they had chosen Mr. Thomas Slaughter chairman, and Matthew Jewett clerk, of which they approved; and Colonel Richard Henderson, in behalf of himself and the rest of the proprietors, opened the convention with a speech, a copy of which, to prevent mistakes, the chairman procured.

Ordered, the same speech be read. Read the same which is as follows: [We omit the speech, the answer of the

* An officer appointed by the proprietors, corresponding with a secretary of state.

convention, and the replication of Colonel Henderson, which are too long to be inserted in this place.]

On motion made, ordered, that Mr. Todd have leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein; ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Calloway, and Mr. Henderson, do bring in a bill for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Douglass, leave is given to bring in a bill for regulating a militia; ordered, that Mr. Floyd, Mr. Harrod, Mr. Cocke, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee for that purpose.

On motion of Mr. Daniel Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for preserving game, &c.; ordered, that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, Mr. Harmon, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Moore, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, brought in by the committee, and read by Mr. Todd—passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

The bill for establishing and regulating a militia, brought in by the committee, read by Mr. Floyd—ordered to be read by the clerk—passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

The bill for preserving game, brought in by the committee, ordered to be read by the clerk—read, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until to-morrow, six o'clock.

26th May. Met according to adjournment.

Mr. Robert M'Afee appointed sergeant at arms.

Ordered, that the sergeant at arms bring John Guess before this convention, to answer for an insult offered Colonel Richard Calloway.

The bill for regulating a militia, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read a second time—ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Dandridge, Mr. Todd, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Calloway, be a committee to take it into consideration.

On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in an attachment bill—ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Douglass, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read by the clerk, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for a second reading.

On motion of Mr. Dandridge, leave is given to bring in a bill to ascertain clerks' and sheriffs' fees.

The said bill was read, and passed the first time—ordered to be referred for the second reading.

On motion made by Mr. Todd, ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Lythe, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, be a committee to draw up a compact between the proprietors and the people of this colony.

On motion of Mr. Lythe, leave is given to bring in a bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath breaking—The same read by the clerk, ordered, that it be recommitted, and that Mr. Lythe, Mr. Todd, and Mr. Harrod, be a committee to make amendments.

Mr. Guess was brought before the convention, and reprimanded by the chairman.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod wait on the proprietors, to know what name for this colony would be agreeable. Mr. Todd and Mr. Harrod reported, that it was their pleasure that it should be called *Transylvania*.

The bill for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, read a second time, passed—and ordered to be engrossed.

The attachment bill read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

A bill for preserving game, read the second time, and passed—ordered to be recommitted, and that Mr. Todd, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Harrod, be a committee to take it into consideration.

The militia bill read a third time, and passed.

On motion of Mr. Todd, leave is given to bring in a bill for the punishment of criminals—ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Lythe, be a committee for that purpose.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill for improving the breed of horses. Ordered that Mr. Boone, Mr. Davis, and Mr. Hammond, bring in a bill for that purpose.

The bill for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, read a third time, and passed.

The bill for establishing writs of attachment, read a third time and passed.

On motion, ordered that Mr. Todd have leave to absent himself from this house.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, brought in by the committee, read by the clerk, passed the first time, and ordered to be read a second time.

The bill for establishing courts of judicature, and regulating the practice therein, read the third time with amendments, and passed.

The bill for improving the breed of horses, brought in by Capt. Boone, read the first time, passed, and ordered to be for consideration, etc.

Ordered, that the convention adjourn until to-morrow, six o'clock.

Met according to adjournment.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking, read the second time, with amendments; ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, brought in and read; passed the second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

The bill for the improvement of the breed of horses was read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered, that Mr. Harrod, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Cocke, wait on the proprietors, and beg they will not indulge any person whatever in granting them lands on the present terms unless they comply with the former proposals of settling the country, etc.

On motion of Squire Boone, leave is given to bring in a bill to preserve the range; ordered, that he have leave to bring in a bill for that purpose.

The following message was received from the proprietors, to wit:

To give every possible satisfaction to the good people, your constituents, we desire to exhibit our title deed from the aborigines and first owners of the soil in Transylvania, and hope you will cause an entry to be made of the exhibition in your journals, including the corners and abutments of the lands or country contained therein, so that the boundaries of our colony may be known and kept on record.

RICHARD HENDERSON.

Transylvania, 27th May, 1775.

Ordered, that Mr. Todd, Mr. Douglass, and Mr. Hite, inform the proprietors that their request will be complied

with; in consequence of which Colonel Henderson personally attended the convention with Mr. John Farrow, attorney in fact for the head warriors or chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, who, in presence of the convention, made livery and seisin of all the lands, in a deed or feofment then produced, bearing date the 7th day of March last, 1775. [We omit the boundaries which are here set forth on the record, having already given them to our readers in another place.]

A bill for preserving the range, brought in by the committee and read, passed the first time; ordered to be laid by for second consideration.

The bill to prevent profane swearing and Sabbath-breaking, read the third time, and passed.

Ordered, that Mr. Calloway and Mr. Cocke wait on the proprietors with the laws that have passed, for their perusal and approbation.

The committee, appointed to draw up the compact between the proprietors and the people, brought in and read it, as follows, viz:

Whereas, it is highly necessary, for the peace of the proprietors and the security of the people of this colony, that the powers of the one and the liberties of the other be ascertained; We, Richard Henderson, Nathaniel Hart, and J. Luttrell, on behalf of ourselves, as well as the other proprietors of the colony of Transylvania, of the one part and the representatives of the people of said colony, in convention assembled, of the other part—do most solemnly enter into the following contract or agreement, to wit:

1. That the election of delegates in this colony be annual.

2. That the convention may adjourn, and meet again on their own adjournment; Provided, that in cases of great emergency, the proprietors may call together the delegates

before the time adjourned to; and, if a majority do not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

3. That, to prevent dissension and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

4. That there be perfect religious freedom and general toleration; Provided, that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, evidently tending to the subversion of our laws, shall, for such conduct, be amenable to, and punished by, the civil courts.

5. That the judges of the superior or supreme courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them be answerable for their malconduct.

6. That the quit-rents never exceed two shillings sterling per hundred acres.

7. That the proprietors appoint a sheriff, who shall be one of three persons recommended by the court.

8. That the judges of the superior courts have, without fee or reward, the appointment of the clerks of this colony.

9. That the judges of the inferior courts be recommended by the people, and approved by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

10. That all other civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

11. That the office of surveyor-general belong to no person interested or a partner in this purchase.

12. That the legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people; a council, not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, who reside in the colony, and the proprietors.

13. That nothing with respect to the number of delegates from any town or settlement shall hereafter be drawn into precedent, but that the number of representatives shall be ascertained by law, when the state of the colony will admit of amendment.

14. That the land office be always open.

15. That commissions, without profit, be granted without fee.

16. That the fees and salaries of all officers appointed by the proprietors, be settled and regulated by the laws of the country.

17. That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public moneys, and electing their treasurer.

18. That, for a short time, till the state of the colony will permit to fix some place of holding the convention which shall be permanent, the place of meeting shall be agreed upon between the proprietors and the convention.

To the faithful and religious and perpetual observance of all and every of the above articles, the said proprietors, on behalf of themselves as well as those absent, and the chairman of the convention on behalf of them and their constituents, have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and affixed their seals, the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six.

RICHARD HENDERSON. [*Seal.*]

NATHANIEL HART. [*Seal.*]

J. LUTTREL. [*Seal.*]

T. SLAUGHTER, Chair'n. [*Seal.*]

A bill for improving the breed of horses, read the third time and passed.

The bill for the punishment of criminals, read the third time and passed.

The bill to preserve the range, read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed.

Ordered, that Mr. Lythe wait on Colonel Henderson and the rest of the proprietors, with the bill for establishing courts of justice and regulating the practice therein.

The bill to preserve the range, read the third time and passed.

Ordered, that Colonel Calloway wait on the proprietors with the bill for preserving the range.

Ordered, that a fair copy of the several bills, passed into laws, be transmitted to every settlement in this colony that is represented.

Ordered, that the delegates of Boonesboro be a committee to see that all the bills that are passed be transcribed, in a fair hand, into a book for that purpose.

Ordered, that the proprietors be waited on by the chairman, acquainting them that all the bills are ready for signing.

The following bills this day passed and signed by the proprietors, on behalf of themselves and their partners, and the chairman of the convention, on behalf of himself and the other delegates:

1. An act for establishing courts of jurisdiction and regulating the practice therein.
2. An act for regulating a militia.
3. An act for the punishment of criminals.
4. An act to prevent profane swearing, and Sabbath breaking.
5. An act for writs of attachment.
6. An act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees.
7. An act to preserve the range.
8. An act for improving the breed of horses.
9. An act for preserving game.

All of the above mentioned acts were signed by the

chairman and proprietors, except the act for ascertaining clerks' and sheriffs' fees, which was omitted by the clerks not giving it in with the rest.

Ordered, that at the next meeting of delegates, if any member be absent and doth not attend, that the people choose one to serve in the room of such absent member.

Ordered, that the convention be adjourned until the first Thursday in September next, then to meet at Boonesboro.

MATTHEW JEWITT, Clark.

We present this as a creditable specimen of the intelligence and disposition of the pioneers; affording as it does, the most ample testimony, that they were not a band of mere lawless adventurers, unable to appreciate the advantages of social order, and eager to escape the restraints of civil subordination. We see here the same hardy men, who with infinite peril and fatigue had conquered for themselves a resting-place in the wilderness, assembling in a rude forest fortress, to commence the structure of their social compact. With no precedents before them, with neither laws nor lawyers, instructed only by their own perceptions of right and wrong, and their recollections of the laws under which they had lived, they enact a simple code whose provisions evince a clear understanding of the elementary principles of free government, while its brevity shows the confidence reposed by these brave men in each other. Their convention is organized in the usual manner, and decently opened with prayer, and three days are spent in the utmost harmony in the discharge of the duties of this primitive legislation. It is probable that the speeches were not long, nor the motions very formal, but we apprehend that the colony of Transylvania was erected, its courts established, its militia organized, and even its game protected, with as much propriety as usually marks the primary assemblies of the people.

In the autumn of the same year, the proprietors determined to send a delegate to Congress, and accordingly, at a meeting of those gentlemen, held at Oxford, in the county of Granville, North Carolina, on the 25th of September, 1775, Mr. James Hogg, one of their own number, was appointed to represent them in the continental Congress. Mr. Hogg repaired to Philadelphia, but did not claim a seat among the patriot fathers of our republic, then convened at that city, for reasons which are detailed at length, in a letter, which we copy in another place.

We omit a variety of other interesting particulars which throw a light upon the transactions of this period, preferring to make copious extracts from the documents before us, and to place them in an appendix, where the reader may see the events described in the language of the actors.

The attempt to establish a proprietary government received no sanction from the State of Virginia, or from Congress, nor does it appear to have been heartily supported by any portion of the people over whom it was proposed to be extended. To a part of the inhabitants it was decidedly unacceptable, and this party increased rapidly, as the opinions of the revolution became more and more widely disseminated. The new government never went into operation, nor was ever formally acknowledged by the people; and the State of Virginia never ceased to exercise her right of sovereignty, when occasions for legislation presented. Colonel Henderson and his partners, finding it impracticable to sustain themselves in the executive station which they had assumed, and in which the settlers seemed indisposed to support them, very soon abandoned the idea of claiming any political rank, in virtue of their purchase, and appear to have employed themselves thereafter in endeavoring to

procure the acknowledgment of their title to the land as owners. Even this, however, was denied them by the State of Virginia, whose politicians, wisely foreseeing the evil of so gigantic a monopoly, and the anti-republican tendency of the great landed estates which would be established in a few families by this procedure, promptly refused to sanction any of the acts of the proprietors or people of Transylvania, or to admit the validity of any title to the soil not emanating from the parent State. Among a number of resolutions, and other expressions of opinion, on the part of Virginia, we find the following declaration, which briefly includes the result of the whole discussion.

“In the house of delegates, Wednesday, the 4th of November, 1778.

Resolved—That all purchases of lands, made or to be made, of the Indians, within the chartered bounds of this commonwealth, as described by the constitution or form of government, by any private persons not authorized by public authority, are void.

Resolved—That the purchases heretofore made by Richard Henderson and Company, of that tract of land called Transylvania, within this commonwealth, of the Cherokee Indians, is void; but as the said Richard Henderson and Company have been at very great expense in making the said purchase, and in settling the said lands, by which this commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants, and establishing a barrier against the Indians, it is just and reasonable to allow the said Richard Henderson and Company a compensation for their trouble and expense.”

Tuesday, November 17th, 1778: “Agreed to by the Senate.”

After endeavoring, for several years, with great assi-

duity, to procure a reversal of the proposition contained in the first of these resolutions, and a recognition of their purchase, they were obliged, however reluctantly, to abandon all hope of possessing this noble domain; and they now applied for the remuneration to which the legislature of Virginia had acknowledged them to be so well entitled. More than twenty years elapsed before even this was granted; but Virginia finally granted to the Transylvania Company, a large tract of land upon the waters of Green River, and included in the boundaries of the county of Henderson, which was afterwards formed.

Similar proceedings, and a like result, took place in North Carolina, in reference to so much of the purchase from the Cherokees as lay within the limits of that State.

The narrative which we have introduced, forms but an episode in the history of Kentucky. While a few enterprising gentlemen were maturing splendid schemes for the aggrandizement of their posterity, the stream of population rolled on without interruption. The settlers seem to have placed little confidence in the title of Henderson and his associates, and we scarcely find it alluded to in the early records or traditionary history of this region. It will appear, however, upon referring to some of the papers which we append to this work, that the services of those gentlemen were important. Henderson, Williams, Luttrell, and Hart, were really the *pioneers* who opened the road to the fertile shores of the Kentucky river, and erected the first fortress in that beautiful though perilous wild. Boone was their agent—bold, faithful, deserving—yet a subordinate actor under other men—the chief of their hunters, and the leader perhaps of the military arm of their expedition. But his talents were of the useful kind, his character was popular, and his achievements gained for him the confidence of the people; and in all that re-

lates to the perils of the wilderness, and the stirring events of the border wars, Boone was a chieftain of high repute. He was the guide who led the way to the desert, and whose name was perhaps best known, though some of those who were associated with him in the great enterprise, were more intelligent, and equally influential. Other adventurers followed, and settled around him, looking up to him as their shield in danger, and at all times as their counsellor and guide. The savages continued to annoy them with unceasing hostility; sometimes laying siege to the fort, frequently attempting to surprise it, and continually lurking about in small parties, waylaying the hunters, assailing those engaged in agriculture, and capturing the females and children in sight of the fortress. We should exceed our limits, and unnecessarily shock the feelings of the reader, if we should detail all the achievements of Boone, the privations of himself and his companions, and the barbarities of their unrelenting foes. He continued to sustain himself in the midst of danger, displaying, in every emergency, that consummate skill and patient courage, which elevated him above ordinary men; and distinguished by a gentleness of manners, and a benevolence of heart and action, which secured the affections of his friends, and won respect even from his ferocious enemies.

From this time the forests of Kentucky began to be rapidly peopled. The settlers came in small parties, and spread over the whole country, each little colony erecting its own fort, and appointing its own leader. The Indians continued to harass them. The latter were now more than ever inflamed with rage and jealousy against the Americans, by the arts of the British agents, who supplied them with arms and ammunition, bribed them to hostility by valuable presents, and poisoned their minds by incendiary

speeches. The whole district of Kentucky exhibited scenes of bloodshed.

We must condense these events. The name of Boone is the most conspicuous among the pioneers, because he was the earliest adventurer to the shores of the Ohio, and continued longest to brave the perils of the forest. But there were others who were superior to him in education and strength of mind, and his equals in every other respect. Boone was remarkable for the perfect equanimity with which he bore every trial. Never greatly excited, he was never alarmed nor despondent. Others were allured to the wilderness by ambition or cupidity, in the pursuit of wealth, or lands, or fame; but he seems to have enjoyed the life of the pioneer, and to have dwelt in the woods from choice. Others hunted down the Indians with rancorous hatred; Boone only defended himself against their assaults, and never troubled his head about them while they let him alone. He was good-humoured, social, and disposed to live in quiet; love of peace, rather than fondness for war, made him a dweller on the frontier; and when the restraints of society pressed around him, when the cavils of the neighborhood became vexatious, or any other cause rendered his residence disagreeable, his simple remedy was to plunge farther into the woods. He was abstemious in his habits, and a close observer of nature; and without any brilliancy or much grasp of intellect, he had a great deal of that practical good sense which may be supposed to have existed in the mind of a person of even temperament, who thought much, spoke little, and acted with deliberation; whose whole life was a series of journeying, danger, and vicissitude, and whose vigilant eye was constantly employed in watching the appearances of nature, the habits of animals, the changes of the season, and the movements of hostile men. These are the charac-

teristics of the backwoodsman; they were strongly developed in all those that accompanied or followed Boone, but in him they were less adulterated, because his mind was not distracted by the passions and cares that perplex other men.

In a subsequent chapter, when we come to speak of the character of the western population, we shall notice the peculiarities of this race, their arts, industry, and mode of life.

CHAPTER XII.

Organization of Counties—Foreign Intrigues—Attempts to form a State Government—Differences of Opinion in reference to that Measure.

PREVIOUS to the year 1793, the whole of our western frontier was continually harassed by the inroads of the Indians. Kentucky, then recently erected into a State, was a wide battle-field, in which our gallant countrymen maintained themselves by a series of hardy exploits and patient sufferings. Gradually, however, the savages had been driven back or exterminated, until the river Ohio formed the grand line between them and the whites, and municipal regulations began to be introduced and enforced. Still there were large tracts of wilderness, lying between the settled districts, and within our acknowledged boundaries, where the marauding parties of the enemy lurked, and from which they emerged to attack the unwary traveller, or to assail the inhabitants who ventured to push their improvements into the forest, at a distance from the protection of the organized settlements. A series of brilliant successes, obtained by the Kentuckians, led by Logan, Bowman, Scott, Shelby, Hardin, Clark, and other veterans, had rendered the question of sovereignty no longer doubtful, and the white man was become undisputed lord of the soil.

But the Indian, if he could not fight for victory, could

still strike for revenge. He could no longer track the deer or the buffalo, in the rich pastures of Kentucky, or pitch his tent on the spot consecrated as the resting-place of his fathers, and rendered memorable by the legends of his tribe. A race more numerous than his own, his equal in courage and sagacity, his superior in stature and military skill, now occupied the forests from which he had been driven, and were prepared to defend their newly acquired territory. The new inhabitants had long been trained in the school of war. They were hunters and warriors, of high courage and tried skill. Reared in habits of fearless enterprise, inured from childhood to exposure and hardship, and trained to all the devices of sylvan life, and the stratagems of border warfare, they could overmatch the savage in his native fastnesses, and foil him in his own peculiar modes of attack and defense. The savage, therefore, mournfully extinguished his fires, and abandoned the hunting-grounds of his people. But he retreated like the foiled tiger, scowling at the victor, and watching his opportunity to renew the contest. He went muttering curses against the white man; and long after his power was broken, and his tribe dismembered, he continued to return at intervals, to strike a stealthy but sanguinary blow at his triumphant enemy.

The first settlements were not only exposed to the assaults of a savage foe, but they were separated from the mother States, by a wide chain of almost impassable mountains, and wholly cut off from the restraints and the protection of government. Instead of calling upon Virginia, or upon the general government, to protect them from their enemies, the pioneers defended themselves, and became early accustomed to rely upon their own courage and resources. Every man looked to his personal safety, and stood prepared to sustain his neighbor, and to

guard his own fire-side. As the settlements extended, self-defense grew into patriotism; men united for mutual protection, and by standing side by side in battle, and rendering to each other assistance in sickness, in famine, and in all the varieties of fortune to which the inhabitants of the frontiers are exposed, became joined together by the closest ties. Thus they became kind and hospitable; and to the early impress given by these circumstances, more than to any other cause, may be attributed the generosity, frankness, and manly bearing, which still distinguish the Kentucky character.

In 1780, three counties were organized in the district of Kentucky, by the legislature of Virginia; civil and military officers were appointed; and those acts which had hitherto been voluntarily performed by private individuals, began to emanate from the body politic. It was not until the year 1794, when the Indians were signally defeated by General Wayne, on the western side of the Ohio, that peace was established on this frontier. But even then the country was far from being tranquil. A people accustomed to think and act for themselves, could feel little sense of dependence upon the parent state; their loyalty was voluntary, and resulted solely from sound principle and natural affection. A warlike population thus independent, owing few obligations to the sovereign power, and surrounded by none of the restraints and few of the advantages of the national government, would naturally think freely, and speak with boldness, of the tie which bound them to the great republican family. They would easily be led to exercise their undoubted privilege, of weighing the advantages of the connection which bound them to their government, and a slight grievance might give to their thoughts and language the tone of bold defiance.

One of the earliest causes of complaint, to which the

people of Kentucky were exposed, arose from their geographical position. The United States, newly organized, loosely connected, weak in resources, and burthened with debt, had sufficient employment in preserving the existence of the new confederacy. No settled policy had as yet been adopted, in reference to an extension of the territorial limits of the republic. The great mass of the American people knew nothing of the fertile regions of the west, and some of our statesmen announced authoritatively, that the Alleghany mountains formed the natural boundary of the United States.

While this delightful region was thus undervalued and neglected by our own politicians, foreign nations had early adopted, in relation to it, certain views which were remarkably adapted to coincide with the tardy policy of our government, in retarding its improvement. France alone had formed a reasonable estimate of its importance. The French commanders and missionaries had traced the long rivers of the west, and wandered with delight over its boundless prairies; and while they carefully concealed their discoveries from the rest of Europe, the French government made extensive arrangements for securing this country to themselves. Having possession of Canada and Louisiana, they early formed the plan of seizing the intermediate territory, and of confining the English to the shores of the Atlantic.

The British Government, on the other hand, was not only ignorant of the great resources of the interior of our continent, but was averse, from policy, to any great extension of her colonies in that direction. Mistress of the ocean, she could easily, by means of her great navy and commercial marine, maintain her influence and enforce her sway over a people scattered along the sea-coast and the navigable rivers of the Atlantic; while an agricultural

population, growing up in the interior, would be less apt to value her friendship, or fear her power. At a later period, when the colonies had thrown off the yoke, the British cabinet, still hoping that our weakness or our dissensions would afford to that government an opportunity to renew its usurpation, and rivet more closely than ever the chains of dependence, watched the early growth of our institutions with a vigilant eye, and endeavored to weaken our strength, by turning loose the savages upon our western frontiers. Determined to check the expansion of our territory in this direction, her agents traversed the whole region of the northern lakes, furnishing the tribes with arms, bribing them to hostility, and artfully inflaming their passions against the American people.

The Spanish government had also her views in relation to this country; and when she obtained a cession of Louisiana from France, was induced to believe that the whole valley of the Mississippi could be easily united under her sway.

Thus it happened, that this secluded region, so lately inhabited only by wild beasts and savage men, became the subject, and the scene, of deep laid political intrigues.

Great Britain, jealous of the United States, and sore from the effects of the recent conflict, continued to hold several important forts in our western territory, long after she had agreed by treaty to surrender them. Here her agents received the Indians, supplied them with arms, and incited them to war; using covertly, every expedient to harass the new settlements, and to force the emigrants to re-cross the mountains. Mistress of the ocean, and of Canada, and having a navy which could command the entrance of the Mississippi, the British cabinet did not relinquish the hope, that this interior region might at

some future day, if not in the meanwhile occupied by a hardy race of freemen, be placed under her control, affording her the means of assailing the United States in the rear, as well as upon the sea-coast, in case of a future war, or of any dissension among ourselves.

France and Spain, both owning islands in the West Indies, and having colonial possessions on the continent of North America, saw with distrust the territorial limits of the United States extended by treaty and by conquest, beyond the mountains. They had assisted us in our contest with Great Britain, from enmity to that power; not from kindness to us, or a favorable regard for our institutions, and having seen a rival stripped of a rich appendage, were satisfied with the result. But they had no disposition to aid in the rearing up of a great republican nation; nor were they willing to see its settlements spreading over the western valley, and coming in juxtaposition with their own. While the inhabitants of Kentucky were few and their ability to maintain themselves in the wilderness uncertain, these views were only incidentally developed in some of the negotiations of these powers with our government; but events occurred in the west, which at length produced more decisive action.

In 1784, certain demonstrations on the part of the Indian tribes, induced a general belief in Kentucky, that an extensive league had been formed among the savages, with a view to a simultaneous attack of the settlements, at several different points; while the detention of the posts by the British, suggested the suspicion that they were acquainted with the design, and were about to aid in its execution. The population had now increased, but was widely scattered; and it was found more difficult to produce the concerted action required for the public defence, than formerly, when the number of people was small, and

the leaders few. In this emergency, Colonel Logan, a distinguished pioneer, took upon himself the responsibility of calling a meeting of such citizens as might choose to attend, at Danville, for the purpose of devising means for the general security.

The meeting was effected, and the result of the consultation was a unanimous opinion that the danger was imminent, and that the surest method of repelling the threatened mischief, would be to anticipate the enemy, by attacking them in their own towns. But this conclusion led to another difficulty. There was no authority competent to order an expedition, to call out men, or to provide them with arms and ammunition. A few counties were organized, under the jurisdiction of Virginia; but the government of that State, or of the United States, only, could exercise a power sufficient for the emergency. A few years before, the voluntary action of an enterprising leader, with a few brave men, in defense of a settlement, was an every day occurrence; the number to be protected was small, the service brief, and the means easily controlled. But now there was a wide territory exposed; the inhabitants were numerous, and some of them strangers to the rest; the proposed expedition was to carry them into the enemy's country, and detain them long from home; there was no magazine of arms, no ammunition, no money belonging to the public. The consequence was, that after coming to the determination that defensive measures were necessary, the meeting dispersed without making any military preparation. In the event, the alarm appears to have been groundless, for the Indians made no attack within that year. Another result, however, of much consequence, was produced by this meeting. The absolute necessity of a local government was made manifest; and resolutions were passed, recommending to the

people the election of representatives, to meet in a convention to be held at Danville, in the December of the same year, to concert measures for the public defense. A convention was held accordingly, in which it was resolved to petition the legislature of Virginia, to sanction the erection of the district of Kentucky into a separate State.

There was some difference of opinion in relation to the expediency of this measure: it was opposed by some, out of mere attachment for Virginia; by others, from a disrelish for a change, which might produce unforeseen embarrassments; and by many, who dreaded a separation from the parent State, as a sure forerunner of an alienation from the Union. The distant and detached position of these settlements, has already been alluded to; they were divided from the Atlantic States by mountains, over which it was not deemed practicable to carry roads sufficiently good for the purposes of commerce, while on the west they were hemmed in by an enemy; from whom they must defend themselves by their own unassisted valor. Their dependence upon the Union seemed to be but nominal; it gave them no strength, and afforded them no protection. They were now beginning to raise produce for exportation, without any prospect of a market for its disposal. The only natural outlet, the river Mississippi, was in the possession of a foreign government, which denied them the right of navigating that stream; while the American government, having no power of coercion, and little national influence, seemed both unable and indisposed, to secure for its citizens in the west, by negotiation or otherwise, the advantages of that navigation. Under the action of these pressing grievances, and some latent causes of discontent, there soon grew up a variety of opinions, and several distinct parties, one advocating the erection of a new State, to be a member of the Union:

another hinting at the scheme of an independent government; and a third deprecating both these plans, as one might lead to the other, and preferring to remain for the present under the jurisdiction of Virginia.

From this time up to 1792, when Kentucky became a State, conventions continued to be held, memorials were addressed to the Virginia legislature, and a continued excitement was kept alive on the question of separation. In the meanwhile, rumours of a design, on the part of Congress, to cede the right of navigating the Mississippi to Spain, reached this country, and greatly agitated the public mind; and this absorbing topic became mingled with every discussion in relation to the forming of a State government.

An incident may be mentioned here, to show the excitable state of the public mind in these early times, and the various causes of irritation to which it was exposed. The noted Tom Paine had written a book, to prove that Virginia had no claim, by her charter, to the territory west of the mountains, and advising Congress to take possession of the new lands, in behalf of the Union. A person appeared at Lexington, supposed to be an emissary from—nobody knew who—but who probably was some chance traveler, aiming at a little notoriety, and who ventured to advocate the doctrines of Paine in a public speech. The indignant people called upon a magistrate to arrest the propagator of such arrant heresy, as a disturber of the peace. There was no law to justify such a proceeding; but an old Virginia statute was discovered, which imposed a fine, payable in tobacco, upon the "*propagators of false news,*" and the offender was convicted by acclamation, and fined *a thousand pounds of tobacco*. Being unable to pay the fine, and unwilling to go to jail, he was released by the people, on the condition that he should leave the country.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Spanish and French Conspiracies—Troubles in relation to the Navigation of the Mississippi—The patriotic forbearance of the Pioneers.

It is difficult to compress into a work like this, the details of certain transactions which caused great uneasiness to the early settlements, and have seriously affected the reputation of several distinguished patriots; and which are too important to be passed over in silence. The topics are of so delicate a nature, that it is hardly practicable to discuss them without giving offence to the living, or doing injury to the memory of the dead. We shall endeavor to perform our duty with fairness, and to place these events before the public in that light which seems to us to be true.

No sooner did the colonial Spanish agents in Louisiana observe the movements in Kentucky, towards the establishment of a separate government, and the discontents of the people, in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi, than they commenced a series of intrigues with the leading men of that region, for the purpose of detaching this district from the union.

It is proper to remark here in the outset, that no inference should be drawn to the disadvantage of gentlemen whose names are connected with these events, from the fact that the Spanish authorities thought proper to address

to them proposals for an alliance with their government. They were the influential and popular men of the country, and their position made them leaders and public advisers, and forced on them the decision of popular measures. It was natural that Spain should wish to increase her own territory, or to strengthen herself by binding to her interest the inhabitants of the rich lands of the West. The whole of that vast plain which we now term the valley of the Mississippi, is so remarkably united and disposed by its conformation, the variety of its products, and the facilities for internal commerce, that it seems destined by nature to be comprised within one government. The shores of the Ohio, and those of the Lower Mississippi, are equally important to each other, and neither of these regions could be prosperous without the trade and products of the other. The Spanish authorities in Louisiana were true to their own best interests, when they endeavored to cultivate friendly relations with a people whose country was thus connected with their own; and the politicians of Kentucky would have been reckless indeed, had they spurned without due consideration, the advances of those who were their neighbors in point of locality, and with whom alone they seemed likely to hold any direct commercial intercourse.

Kentucky owed nothing to the older States—her sons were bound to the lands from which they had emigrated, only by the ties of consanguinity and affection. They had built up a promising community by individual enterprise—by personal exertion, and sacrifice, and peril—and they had a right, if ever a people had, to choose their own form of government, and seek out alliances for themselves.

They were Virginians, loving the mother State with a proverbial tenacity of affection; but they were the coun-

trymen of that galaxy of patriots, who had just taught that national ties are not indissoluble, when the public good demands their separation.

The thirteen States had just separated from Great Britain, because the connection was inconvenient and oppressive; and Kentucky might with equal propriety have withdrawn from the union, whenever she felt the pressure of the same causes. She had not yet been admitted into the confederacy, and was not bound to it by any obligation of duty or honor.

The Allegheny mountains separated the Western country from the Eastern States, as effectually as the ocean divided Great Britain from her colonies; and it is unjust to infer treason or disaffection, from that solicitude for the welfare of their newly chosen country, on the part of the pioneers, which induced them to discuss frankly the practicability of a harmonious union with States from whom they were thus geographically divided. Previous to their admission into the Union, they had a right to consider for themselves whether such an arrangement would be beneficial; and it is far from obvious that the discussion of considerations so vital to their own prosperity and happiness, involved any impropriety.

The navigation of the Mississippi was indispensable to the existence of the rising State; and if the confederated government could not, or would not, procure from Spain an acknowledgment of the right of the western people to navigate that river, the latter could not be blamed if they listened to proposals on the part of Spain, to themselves directly, on that subject.

These propositions seem to us so clear, that we shall not attempt to argue them. The intelligent reader will be able to draw his own inferences. It must be borne in mind, however, that while we thus defend the motives

of the patriot founders of Kentucky, and suggest the grounds upon which we believe they might honorably have engaged in the negotiations that have been attributed to them, we must not be understood as admitting the fact that any serious design was ever entertained in Kentucky, of separating from the Union, or accepting the protection of Spain. That consultations took place between some of the leading politicians in Kentucky and the Spanish agents, in reference to the commercial relations of Kentucky and Louisiana, is true; but we have no evidence of any intrigue to place the country under the dominion of Spain.

In 1786, General Wilkinson, who had been two or three years settled in Kentucky, began to appear as a conspicuous politician, and was one of those who advocated the erection of an independent government. He was soon pronounced to be a pensioner of Spain, and an agent of that government, but with how much justice we are not now able to determine. The people either did not believe the report, or considered the offense of no great magnitude, for he was repeatedly elected by them to a seat in their conventions.

In 1788, Mr. Brown, an inhabitant of Kentucky, a personal and political friend of Wilkinson, and a delegate from Virginia to the Congress then sitting at New York, wrote to a friend as follows: "In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will declare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, he has authority to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege can never be extended to them while part of the United

States, by reason of commercial treaties between that court and other powers of Europe." This letter was addressed to Mr. Muter, one of the judges of Kentucky.

Mr. Innis, the attorney of the United States, for the Kentucky district, in a letter to the President of the United States, about the same time, used the following language: "I am decidedly of opinion, that this western country will in a few years act for itself, and erect an independent government; for under the present system we can not exert our strength; neither does Congress seem disposed to protect us."

These indications were succeeded by others which seemed less equivocal, and which afforded much food for suspicion, to such as were disposed to be jealous. General Wilkinson made a voyage to New Orleans, and on his return announced that he had effected a contract with the Governor of Louisiana, by which the exclusive privilege had been granted to him, of exporting the tobacco of Kentucky to that market. The trade in this article, was at that time a monopoly in the hands of the king, and the port was not open for the reception of any produce from the territories of the United States; so that the privilege granted to Wilkinson was one of great favor, and much pecuniary value. He immediately advertised that he would purchase all the tobacco raised in Kentucky; and continued for several years to make large shipments. In the meanwhile, messengers were passing between himself and the Spanish Governor, and large sums of money were known to be transmitted from New Orleans to Kentucky; events which were explained by Wilkinson, as connected with his extensive tobacco speculation, while they were suspected by the public, to be parts of the machinery of a great political intrigue, deeply involving the peace of the country.

At a later period, a person named Thomas Power, a subject of Spain, and an emissary of the Spanish government, visited the western country, and had frequent interviews with Wilkinson, and some other influential gentlemen. A political party seized upon these circumstances, and published them to the world, with the distortions and exaggerations always incident to the malignity of partisan warfare; and for a series of years the public mind was violently agitated by rumours, accusations, and debates, relating to what was termed the *Spanish conspiracy*. The persons chiefly implicated were Wilkinson, Brown, Innis, Sebastian, and Nicholas—men of talents and reputation, all of them high in official stations, and enjoying the confidence both of the government and the people. That gentlemen,—none of whom are represented to have been mercenary or avaricious, but who were men of generous ambition,—who had raised themselves by their own talents, and the voluntary suffrage of their fellow citizens, to the most exalted stations under our form of government, should wish to exchange that government for another under which they could rise no higher, seems improbable; and still more unlikely is it, that men who had been accustomed to mingle all their lives with the people, and who must have been well acquainted with the popular hatred of foreign and monarchical governments, should have imagined such a scheme to be practicable. We can not believe it, without strong evidence; for it is peculiarly one of those cases in which the burthen of proof should be thrown upon the accusers.

The most suspicious circumstances are those in which Judge Sebastian was implicated, and which led to his impeachment before the legislature of Kentucky. Sebastian was a man of fine talents and prepossessing exterior, who had been liberally educated abroad, with the intention of

taking orders in the Church of England, and was deeply imbued with the scholastic and theological learning which in that age was considered necessary; but changing his mind in reference to the choice of a profession, he studied law in Virginia, and became a highly accomplished member of the bar. He came to Kentucky among the early settlers, soon rose to distinction, and was one of the first to be placed on the bench, upon the organization of courts in that district. A man of graceful manners, and generous hospitality, with the reputation of possessing more than ordinary attainments, he rose to a high place in the public estimation.

At a period when the question in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi had been anxiously discussed—when fruitless negotiations with the court of Spain had been carried on by our government, and appeals and remonstrances equally unsuccessful, had been made to Congress by the people of Kentucky, Judge Sebastian received a letter from Baron Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, containing propositions on this subject. In that letter, the original of which we have seen, the Spanish Governor addressed Sebastian as a distinguished citizen of Kentucky, and suggests that as their respective governments can not agree upon terms in regard to this important navigation, a temporary arrangement may be effected between the local authorities at New Orleans, and the people of Kentucky; and proposes a conference for that purpose. Sebastian exhibited this letter to a number of influential gentlemen, who advised him to proceed in the negotiation; and a meeting was accordingly arranged, to take place at New Madrid, between himself and the representative of Baron Carondelet. The meeting was held accordingly, and a paper, prepared at New Orleans, was tendered to the representative of Kentucky, for his approbation, which

contained the following propositions, viz: 1. The Spanish government *grants* to the *western people* the right of navigating the Mississippi, and of exporting *to* any foreign port, and importing *from* any foreign port, through New Orleans, on payment of certain duties. 2d. It will be expected, that in return for this favor on the part of his Catholic Majesty, the western people will, in their future trade, give the preference to New Orleans.

To a part of these terms Judge Sebastian objected. He was willing that his countrymen should pay duty on articles imported through New Orleans, but objected to the payment of any impost upon the produce which might be carried down the river; and as the Spanish negotiator had no authority to yield this point, the scene of these operations was changed to New Orleans, where Sebastian remained several months, and finally succeeded in procuring the terms proposed by himself; namely, the privilege of navigating the Mississippi, and using New Orleans as a place of entry and deposit, without any condition but that of paying duty on imports.

In the meanwhile, the negotiation at New Madrid, and the visit of Sebastian to New Orleans, excited suspicion, and that gentleman was denounced by his political opponents as a traitor, engaged in secret intrigues for bartering away the liberties of his countrymen to the Spanish despot. Great excitement prevailed, and as is usual on such occasions, the political demagogues who *loved the people*, seized the opportunity to magnify every suspected evil, and to blacken every suspicious act of those who were now boldly termed the *conspirators*.

In the course of his negotiations with the Spanish governor, Sebastian, alluding to his delicate position as an unauthorized mediator, in a public affair said, that although he might gain for his country the advantages so

long desired, and which seemed to be all that was wanting to her prosperity, it was possible that his own reputation and interest might be sacrificed. He was a volunteer in a patriotic, though delicate enterprise; he stood alone; the public was not pledged to ratify his deeds, nor was there any party bound to defend him, under any adverse result. These considerations were suggested to the Spanish governor, who at once saw the injustice of heaping upon one man all the present odium of a transaction which must ultimately be highly advantageous to both governments, but from which he reaped no personal advantage, other than his share of the general good. He therefore addressed a letter to Sebastian, in which he suggested, that as the Spanish government anticipated great advantages from the proposed trade with the western people, they were willing to remunerate Mr. Sebastian for his exertions in effecting this beneficial commercial intercourse; and he urges him to continue his voluntary agency, and promises, that if in consequence thereof he should be thrown out of the public station he then held in Kentucky, the king of Spain would grant him a pension.

It happened that very shortly after these events, the purchase of Louisiana by the government of the United States settled the long agitated question in reference to the navigation of the Mississippi, quieted the uneasiness and irritation of the western people, and rendered nugatory all that had been done by individuals towards the accomplishment of the desired result. But it did not close the eye of suspicion, nor hush the envenomed tongue of calumny. On the contrary, it occurred just in time to deprive those patriotic gentlemen of the only conclusive evidence of the purity of their intentions and of the precise nature and extent of their negotiations, which would have been shown by the eventual operation

of these proceedings. It left unfinished a series of transactions, in which a few public spirited individuals risked their reputations freely, for the delivery of their country from an intolerable grievance, and deprived them of the reward of gratitude and honor that would have attended the successful sequel of their efforts, by effecting the object through other means. It left them exposed, without the means of defense, to a bitter and untiring persecution, urged by partisans animated by the lust of office, and unwarily abetted by a people ever too ready to give volume to the delusive voice of popular clamor, by joining, through mere impulse, in the cry commenced by a designing few.

The greatest sufferer was Judge Sebastian, who, shortly after the admission of Kentucky into the Union, was impeached upon the charge of being a pensioner of Spain. He asked for time to procure from Louisiana, and from Spain, the evidence of the true nature and extent of his negotiations with the agents of that government, but was refused; and having no other defense, he resigned his office, while a committee of the legislature, proceeding *ex parte*, examined a number of witnesses, and reported unfavorably to the party charged, who was proved to have received at least one payment from the Spanish government, as a gratuity for his services in the affairs above alluded to.

It is painful to record the tragic sequel of the biography of that unfortunate gentleman. From an enviable elevation in society, he fell suddenly into profound and hopeless degradation. Blessed with high office, popular favor, and easy circumstances, he sank at once into poverty, oblivion, and contempt. Accused by the legislature, and convicted of having received money from a foreign power, nothing could protect him from the effects

of popular resentment—neither his learning, his public services, nor the blameless tenor of his previous career as a public functionary. He fell without a struggle of self-defense, or an effort from the hand of friendship.

In submitting, as he did, to the condemnation of the legislature, and of his fellow citizens, Judge Sebastian intended to defer the hour of explanation, until he could collect the proofs which were necessary to elucidate his whole conduct, the most of which could be obtained only from the Spanish officers with whom he had negotiated, and who had since been removed to different parts of the world. But he was prevented, by domestic afflictions, from pursuing this purpose to any beneficial result. One blow succeeded another, until the degraded politician and broken-hearted man, weighed down under an accumulation of griefs, lost the energy necessary to self-defense, and ceased to resist the adverse current of his ill-starred destiny. He lived long in retirement, so lost to the world that few of his fellow-citizens knew whether he was living or dead. Yet those who saw him in his seclusion, under the pressure of poverty, sorrow, and old age, were surprised at his vigor both of body and mind, the fascination of his conversational powers, and the apparent simplicity and benevolence of his character. Combining the physical hardiness of the pioneer with the manners of a gentleman and the attainments of a scholar, he was a good specimen of the class to which he belonged, and of whom many yet remain among the gray-haired fathers of Kentucky.

The writer has had the opportunity of examining papers relating to the transactions above alluded to, and many others, in the possession of a descendant of Judge Sebastian, and was forcibly struck by a circumstance which seems to have escaped those who condemned him. There

is not, throughout the whole of his intercourse with Carondelet, the slightest allusion to any *political* connection between the people of Kentucky and the Spanish government. The navigation of the Mississippi, the traffic between the upper and lower regions of that river, the exchange of commodities between the people residing on the Ohio, and those in Louisiana, are the sole topics of discussion. The whole transaction was of a commercial nature, and was not founded on any supposed disaffection on the part of the Kentuckians, or with any view to a political alliance with Spain. It has not the slightest connection with the communication of Gardoqui to Mr. Brown, whose names do not appear to have been alluded to in the correspondence between Carondelet and Sebastian; nor does it appear that Mr. Brown and Judge Sebastian had any intercourse on this subject. It was by combining circumstances which were distinct and independent, that suspicion was produced, by giving an appearance of unity and concert to events which were only accidentally coincident.

This whole matter, when dispassionately considered, explains itself clearly to the unprejudiced mind, without subjecting any of the actors to the slightest imputation of criminality. The navigation of the Mississippi was the subject, above all others, of the most direct and vital importance to the western people. Spain, either from want of cordiality towards the United States, or a desire to detach the western settlements, or some entanglement with other European powers, refused to acknowledge our right to navigate that river; and our government pressed it but feebly. The people of Kentucky became alarmed and clamorous. The Spanish minister seized this juncture, to hint to Mr. Brown that the king of Spain was willing to grant to the western people, that which he

would never yield to the United States; and Mr. Brown faithfully reports this conversation to a gentleman in Kentucky, high in office, who makes the information public. The discontents of the people increase, and Mr. Innis, the attorney of the United States, writes to the President, that in his opinion, the western country will, in a few years, act for itself—stating, at the same time, the cause which he supposes will produce that result,—“under the present system we can not exert our strength, neither does Congress seem disposed to protect us.’ If these men were *conspirators*, they were the most frank, communicative, and honest men that ever deserved that appellation; if they entertained designs hostile to the honor or the interest of their country, they certainly were singular in the choice of their confidants—members of Congress and officers of the law themselves, their communications are addressed to the President of the United States, to a Judge, and to the people!

It appears further, that while the governments of Spain and the United States found it impracticable to come to any conclusion, in reference to this trade, the leading men of Louisiana and Kentucky became equally convinced that their respective districts must languish without it. Carondelet was a man of enlarged views, and probably represented to his government that the existing policy must prove as fatal to the Spanish colony as to the American settlements; and Spain, while her pride, or her engagements with other nations, would not allow her to recede from the extravagant position she had taken, consented that temporary arrangements should be made by the local government, by which the commerce of the river should be unfettered, while she should not be bound by the compromise, but remain at liberty to resume her pretensions, or to suffer them to lie dormant. The arrange-

ment proposed to be effected, therefore, was not political, but commercial; it did not compromise the government or people of the United States, or violate any existing law or treaty, but referred to the opening of a trade with a neighboring province, with whom we were at peace, which was desired by our people, and claimed for them by our government. It was obtaining the exercise of rights, without the direct sanction of the Spanish crown, which our government insisted that Spain had no right to withhold.

We are not aware of a single act in the whole transaction which involves the slightest imputation upon the patriotism of the gentlemen concerned, unless it be the receipt of money by Sebastian; and if we are right in supposing that it was simply a commercial operation, affecting only the present pecuniary interests of the people of these districts, we know of no rule of honor or morality under which that individual could be condemned for receiving a compensation for his agency. though it was imprudent in him as an individual, indelicate, and against rule as a public officer. But even this imputation does not extend to the other gentlemen who have been named, whose motives stand unimpeached, and who were actuated only by a zeal for the public good; and whose names, we are persuaded, will hereafter stand recorded in history, among those which Kentucky will be proud to honor. She has reared many illustrious patriots, but none who have served her more faithfully through a period of extraordinary embarrassment and peril, than Brown, Innis, Nicholas, and Sebastian.

Such is a hasty outline of the affair which was termed the *Spanish conspiracy*; the more audacious attempt of the French directory, shall be noticed still more briefly. In 1793, shortly after the arrival of M. Genet in the

United States, as minister from the French republic, a plan was organized by that factious diplomatist, to embroil the western people with the Spaniards; and four emissaries, whose names were Lachaise, Depeau, Mathurin, and Gregnon, were despatched to Kentucky. They were furnished with military commissions, and full powers from the French government, for the purpose of raising an army, to invade the Spanish possessions on the Mississippi; a measure, which it was hoped would involve the government of the United States, and force her into a war with Spain. The openness with which these agents proceeded, is quite apparent in the easy impudence of the following letter from one of them to Governor Shelby, in which the writer's facility in the use of the English language, seems to be about equal to his knowledge of the people.

“*Citizen Governor*,—It may appear quite strange to write to you on a subject in which although it is of some consequence.

“With confidence from the French ambassador, I have been despatched, in company with more Frenchmen, to join the expedition of the Mississippi.

“As I am to procure the provision, I am happy to communicate to you, whatever you shall think worthy of my notice, or in which your advice may be of use to me, as I hope I have in no way disoblige you; if I have, I will most willingly ask your pardon. For nobody can be no more than I am willing for your prosperity and happiness.

“As some strange reports has reached my ears that your excellence has positive orders to arrest all citizens inclining to our assistance, and as my remembrance know by your conduct, in justice you will satisfy me in this uncommon request.

"Please let me know, as I shall not make my supply till your excellence please to honor me with a small answer.

"I am your well wisher in remaining for the French cause, a true citizen democrat.

"CHARLE DEPEAU.

"*Postscript.*—Please to participate some of these hand-bills to that noble society of democrats."

A number of persons were induced to engage in this enterprise; a distinguished citizen of Kentucky received a commission as "Major General in the armies of France, and commander-in-chief of the French revolutionary legions on the Mississippi," and many preliminary arrangements were made for the anticipated campaign. The government of the United States became apprised of these measures, and promptly interfered. General Wayne, then at the head of the troops west of the Ohio, took measures to observe the motions of the French emissaries, and Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation, in which the people of the north-western territory were advised to abstain from any participation in these illegal proceedings.

In glancing hastily at these events, we are cheered with the instructive lesson which they teach. There have been several instances in the history of our country, when disaffection has broken out into murmur and menace; in every instance, men of talent have been found among the ambitious fomenters of discord; but the good sense and integrity of the people, has invariably been found sufficient to protect them from being seduced into rebellion. Of all such events, those to which we have just alluded, afford perhaps the most decided proofs of incorruptible loyalty and patriotism. If ever there was a people, who, in the choice of a government, had a right

to act precisely as suited their own convenience, the pioneers were entitled to that privilege. They had conquered a country for themselves. The government did not extend to them either civil protection, military assistance, or pecuniary aid. They are the only first settlers, who neither violated the rights of the Indian, by taking his land by violence, nor expended money in its purchase. They found it without an owner, overrun by savage hunters and war parties, whose conflicting claims were no better than their own. They purchased it with blood and labour. Years were spent in painful marches and midnight vigils; in hewing down the gigantic forest, exterminating the wolf and the panther, and in guarding against the wiles of the savage. Through every peril, through all discouragement, they persevered unaided. The government could not aid them; when the settlement of Kentucky commenced, she was herself engaged in the war for independence; at a later period, she had just passed through that contest, and remained an exhausted, breathless victor.

The settlers of Kentucky had not only been unaccustomed to the protection or restraints of government, but there was some reason to believe, that the federal jurisdiction could never be efficiently extended over them. The mountains formed then a line of separation which seemed insurmountable. The hunter crossed them with much toil, and the enterprising trader conducted his train of pack-horses with difficulty and long delay, over their steep acclivities; but the idea of a frequent, easy, and cheap method of intercourse, was not entertained nor deemed possible.

Inhabiting a rich country, destined to become populous, and to yield the products of the earth in abundance, they naturally looked around them for a market. The moun-

tains separated them from the marts of their countrymen on the sea-coast; to the north were the lakes and the possessions of Great Britain, an unfriendly power; the western frontier was lined with hostile savages, with whom they could not hope to carry on any profitable traffic; to the south-west, the Spaniards, living under a rigid system of commercial non-intercourse, closed their markets for ever against foreigners. The noble river that swept their shores, and seemed destined by Providence as the great highway by which the dwellers in this region should seek the ocean, was shut against them.

The right to navigate the Mississippi, became early a theme of animated discussion in Kentucky, and the subject of urgent remonstrances to the government. The government hesitated and temporized; surrounded with the cares and perils which assailed the infancy of our national institutions, the small still voice from the distant wilderness fell faintly upon the executive ear. When the language of expostulation and defiance became loud, it was drowned in the dissensions of party violence; for by this time, the French revolution had broken out; political divisions had sprung up in our country; two great parties were contending for power; and the complaints of the Kentuckians were attributed to the disorganizing zeal of partisans.

Let it be remembered, too, that this was a period peculiarly propitious to the work of revolution. The American colonies had just separated from the mother country; the people were become familiar with the discussion of political rights, and accustomed to think for themselves. That reluctance with which men regard a change of government, and which induces them to submit to evils which are known, rather than plunge darkly into such as are unseen, had been dispelled by recent events; there was

an excitement in the public mind, an awakened energy in the tone of thought, which had prepared the people for decisive action, in any case, when demanded by their interests, and justified by their notions of moral or political honesty. At such a period, Spain held out a tempting bait to the enterprising settlers of the west. She offered them a free navigation of the Mississippi, and a market at New Orleans, upon the condition of their erecting an independent western republic; but the affections of the western people could not be thus alienated from their own countrymen; they could not be bribed to dissolve their connection with those to whom they were bound by the ties of consanguinity and honor, or to abandon, in its infancy and weakness, a government to which they owed nothing but the voluntary homage of respect and preference.

The offers of the French government were still more alluring. They were invited to invade the Spaniards, against whom they were exasperated by a long continued and unjust denial of their right to the navigation of the Mississippi. The friendship and pecuniary aid of a powerful nation, was tendered to their acceptance. The city of New Orleans, and the fertile province of Louisiana, with its genial climate and varied productions, were within the reach of their grasp. The whole of the broad valley of the west lay before them, with its hundred rivers and its mighty resources; and the glory of building up a new empire in this delightful region, was held up in dazzling splendor before their eyes. Still they remained true to their country and their principles. In the retrospect of these affairs, it should not be forgotten, that they succeeded the termination of the revolutionary war. Thousands of soldiers had just been disbanded, and were destitute of employment. A vast number of young gen-

tlemen had entered the revolutionary armies, at an age usually appropriated to the choice of a profession, and the acquirement of the knowledge and habits requisite for civil pursuits; they had spent years in the military profession, imbibed a thirst for fame, and acquired a love for the vicissitudes of war. Their occupation was now gone; they were too old to commence a course of professional study, and they had no tastes which suited them for the quiet pursuits of industry. Many of these gentlemen had emigrated to the west, and others were still unsettled. To such persons, the temptation of military service, the allurements of ambitious prospects, the wide field of enterprise, opened in brilliant perspective before them, must have been in the highest degree inviting. But they had the forbearance to resist the dangerous incitement, the patriotism to prefer the peace and honor of their country to their own fame and interest.

When we consider these transactions in connection with others which have subsequently occurred, and pass in sober review the various occasions on which a portion of our people have been goaded into momentary disaffection, by a pressure of affairs which has exasperated their feelings or blighted their interests; when we remark how often our country has been threatened with disunion, and how portentously the storm of discord has lowered, until it seemed ready to burst upon our heads, and reflect how invariably our fears have proved delusive—how beautifully and tranquilly the clouds of rebellion have passed away, and the sun of peace shone out in quiet glory, we are led to the conclusion, that there are inherent ties of reason and affection entwined in the fabric of our society, which bind it indissolubly together.

CHAPTER XIV.

Burr's Conspiracy.

IN the year 1806, the western country began to be again disturbed by the machinations of political agitators. An event has seldom occurred, so intrinsically insignificant in its result, which has created so great a sensation as the conspiracy of Burr; which, indeed, derives its consequence principally from the celebrity of the names attached to it, and the ignorance of the world as to its final object. Burr was the rival of Hamilton; Hamilton, the friend of Washington, his military aid, his political adviser, his social companion—equally eminent as a soldier, an orator, a writer, a financier, and a lawyer. The man who could make Hamilton experience, or even counterfeit,

“The stern joy that warriors feel,
In foeman worthy of their steel,”

must have stood far above mediocrity. Colonel Burr was the son of a gentleman eminent for his learning and piety, for many years president of the most celebrated college in America; and was himself a man of transcendent genius and great attainments. He was remarkable for the elegance of his manners, the seductiveness of his address, the power and sweetness of his eloquence; but more so, perhaps, for the boldness and energy of his mind. Burr

had contended unsuccessfully with Jefferson for the presidential chair, which he lost by a single vote; but while he filled the second place in dignity, few at that time would have assigned him an inferior station in point of talents.

The duel between Hamilton and Burr filled the nation with astonishment and grief—grief for the death of a great and useful man, and astonishment at the delusion which occasioned it. Burr, with the corpse of Hamilton at his feet, might have felt the triumph of conquest; but it was a momentary flush; the laurels of the hero, watered by the tears of his country, retained their verdure; and even those who might have rejoiced at his political fall, execrated the destroyer of his existence.

Shortly after this bloody catastrophe, the conduct of Burr began again to excite the attention of the public. He had resigned his former employments, forsaken his usual haunts, and was leading an erratic and mysterious life. He frequently traveled *incognito*, performed long and rapid journeys, and remained but a short time at any one place. This restlessness was attributed to uneasiness of mind, and many began to sympathize with him whom they supposed to be thus tortured with the stings of conscience. But whatever might have been the workings of his mind, he soon evinced that its fire was not quenched, nor its ambition sated. He was now seen traversing the western wilds, eagerly seeking out the distinguished men of that country, particularly those who possessed military experience, or had hearts alive to the stirring impulses of ambition.

These indications were quickly succeeded by others of a more decided character. Secret as his intentions were, the first movement towards their execution awakened suspicion. The assembling of men and collecting muni-

tions of war, roused the government to action. Burr was arrested—his plans defeated, his adherents dispersed, and his reputation blasted. He became an exile and a wanderer; and after years of suffering, returned to his native land, to become an insignificant member of that bar, of which he had been among the highest ornaments—an obscure citizen of that country over whose councils he had presided; and to add another to the list of splendid men, who have been great without benefit to themselves or others, and whose names will be preserved only

“To point a moral, or adorn a tale.”

He was entirely abandoned. Never was a man more studiously avoided, more unanimously condemned. The voice of eulogy was silent, the breath of party was hushed. Of the many who had admired and loved him, none ventured to express their love or admiration. One fatal act of folly, or of crime, had obscured all the brilliancy of a splendid career; and, although acquitted of treason by a court of justice, a higher tribunal, that of public opinion, refused to reverse the sentence which consigned him to disgrace.

Such was the fate of Burr; but his plans are yet enveloped in mystery. A descent upon some part of Spanish America, and the establishment of an independent government, has been stated to have been the object; but it is alleged, that a separation of the western States from the Union, formed a part of the project. The latter charge rests almost entirely upon the evidence of General Eaton, a gentleman whose chivalrous disposition led him through many singular adventures, and whose history, as recorded by himself, presents a more favorable picture of his heart and genius than of his judgment. He was a man of warm temperament, who adopted hasty

and vivid impressions from the impulse of the moment. From his testimony, I should be inclined to believe, that Colonel Burr had cherished some vague ideas respecting a disjunction of the Union; but it does not appear that those speculations were ever matured into any settled plan, or confided to his adherents. I am led to this conclusion, by the characters of Colonel Burr and the gentlemen who were implicated with him in his disastrous expedition. Burr was a close observer of men and manners; and it is not to be presumed, that he would have lightly embraced a scheme so fraught with treason, madness, and folly. He knew the American people well. He had studied them with the eye of a statesman, and with the intense interest of an ambitious political aspirant. His rank in society, his political station, and his extensive practice at the bar, threw open a wide and varied scene to his observation, and exhibited his countrymen to him in a variety of lights and shades.

Nor was Burr the man upon whom such opportunities would be lost. To him, the avenues of the human heart were familiar, and he could penetrate with ease into its secret recesses. To study man was his delight—to study his countrymen his business. Could he then have been a stranger to their intelligence, their sense of honor, their habits of calculation, and their love for their republican institutions? Could he expect to transform at once, the habits, feelings, tastes, and morals of a people conspicuous for their courage and political integrity?—for such are the people of the western States. It has been supposed, and with some plausibility, that his hopes were founded on the dissatisfaction evinced by the western people, at the time of the discussion of our right to navigate the Mississippi. It is true, that the rude and unprovoked violation of our privileges on that river by Spain, excited

a universal burst of indignation throughout the Union. It is also true, that this feeling was most warmly displayed in the west. In the Atlantic States, the insult was felt as implicating our national honor; in the west, it was a matter of vital importance to all, and of personal interest to every individual, and as such it came *home to men's business and bosoms*. The Mississippi was the natural outlet, and New Orleans the mart for the produce of the west; and when that market, to which they believed they had an indefeasible right of access, was barred to them, it was but the natural and common impulse of the human mind, which induced a people, at all times proud, impetuous, and tenacious, to call for vengeance and redress, with a sternness and impatience commensurate with their injuries. The conciliatory spirit and tardy policy of Mr. Jefferson, neither satisfied their feelings, nor suited their exigencies; and they were willing to impute to tameness in the executive, or to a disregard for their interests, that which might have been the result of natural weakness or mistaken policy. Believing themselves to be abandoned by the general government, they felt it a duty to protect their own invaded rights; and if the government had not interposed with effect, they would doubtless have drawn the sword — against whom? the government? No, but against the common enemy. In this there was no treason nor disaffection — no estrangement from their sister States, no breach of faith with the government, nor violation of the compact. It was saying only to their federal head — “defend us, or we will defend ourselves.”

If Colonel Burr expected to fan these feelings into rebellion, he had either more boldness or less wisdom, than has commonly been placed to his credit; and had he openly avowed this project, he would have called down upon his head the imprecations of a people, who, if they

had spared his life, would not have forgiven so foul an insult to their virtue and understanding. But let us ask who were the adherents of Colonel Burr? Who were they who were to share his fortunes, to reap with him the proud laurels of successful valor, or the infamy of foul rebellion? Were they persons of obscure name and desperate fortune, or were they men of good blood and fair fame? These questions are embarrassed with some uncertainty, because most of the gentlemen who have been accused of adhering to Colonel Burr, have denied the fact; and I wish not to assume any thing as a fact, on this delicate subject, which is, or has been controverted. But it is not denied that many "prosperous gentlemen" were engaged in this enterprise; and many others suspected, with a belief so strong as to amount almost to certainty; and among these were men whom the people have since exalted to the most important trusts, and confided in with the most implicit reliance. Among them were men of high standing, who had reputations to be tarnished, fortunes to be lost, and families to be embarrassed; and many high-souled youths, whose proud aspirations after fame could never have been gratified amid the horrors of a civil war and the guilty scenes of rebellion.

It is argued against these gentlemen, that they have uniformly denied their connection with Burr, which it is supposed they would not have done had they known his designs to be innocent. But this I do not conceive to be a fair argument. The united voice of the whole nation had declared Burr to be a traitor, and his adherents shared the obloquy which was heaped upon their misguided leader. Even admitting their innocence, or their own belief of it, still it would have been a hopeless task for this handful of men to oppose their feeble assevera-

tions to the "voice potential" of a whole people. Many of them, also, were candidates for office, and they found the avenues to preferment closed by the anathemas pronounced by the people against all who were concerned in what they believed to have been rank conspiracy. They might, therefore, have bent to the current which they could not stem.

Blannerhasset was an Irish gentleman of easy fortune—a man devoted to science, who retired from the world, in the hope of finding happiness in the union of literary and rural occupation. He selected an island in the Ohio, which still bears his name, as his retreat, and spared no expense in beautifying and improving it. He is described as having been retired in his habits, amiable in his propensities, greatly addicted to chemical studies, and a passionate lover of music. In this romantic spot, and in these innocent pursuits, he lived; and, to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to have been lovely even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that could render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him the father of her children. But Blannerhasset, in an evil hour, became acquainted with Burr; he imbibed the poison of his ambition, became involved in his intrigues, and shared his ruin—a ruin as complete, desolate, and hopeless, as his former state had been serene and bright.

Whatever were Burr's intentions, it is certain that they embraced schemes so alluring, or so magnificent, as to win the credulous Blannerhasset from the abstraction of study and the blandishments of love. This island became the center of operations. Here arms were deposited and men collected; and here, assembled round their watch-fires, young gentlemen, who "had seen better days," and "sat at good men's feasts," endured all the rigors of the

climate and the privations of a campaign, rewarding themselves, in anticipation, with the honors of war and the wealth of Mexico. Burr and Blannerhasset were the master spirits who planned their labors; Mrs. Blannerhasset was the light and life of all their social joys. If treason matured its dark designs in her mansion, here also the song, the dance, and the revel, displayed their fascinations. The order of arrest was the signal of dispersion to this ill fated band; and it is said, that the lovely mistress of this fairy scene, the Calypso of this enchanted isle, was seen at midnight, "shivering on the winter banks of the Ohio," mingling her tears with its waters, eluding by stratagem the ministers of justice, and destitute of the comforts of life, and the solace of that hospitality which she had once dispensed with such graceful liberality.

I believe it is not doubted, that Burr intended to have attempted the conquest of Mexico. A large portion of the people of that country were supposed to be waiting only for a favorable opportunity to throw off the Spanish yoke. The Americans, as their neighbors, and as republicans, would, it was thought, be received without suspicion; nor would Burr have unfolded his ultimate design, until it should be too late to prevent its accomplishment. He would then have established a monarchy, at the head of which would have been King Aaron the First. I am told, that the young gentlemen who were proceeding to join him, often amused themselves on this subject; talking, half in jest and half in earnest, of the offices and honors which awaited them. Titles and places were already lavishly distributed in anticipation; and Mrs. Blannerhasset, who was an accomplished and sprightly woman, had arranged the dresses and ceremonies of the court. When the alarm was given, and orders were issued for the arrest

of Burr and his adherents, they were obliged to resort to a variety of expedients to escape detection. At Fort Mastic, and other places, all boats descending the river were compelled to stop and undergo strict examination, to the great vexation of boatmen and peaceable voyagers, who were often obliged to land at unseasonable hours. Very diligent inquiry was made for the lady just mentioned, who several times narrowly escaped detection, through her own ingenuity and that of her companions.

CHAPTER XV.

Character of the Pioneers—Their Adventures—Anecdote of Muldrow—Of Boone—Device of the Indians—Romantic Adventure of two Females.

PASSING in rapid review the period over which we have passed, we find that the district of Kentucky was settled by several distinct classes of people, differing much from each other, and each having a marked peculiarity of character. It is from not knowing, or not adverting to this circumstance, that erroneous impressions have been received of the genius and disposition of the western people; to the manners of all of whom, the Kentuckians have given a decided tone.

Those who came first—the Boones, the Kentons, the Whitleys—were rough, uneducated men; the enterprising, fearless, hardy pioneers. They were literally backwoodsmen, who had always resided on the frontiers, forming the connecting link between civilized and savage men; and who did not, in their emigration to the west, form any new acquaintance with the perils of the wilderness. They had been inhabitants of the long line of frontier lying east of the Allegheny mountains; were the descendants of men, whose lives had been spent in fierce contests with the Indians; and were themselves accustomed from infancy, to the vicissitudes of hunting and border warfare. A few of them came from Pennsylvania and Maryland, but the great body from Virginia and North Carolina. Strictly

speaking, they were not farmers; for, although they engaged in agriculture, they depended chiefly on their guns for subsistence; and were allured to the west, rather by the glories of the boundless forest and the abundance of game, than by the fertility of the new lands, and the ample resources of the country. They came singly or in small parties, careless of protection, and fearless of consequences. Their first residence was a *camp*; a frail shelter formed of poles and bark, carefully concealed in some retired spot, in which they hid the spoils of the chase, and to which they crept for repose at night, or slept away the long inclement days, when the hunter and his prey were alike driven by the storm to seek the shelter of their coverts. At other times, they roamed abroad, either engaged in hunting, or in making long journeys of exploration; sleeping in the open air, and feeding upon the fruits of the forest and the flesh of wild animals, without bread or condiment. Between them and the Indians, there seems to have existed, from the beginning, a mutual dislike and distrust; and except when there happened to be a great superiority of numbers on one side, or a recent provocation, they rather avoided than sought each other. But they seldom met without shedding blood.

The stratagems of this border warfare were ingenious, and often highly amusing. The pioneer, as well as the Indian warrior, felt as much triumph in deceiving his enemy by a successful device, as in conquering him in battle; and usually acquired more lasting fame among his comrades from the former, than from the latter exploit; for in the circumstances under which they were mutually placed, cunning was a more valuable quality than courage. The bravest man might be overpowered by numbers, or slain by a bullet from the rifle of an unseen foe; but the wily hunter, who was always watchful, self-possessed, and

fertile of expedients, seemed to bear a charmed life, and to be proof, as well against secret hostility as open violence. We read, with an admiration bordering upon incredulity, of the adventures of such men as Boone and Kenton—of their fights, their retreats, their captivity, their escapes, their recovery from dreadful wounds, their wanderings without arms and provisions, and their surviving through all, to die of old age in their beds; almost realizing the description of the apostle, “in journeyings often, in perils of water, in perils of mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.

The following anecdote, highly characteristic of the adventurous life of the pioneers, was related to the author, while riding over a range of savage precipices called Muldrow's Hill, in the central part of Kentucky, and refers, as he understood, to the Mr. Muldrow, whose name is attached to that desolate wilderness.

Among these rugged acclivities I saw a cluster of dilapidated log houses, which, I was informed, had been erected by one of the earliest settlers; and I could not avoid feeling some surprise, that a pioneer should have seated himself on such a barren and inhospitable tract, when all the rich plains and valleys of this delightful country were uninhabited; and when he might have selected other lands of surpassing fertility and beauty. Yet such a choice was not uncommon; and upon examining the first locations of settlers, in different parts of the western country, we do not find that they always selected the best lands, or the most advantageous situations; and we can only account for the circumstance, by supposing that

many of them were persons with whom agriculture was not a primary object, and who sought good hunting grounds rather than a productive soil; or else that they chose positions in reference to security from Indian hostilities. The individual alluded to, settled here at a time when there was not a single white man but himself in this vicinity, and here he had resided with his wife, for a year, without having seen the face of any other human being. Perhaps, as it was his choice to reside in a wilderness, isolated from his own species, he might have thought it prudent to conceal his place of abode from the Indians, by erecting his cabin in an inhospitable waste, difficult of access, where there were no pastures to invite the deer or buffalo, and no game to allure the savage hunter, and where his family remained secure, while he roved with his gun over some hunting ground at a convenient distance.

After passing a year in this mode of life, he was one day wandering through the woods in search of game, when he heard the barking of a dog, and supposing that an Indian was near, concealed himself. Presently a small dog came running along his track, with his nose to the ground, as if pursuing his footsteps, and had nearly reached his hiding-place, when it stopped, snuffed the air, and uttered a low whine, as if to admonish its master, that the object of pursuit was near at hand. In a few minutes the owner of the dog came stepping cautiously along, glancing his eyes jealously around, and uttering low signals to the dog. But the dog stood at fault, and the owner halted, within a few yards of our hunter, and fully exposed to view. The new comer was a tall athletic man, completely armed, with rifle, tomahawk, and knife; but whether he was a white man or an Indian, could not be determined, either by his complexion or

dress. He wore a hunting-shirt and leggins, of dressed deer-skin, and a hat from which the rim was entirely torn away, and the crown elongated into the shape of a sugar loaf. The face, feet, and hands, which were exposed, were of the tawny hue of the savage, but whether the color was natural, or the effect of exposure, could not be ascertained even by the keen eye of the hunter, and the features were so disguised by dirt and gunpowder, that their expression afforded no clue, by which the question could be decided, whether the individual was a friend or a foe. There was but a moment for deliberation, and after a hasty scrutiny, the pioneer, inclining to the opinion that the stranger was an Indian, cautiously drew up his rifle, and took a deliberate aim; but the bare possibility that he might be pointing his weapon at the bosom of a countryman, induced him to pause. Again he raised his gun, and again hesitated; while his opponent with his rifle half raised towards his face, and his finger on the trigger, looked eagerly around. Both stood motionless and silent; one searching for the object of his pursuit, the other in readiness to fire. At length the hunter, having resolved to delay no longer, cocked his rifle—the *tick* reached the acute ear of his opponent, who instantly sprung behind a tree; the hunter imitated his example, and they were now fairly opposed, each covered by a tree, from behind which he endeavored to get a shot at his adversary without exposing his own person. And now a series of statagems ensued, each seeking to draw the fire of the other—until the stranger, becoming weary of suspense, called out, “Why don’t you shoot, you eternal cowardly varment.” “Shoot, yourself, you bloody red-skin,” retorted the other. “No more a red-skin than yourself.” “Are you a white man?” “To-be-sure I am; are you?” “Yes; no mistake in me.” Whereupon each

being undeceived, they threw down their guns, rushed together with open arms, and took a hearty hug. The hunter now learned, that the stranger had been settled, with his family, about ten miles from him, for several months past, and that they had often roamed over the same hunting grounds each supposing himself the sole inhabitant of that region. On the following day, the hunter saddled his horse, and taking up his good-wife behind him, carried her down to make a call upon her new neighbor, who doubtless received the visit with far more sincere joy than usually attends such ceremonies.

The pioneers were often captured; and while on the march towards the Indian towns, were rescued by their friends, or succeeded in making their escape, although bound and closely watched. Sometimes they were carried to the villages of the captors; endured with heroic calmness all the tortures which savage cruelty could invent; and at last escaped by some ingenious stratagem, or were forcibly rescued, even at the stake, by their daring comrades. Often did a single individual, escaping from captivity, unarmed and lacerated with wounds and stripes, retreat for hundreds of miles before a pursuing party of enraged savages; foiling their skill by superior ingenuity, or outstripping them in the mere exertion of muscular power. Sometimes they disguised themselves in the skins of wild beasts, to decoy the foe; and in making signals to each other, they imitated the notes of birds and the various cries of the forest. In several instances, the crews of boats descending the Ohio, have been allured to the shore and slain, by Indians crawling on the beach, covered with the skins of bears; and the garrisons of our forts have more than once been deceived by similar devices.

An anecdote is told of Boone, which is highly characteristic of the humor and the coolness of the pioneer.

He was once resting in the woods, with a small number of followers, when a large party of Indians came suddenly upon them and halted—neither party having discovered the other until they came in contact. The whites were eating; and the Indians, with the ready tact for which they are famous, sat down with perfect composure and commenced eating also. It was obvious that they wished to lull the suspicions of the white men, and to seize a favorable opportunity for rushing upon them. Boone affected a careless inattention; but in an under tone, quietly admonished his men to keep their hands upon their rifles. He then strolled towards the Indians, unarmed, and leisurely picking the meat from a bone; the Indian leader, who was similarly employed, rose to meet him. Boone saluted him, and then requested to look at the knife with which the Indian was cutting his meat. The chief handed it to him without hesitation; and our pioneer, who, with his other accomplishments, possessed considerable expertness at sleight of hand, deliberately opened his mouth and affected to swallow the long knife, which, at the same instant, he threw adroitly into his sleeve. The Indians were astonished; Boone gulped, rubbed his throat, stroked his body, and then, with apparent satisfaction, pronounced the horrid mouthful to be *very good*. Having enjoyed the surprise of the spectators for a few moments, he made another contortion, and drawing forth the knife, as they supposed, from his body, civilly returned it to the chief. The latter took the point cautiously between his thumb and finger, as if fearful of being contaminated by touching the weapon, and threw it from him into the bushes. The pioneer sauntered back to his party; and the Indians, instantly despatching their meal, marched off, desiring no farther intercourse with a man who could swallow a scalping-knife.

A singular maneuver was practiced by a party of Indians, who had stolen some horses on Elkhorn, in 1788. They were pursued by a superior number of Americans, for about twenty miles, and overtaken at a spot where they had halted to rest, in a brushy copse of wood. The whites came upon them suddenly, and the parties discovered each other simultaneously. The pursuers made preparations to fire; the Indians sprang up from the ground, on which they were sitting, and gave a yell; but instead of making any show of resistance, ran about as if distracted. One, who was probably the chief, threw himself between the two parties, and continued to scream and jump, dodging from side to side, springing aloft, and throwing his body into violent contortions. This strange exhibition, attracted the attention of the Kentuckians, and prevented them from firing; while the other Indians, gathering up their guns and blankets, disappeared—dispersing in various directions, so as to leave no trace, and baffle pursuit. Lastly, the dexterous savage, perceiving that his comrades were so scattered as to be safe from immediate danger, suddenly threw off his feigned character, and dashing into the bushes made his escape, leaving a foe, superior in numbers, bewildered with amazement at this extemporaneous display of ingenuity.

The females, too, had “their exits and their entrances,” in this bloody drama; and exercised their courage as well as their inventive powers, in the practice of strategy. A party of Indians approached a solitary log-house, with the intention of murdering its inmates. With their usual caution, one of their number was sent forward to reconnoiter, who, discovering the only persons within to be a woman, two or three children, and a negro man, rushed in by himself and seized the negro. The woman caught up an axe, and with a single blow laid the savage warrior

dead at her feet, while the children closed the door, and with ready sagacity employed themselves in fastening it. The rest of the Indians came up, and attempted to force an entrance; but the negro and the children kept the door closed; and the intrepid mother, having no effective weapon, picked up a gun barrel, which had neither stock nor lock, and pointed it at the savages through the apertures between the logs. The Indians, deceived by the appearance of a gun, and daunted by the death of their companion, retired.

Another incident which occurred at this early period, is worthy of recital, because it is not only deeply affecting in itself, but is highly illustrative of the sufferings of the first settlers. Among the adventurers whom Boone describes as having reinforced his little colony, was a young gentleman named Smith, who had been a major in the militia of Virginia, and possessed a full share of the gallantry and noble spirit of his native State. In the absence of Boone, he was chosen, on account of his military rank and talents, to command the rude citadel, which contained all the wealth of this patriarchal band—their wives, their children, and their herds. It held also an object particularly dear to this young soldier—a lady, the daughter of one of the settlers, to whom he had pledged his affections. It came to pass, upon a certain day, when a siege was just over, tranquillity restored, and the employment of husbandry resumed, that this young lady, with a female companion, strolled out, as young ladies in love are very apt to do, along the banks of the Kentucky river. Having rambled about for some time, they espied a canoe lying by the shore, and in a frolic, stepped into it, with the determination of visiting a neighbor on the opposite bank. It seems that they were not so well skilled in navigation as the *Lady of the Lake*, who “paddled her own canoe”

very dexterously; for instead of gliding to the point of destination, they were whirled about by the stream, and at length thrown on a sand bar, from which they were obliged to wade to the shore. Full of the mirth excited by their wild adventure, they hastily arranged their dresses, and were proceeding to climb the banks, when three Indians, rushing from a neighboring covert, seized the fair wanderers, and forced them away. Their savage captors, evincing no sympathy for their distress, nor allowing them time for rest or reflection, hurried them along during the whole day, by rugged and thorny paths. Their shoes were worn off by the rocks, their clothes torn, and their feet and limbs lacerated and stained with blood. To heighten their misery, one of the savages began to make love to Miss ——, (the *intended* of Major S.) and while goading her along with a pointed stick, promised, in recompense for her sufferings, to make her *his squaw*. This at once roused all the energies of her mind, and called its powers into action. In the hope that her friends would soon pursue them, she broke the twigs as she passed along, and delayed the party as much as possible by tardy and blundering steps. But why dwell on the heartless and unmanly cruelty of these savages? The day and the night passed, and another day of agony had nearly rolled over the heads of these afflicted females, when their conductors halted to cook a wild repast of buffalo meat.

The ladies were soon missed from the garrison. The natural courage and sagacity of Smith, now heightened by love, gave him the wings of the wind and the fierceness of the tiger. The light traces of female feet led him to the place of embarkation; the canoe was traced to the opposite shore; the deep print of the moccasin in the sand, told the rest; and the agonized Smith, accompanied by a few of his best woodsmen, pursued "the spoil encumbered

foe." The track once discovered, they kept it with that unerring sagacity so peculiar to our hunters. The bended grass, the disentangled briars, and the compressed shrub, afforded the only, but to them the certain indications of the route of the enemy. When they had sufficiently ascertained the general course of the retreat of the Indians, Smith quitted the trace, assuring his companions that they would fall in with them at the pass of a certain stream ahead, for which he now struck a direct course, thus gaining on the foe, who had taken the most difficult paths. Arrived at the stream, they traced its course until they discovered the water newly thrown upon the rocks. Smith, leaving his party, now crept forward upon his hands and feet, until he discovered one of the savages seated by a fire, and with deliberate aim shot him through the heart. The women rushed towards their deliverer, and recognizing Smith, clung to him in the transport of newly awakened joy and gratitude, while a second Indian sprang towards him with his tomahawk. Smith, disengaging himself from the ladies, aimed a blow at his antagonist with his rifle, which the savage avoided by springing aside, but at the same moment, the latter received a mortal wound from another hand. The other and only remaining Indian, fell in attempting to escape. Smith, with his interesting charge, returned in triumph to the fort, where his gallantry, no doubt, was repaid by the sweetest of all rewards.

CHAPTER XVI.

Character of the Pioneers—Their Mode of Living—Introduction of Steamboats—Its effect on the Manners of the People.

AMONG the pioneers were many substantial farmers—a class that differed from that of which we have spoken, only in being more industrious and provident. They were of the same stock; equally accustomed to the rude scenes of border life, brothers of the same family; but like Jacob and Esau, one was devoted to the vicissitudes of sylvan sport, the other to the sober employments of domestic industry. They came together to the wilderness, the one to possess the soil, the other to wander through the forest in search of game. Alike in appearance and manners, and each occasionally adopting the character of the other, a stranger would have been unable to recognise any distinction between them; but in a few years, the hunter moved forward to a more newly discovered country, while the farmer remained to clear away the forest and raise abundant crops upon its virgin soil. In a few years more, the farmer attests the force of nature and the purity of his descent, by sighing for newer lands; and selling his farm to a later emigrant, he takes his flocks and herds, his children and servants, and follows the hunter to the farther wilderness. The reader, however, is not to suppose that either of these classes are always in motion. They remain for years in one spot, forming the mass of the settled population, and giving a tone to

the institutions of the country; and at each remove, a few are left behind, who cling permanently to the soil, and bequeath their landed possessions to their posterity.

The pioneers brought little other property, than such as they could pack upon the backs of horses. A few implements of husbandry, and such cooking utensils as were indispensable; the rifle, the axe, and a few mechanics' tools; with some horses, cattle, and hogs, constituted the wealth of the emigrant. Their first abode, as we have already stated, was in *camps* and *stations*; but their permanent habitation was the primitive log cabin, still so common throughout the whole western country; and those who have never witnessed the erection of such buildings, would be surprised to behold the simplicity of their mechanism, and the rapidity with which they are put together. The axe and the augur, are often the only tools used in their construction; but usually the frow, the drawing-knife, the broad-axe, and the cross-cut saw, are added. The architecture of the body of the house, is sufficiently obvious; but it is curious to notice the ingenuity with which the wooden fire-place and chimney are protected from the action of the fire by a lining of clay; to see a smooth floor formed of the plain surfaces of hewed logs, and a door made of boards split from the log, hastily smoothed with the drawing-knife, united firmly together with wooden pins, hung upon wooden hinges, and fastened with a wooden latch. Not a nail, nor any particle of metal, enters into the composition of the building—all is wood from top to bottom; all is done by the woodsman, without the aid of any mechanic. These primitive dwellings are by no means so wretched as their name and their rude workmanship would seem to imply. They still constitute the usual dwelling of the farmers in new settlements; and I have often found them roomy,

tight, and comfortable. If one cabin is not sufficient, another, and another, is added, until the whole family is accommodated; and thus the homestead of a respectable farmer often resembles a little village.

The dexterity of the backwoodsman in the use of the axe, is also remarkable; yet it ceases to be so regarded, when we reflect on the variety of uses to which this implement is applied, and that it in fact enters into almost all the occupations of the pioneer. In clearing lands, building houses, making fences, providing fuel, the axe is used; in tilling his fields, the farmer is continually interrupted to cut away the trees that have fallen in his enclosures, and the roots that impede his plough; the path of the surveyor is cleared by the axe, and his lines and corners marked by this implement; roads are opened and bridges made with the axe; the first court-houses and jails, are fashioned of logs, with the same tool; in labor or hunting, in travelling by land or water, the axe is ever the companion of the backwoodsman.

With the first emigration, there are no mechanics; and for many years after, but few are found in the new settlements. The farmer, therefore, makes almost every thing that he uses. Besides clearing land, building houses, and making fences, he stocks his own plough, mends his wagon, makes his ox-yokes and harness, and learns to supply nearly all his wants from the forest. The tables, bedsteads, and seats in his house, are of his own rude workmanship. At first, the dressed skins of wild animals furnish the materials for making moccasons; but the farmers soon begin to tan their own leather and make their own shoes; and there are thousands scattered over the west, who continue, to this day, to make all the shoes that are worn in their families. They universally raise cotton, and often cultivate, also, hemp and flax; the spin-

ning-wheel and the loom, are common articles of furniture; and the whole farming and hunting population are clad in fabrics of household manufacture. The traveler, accustomed to different modes of life, is struck with the crude and uncomfortable appearance of every thing about this people—the rudeness of their habitations, the carelessness of their agriculture, the unsightly coarseness of all their implements and furniture, the unambitious homeliness of all their goods and chattels, except the axe, the rifle, and the horse—these being invariably the best and handsomest which their means enable them to procure. But he is mistaken in supposing them to be indolent and improvident; and is little aware how much ingenuity and toil have been exerted in procuring the few comforts which they possess, in a country without arts, mechanics, money, or commercial intercourse.

The backwoodsman has many substantial enjoyments. After the fatigue of his journey, and a short season of privation and danger, he finds himself surrounded with plenty. His cattle, hogs, and poultry, supply his table with meat; the forest abounds in game; the fertile soil yields abundant crops; he has, of course, bread, milk, and butter; the rivers furnish fish, and the woods honey. For these various articles, there is, at first, no market, and the farmer acquires the generous habit of spreading them profusely on his table, and giving them freely to a hungry traveler and an indigent neighbor.

Hospitality and kindness are among the virtues of the first settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they become united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other's defence, to aid in each other's labor, to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead, the best affections of the heart are kept in constant exercise;

and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country, who obey the calls of friendship, or the claims of benevolence, with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience.

My lamented friend, the late Gov. Morehead, of Kentucky, related in a public address, the characteristic incident, of a woman, who, on witnessing the death of a young man, who died quietly in his bed, declared that it was "a beautiful sight." It was probably the first natural death that had occurred among the early settlers, who, dwelling amid scenes of violence and bloodshed, were accustomed to see the strong cord of healthy life suddenly broken, and to witness the terror, and anguish, and excitement, attending the last moments of a murdered man. The stout warrior struggling with death, the bereaved wife, the terror-stricken children,—the sobs of friends, mingled with imprecations of vengeance, were familiar scenes. How different the end of this favored youth, whose attenuated thread of existence was gently parted, and who, prepared by a kind Providence, welcomed death as a happy change!

We read marvelous stories of the ferocity of western men. The name of Kentuckian is continually associated with the idea of fighting, dirking, and gouging. The people of whom we are now writing, do not deserve this character. They live together in great harmony, with little contention, and less litigation. The backwoodsmen are a generous and placable race. They are bold and impetuous; and when differences do arise among them, they are more apt to give vent to their resentment at once, than to brood over their wrongs, or to seek legal redress. But this conduct is productive of harmony; for men are always more guarded in their deportment to each other, and more cautious of giving offence, when they

know that the insult will be quickly felt, and instantly resented, than when the consequences of an offensive action are doubtful, and the retaliation distant. We have no evidence that the pioneers of Kentucky were quarrelsome or cruel; and an intimate acquaintance with the same race, at a later period, has led the writer to the conclusion, that they are a humane people; bold and daring when opposed to an enemy, but amiable in their intercourse with each other and with strangers, and habitually inclined to peace. Another generation has grown up, the sons of the pioneers, and the offspring of persons of wealth, many of whom have been suffered to reach the years of manhood with defective educations, and without having been trained to any regular employment, and among whom, as might be expected, are found idle, dissipated, and violent men—the gambler, the bully, and the duelist. The want of schools, the ease with which a livelihood was earned, and the rapidity with which fortunes were made some years ago, induced a degree of improvidence in the rearing of youth; and the number of those who grew up without any regular training, or any settled purpose, was greater than is common in other parts of our continent. The effect upon the manners of the population, is too obvious to need explication. But the character for brutal violence and audacious blasphemy, has been affixed to the people of this region, chiefly through the means of the boatmen and desperadoes, who formerly infested our rivers, and kept the inhabitants of their shores in constant terror.

Before the introduction of steamboats upon this river, its immense commerce was chiefly carried on by means of keel-boats, or of *barges*—large boats, calculated to descend as well as to ascend the stream, and which required many hands to navigate them. Each barge carried from thirty

to forty boatmen, and a number of these boats frequently sailed in company. The arrival of such a squadron at a small town, was the certain forerunner of a riot. The boatmen, proverbially lawless and dissolute, were often more numerous than the citizens, and indulged, without restraint, in every species of debauchery, outrage, and mischief. Wherever vice exists, will be found many to abet and to take advantage of its excesses; and these towns were filled with the wretched ministers of crime. Sometimes, the citizens, roused to indignation, attempted to enforce the laws; but the attempt was regarded as a declaration of war, which arrayed the offenders and their allies in hostility; the inhabitants were obliged to unite in the defence of each other; and the contest usually terminated in the success of that party which had least to lose, and were most prodigal of life and careless of consequences. The rapid emigration to this country was beginning to afford these towns such an increase of population as would have insured their ascendancy over the despots of the river, when the introduction of steamboats at once effected a revolution.

The substitution of machinery for manual labor, occasioned a vast diminution in the number of men required for the river navigation. A steamboat, with the same crew as a barge, will carry ten times the burthen, and perform her voyage in a fifth part of the time required by the latter. The bargemen infested the whole country, by stopping frequently, and often spending their nights on shore; while the steamboats pass rapidly from one large port to another, making no halt, except to receive or discharge merchandise at intermediate places. The commanders of steamboats are men of character; property to an immense amount is entrusted to their care; their responsibility is great; and they are careful of their own

department, and of the conduct of those under their control. The number of boatmen, therefore, is not only greatly reduced, in proportion to the amount of trade, but a sort of discipline is maintained among them, while the increase of population has enabled the towns to enforce the regulations of their police.

CHAPTER XVII.

Character of the Pioneers—The Scotch-Irish.

THERE was another class of settlers, who followed close upon the footsteps of the pioneers, and who deserve to be described separately, as they form an exception from the homogeneous mass of southern population already described, with whom, however, they became kindly and intimately blended, and upon whose character they made an important impression. I am indebted for the brief account I shall give of them, to a valuable work* by the Rev. Robert Davidson, D. D., of Kentucky, published since the first edition of these sketches.

Upon the subjugation of the northern part of Ireland by the English, in the reign of James I., the province of Ulster was settled by colonies from Great Britain, to whom liberal grants of land were given. "Owing to the vicinity and superior enterprise of the people of Scotland, the principal part of the settlers came from that country; which circumstance afterwards gave rise to the appellation of Scotch-Irish, denoting, not the intermarriage of two races, but the peopling of one country by the natives of another." Reared in the Kirk of Scotland, these people brought with them the fervent piety, the pure morals, and

* History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky.

the inflexible devotion to their own form of belief, which is characteristic of that church. They could not exist without the ordinances of public worship, and while the English clergy held the benefices, the Presbyterian ministers from Scotland came over and built up churches, after their own model. This state of things was, for a while, wisely tolerated; but afterwards, under the auspices of Wentworth and Laud, a fierce persecution was stirred up against the non-conformists of Ulster, who, after years of suffering, began to look to America, as an asylum from oppression. On the 9th of September, 1636, one hundred and forty of them embarked for New England, on board a ship they had built and called the *Eagle Wing*; but being driven back by contrary winds, they landed in the western part of Scotland, where they were joined by many others, fugitives also from the strong hand of oppression, and the enterprise was for the time abandoned. Had it been prosecuted, says our authority, "the *Eagle Wing* might have attained as enviable a celebrity in the annals of American colonization as the more fortunate *May Flower*."

From that time, with some few brief seasons of repose, the Scotch Presbyterians were continually harassed by the intolerance of the English Church and government, but their numbers increased in Ulster. At length, the fines, imprisonments, and whippings became so intolerable in 1679, 1682, and 1685, that crowds of exiles fled from oppression to East New Jersey, Carolina, and Maryland. A considerable portion of this emigration was from the north of Ireland, and the Scotch-Irish continued to pour into Pennsylvania, in such numbers, that in 1705, the Presbyterian churches there were sufficiently numerous to form a Presbytery. A large portion of these settlers, seeking for new lands, or dreading, from the colonial authorities, persecutions like those they had fled from, passed

through the more populous parts of the country, and found homes in what were then the frontier counties. Receiving continually new accessions from abroad, the stream of emigration extended southward until it crossed the Potomac, and spread through the valley of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Allegheny mountains.

They found here rich valleys, clothed with verdant grasses and herbage, over which herds of buffalo and deer still grazed, and where game of various kinds abounded. These were favorite hunting grounds of the Indians, who came from the west, across the mountains, at certain seasons of the year, in search of game, and who were not disposed to submit tamely to the intrusion of the white men. None could live here but hardy men, who were willing to fight, and ready at all times to defend themselves. And thus lived these sturdy Scotch-Irish emigrants. They endured the privations, and learned the habits of the American backwoodsmen. Thoughtful and austere, industrious and conscientious, they found no pleasure in the licence of the hunter's life, which they pursued only so far as their necessities required, preferring the quiet labors of the farm. But they belonged to a brave, high-spirited race. Tall and athletic, temperate and inured to labor, they were a people of great muscular energy, who excelled in all such athletic exercises as they were induced to undertake, while their coolness and courage fitted them in an eminent degree for military services. They not only sustained themselves manfully in the wilderness, but became blended and assimilated with the mass of backwoodsmen which soon swept over the Alleghenies, and were distinguished for their heroism and their numerous adventures. Their adaptation for frontier life, was singularly and harmoniously combined with a love for peace, a high degree of mental culture,

and an elevated standard of morals. The church and the school-house were among the earliest structures in every neighborhood. While yet there were no wagons, nor roads, nor saw-mills, buildings of solid stone were erected for public worship; and we are told of an instance in which the sand used in constructing a church was carried six miles, on the backs of horses, and what is worthy of notice, that "this part of the work was all done by the ladies of the congregation."*

In Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, we find the following graphic passage, illustrative of the habits of this people: "From the time Mr. Cummings commenced preaching at Sinking Spring, up to about the year 1776, the men never went to church without being armed, and taking their families with them. On Sabbath morning, during this period, it was Mr. Cummings' custom, for he was always a very neat man in his dress, to dress himself, then put on his shot-pouch, shoulder his rifle, mount his dun horse, and ride off to church. There he met his gallant and intelligent congregation, each man with his rifle in his hand. When seated in the meeting-house, they presented altogether a most solemn and singular spectacle. Mr. Cummings' uniform habit, before entering the house, was to take a short walk alone, while the congregation were seating themselves; he would then return, at the door hold a few words of conversation with some one of the elders of the church, then would gravely walk through this crowd, mount the steps of the pulpit, deposit his rifle in a corner near him, lay off his shot-pouch, and commence the solemn worship of the day."

Among their other sterling qualities, the Scotch-Irish were patriotic. They were staunch republicans, and not

* Howe's History of Virginia.

only the people, but their ministers, entered zealously into the cause in the American revolution; and it was of the population of which they formed the chief part, that Washington is reported to have said: "That should all his plans be crushed, and but a single standard be left him, he would plant that standard on the Blue Ridge, make the mountain hights his barrier, and rallying round him the noble patriots of the Valley, found, under better auspices, a new republic in the west."*

The Scotch-Irish, as we have said, were a tall and muscular race, well adapted by their physical qualities to become the pioneers of new settlements, and the founders of a new people. The whole population of the mountain and valley districts of Virginia were distinguished for their noble stature; and a remarkable illustration of this fact is recorded of one of the companies of volunteers from Augusta county, in the army of General Andrew Lewis, with which he fought the battle at Point Pleasant. At their departure from Staunton, the men of this company were measured, and their stature respectively marked upon the wall of the bar-room of Sampson Mathews, where the record remained until the tavern was burnt about seventy years afterwards. None of them were less than six feet two inches high, except two little fellows who measured only six feet.

Such were the people who formed one of the advanced columns in the great army of pioneers, that conquered and settled the west. The same spirit which led them to resist oppression in the land of their fathers, the same elevation of principle and steadiness of character which inspired them with courage to cling to their religion and their own form of faith, under every vicissitude, the same

* Davidson's History, p. 21.

independence of thought and character, which has marked their whole history, made them ardent republicans, and intrepid soldiers. Wherever they pitched their tents in the wilderness, there they erected the altar to the living and true God, and made the forests vocal with their hymns of praise; there they clung to the soil with the tenacity of true patriotism, and were ready to fight for their country and their faith. They were not only willing to die for the land of their adoption, but evinced, perhaps, a higher devotion in *living* for it. They brought with them a Christian spirit of love, which was exerted zealously and continuously in efforts to diffuse the gospel, and advance civilization. They cultivated the arts of peace. However simple in their habits, however abstemious and even rude in their general appointments, they could not live without the means of education for their children, and carried the schoolmaster with them in all their migrations; and that schoolmaster, the real old-fashioned *domine*, who believed in Solomon and the rod, and knew not, nor dreamed of, the modern heresy of "moral suasion." The pioneer teachers had cultivated learning in themselves, under difficulties, and had little idea of smoothing the way for others.

The "classical school" was among their earliest institutions; and in rude log huts, were devoted men teaching not merely the primer, but expounding the Latin poets, and explaining to future lawyers and legislators and generals, the severer truths of moral and mathematical science. Many a student, who was preparing himself for the bar or the pulpit, held up the lamp to younger aspirants for literary usefulness and honor, in these primitive haunts, while the wolf barked in the surrounding thickets, and the Indians were kept at bay by the stout-hearted sires of those who thus pursued knowledge under difficulties.

Quite a number of the men who became distinguished in after life, were prepared for college in such schools, and not a few who acted well their parts in conspicuous stations, without betraying any deficiency of scholarship, drank at no fountain of learning of any higher name.

When the explorations of Boone and others, to which we have alluded, were made known in Virginia, the whole population became highly excited by the florid descriptions of the delightful region of Kentucky; and parties of emigrants began to flock thither, especially from the frontier counties. Among the earliest adventurers, were many of the Presbyterians from the Valley. The first party of which we have any account, consisted of James, George, and Robert M'Affee, James M'Coun, senior, and Samuel Adams, who set out in May, 1773, and descended the Kenhawa and Ohio in boats. These were soon followed by others; and while all parts of Virginia were sending out emigrants to the West, a steady stream of hardy men from the Valley, flowed continually in the same direction, forming, it is true, a small minority of the mass, but constituting one of its most important elements. Their influence could not fail to be felt in the formation of the new society. Enterprising and brave as other men, they bore their full share in all the labors and perils of the pioneers, while by their example and exertions a high tone of morals was infused into the public mind. Sturdily and stoutly they wielded the axe and the sword; and as stoutly and sturdily did they bear the Bible in their hands, and found the institutions of their new communities upon its precepts. In Kentucky, as in Virginia, the schoolmaster was the humble companion and adjunct of the Presbyterian minister; the meeting-house and the school-house grew up together; and the footprints of the receding Indian were scarcely effaced, before grammar,

and rhetoric, and the Westminster catechism, began to be taught.

The Scotch-Irish element would hardly, at first sight, seem well adapted to mingle with the English cavalier blood of the Old Dominion. But never did two streams flow together more kindly. The lesser branch preserved its individuality of character as Presbyterians, planting their standard firmly, and winning converts by their Christian faithfulness and denominational tenacity. In all other respects, they became engrafted with the people, and entirely merged their nationality. We know of no other instance in the United States, in which a foreign population have, in so brief a period, become so completely absorbed into the mass of the people, and in which the peculiarities of race have been so thoroughly effaced. In Pennsylvania, the descendants of the same race are still a marked people, distinguished by their thrift, their temperance, their quiet Scotch humor, and the rich brogue which survives the lapse of time and the changes of soil and climate; while, in Kentucky, the offspring of that race are Kentuckians, without any peculiarity of speech or manners. At the same time, they had too much character to become mingled with another people, without producing an impression; and there is little doubt, that in the Kentucky character, the Virginian element, which forms its basis, has been modified in some degree by this small but energetic addition.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Character of the Pioneers—Men of Education among them—The Kentuckians an enthusiastic, poetic, and eloquent people.

AT the close of the revolution, the State of Virginia rewarded her military officers by donations of land, in the then *district of Kentucky*. Many of these gentlemen, with others, who, at the close of the war, found themselves without employment, emigrated to that country, carrying with them the courage, skill, and lofty notions incident to military command. They became the leaders in the Indian wars; and as bravery is necessarily held in the highest estimation among people who are exposed to danger, they soon became the popular men of the country, and filled many of the civil offices. A number of these gentlemen had been active and distinguished soldiers, who had reaped the laurels of successful valor, and earned the gratitude of their country; while they were, at the same time, men of education and refinement. They had all the high tone of Virginia feeling, together with the military pride and the knowledge of the world, acquired in several years of service. Seldom has a new community enjoyed the rare advantage of numbering among the founders of her institutions, men in whom were united such rare and happy endowments. They had the polish and elegance of gentlemen, with the muscular

strength and courage of the backwoodsman. They were accustomed to war, and to the athletic exercises of the forest. They rode well, and wielded the rifle with fatal precision; they were successful warriors and good hunters; yet they were well bred men, of easy manners, cultivated minds, liberal opinions, and unbounded hospitality. A fair proportion of them were persons of extensive property, or at least in easy circumstances, which placed them above selfish considerations, and enabled them to live up to the native liberality of the Virginian character. The people and the institutions of the country imbibed their spirit. Brave and hardy the Kentuckians must have been, from their manner of life; but we must attribute much of their hospitality, their polish, and their intelligence, to the gentlemen of Virginia, who came in early times to this State, bringing with them education, wealth, and talents, and whose character is now diffused over the whole West, and impressed on the institutions of the newer States.

Another fact is true of Kentucky, which does not occur in the history of other Western States, or of new countries in general. This district, when first settled, formed a part of the territory of Virginia, lying in actual contact with the mother state; and its settlement was considered rather an expansion of the *Old Dominion*, than as the formation of a new community. We do not discover, either in the traditions or the writings of these times, which have come down to us, that the settlers of Kentucky were called *emigrants*. The idea of expatriation did not connect itself with their change of residence; they *moved out* to an unsettled part of their own State, considered themselves as remaining in their native land, and transferred to the soil of Kentucky all the pride, the local attachment, the love of country, which we find so promi-

ment, so characteristic, so graceful in the Virginian character. They were still Virginians.

The peculiarities of the society thus constituted, were but little adulterated by manners or institutions foreign from their own; there was little emigration to Kentucky from any other States than Virginia and North Carolina—none from Europe, and scarcely any from the Eastern States. There was, therefore, a purely American population, whose institutions began to be organized at a period contemporaneous with the birth of our national independence, when the pride of newly gained freedom was glowing brightly, and patriotism was a new-born and highly cherished virtue.

When all these facts are considered, in connection with the geographical position, the fertility, and the resources of the country, it is not difficult to understand the causes of those peculiarities of national character, which have always distinguished the Kentuckians, and which still point them out to the most casual observer, as a separate people. The first stock were hunters or military men—an athletic, vigorous race, with hardy frames, active minds, and bold spirits; and they lived for years surrounded by dangers which kept them continually alert, and drew them often into active military service. Obligated to think and act for themselves, they acquired independence of thought and habitual promptitude of demeanor. Separated from the parent State, and compelled to build up their own civil institutions, they canvassed freely every subject connected with their political rights and internal policy. They inherited the frankness and generosity of the southern character; and these traits were not deteriorated by their residence in a fertile country, surrounded with abundance. Courage would naturally be held in high estimation, by a people whose ancestors were brave and

continually engaged in warfare ; and we find, accordingly, that this virtue is still in great repute among the Kentuckians. They are daring, impetuous, and tenacious of their honor ; chivalrous, fond of adventure, courteous to females, and hospitable to the stranger.

And is it not obvious, that the Kentuckians must be an enthusiastic, a poetic, and an eloquent race? That they are so in fact, we are all aware ; and it seems natural that such should be their character. The mercurial temperament of the southern constitution, has been preserved in them, and improved by the circumstances of their history ; to the high-toned feeling and hot blood of the south, there has been added a hardiness of frame and an energy of mind, naturally growing out of the incidents of border life. They live in a land of unrivaled beauty, where the bounties of Heaven have been poured out upon the earth in rich profusion—in a wide, a boundless country, filled with gigantic productions. The whole period of their history, is crowded with romantic adventure. From their cradles, they have been accustomed to listen to the wildest and most curious legends—to tales of such thrilling horror, as to curdle the blood of the hearer, while they awaken his incredulity. Their traditions are wonderfully rich, and full of the most absorbing interest. There is hardly a family which does not preserve the reminiscence of some mournful catastrophe, or cherish the recollection of a daring exploit. With such an origin, such scenes, and such recollections, they cannot be other than an original and highly romantic people.

CHAPTER XIX.

Early Literature—Imlay's Kentucky.

It is to be regretted that so few of the records of the early history of this interesting people have been preserved; that it had not been more customary among them, to describe in writing, their first impressions of this beautiful country, and to narrate those singularly romantic personal adventures which now excite so much admiration. But the pioneers were not persons of literary habits, nor did the country, until lately, afford those facilities which are requisite to produce and nourish a native literature. Few of those who visited the western frontier at an early period, have described it as it then existed; and although some of the first settlers, who saw the beautiful shores of the Ohio arrayed in their native magnificence, are still in existence, they must soon pass away, and carry with them the traditions which supply the place of history, in reference to that interesting period. Yet there were some writers, even then, whose works are now for the most part out of print, and only to be found in the cabinets of the very few gentlemen who take the pains to preserve those interesting relics of a past age. One of the best of these was Captain Imlay, a gentleman of respectable talents, who, from actual inspection, was enabled to furnish a variety of interesting details, respecting the country, as it appeared when visited by him previous to the year 1793.

This old book contains one of the earliest published accounts of the district of country which it professes to describe, and we were surprised to find with how much accuracy it depicts all the strong features of a region which was then but little known. The writer seems to have been intimately acquainted with Kentucky from personal observation, and to have written chiefly from the stores of his own experience. Like all others who visited the western forests while yet in their pristine luxuriance, while the native vegetation still flourished in wild and vigorous beauty, and the eye feasted on a profusion of luxuriant verdure, he was delighted with these refreshing scenes, which he sometimes describes with all the animation of genuine feeling. The following passage shows the effect produced by this scenery on the mind of a sensible man—for Captain Imlay was certainly a sensible and very honest writer—and testifies that our own generation is not singular in its admiration of the splendors of the Great West.

“The east side of the Ohio, for about ten or twenty miles below Wheeling, which is about one hundred below Pittsburgh, is generally well settled. There are few settlements on the opposite shore, until you come to the Muskingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderness on both sides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kenhaway, until we arrive at Limestone.*

“Every thing here assumes a dignity and splendor I have never seen in any other part of the world. You ascend a considerable distance from the shore of the Ohio, and when you would suppose you had arrived at the summit of a mountain, you find yourself upon an extensive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and

* Now Maysville.

the brilliant sun of lat. 39, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific soil, an early maturity, which is truly astonishing. Flowers, full and perfect as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a florist, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms which color and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the smiling groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe on sweets, and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of health and vigor, that seems to ravish the intoxicated senses. The sweet songsters of the forest appear to feel the influence of this genial clime, and, in more soft and modulated tones, warble their tender notes in unison with love and nature. Every thing here gives delight; and, in that mild effulgence which beams around us, we feel a glow of gratitude for the elevation which our all bountiful Creator has bestowed upon us. Far from being disgusted with man or his depravity, we feel that dignity which nature bestowed on us at the creation; but which has been contaminated by the base alloy of meanness, the concomitant of European education, &c.

“From Limestone to Licking creek, the country is immensely rich, and covered with cane, rye grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed which grows to a height, frequently, of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve, and is in thickness from the size of a goose quill, to that of two inches in diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no seeds until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which

feed upon it, work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them, once in three or four days, a handful of salt," &c.

It is exceedingly interesting to contrast the anticipations which were indulged forty years ago, in relation to the then approaching political character of this country, with the results that have been produced within that period. After predicting the formation of several new States south of Kentucky, the author proceeds to speak of the probable divisions of the country north-west of the Ohio. He says:—

“That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river from that of the lakes running south-westwardly, until they run north-westwardly and divide the sources of the Wabash and Illinois rivers from the southern branches of the lakes, will be most likely to mark the limits to the west of the upper State upon the western side of the Ohio. The ridge of hills which divides the waters of the Allegheny river from those of the Genesee, will bound it on the north; the Allegheny river and the Ohio to the east; and the Muskingum to the south. The next State I should form between the Muskingum and Scioto, the Ohio, and that ridge of hills between the sources of these rivers and those of lake Erie. The third, between the Scioto, the Great Miami, the Ohio, and the same ridge of hills. The country lying between the Mississippi, Ohio, Wabash, and the same hills, I would put into another State; and the country lying between the Wabash, Ohio, Mississippi, and Illinois rivers, I would establish into a fifth State.

“Between the mouth of the Illinois river and the waters of lake Michigan, lies a district of country equally fertile with any part of the western country; but in the progression of our settlements, it will be some years before any

settlement can be formed there, except in the fork of the Mississippi and Illinois, which may be erected into a State, by running a line from St. Anthony's Falls, in such a direction as to strike the head branches of the Illinois."

These paragraphs are entertaining, as they show the notions of an intelligent man who wrote forty years ago, and who doubtless expresses the opinions of others, as well as his own.

The writer's remarks on the productions of the country are accurate, and would be nearly true even now.

Of the wild animals and game of the country, he says:—

"The buffalo are mostly driven out of Kentucky. Some are still found on the head waters of Licking creek, Great Sandy, and the head waters of Green river. Deer abound in the extensive forests; but the elk confines itself mostly to the hilly and uninhabited places.

"The rapidity of the settlement has driven the wild turkey quite out of the middle counties; but they are found in large flocks in all our extensive woods.

"Amidst the mountains and broken country are great numbers of the grouse I have described; and since the settlement has been established, the quail, following the trail of the grain which is necessarily scattered through the wilderness, has migrated from the old settlements on the other side of the mountain, and has become a constant resident with us. This bird was unknown here on the first peopling of the country."

It may not be uninteresting to our readers to notice the anticipations which were current forty years ago, in reference to the production of some of the necessaries of life, as, for instance, the article of sugar. The writer remarks:—

“The extensive climate of this country I believe is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the sugar cane with success; and to import it would be too expensive by reason of its great weight; but nature has superseded that necessity in the supply of the sugar maple tree. It has long been known that sugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the business of sugar making, the samples from this liquid were such as promised no great expectations in future experiments: however, the necessity the people were under of making them, or doing without sugar, proved that with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the finest sugars of the West Indies or Brazil. Some samples shown to a sugar refiner in Philadelphia (which astonished him), produced several instructions in the art, which occasioned immediate success.

“The people began to treat sugar trees more tenderly: and instead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, which had always been the practice, and which was sufficient to destroy a less tender tree, the juice was found to ooze as effectually from an incision made with a screw auger of three-fourths of an inch in diameter. But this was the smallest of the improvement. All the means made use of in the West Indies for the perfection of the art, were soon ascertained and practiced; so that the country is not only equal to supply itself with sugar, but might, with increase of hands, supply the inhabitants of the globe.

“The sugar maple tree not only grows in the greatest abundance throughout this country, within limits I have mentioned, but it is known to be the hardiest, and the most difficult to destroy, of all the trees in our forests, the beech not excepted, by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girding the trunks of trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, &c.

“It is known that old trees produce the most and the richest juice; and it is also known that trees which have been used for years are better than fresh trees. It is a common remark, that whenever you see a black tree of this sort, it is a sure sign it is a rich one. The blackness proceeds from incisions made in the bark by the pecking of the parroquet and other birds, in the season of the juice rising, which, oozing out, dribbles down its sides and stains the bark, which in the progression of time becomes black.

“I have mentioned these particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the resource of making sugar from the maple will soon be destroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impossible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are necessary to be made in its trunk in order to draw off the juice, and that a few years must necessarily extirpate them. Now, so far from their being any danger of that, experience has shown that the longer they are used in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice, to a certain age, which will be in proportion to the life of those trees. No exact estimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than that of other trees.”

The author proceeds to speak of the salt springs, beds of coal, limestone, clay for making brick, &c., in relation to all which essential articles, his account has been more than realized by subsequent experience. Few countries can boast such a remarkable variety and abundance of natural resources as this.

The following observation is amusing enough :

“When you arrive in Kentucky, you experience a milder temperature of air than in any country I have ever travelled in, Farenheit’s thermometer seldom falling below 35 degrees in winter, nor rising above 80 in summer.”

Had the captain's lot been cast among us during the summer of 1834, he would have found the temperature rather above 80 degrees, and some of the recent winters would have taught him that the thermometer can sometimes fall below 35. Can it be, that our seasons have changed so much, or has Imlay, with all his candor and accuracy, made so wide a mistake? According to him, the thermometer only ranges about 45 degrees, in this country, in the whole year; when in fact in the single month of August, 1834, the maximum heat was 99, and the minimum 51, showing a range of 48 degrees.

There is no subject whatever, in relation to a new country, about which such gross mistakes and wild guesses are made, as that of climate. It is a matter upon which every one forms an opinion, and in reference to which, opinions are as numerous as the nature of the subject will admit. The reason is, that people judge of the weather from their own feelings, and decide not by the variations of the thermometer, but by the rise and fall of their own spirits, or the sufferings of their bodies from incidental exposure. In older countries, there are established facts which serve as standards for popular compassion; tradition has handed down a series of circumstances which enable the most ignorant to compare one season with another, and which serve to correct the hasty judgment of the traveler, or the diseased imagination of the valetudinarian. There are actual experiments also, and scientific observations, founded on principles which cannot deceive, and corrected from year to year. In a new country, also, people are more exposed to the changes and inclemencies of weather, than persons who are surrounded by the comforts of life. A large portion are travelers, emigrants, or persons recently settled in frail habitations, which do not afford complete protection from the extremes of heat

or cold; and all these being interested in every change of the atmosphere, feel and notice such vicissitudes. This is the true cause of the idle remarks which we so often hear about our western climate. Every traveler and emigrant has a theory of his own. It is a common remark, that the changes of atmosphere are greater and more sudden here than at the east. The truth is, that persons residing in cities and well-built towns, pay little attention to the weather, because it interferes comparatively but little with their comfort, and not at all with their business. If it rains, the citizen unfurls his umbrella, and walks on a good pavement; if the sun shines intensely hot, he takes the shady side of the street; if it freezes, he closes his door, and increases his fire. The traveler feels the inconvenience of all these changes, and becomes a sensitive observer, and often an ill-natured critic in matters about which he had before scarcely ever thought; and the new settler, subjected to more exposure than he has ever been accustomed to, finds out capricious varieties and evil qualities in the climate, which exist only in his own diseased imagination.

CHAPTER XX.

EARLY LITERATURE.

ABOUT the year 1806, the distinguished writer of the *American Ornithology*, Alexander Wilson, visited the West. Of humble birth, and with a defective education, he was an able and remarkable man. Bred a weaver, at Paisley, in Scotland, he became a philosopher and a naturalist of more than ordinary attainments and powers of argument, and a writer of great force, and sometimes great felicity and spirit. His descriptions of birds are written in a style far more attractive than that in which the details of natural science are usually conveyed; they are minute and accurate, while they are glowing, spirited, and eloquent. He was not much known as a naturalist, if at all, before he came to America. It was here that he studied the great volume of nature, with a lover's devotion, and composed that beautiful *History of American Birds*, which remains a lasting monument of his fame.

In his favorite pursuit, the study of birds, he traveled over the United States. His plan was to seek the feathered inhabitants of the fields and forests, the mountains and marshes, in their chosen localities, to see them in their haunts and homes, to watch them in their daily pursuits, in their gambols and their loves, in the search of food, the care of their young, their migrations,—in all their lives and habits. In the course of his rambles, he sought the shores of the Ohio, and embarking at Pitts-

burgh, alone, in a small skiff, he floated down the current of the Beautiful River. At night he slept at the solitary cabin of the settler, unless when a brilliant moon allowed him to continue his voyage, listening to the song of the mocking bird, or the hooting of the owl. All the day, as he glided along, his eye sought the plumage of the bird, his ear listened for the song and the flapping of the wing; often he landed on the wooded shore, to pursue his favorites as they flew from tree to tree, or to sit for hours taking notes of their appearance and conduct. He left the river at Limestone, now Maysville, and journeyed on foot to Lexington and Frankfort, and thence south to Tennessee. An account of his travels was published in numbers, in the "Port Folio," a monthly periodical, printed at Philadelphia; and a poem of considerable length, and no small merit, which appeared in the same work, was also descriptive of his wandering through the forest.

A Life of Daniel Boone, written by Fillson, from the dictation of Boone, is a capital relic of our early literature; but it has been quoted from so liberally by other biographers, that nothing is left to be gleaned from it.

We shall notice two other productions, each of which is curious in its way.

Recollections of Persons and Places in the West. By H. M. Brackenridge, a native of the Ohio.

Those who have lived long in the world, and have been attentive observers of the scenes which are passing around them, cannot fail to have remarked that the romance of real life often exceeds, in the novelty and unexpectedness of its incidents, the wildest of those creations of fancy which profess to be true to nature. We occasionally witness scenes, the recital of which by another, we should suppose to be exaggerated; as the ocean is continually

heaving up from the treasures of her hidden caverns, those anomalous productions that lie concealed in her depths in rich exuberance, but which the eye of man has not seen before, so the turbulent waves of time often expose to view the singular events in human life, which exist in sufficient abundance, but usually float quietly along beneath the surface of society, unmarked, except by the eye that penetrates into the arcana of human action, and searches out the secret springs of thought and motive. The pages of autobiography exhibit many of these curious specimens of singular adventure and original thought.

The volume before us possesses this character in a high degree. The writer is a man of genius, with much strength of character, and a marked peculiarity of mind, which is not so discernible in his style, as in the views which he takes of life. He has seen more of life than most men, and has told more of his own experience than the pride of most men would permit them to divulge. His father, the author of "Modern Chivalry," was a distinguished lawyer, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. He was a man of genius and eccentricity, but who said of himself, that he was the only man of his own acquaintance who was not eccentric. A variety of singular stories, in relation to him, are preserved in the traditions of western Pennsylvania, where he practiced law successfully for many years, and left behind him a reputation for shrewd common sense and caustic wit, by which he is better known in that region than by his writings. He was one of the choice specimens of scholastic learning so common in the past history of the bar, and of whom few, if any representatives, are to be found among the practitioners of the present day. Like the erudite domine of Scott, "he had a gigantic intellect, fit to grapple whole libraries," and he had grap-

pled them with such lusty courage, that he not only knew the ancient tongues familiarly, but was thoroughly imbued with the treasures of classical thought and imagery, and had pored with intense application over all the dusty volumes of antiquity.

With such a parent on the one side, Brackenridge describes himself as the offspring of indigence and obscurity on the other. He lost his mother in his infancy, and found himself at the date to which his earliest recollections extend, a neglected orphan, living under the charge of a cobbler's wife, and faring, he says, "as well as might be expected; that is, I was half-starved, half-clad, and well scorched and meazled in the hot ashes and embers." He makes honorable mention of Joe, the cobbler's lady's son, who, by his own showing, was a sad rogue. While he was yet a child, his father married, the boy was acknowledged, and might have tasted the sweets of protection and kindness, had not the whimsical idea presented itself to the learned parent, of sending him to the French villages on the Mississippi, for the purpose of learning to speak the French language vernacularly, by being reared up among the people of that nation. At seven years old he was placed under the charge of a French trader, and sent to Ste. Genevieve. This was in 1793, and he speaks of seeing Wayne's army encamped at Hobson's Choice, now a part of the city of Cincinnati. The shores of the river Ohio were then, for the most part, unsettled. The little boat in which they were embarked, passed as silently as possible, keeping near the Kentucky side of the river, from apprehension of the Indians. "How deep a solitude at that day reigned along the beautiful banks of the Ohio. The passage to Louisville from Pittsburgh was dangerous, and frequent murders were committed by Indians on whole families descending

the river, a danger which was not sufficient to repress emigration.

From Louisville, they passed on five hundred miles farther, without any settlements, to the mouth of the Ohio, and thence proceeded to New Madrid, a small Spanish military post on the Mississippi. Here they were mounted on horses, and traveled through the wilderness ten days to Ste. Genevieve. The only French words he had picked up on his voyage, were *oui* and *non*; and when the boys, whom curiosity drew around him, asked him questions, all his answers were drawn from this limited vocabulary. "Where have you come from?" inquired the French boys. "Yes." "What is your name?" "No." The author makes the following comment on the conduct, so characteristic of the French. "To the honor of these boys be it spoken—or rather to the honor of their parents, who had taught them true politeness—instead of turning me into ridicule, as soon as they discovered I was a strange boy, they vied with each other in showing me every act of kindness."

The author gives a graphic description of this ancient French village, the people, the balls, and particularly of M. Bauvais, at whose house he lived; a tall, dry, old French Canadian, dressed in the costume of the place, which was odd enough, but which is still in fashion in that pleasant region. "He was a man of a grave and serious aspect, entirely unlike the gay Frenchmen we are accustomed to see; and this seriousness was not a little heightened, by the fixed rigidity of the maxillary muscles, occasioned by having his pipe continually in his mouth, except while in bed, or at mass, or during meals." Madame Bauvais was a large fat lady, with an open cheerful countenance, and a most excellent person. We have seen couples in the French villages who might have sat for

their portraits—the wife laughing and growing fat, and the husband smoking tobacco and waxing lean; but both preserving the gayety and benevolence of the national character.

He spent three years in happiness, such as readily flings its sunshine over the young heart which is tenderly cherished, and surrounded only by the gay and the amiable. The object of his residence was attained—he could speak French, and had learned to be as polite as a French dancing-master; but another effect had been produced, which his father had not anticipated—he had forgotten his native tongue! He declared that he had forgotten it so entirely, as not to be able to speak a word of English; and how could it be otherwise, mingling only with those unsophisticated villagers, who were as ignorant of the English language, as some of our statesmen are of banking, or as most of our geographers are of the topography of their own country. Mr. B. says of the French:

“The time now approached when I was to take my departure from the place where I had passed nearly three happy infantile years; my recollections of my father had more in them of terror than of love, and my affections, like the young tendrils of the vine, had fastened on nearer objects, from which they could not be separated without being torn. The same gentleman who had before brought me here, came to take me away; and with many tears, I left the kind people to whom I owed so much. I owed them much for the care they had taken of my person, and still more for the pains with which they had preserved the health and purity of my mind. I left them with a heart innocent and virtuous, and with impressions which, if not indelible, were sufficient to carry me a long distance through the temptations of vice and folly. I was taught to reverence my parents, to respect the aged, to be

polite to my equals, and to speak the truth to every one. I was taught to restrain my temper, to practice self-denial, to be compassionate to man and beast, to receive without murmur or complaint what was provided for me, and to be thankful to God for every blessing."

He was now to return to Pittsburgh—a voyage of fifteen hundred miles—two hundred down the Mississippi, the remainder of the distance against the current of the Ohio. The boat in which he went was small, and laden with lead and peltries. On the way, they fell in with Power—the same person who figured in the annals of the West at that day, and who was employed by Spain to bring about a separation of the Western country from the rest of the Union. He was a remarkably handsome man, and a gentleman in his manners. He had a handkerchief full of dollars in his hand, which he allowed young Brackenridge to amuse himself with, by jingling them on the rock: ours was then a hard money government.

In ascending the Ohio, as the shores were uninhabited, and there were no boats going down, they often suffered for provisions. Except two log-cabins at the Red Banks, there was not a house from the mouth of the river to the Falls. They sometimes shot game, but often endured the most painful sensations of hunger. Young Brackenridge suffered most. He was a boy, and was treated no better than a menial. Bad usage and exposure to weather brought on an ague, and on their arrival at Galliopolis, he was so ill, as to be of necessity left there. Here he remained with the French, without money, unknown, and performing the lowest offices of a domestic, but treated kindly, until General Wilkinson came along, and took him in his barge to Pittsburgh. Here he was received with rapture by Joe, who hugged him; but with great composure by his father, who, as his long-absent son en-

tered, raised his spectacles, as he accosted the trembling lad with "Well boy, can you read French?"

The author was now set to learning his native tongue, then Latin and Greek, under the immediate superintendence of his father, who seemed determined to make him a great man, by dint of hard study. He was overtaken, surcharged, and surfeited with classical knowledge, confined, and driven to study, until the process became painful and laborious. This part of the volume is curious and instructive. It presents us with a minute account of the education of a lad of genius, under the direction of a father whose own stores of acquired knowledge were great, and gives an impressive example of a most defective education. Between his father, who was never wearied of heaping tasks upon him, and "Joe," who would fain have allured him to the haunts of youthful dissipation, he was in a fair way to be spoiled.

A singular incident occurred on Mr. Brackenridge's return from Louisiana, in relation to a lady who had treated him kindly while he lived with the cobbler's wife, which he thus relates:

"The reader will expect to hear something of my kind benefactress, who had been so much afflicted by my departure for Louisiana. Joe carried me to see her, on the evening of my return from that eventful peregrination, and the joy which she manifested, and the caresses with which she overwhelmed me, can be better imagined than described. She placed in my arms her infant daughter, her first and last-born child, and caused my face to be suffused with blushes, by telling me that the innocent babe was to be my wife; and yet this wish, formed by her perhaps at the moment of the birth of her daughter, has actually been realized — she is my wife, and the mother of my children?"

We have not room to follow the author to Jefferson College; nor to dwell on his course of law studies; nor to accompany him to Baltimore, where he attempted to commence the practice; nor to travel back with him to the West, when, disgusted with his ill success, he left the city. We shall only add, that the author has, in this volume, brought his biography down to his twenty-fifth year, and that it is filled with anecdotes of *persons* and *places*. The author's reminiscences of Fort Pitt and its inhabitants are exceedingly interesting. He promises to continue his work. The most important scenes of his life remain to be described. Since the period at which this volume leaves him, he has traveled through Upper Louisiana, and written a volume of "Views" of that region; he has been to South America on a diplomatic mission; and has been a judge in Florida. We shall look with impatience for the remainder of this interesting work.

Narrative of William Biggs, while he was a prisoner with the Kickapoo Indians, then living opposite to the old Weawes town, on the west bank of the Wabash river. I was then living at Bellfontain, about forty miles north of Kaskaskia village, in the Illinois country, and about twenty miles South of Cahokia village. Printed for the Author. June, 1826.

The above is the title of a pamphlet containing one of the most interesting sketches of personal adventure afforded in all the annals of the truly romantic vicissitudes attendant upon the settlement of our country. We remember to have seen the author, a venerable farmer, in easy circumstances, holding a respectable civil office in the State of Illinois, upon the same spot where he had endured the perils incident to the life of the pioneer. He was one of the many who, after years of perilous

exposure, in a savage wilderness, distant from other settlements of white men, lived to attain a patriarchal age, and fell "like a ripe sheaf full of years," having witnessed the accumulation of an industrious population around him, the introduction of the arts of peace, and the firm establishment of law and social order. What a rebuke does such a picture convey to those who are discontented with the lot in which Providence has placed them—especially to those in our own flourishing country, who are not satisfied with its rapid advancement and happy condition, but murmur at the present state of society, and prophesy all manner of evil to the rising generation! The pages of history, when calmly investigated, exhibit to the sober mind of benevolence no passage of such freshness and moral beauty, as that which discloses the origin and rapid growth of our Western States—none which the patriot may contemplate with such unalloyed pride, or the Christian study with emotions of purer approbation. We may here, without the aid of magic, the invention of poetry, or the assistance of artificial scenic mimicry, gaze at transformations more truly wonderful than any which natural causes could have been pre-supposed to be capable of producing. We are led by the gray-haired citizen, still in the vigor of a green old age, to the spot where his log hut once stood, in the silent forest—where the young mother guarded her offspring from violence with the art of the parent bird, and heard the distant warnings of danger with the vigilance of the startled deer—where the pestilence lurked in the heavy foliage—where the panther and the wolf roamed by night—and the Indian, maddened into a desperate courage, by the complicated impulses of superstition, revenge, and patriotism, exerted all his dreadful energies in opposing the advance of civilization. Such is the tale of

the living witness: but we see no trace of its reality. The scene has shifted, and not a feature of its barbarism remains. A magnificent and brilliant exhibition is presented, as if by the sudden rising of a curtain. The aged man with his weather-beaten features, his primitive manners, and his scars gained in battle, is still before us, but the buffalo has fled to distant plains, the savage man has retired, and around us are cities, commerce, and art, steamboats, railroads, colleges, and literature!

The participation of the western pioneers in the dangers of the Revolutionary War has never been sufficiently insisted on. During the whole of that turbulent period, they fought the common enemy with the most obstinate valor, keeping at bay the savages, who would otherwise have been poured into the heart of the colonies, and rendering services as efficient as any that were ever performed on any part of the continent. They fought with their own weapons and without pay, and not being enrolled in the Continental service, have not been included among the revolutionary pensioners.

The pamphlet before us has the merit of having been written by its putative author, who was not particularly well skilled in spelling or composition, and in consequence would be called, among us, an illiterate man, but a little further east, would be considered ignorant, under the decree of that public sentiment which comprehends the idea of knowledge with an expertness in penmanship, and a ready use of the signs of the alphabet and the figures of arithmetic. It is an emanation from the "dark mass of mind" that within half a century has built up an empire in the West, has given rulers to the nation, and has been represented in the national legislature by an eloquence which stands unrivaled.

It is also interesting, as it exhibits the savage cha-

racter in a new aspect from that in which it has usually been represented. We have seen only the darkest side of that picture. The fearful atrocities of the savage, his treachery, and his cunning, stand out in such bold relief, that the redeeming traits of his character are almost wholly unknown. We think of his savage thirst for blood, and shudder; we see him wielding the gory hatchet, and turn away from the contemplation of his moral nature, under the conviction that all his habits and passions are so depraved as to afford nothing that it would be pleasing to remark, or instructive to study. The narrative of Mr. Biggs places the Indian before us under more favorable circumstances, and shows that however cruel he may be, when acting under the excitement that leads him to war or to plunder, he is at other times susceptible of cheerful and kind emotions, and not deaf to the claims of reason and humanity.

In the year 1788, Mr. Biggs was one of a few Americans who had settled at Belle Fontain, in that part of Illinois which is now included in the county of Monroe, and about twenty miles below St. Louis. There were no other white settlements in Illinois, at that time, except those of the French, which were scattered from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, a distance of sixty miles. East of them were the French post at Vincennes, and a settlement at the Falls of Ohio. The intermediate region was a wilderness. In that year, he was taken prisoner by a party of Kickapoos from the Wabash, while riding not far from home, and carried off. One of the party attempted to kill him, but the others interfered, and with some difficulty protected his life, having announced their determination to carry him home, and adopt him into their tribe; notwithstanding which, the malignant savage endeavored, by stealth, more than once, during the first day's march

to strike him a fatal blow. At length the party halted to eat a hasty meal, and Mr. Biggs thus proceeds:

“Whilst the meat was cooking, the Indians held a council what they would do with the Indian that wanted to kill me—he was a young fellow about nineteen years of age, and of a different nation, being a Pottowatema. They did not want him to go to war with them—they said he was a great coward, and would not go into danger, till there was no risk to run, then he would run forward and get the best of the plunder, and that he would not be commanded—he would do as he pleased—he was very selfish and stubborn—and was determined to kill me if he could get a chance. They determined in their council to kill him. It is a law with the Indians when they go to war, if an Indian will not obey the councils and commands of his captain, or chief, to kill him. When their meat was cooked they eat very hearty, and when they were done eating, three of the Indians got up, and put on their budgets and started; this young Indian was one of them. I also got up to show a willingness to be ready; the old chief told me to sit down, and the three Indians started off. In three or four minutes after, we started, but varied a little in our course. We had not traveled more than one hundred yards when we heard the report of a gun—the old chief then told me that they had killed the Indian that wanted to kill me.”

The following scene displays a specimen of the shrewdness and presence of mind with which our pioneers conducted themselves when prisoners. One of the Indians put some questions to Mr. Biggs, who pretended ignorance of their language, to induce them to speak freely in his presence:

“He first asked me in Indian if I was a Mattocush, that is, a Frenchman; I told him no. He asked me if I was a Sagenash, an Englishman; I told him no. He again asked me if I was a Shemolsea, that is, a long knife, or a Virginian; I told him no. He then asked me if I was a Bostonely, an Eastern American; I told him no. A moment afterward he asked me the same questions over again, I then answered him yes; he then spoke English, and

caught up his knife in his hand, and said, 'You are one dam rascal.' I really thought he intended stabbing me with his knife. I knew it would not do to show cowardice, I being pretty well acquainted with their manner and ways. I then jumped upon my feet, and spoke in Indian, and said, Manetwa kien depaway. In English it is, no, I am very good; and clapped my hand on my breast when I spoke, and looked very bold; the other Indians all set up such a ha! ha! and laugh, that it made the other Indian look very foolish."

Our limits will not allow us to accompany Mr. Biggs in his march of ten days from the shores of the Mississippi to those of the Wabash. With the exception of being securely tied, to prevent his escape, he was kindly treated, and became as well reconciled to his fate as was possible. On their arrival in the vicinity of their own village, the warriors halted, dressed and painted themselves with much care, and prepared to make a formal entry into town. The prisoner was also required to make his toilet, and after being painted according to the most approved mode then prevailing in the fashionable Indian circles, was pronounced to be a Kickapoo. A pole, stripped of its bark, and painted, was planted in the ground, having a conjuring bag suspended from it, in which was contained a lock of the prisoner's hair. When these arrangements, which had been conducted in the most silent manner, so as not to be noticed from the village, were all completed, the leader gave three loud shouts; the signal by which the successful return of the party was announced to their friends—and the warriors, with their prisoner, began to sing and dance round the war-pole. The old men, the squaws, and the boys of the village, were soon collected around them, the more dignified warriors remaining at the council house to receive their friends with due solemnity. The warriors being

now greased, painted, and feathered, in all the pomp of military array, could no longer condescend to carry their own baggage, which was handed over to the squaws, and the heroes moved on, not marching, but dancing into the village, through which they passed to the war-post, which stood on the banks of the Wabash. They danced round the post for about twenty minutes, and then up again, as a dancing master would say, into the village, where they cast off, and repaired to the houses of their friends, who had hastily prepared a feast for their entertainment.

At sunset of the same day, the dance was resumed at the war-post. Here they were joined by two warriors and a squaw on horse-back, and after a long consultation, the prisoner was told that he must go "with them two Indians and squaw." To this he consented with great reluctance, but was forced to submit, and being mounted behind his new master, Mr. Biggs says, "they started off very lively, and the Indian that I was riding behind, began to plague and joke the squaw about me: she was his sister-in-law. He was an Indian that was full of life, and very funny; when I got acquainted with him, I was well pleased with him."

Arrived at their place of destination, the prisoner was given to an old Kickapoo chief, who was "the father of the squaw, and father-in-law of the funny Indian." In this family he was treated with great kindness, particularly by the young squaw, before mentioned, and another lady of the household, who was a widow. The former took a fancy to him and was not slow in betraying her partiality. "She took two very good combs, a coarse and fine one," and "very tenderly" as the writer assures us, combed out his hair, which it was then the fashion to wear long, and which had become tangled and matted by long exposure to the weather; nay more, she continued

combing it for nearly an hour. "She then went to a trunk and got a ribband, and queued my hair very nicely; the old chief's son then gave me a very good regimental blue cloth coat, faced with yellow buff-colored cloth; the son-in-law gave me a very good beaver Mackerony hat, these they had taken from officers they had killed; then the widow squaw took me into her cabin and gave me a new ruffled shirt and very good blanket. They told me to put them on, I did so; when I had got my fine dress on, the funny Indian told me to walk across the floor, I knew they wanted to have a little fun! I put my arms a-kimbo on my hips, and walked with a proud air, three or four times backwards and forwards across the floor; the funny Indian said I was a very handsome man and a big captain."

Such are the conduct and the amusements of these untutored savages, who, having no mental culture, no moral code, nor regular employment, and leading a precarious life of alternate want and abundance, are as remarkable for their whimsical deportment on some occasions, as for their sternness of purpose on others, engaging with equal facility in an unlicensed plunder, in unsparing carnage, in brutal debauchery, or in childish merriment, and passing from the utmost point of cruelty and treachery, to the opposite extremes of good faith, kindness, and hospitality.

The humane captors of our author carried their considerate civility so far as to offer him a wife, a proposal which he was prudent enough to decline, in consequence of having one already, and being not inclined to become entangled by foreign alliances. The lady—the same who has been already alluded to—did not conceal her partiality. When the Indians were about to take their prisoner to another village "she came up and stood at the door—she would not go in. I discovered the Indians

laughing and plaguing her—she looked in a very ill humor; she did not want them to take me away. They immediately started from the cabin, and took a tolerably large path that led into the woods, in a pretty smart trot; the squaw started immediately after them; they would look back once in a while, and when they would see the squaw coming, they would whoop, hollow, and laugh. When they got out of sight of the squaw, they stopped running and traveled in a moderate walk. When we got about three miles from the town, they stopped where a large tree had fallen by the path, and laid high off of the ground; they got up high on the log and looked back to see if the squaw was coming; when the squaw came up she stopped, and they began to plague her and laugh at her; they spoke English. They talked very provoking to the squaw; she soon began to cry.”

Whether it was leap year, or whether the Indian females consider marriage a business transaction, not requiring the same delicate observances which our own ladies practice, we are not told. The daughter of the chief seems to have thought no ceremony necessary on this occasion, except the ceremony of marriage; but the young American remained inexorable. On arriving at their place of destination that evening, he found her again posted at the door of the cabin at which he lodged, and her Indian friends making themselves merry at her constancy and want of success. The incorrigible white man, when reminded by his companions that he would be accepted if he chose to offer himself, parried the proposal by replying, “I reckon not.” He adds, “she staid two days and three nights before she returned home; I never spoke a word to her while she was there. She was a very handsome girl, about eighteen years of age, a beautiful full figure, and handsomely featured, and very white for a squaw.”

It has been asserted that nothing is so uncertain as the female, except the male; and it would be curious to know whether the graceful savage who figures in this narrative was infected with the genuine passion of love, which is supposed to be taken at first sight, or was practicing a native coquetry, which would lavish its fascinations with equal prodigality on the next attractive object that appeared.

Mr. Biggs was now examined in council for the purpose of ascertaining his taste for the Indian mode of life, and qualifications for usefulness. "The first question they asked me was, would I have my hair cut off like they cut theirs, I answered, no. Second question they asked me was, if I would have holes bored in my ears and nose, and have rings and lead hung in them like they had, I answered, no. The third question they asked me was, if I could make hats;" to which, as well as to the subsequent questions, whether he was a carpenter, a blacksmith, or could hoe corn, or hunt, he replied successively in the negative, determined not to betray the knowledge of any art which would render his services valuable. The wily savages, however, inquired how he gained a livelihood, and the pioneer, with equal cunning, replied, by writing. To test the truth of this statement, he was required to write to a trader at Vincennes, for two loaves of bread. He suggested the want of materials, but one of the Indians produced the back of a letter which he had carefully hoarded up, a quill was plucked from the wing of a turkey, and shaped into a pen with a scalping knife, by the ingenious backwoodsman, who also supplied the place of ink with some gunpowder and water, and wrote the letter. A messenger was sent, who in due time returned with the two loaves, and Mr. Biggs' credit remained unimpeached.

He remained several weeks with these people, who continued to treat him with uniform civility, and endeavored to render his captivity as easy as was practicable. Of those with whom he resided, he says, "they were a smart, neat, and cleanly family—kept their cabin very nice and clean, the same as white women, and cooked their victuals very nice;" and his whole account is such as to exhibit redeeming traits, which contrast agreeably with the gloomy pictures of savage life with which we are familiar.

At length some traders visited the Kickapoo village, who readily agreed to open a negotiation with the Indians for the freedom of their prisoner, and advanced goods in payment, to the amount of two hundred and sixty dollars, for which sum Mr. Biggs gave his note. He went immediately to Vincennes, where he procured a passage in a boat which was about to proceed by the Wabash, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers, to Kaskaskia. He reached the latter place in safety, and thence hastened home, where he found that his family had been in entire ignorance of his fate, and had supposed him to have been murdered by the Indians, until a few days before his return.

CHAPTER XXI.

Foreign Influence over the Indians.

WHILE the pioneers were thus active in the forests of Kentucky, the enterprising spirit of our countrymen had led them to explore other parts of the Ohio valley, and to undertake adventures similar to those which we have described. Tennessee began to be settled from North Carolina about the same time, and by a similar class of men. Sevier, Blount, Robinson, and other prominent leaders in that region, closely resembled the Harrods, the Logans, the Hardins, and Bullits of Kentucky, in mental energy and physical hardihood. We do not enter upon their history, because it would lead us to a repetition of events precisely analogous to those which we have detailed; and in giving merely the spirit of western history, it is not our intention to repeat similar circumstances, occurring at different places and to different individuals, but merely to select such examples as may best illustrate the whole subject. We refrain also, from touching upon the annals of Tennessee, because the events which occurred in that region, are not connected or involved with those that took place in the settlement of Kentucky and the territory north-west of the Ohio. Although contemporaneous and similar, the actors were different, and the transactions entirely independent of each other.

It may, however, be stated, as a curious coincidence, and as another illustration of some of the remarks which we made on the political condition of the early settlers, that while Kentucky was engaged in angry altercation with Virginia, in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, and other exciting topics, to which we have alluded, Tennessee was angrily urging the same subjects upon the attention of North Carolina. But the people of Tennessee became more exasperated, and proceeded to more decisive measures than the inhabitants of Kentucky; for while the latter only weighed the advantages of their connection with the Union, and spoke of a violent separation from the mother State as a possible event, the former proceeded to the experiment of a separate government, and actually framed the Constitution of an independent State, which they called *Frankland*. They were, however, not unanimous in this measure; a part only of the people, headed by a few violent men, assented to its adoption, while the remainder continued loyal to the existing authorities, patiently waiting for a change of times, and confidently relying on the justice of a government of their own choice, which could have no inducement, nor any provocation, to oppress a portion of its citizens. The State of Frankland had a brief and turbulent existence, and died a natural death. The admission of Tennessee into the Union, as a separate State, in 1796, quieted the discontents of the people.

About the year 1750, a settlement was made at Redstone, now called Brownsville, on the Monongahela. The settlers were chiefly Pennsylvanians. From this place and Fort Pitt, they spread over western Pennsylvania and Virginia. No part of our population ever suffered more severely from Indian hostilities than this. The wars were fierce and long continued. There is scarcely a spot

throughout that region, which is not distinguished as the field of a sanguinary battle, or the scene of some memorable deed of savage atrocity. The romantic and beautiful shores of the Monongahela, are rendered particularly interesting, by the many wild traditions related by the old inhabitants, and the singularly exciting associations with which they inspire the mind of the traveler.

The savages who assailed the new settlements in the West, resided chiefly on the north-western side of the Ohio river, from its mouth to the lakes. The British government had established agencies among them, for the sole purpose of keeping alive their rancor against the American people. The fur trade was not at that period a source of great profit, nor an object of commercial cupidity; and the British cabinet could have had no other inducement sufficiently powerful, to have provoked a measure so audacious as that of maintaining agents among the tribes within our acknowledged territorial boundaries, except that of preventing the expansion of our population, by keeping up a continual warfare upon the borders. The fearful extent to which they effected this object, is too well remembered. Colonel M'Kee, an authorized agent of the British government, of high official rank, and great influence among the tribes, became infamously notorious for the atrocities committed under his sanction, and the success of his wide-spread and indefatigable intrigues. His name is found continually associated with the darkest deeds which are recorded in the history, or preserved in the traditions of our border wars. That his misdeeds have been exaggerated by rumor, and magnified by the resentment of those who suffered by his cruel policy, is altogether possible; but enough is shown in his own official acts, and in the reports of the American governors and commanders in the West, to establish the fact, that he

served what he supposed to be the interests of his own country, with a zeal as fatal to his own reputation, as it was destructive to the peace of the frontiers, and ruinous to the unhappy savages who were the willing instruments of his vengeance. A wretched miscreant, named Simon Girty, was another agent in these nefarious proceedings—a native of one of the British colonies—who, in consequence of his crimes, or of some injury which he supposed himself to have received, had fled from the abodes of civilized men; he became a savage in manners and in principle, and spent his whole life in the perpetration of a demoniac vengeance against his countrymen. He planned many expeditions against our borders, some of which he led in person; was present at the conflagration of the settler's cabin, witnessed the expiring agonies of the mother and the infant, and assisted in the dreadful solemnities which attend the torturing of a prisoner at the stake. It was in vain that the unhappy victims appealed to his humanity; a single instance only is known, in which he suffered the dictates of pity to actuate his conduct; with the same cold indifference or hellish malignity, did he witness the butchery of the infant, the murder of the tender woman, and the excruciating torture of the gallant soldier. He is not known to have held any specific appointment under the British government; but he was the companion and subordinate of M^cKee, and was known to have had the countenance and protection of that officer.

This subject is too painful to be dwelt upon in detail. The relations between the British and American governments are now placed upon an amicable basis, which renders it improbable that the vicious of either nation will ever again have it in their power to inflict upon the peaceful inhabitants of the other, such injuries as those to which we have alluded. The recital of these events,

therefore, in the mere spirit of resentment, would be wrong; but it is impossible to pass them over in silence, because they have had so important a bearing upon the affairs of this region, that without adverting to them, its history can not be understood, nor can the difficulties which surrounded the first settlers be fairly appreciated.

We have seen that the pioneers of Kentucky, though few in number, and unsupported by the government, contended successfully against the Indians. The settlement of the newer States, west of the Ohio, commenced at a later period, under the immediate auspices of the United States, and with prospects far more encouraging; yet the hostilities were as fierce, though not so long protracted, as those of the Kentuckians. In the one case, small parties of volunteers, hastily collected, and without organization, acted successfully against the savage; in the other, regular armies, under experienced commanders, were more than once defeated.

It is also worthy of remark, that at a period nearly contemporaneous with the commencement of the settlements in Ohio, the United States began to organize a system of conciliatory measures towards the Indians. The policy pursued previously, as well by the colonies as by the British government, had been such as to alienate the aborigines and provoke their vengeance. The wars between the English and French, had operated most unhappily upon our relations with the tribes, not only by keeping the frontiers in a state of disturbance, which rendered both the whites and the Indians jealous, and keenly alive to the slightest appearance of affront, but by the direct employment of the savages as auxiliaries. In the revolutionary war, this fatal expedient was adopted by the mother country to a fearful extent; and along the whole line of our frontier, the Indians, armed with the weapons of civi-

lized men, and furnished with munitions by our wealthy antagonist, were incited to ravage the country. The Indian force that invested Boonsboro in 1778, fought under British colors, was commanded by Europeans, and summoned the garrison in the name of his Britannic majesty.

The American government was the first to discourage the unnatural practice of employing savage auxiliaries; and the adoption of this principle, was among the earliest acts of the Federal Union. In the ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Territory north-west of the Ohio, we find the following emphatic declaration, which may be considered as comprehending the views of our government and people at that time, and as laying down the maxims which have regulated our policy in relation to that unfortunate race, down to the present period. "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to the good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but *laws founded in justice and humanity*, shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them." At a period a little subsequent, the language of the executive was: "It is the ardent wish of the President of the United States, as well from a principle of humanity, as from duty and sound policy, that all prudent means in our power, should be unremittingly pursued, for carrying into effect the benevolent views of Congress, relative to the Indian nations within the jurisdiction of the United

States;" and in the instructions given, from time to time, to the governors of the western territories, the agents for Indian affairs, and the military officers employed in that region, we find invariably the same benevolent tone, and the constant inculcation of measures, having for their object, "not only the cultivation and establishment of harmony and friendship between the United States and the different nations of Indians, but the introduction of civilization, by encouraging and gradually introducing the arts of husbandry and domestic manufactures among them."

While such language was used by the highest authorities of our country, in their instructions to the subordinate agents whose duties brought them in contact with the Indians, and was repeated in the various councils held with the tribes, and enforced by the most solemn pledges—while the Indians were entreated in the most urgent manner to abstain from the use of spirituous liquors, to discontinue their exterminating wars with each other, to live in peace with the white men, and to cultivate our arts, they were admonished by the insidious emissaries to whom we have alluded, to regard us with suspicion, as enemies, who, under the guise of friendship, sought their destruction. A fair specimen of this species of backwoods diplomacy, may be found in a *talk* delivered by Colonel M'Kee to the Potowatomies, who had destroyed twenty barrels of spirits, which had been brought into their nation by an English trader, in November, 1804.

The moral turpitude of addressing to savages sentiments directly tending to incite them to intoxication and war, and neutralizing the efforts of the benevolent, who were endeavoring to dissuade them from both, is sufficiently obvious. But the offense becomes greatly aggravated, when we recollect that these Indians resided within our territorial limits; that the interference of an agent of a

foreign government was gratuitous, unauthorized, and in contravention of the principles of the laws of nations, and that we were at that time at peace with these Indians and with the British.

We have no wish to multiply the evidences of this unjust interference with our rights and policy. We could trace it through the whole history of our western settlements, from the revolution down to the war with Great Britain, which terminated with the close of the year 1814. This state of things was the most unfortunate for the interests of the pioneers, that could possibly have occurred, and its practical operation was peculiarly disastrous and oppressive. Had they been left to contend alone against the savages; had the contest been simply for the possession of the country, without any reference to questions of right, and without the interference of the government on the one hand, or of adverse political machinations on the other, the conflict would easily have been decided. The first adventurers to Kentucky were thus unembarrassed, and were uniformly successful. At a later period, the government, while it afforded little protection to the frontiers, imposed restraints which crippled the exertions of the inhabitants of the borders, while they encouraged the Indians to become more audacious in their hostility. It was determined, that the lands of the Indians should not in any case be taken from them without their consent, nor without giving them an equivalent. Hostilities against them were discouraged, and the invasion of their territory forbidden, while the Indians were making frequent incursions into our country, and ravaging the whole border with fire and sword. On our side, there was forbearance and restraint; on theirs, active and unremitting hostility; the government of the United States was continually mediating between the actual parties, the Indians

and the settlers, and withholding the latter from what they considered a just vengeance, while the agents of a foreign government were arming our foes, and inciting them to new acts of murder and depredation.

It is perfectly obvious that these transactions must have been injurious to all concerned, but especially to the inhabitants, both civilized and savage, of this region. The Indians were sacrificed without mercy, by a destructive policy of their allies, who reaped much odium, but gained no ultimate benefit by the operation; the settlers endured the most dreadful calamities, while the beneficent intentions of the government were frustrated.

We do not mean to insist that all the outrages committed on our frontiers by the Indians, are justly attributable to the direct action of the British government; many of the atrocities of which we complain were undoubtedly the unauthorized acts of private individuals, perpetrated for the accomplishment of their own purposes of emolument or revenge; but some of them have been shown to have been the official acts of public men, and the cabinet of St. James is responsible for the effects of a system of which it was the author, and which was in itself unjustifiable. The fur trade, although insignificant when compared with the other branches of the commerce and industry of either nation, has always been a source of contention between the traders of the United States and Great Britain; and the Indians have been tampered with by persons who have had no higher object in view than the securing of the trade with a particular tribe. The last Indian war in Illinois, was in part brought about by the machinations of the Canadian traders, who expected, by embroiling the Americans with the Indians, to prevent our traders from passing in safety up the Mississippi, and thus to monopolize to themselves the traffic of one year.

CHAPTER XXII.

Clarke's Expedition against the French settlements—Capture of Kaskaskia—Capture of Vincennes—Founding of Louisville—Anecdote of Kenton.

ONE of the earliest expeditions of the Americans beyond the Ohio, which then constituted the western frontier, was that of Colonel George Rogers Clarke against Kaskaskia, in 1778. This place, as well as the posts upon the lakes, was then in the possession of the British, with whom we were at war; and being one of the points from which the Indians were supplied with munitions, and enabled to harass the settlements in Kentucky, its capture was deemed so important, that the legislature of Virginia was induced to raise a regiment for the purpose. The command was given to Colonel Clarke, who planned the expedition, and who is spoken of by Chief Justice Marshall, as "a gentleman, whose great courage, uncommon hardihood, and capacity for Indian warfare, had given him repeated successes, in enterprises against the savages." He was a man of extraordinary talents and energy of character—possessed of a military genius, which enabled him to plan with consummate wisdom, and to execute his designs with decision and promptitude. Having visited Kentucky during the previous year, he was satisfied, that, in order to curb the Indians effectually, it was necessary to strike at the powerful, though distant allies, by whom

they were supported. His great mind readily comprehended the situation of the country; he made himself acquainted with the topography of the whole region, as far as it was known, with the localities of the enemy's posts, and the strength of their forces; and was enabled to make such representations as induced the legislature of Virginia to act with vigor. A regiment was authorized to be raised for the defence of the western frontiers, without designating the particular object of the enterprise, which remained a profound secret; and such was the confidence inspired by Col. Clarke, that between two and three hundred men were raised without delay.

With this force he crossed the mountains to the Monongahela, and descended by water to the falls of Ohio, where he was joined by some volunteers from Kentucky. Having halted a few days to refresh his men, he proceeded down the Ohio to the neighborhood of Fort Massac, a point about sixty miles above the confluence of that river with the Mississippi, where he landed and hid his boats, to prevent their discovery by the Indians. He was now distant from Kaskaskia about one hundred and thirty miles, and the intervening country—with which the writer is familiarly acquainted—must have been at that period, when in a state of nature, almost impassable. His route led through a low, flat region, intersected by numerous streams and ponds, and entirely covered with a most luxuriant vegetation, which must have greatly impeded the march of troops. Through this dreary region the intrepid leader marched on foot, at the head of his gallant band, with his rifle on his shoulder, and his provision upon his back. After wading through ponds, crossing creeks by such methods as could be hastily adopted, and sustaining two days' march after the provisions were exhausted, he arrived in the night before

the village of Kaskaskia. Having halted and formed his men, he made them a brief speech, which contained only the pithy sentiment, that "the town was to be taken, at all events." And it was taken accordingly, without striking a blow; for, the surprise was so complete, that no resistance was attempted. A detachment, mounted on the horses of the country, was immediately pushed forward to surprise the villages higher up the Mississippi; they were all taken without resistance, and the British power in that quarter completely destroyed. It is said, that a hunter had discovered the American troops, and apprised the inhabitants of Kaskaskia of their approach; but that his story was considered so improbable as to obtain no credit. It *was* an improbable story, although it turned out to be true. A law had been passed for the raising of a regiment, the troops had been enlisted, officered, and equipped, transported thirteen hundred miles by land and water, through a wilderness country, inhabited by the Indian allies of the enemy, and marched into a garrisoned town, without the slightest suspicion, much less discovery, of the movement. When we observe the amount of time and labor which is now expended in making a journey from Virginia to Kaskaskia, with all our improvements, and reflect how incalculably greater must have been the difficulties of such a journey at that time, when there was no road across the mountains, nor any boats in which to navigate the rivers but such rude craft as the traveler might construct for his own convenience; and when we take into consideration the difficulty of transporting provisions and ammunition through a wild region, the successful expedition of Colonel Clarke will present itself as a brilliant military achievement.

His next exploit was bolder, more arduous, and equally successful. Kaskaskia was not strongly defended; no

attack by a civilized enemy was apprehended at this remote spot, and the approach of Clarke was unsuspected; but Vincennes, situated nearly in a direct line between Kaskaskia and the falls of Ohio, distant one hundred and sixty miles from the former place, and two hundred miles from the latter, had been considered within the reach of an attack from the American settlements, and was strongly fortified. It was well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton, an experienced officer, who was quickly apprised of the capture of the posts on the Mississippi, in his rear, and prepared to expect a visit from the daring Clarke and his victorious troops. In addition to the regular force, which was greatly superior to that of Clarke in numbers and in equipment, he had under his command six hundred Indian warriors; and being an active, skillful officer, he proposed to march as soon as possible upon the American commander. But the season was such as to render any immediate military movement difficult, and apparently impracticable. The rivers and smaller streams, all of which, in this level region, overflow their banks rapidly after heavy falls of rain, were now swelled, and the passes of the country blocked up. Unable to march his own troops under such circumstances, he considered that Clarke would be confined by the same causes to the shores of the Mississippi, where no reinforcement could reach him, and where he could attack him with the certainty of success, upon the subsiding of the waters.

Colonel Clarke, who, with his other accomplishments, possessed a singular capacity for penetrating into the designs of his enemy, became informed, as well of the present delay, as of the ulterior plan of the British commander, and determined to anticipate his intentions, by marching instantly against the post of Vincennes. To

effect this, it was necessary to pass, without any road, over a surface of one hundred and sixty miles of fertile soil, whose light, spongy loam, saturated with water, afforded no firm footing to the steps of the soldiery, and to cross the Kaskaskia, the Little Wabash, the Embarras, and the Great Wabash rivers, besides a number of their tributaries, all of which were swollen, and margined by wide belts of inundated land. But the undaunted leader pressed on—without wagons, without tents, with only such provision and ammunition as could be carried on the backs of a few pack-horses, and the shoulders of the men—toiling by day through mud and water, and sleeping at night upon the wet ground.

Upon reaching the waters of the Great Wabash, our adventurous troops beheld before them an obstacle which must have daunted the hearts of warriors less resolutely determined than themselves, upon the successful achievement of their enterprise. On the eastern bank of the river stood the British fort, on a high shore, swept by the foaming current of a great river; on the western side was a tract of low alluvion land, five miles in width, entirely inundated. The whole expanse of water to be crossed, was nearly six miles in width—first, the marshy flat, in whose treacherous quicksands the writer has seen the horse sink under his rider, and become instantly buried in the mire, now covered with water, too deep in some places to be forded, and too shallow in others to admit of navigation by boats, and impeded throughout by growing timber, floating logs, or tangled brushwood—and then, the swift, powerful current of the river.

Colonel Clarke was laboriously employed for sixteen days, in effecting the march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes; five of which were consumed in passing the wilderness of water just described, through which he meandered in such

a manner as to conceal his forces from the enemy, by avoiding the prairie, and keeping as much as possible under the cover of the timber—wading sometimes breast deep, sometimes proceeding upon rafts and canoes, and at last, crossing the river in the night, and presenting himself suddenly before the town, which was completely surprised.

It was here that the western Hannibal, as Clarke may be justly called, performed a maneuver, which shows that he was prudent as well as daring; and that while he possessed the hardihood to attempt the most desperate enterprises, he was fertile in expedients, and cautious in availing himself of any incidental advantage which might be presented. As he approached the town, over the wide, beautiful prairie on which it stands, and at the moment when his troops were discovered by the enemy, he found himself near a small circular eminence, which concealed a part of his force from the observation of the foe. Under this cover, he countermarched his column in so skillful a manner, that the leading files, which had been seen from the town, were transferred, undiscovered, to the rear, and made to pass again and again in sight of the enemy, until all his men had been displayed several times, and his little detachment of jaded troops was made to assume the appearance of a long column, greatly superior in number to its actual force. He then promptly summoned the garrison to surrender. Governor Hamilton, after a brief defense, struck his flag; and the gallant Clarke found himself master of an important post, whose garrison, now his prisoners, consisted of a well appointed body of soldiers, twice as numerous as his own followers.

These brilliant exploits of Colonel Clarke had an important bearing upon the interests of the western country, both direct and consequential. They gave, for the moment,

safety and repose to the harassed inhabitants of Kentucky, and struck with terror the whole savage population of the wide region through which he passed. They deranged an extensive plan of operations on the part of the enemy, the design of which was to annihilate all the border settlements, by pouring in the combined Indian force along the whole line of our frontier, while they detached from the British interest many tribes who had long acted under the control of that power. They hastened, if they did not contribute to produce, the most important political event connected with the history of the western country—the purchase of Louisiana. The limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and Virginia, assuming her title to the conquered territory, in right of her charter, as well as of the conquest by her own arms, proceeded at once to erect it into a *county* which was called *Illinois*.

Another direct consequence of the successes of Colonel Clarke, was the protection of the infant settlement of Louisville, at the mouth of Beargrass. Previous to that period, the families of the pioneers who were collected at the falls of Ohio, had been compelled to seek safety upon the small island abreast of the present site of the city. Here Clarke had built a fort, and at his departure, about thirteen families remained on this narrow islet, in the midst of the foaming rapids, surrounded by enemies, and enduring the severest privations, but tenaciously maintaining their foothold. The capture of Vincennes, by breaking up the nearest and strongest of the enemy's western posts, relieved their apprehensions of immediate danger, and encouraged them to settle permanently on the Kentucky shore.

The enterprising spirit of Clarke was shared by those who followed him. Among them was Simon Kenton, one

of the most celebrated and daring of the pioneers. After the fall of Kaskaskia, he was sent with a small party to Kentucky, with despatches. On their way, they fell in with a camp of Indians, in whose possession was a number of horses, which they took and sent back to the army. Pursuing their way by Vincennes, they entered that place by night, traversed several of the streets, and departed without being discovered, taking from the inhabitants, who were hostile, two horses for each man. When they came to White river, a raft was made, on which to transport the guns and baggage, while the horses were driven in to swim across the river. On the opposite shore, a party of Indians were encamped, who caught the horses as they ascended the bank. Such are the vicissitudes of border incident! The same horses that had been audaciously taken, only the night before, from the interior of a regularly garrisoned town, were lost, by being accidentally driven by the captors into a camp of the enemy. Kenton and his party, finding themselves in the utmost danger, returned to the shore from which they had pushed their raft, and concealed themselves until night, when they crossed the river at a different place, and reached Kentucky in safety.

We shall insert here another anecdote of Kenton, as a specimen of the daring spirit of the pioneers, and of the singular adventures through which some of them passed. A party of Indians having stolen some horses in Kentucky, Kenton, with a few companions, pursued them across the Ohio, keeping upon their trail for several days undiscovered, and without getting an opportunity of attacking them, until the Indians reached their village. In the night, Kenton and his men entered the village secretly, and not only re-captured the stolen property, but took also several of the best of the Indians' horses.

Kenton fled with the booty rapidly towards home, and the Indians, discovering their loss, became, in turn, the pursuers. The Americans reached the western shores of the Ohio in safety; but being unable, in consequence of a high wind, to cross without risking the loss of the horses, which had cost them so much toil and danger, they were delayed until the Indians overtook them, and Kenton was captured, while his companions escaped.

The Indians either knew Kenton, or discovered from his bearing and his conduct on this occasion, that he was an extraordinary man; and while they exulted in his capture, they practiced upon him every possible cruelty. They taunted him with sarcastic compliments upon his love for horses, and assured him that he should ride one of their best animals. He was accordingly bound securely upon a vicious young horse, which was turned loose without a bridle, to follow the party. The animal reared and plunged and dashed through the woods, endeavoring, in vain, to shake off its rider; until, wearied out, it became more tame, and quietly fell into the rear of the other horses. Still the situation of Kenton was not the less painful; for the horse, becoming accustomed to the burden, would often stop to graze, lingering until the party was nearly out of sight, and then dashing forward, would pursue them at full speed, dragging the lacerated body of the wretched pioneer under the overhanging branches, and plunging with him through the closest thickets, as if with the purpose of increasing his misery.

On his arrival at Chillicothe, the most populous of the Indian towns in this region, he was painted black, tied to a stake, and suffered to remain in this painful situation for twenty-four hours, anticipating the horrors of a slow and cruel death. He was next condemned to run the

gauntlet. The Indians, several hundred in number, of both sexes, and every age and rank, armed with switches, sticks, and other implements of annoyance, were formed in two lines, between which the unhappy prisoner was made to pass; having been promised, that if he reached in safety the door of the council-house, at the farther end of the lines, no further punishment would be inflicted. He accordingly ran with all the speed of which his debilitated condition rendered him capable, beaten by the savages as he passed, and had nearly reached the goal, when he was knocked down by a warrior with a club; and the demoniac crew, gathering around his prostrate body, continued to beat him, until life seemed to be nearly extinguished.

In this wretched condition, naked, lacerated, and exhausted, he was marched from town to town, exhibited, tortured, often threatened to be burned at the stake, and frequently compelled to run the gauntlet. On one of these occasions, he attempted to make his escape, broke through the ranks of his torturers, and had outstripped those who pursued him, when he was met by some warriors on horseback, who compelled him to surrender. After running the gauntlet in thirteen towns, he was taken to Lower Sandusky, to be burned. Here resided the miscreant Girty, who having just returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontiers of Pennsylvania, was in a particularly ill humor, and hearing that there was a white prisoner in town, he rushed upon him, struck him, beat him to the ground, and was proceeding to farther atrocities, when Kenton had the presence of mind to call him by name, and claim his protection. They had known each other in their youth; Kenton had once saved the life of Girty; and deaf as the latter was,

habitually, to every dictate of benevolence, he admitted the claim of his former acquaintance; and actuated by one of those unaccountable caprices so common among savages, interceded for him, rescued him from the stake, and took him to his house, where, in a few days, the lusty pioneer recovered his strength. Some of the chiefs, however, became dissatisfied; another council was held, the former decree was reversed, and Kenton was again doomed to the stake. From this extremity he was rescued by the intercession of Drewyer, a British agent, who, having succeeded in obtaining his release, carried him to Detroit, where he was received by the British commandant as a prisoner of war. From this place he made his escape, in company with two other Americans; and after a march of thirty days through the wilderness, continually exposed to re-capture, had the good fortune to reach the settlements in Kentucky.

This is one of many similar adventures which are related of this remarkable man, who seems to have possessed a courage which nothing could daunt, a vigor of mind equal to every emergency, and a strength of constitution, which enabled him to bear the most incredible fatigues and sufferings. He is still living—a venerable relic of a past age. He resides in the State of Ohio, a remarkable monument of the rapid advancement of the country. In the very region over which he roamed a hunter and a warrior, when not a single white man had erected his cabin within its limits, he now finds himself the citizen of a State containing more than a million of inhabitants, and surrounded by other States but little less populous. He sees towns and cities, commerce and manufactures, government and laws, wealth, refinement, and religion, where he once saw only the forest, the beast of prey, and

the savage. He lived a life of romantic and wild adventure; and after having braved a thousand dangers, and been miraculously preserved from death by violence on various occasions, outlived the most of his cotemporaries, and died composedly in his bed, and was gathered in peace to his fathers.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Bowman's Expedition—Clarke's in 1780—Battle of Blue Licks—
Harmar's Expedition—Wilkinson's.

IN 1778, an expedition was sent from Kentucky against the Indians west of the Ohio, under the command of Col. John Bowman; but owing to some mismanagement, it entirely failed.

In 1780, Colonel Clarke led an expedition against the Shawanoes residing on the Great Miami. It was conducted with the caution and promptitude which had previously distinguished the movements of that officer. The Indians were completely surprised, and had barely time to send their squaws and children to the woods for safety. They, however, defended their cabins obstinately, and were only driven from them after a severe battle. The town was then burnt, the corn-fields laid waste, and the means of sustenance of the inhabitants, as far as possible, destroyed. This seems to have been the most effectual method for bridling the ferocity of the Indians; the death of a portion of their warriors only increased their fury, but the destruction of their villages and corn-fields chilled their courage, by showing them that the war could be carried to their homes, while it crippled their military power, by forcing them to engage in hunting to support their families.

The year 1782 is rendered memorable in the annals of

Kentucky, as the era of the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. A number of tribes having united in a formidable combination, a large body of Indian warriors was marched into Kentucky. A gallant force was hastily assembled to meet them, composed of the flower of the population of the nearest settlements to the point invaded—the best and bravest men, the most promising and chivalrous youth of the land. The enemy, having slaughtered a number of the unprotected inhabitants, and committed many depredations, were apparently retiring, when this army moved with alacrity in pursuit, full of the most sanguine expectations. Colonel Daniel Boone and others, who were conversant with the savage character, discovered a peculiarity in their mode of retreat, which afforded cause for suspicion; instead of their usual secrecy and speed, signs of carelessness and delay were discovered on their trail, indicating their route and betraying a willingness to be pursued; while, on the other hand, the most effectual measures had been adopted to conceal their numbers. They effected the latter object, by moving in single file, by contracting their camps to the smallest possible compass, and by using but few camp-fires; and the former, by marking a distinct, though narrow path, and leaving various articles strewed by the way, as well to point it out to the pursuers, as to create the belief that they were retiring in confusion.

Deceived by these appearances, the younger warriors, burning with revenge, and eager for battle, rushed madly forward, while Boone, and a few other experienced men, endeavored to restrain their ardor. The consequence was, that they fell into an ambuscade, which had been arranged with consummate skill; a part of the Kentuckians were engaged and beaten before the rest came into action; the force was cut up in detail; and a signal defeat, accompanied with great slaughter, was the unhappy consequence.

This was the most severe blow which ever fell upon the early settlers of Kentucky; a number of brave men were slain, many promising youth were among the fallen, and a considerable number of females and children were butchered or taken prisoners. Some families were wholly destroyed; others mourned a husband, a son, a wife, or an infant child, and the whole land was filled with gloom, with the lamentations of bereaved relatives, and the shame of a proud people.

Colonel Clarke, who then resided at the Falls of Ohio, immediately seized the opportunity of proposing a retaliatory expedition against the Indians; confident that in the indignant state of the public feeling, nothing could be more popular, nor better calculated to soothe the irritation of the people, and blunt the poignancy of their distress. His call was promptly answered. Officers and men volunteered; horses, provisions, and supplies of every kind, were gratuitously offered by those who could not leave home, and the enterprising leader soon found himself at the head of a thousand mounted riflemen, who panted to meet the enemy.

This expedition was conducted with the despatch and secrecy so essential to the success of partisan warfare, and for which its distinguished leader had already obtained celebrity. He proceeded to the Indian towns on the Miami and Scioto, but found them deserted. He passed from village to village, his approach producing every-where the same effects. Dismay and fright preceded his victorious march. His name struck terror throughout the whole Indian border. The crafty savages, who are admirable judges of human nature, in all that relates to military feeling or calculation, were aware that the pride of Kentucky had been touched; and that those who now sought them in their own towns, to challenge

them to battle, came prepared to conquer or die—to revenge injury and wipe off disgrace. They declined a meeting with such men, led by such a commander; and Clarke found nothing but empty cabins and deserted fields. The former, as well as the latter, were desolated. The villages were reduced to ashes, and the standing corn destroyed. The soldiers reaped no laurels; but the effect of the expedition was beneficial. It displayed the power and the spirit of the Americans, and taught the savages that they could not make war upon our borders with impunity.

An expedition into the country west of the Ohio, was again led by General Clarke, equal in number of men to that just described. In 1785, the incursions of the Indians having again caused a popular excitement, an army of a thousand men was raised by voluntary association, and assembled at the Falls of Ohio. The provisions and ammunition were sent round in keel-boats to Vincennes, to which place General Clarke marched his men by the nearest route. This expedition accomplished nothing, beyond the good effect produced by the appearance of a respectable force in the Indian country.

The next important expedition into the Indian country, was that of Scott and Harmar, in 1790. General Scott, with two hundred and thirty volunteers, crossed the Ohio at Limestone, and was joined by General Harmar, with one hundred regulars of the United States army. They penetrated into the Indian country and destroyed several towns, but were unable to bring the Indians to battle.

The well-known expedition of General Harmar occurred in the autumn of the same year. He led into the Indian country three hundred and twenty federal troops, and eleven hundred and thirty-three Kentucky volunteers, commanded by Colonel John Hardin, an intelligent and gallant officer. They penetrated into the Miami country,

laid waste the corn-fields of the Indians, and having accomplished the sole object of the expedition, were about to return, when some Indians appeared in the vicinity of the camp. Colonel Hardin was detached with a small party in pursuit of them. After pursuing them for six miles, he fell into a snare which they had prepared for him. The Indians, having divided themselves into two parties, had returned on each side of their own trail, at a distance from it, and then approaching it, had concealed themselves in the tall grass, and were quietly waiting the approach of the Americans. When Colonel Hardin and his detachment had passed into the ambushed spot, the enemy rose, discovering themselves on all sides, like the followers of Roderic Dhu, in the splendid conception of Scott, and standing exposed in the prairie, fired upon the troops, who were instantly thrown into disorder. The gallant leader endeavored in vain to rally the panic-struck men. The Indians, greatly superior in number, rushed in upon them, and such as did not find safety in flight, were almost instantly overpowered and slain.

Two days afterwards, the army decamped, and commenced its march toward the frontiers. At the distance of about ten miles from the ruined villages, the general halted, and detached Colonel Hardin, with a party of four or five hundred militia, and sixty regulars under Major Willis, with orders to return to the site of the principal Indian town, where it was supposed the Indian force might have collected, upon the retiring of our army. On reaching the village, a small body of Indians was seen, who, on being attacked, fled. The militia, eager to be revenged for the recent disaster, and maddened by the loss of many of their friends, dashed off in pursuit, leaving the regulars unsupported. This was precisely the object intended to be effected by the Indians, a part of

whom had fled, merely to decoy the militia into a tumultuous pursuit. The main body of the Indians, who were lying in concealment, rose suddenly from their ambush, and with dreadful yells, rushed upon the regular troops. The latter were a small, though brave band, and the savages so numerous as to render resistance hopeless. The onset was of the most desperate character. The Indians, throwing aside their guns, fought with the tomahawk only. Never did men fight with more heroism than Willis and his regulars. Surrounded and overpowered, they met their fate with inflexible courage. For a time, they defended themselves with the bayonet, and made great havoc in the ranks of the assailants. But the savages increased in number, like the heads of the fabled Hydra, and when one fell, several others rushed forward to fill his place and avenge his death. The brave Willis and his whole party were slain; scarcely one was left.

The militia were, in the meanwhile, recalled by their commander from the injudicious pursuit in which they had engaged without orders and without caution. They were rallied by Colonel Hardin, and brought into action, too late, however, to relieve the regulars. But they fought bravely, sustained a considerable loss, and at last retired in good order, before a superior force, who, flushed with their recent victory over the regulars, assailed their ranks with the fury of enraged demons. The army of Harmar returned to Kentucky without further incident.

The officers who were first and second in command of this expedition, were much censured at the time for its disasters, and it has ever since been popularly known as "Harmar's defeat." The more impartial verdict of history, given on a calm review of all the evidence, will do justice to the names of Harmar and Hardin, and rank these brave soldiers among the defenders of their coun-

try who are entitled to its gratitude. Their successes, and the important objects which they accomplished, have been obscured by their misfortunes; the country mourned the lives that were lost, without reflecting upon the advantages that were gained. The object of the expedition was to destroy the Indian towns at and near the confluence of St. Mary's and Joseph's rivers. This was completely accomplished, and the Indian power in that quarter was effectually crippled, by the destruction of their whole stock of provisions for the winter. Their villages were burned and their corn-fields devastated. The duty imposed upon this army was performed; and its disasters, though deeply to be deplored, should not be allowed to throw a shade over the services or the reputation of the patriotic individuals who composed it. Besides the destruction of their property and means of sustenance, the loss of life was greater on the part of the Indians than on the side of the whites; and that the victory which they claimed, and to which the retreat of our troops entitled them, was dearly bought, is sufficiently evident from the fact, that they neither repeated the attack, nor made any attempt to annoy the army on its return. An army which had so far secured the respect of a victorious enemy as to be permitted to march unmolested from a disastrous battle-field, was certainly not dishonored, though it might have been vanquished. The error of Harmar consisted in his dividing his force, by sending out detachments, giving to the enemy the opportunities for practicing to advantage the stratagems peculiar to their system of warfare, and exposing our army to the hazard of being beaten in detail. It was thus beaten; but the error in judgment, which produced the result, was not greater than has often been committed by able commanders; and should at least find an excuse in the recollection, that it was preceded by a suc-

cessful campaign, and followed by an able retreat. Har-mar was a brave and accomplished officer, whose character was adorned by many amiable and brilliant qualities. Both he and Hardin demanded the investigation of their military conduct in this expedition, by courts of inquiry; and both were honorably acquitted.

In the spring of 1791, General Scott and Colonel (afterwards General) Wilkinson, announced their intention to lead an expedition against the Indians, and a thousand volunteers, mounted and equipped with rifles, were assembled in the course of a few days at Frankfort. Their march was directed to the mouth of the Kentucky river, where they crossed the Ohio and struck into the Indian country. They penetrated one hundred and fifty miles into the wilderness, without meeting an enemy; visited the Indian villages on the Wabash, destroyed their lodges and their corn, and returned to Kentucky. The Wea towns, upon the Wabash, twelve miles below Tippecanoe, were surprised. The warriors fled, but a large portion of the women and children were taken, and delivered to the charge of the regular troops at Fort Washington, where they were kept until the peace made by General Putnam with the Wabash tribes, in 1793.

This was one of the first occasions on which the efficiency of mounted riflemen, in a warfare with the Indians, was fairly tried—or perhaps it is more proper to say, that the superiority of this description of troops was now first made the subject of remark. General Clarke had already made the experiment. The backwoodsmen are excellent riders; they love the horse, and are as expert in the management of that noble animal as in the use of the rifle; and in all the expeditions against the Indians, a portion of the volunteers were mounted. So decided is the preference of the people of the frontier for this mode of

warfare, that they are unwilling to take the field in any other manner. But they had heretofore usually been accompanied by infantry, whose sluggish movements through the intricacies of the forest, and among the wilds and swamps of the wilderness, impeded their march and damped their ardor; while the Indians, unencumbered with baggage, and more intimately acquainted with the country, reaped the full advantage of their capacity for rapid marches and sudden attacks.

General Wilkinson, who was undoubtedly a gentleman of high courage, of singular address, and considerable military sagacity, is entitled to the credit of having been the first to notice these circumstances, and to insist publicly on the expediency of employing mounted riflemen alone, in hostilities against the Indians. Immediately after his return from the last expedition, he spoke and wrote in favor of the employment of this description of troops; and in July of the same year, published a notification, inviting five hundred volunteer horsemen to accompany him on an expedition into the territory north-west of the Ohio. It was announced that Colonel John Hardin and Colonel James M'Dowell, both of whom were popular leaders, would serve under him as majors. Such was the mode of conducting these hostilities, at that period. A leader of repute planned an expedition, announced his intention, and appointed a place of rendezvous; and the volunteers flocked around his standard. When the enterprise was sufficiently important, and a numerous force was required, several gentlemen united as leaders, arranged the plan, settled their relative rank among themselves, and used their combined influence in collecting the number of men required. Thus, Colonel John Hardin, who on previous occasions had commanded a much larger force than that now proposed to be raised, served

on this occasion as second in command under Wilkinson. It is thus, also, that we account for the numerous military titles, under which we find the distinguished men among the pioneers denominated. Some of them designate the proper rank held by these gentlemen in the militia; others are titles acquired in actual service, during the revolution; and others show the rank gratuitously conferred upon the voluntary leaders in some military enterprise, by their companions—a rank which gave them actual command for the occasion, and military titles which they retained permanently. These expeditions were extremely popular; the men offered their services cheerfully, and went at their own cost. There was, at first, no government except that of Virginia, which was too distant, and too much occupied in acting her distinguished part in the war of the revolution, to afford assistance to the settlements; and the military duty rendered for the public defence, was both voluntary and gratuitous. The men furnished their own horses, arms, ammunition, and provisions; thus expending their substance, and exposing their property, as well as their lives, in this patriotic service.

This enterprise of Wilkinson produced no important result, except to show the facility with which troops may be moved by an active officer. He scoured the Indian country for a few weeks, swept over a great extent of territory, devastated some of the villages and fields of the enemy, and returned without having succeeded in bringing the savages into an engagement. Among the towns destroyed by him, was that at the mouth of the Tippecanoe. No other town was built at or near that place, until the establishment of the Prophet's village, which afterwards caused so much trouble to the frontiers of Indiana.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WAR BELT, A LEGEND OF NORTH BEND.

IN the year 1786, there stood upon the margin of the Ohio, near the mouth of the Miami, a small fortress, over which waved the flag of the United States. The banner was that of a confederacy which had just emerged from a successful struggle with one of the most powerful nations of the world, and over which the illustrious Washington ruled as Chief Magistrate. In the eye of a military engineer, the fort would hardly have deserved that name, as it was a temporary structure, intended only to protect its small garrison against a sudden attack by an Indian force. It was composed of a series of log-houses opening upon an interior area, or quadrangle, with a block-house, or citadel, in the center, while the outer sides, closely connected, formed a square inclosure, or rampart, without apertures, except a single entrance, and a few loop-holes from which to discharge fire-arms. The whole presented the appearance of a single edifice, receiving light from the center, and forming barracks for the garrison, as well as breastworks against a foe. The forest was cleared away for some hundred of yards around, leaving an open vista, extending to the water's edge; while a few acres inclosed in a rude fence, and planted with corn and garden vegetables for the use of the soldiers, exhibited the first rude attempt at agriculture in that wild and beautiful region.

It will be recollected, that when the shores of the Ohio were first explored by the adventurous pioneers, no villages were found upon them; not a solitary lodge was seen along its secluded waters. The numerous and warlike tribes whose battle-cry was often heard on the frontier, inhabited the tributary branches of the Ohio, leaving the immediate shores of that river an untenanted wilderness, rich in the glorious productions of nature, and animated only by the brute and the wild bird, by the lurking hunter and the stealthy war-party. It seemed as if man had been expelled from this blooming paradise, and only invaded its flowery precincts at intervals, to war upon his fellow-man, or to ravage the pastures of the deer and the buffalo. Historians are not agreed as to the reasons of this curious arrangement; but we suppose that the Manito of the red man had reserved this loveliest of valleys to be the happy hunting-ground of the blessed, and that, though living forms were seldom seen within it, the spirits of warriors lingered here, to mourn the destiny of their race, and curse the coming of the white man.

A few adventurous pioneers from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, had crossed the Alleghenies and settled at different places, far distant from each other; but these also were inland as respected the great river; the civilized man avoiding its dangerous shores on the one side, from an instinct similar to that which induced the Indian to shun a residence upon them on the other.

All the tribes inhabiting the country north of the Ohio, were at that time hostile to the American people, and beheld with great jealousy these migrations into the West, that indicated an intention to plant a civilized population on this side of the mountains. The agents also of a foreign power, which saw with dissatisfaction the growing prosperity of the United States, deemed this a favorable

moment to unite the savage tribes against our young republic, and they were accordingly instructed to address such arguments to the chiefs as would be likely to effect that object. Councils were accordingly held, and arms and trinkets distributed by those unprincipled emissaries. In consequence of these efforts, the hostile feelings of the savages, already sufficiently bitter, became greatly excited; and at the period of which we write, a war with the combined forces of the north-western tribes seemed inevitable.

The policy of the American government was pacific. They did not aim at conquest. They desired to extend to the savages within their borders the same justice by which their foreign relations were intended to be governed. Difficult as this proposition might seem, it was not deemed impracticable. That the enterprising and intelligent population of the United States would spread out from the seaboard over the wilderness; that the savage must retire before civilized man; that the desert must be reclaimed from a state of nature, and be subjected to the hand of art, were propositions too evident to be concealed or denied. Had the government been disposed to perpetuate the reign of barbarism over the fairest portion of our country, it could not have enforced its decree for a purpose so inconsistent with the interests of the people, and the spirit of the age. But it never was intended that the Indian should be driven from his hunting grounds by violence; and while a necessity, strong as the law of nature, decreed the expulsion of the mere hunter, and gave dominion to art, industry, and religion, it was always proposed that the savage should be removed by negotiation, and a just price given for the relinquishment of his possessory title.

Had these counsels prevailed, humanity would have been spared the anguish and humiliation of blushing for

acts of deception, and weeping over scenes of bloodshed. They did not prevail: the magnanimous policy of the government remained unaltered; but many individuals have committed deep wrongs against the savages, while the latter, misled to their ruin by foreign interference, spurned at the offers of conciliation, the acceptance of which would have insured to them the strong protection of the nation.

Such was the posture of affairs, when the little fortress alluded to was established, at the outlet of the fertile valley of the Miami, and near the track by which the war parties approached the Ohio, in their incursions into Kentucky. The position was also that selected by Judge Symmes and others, the purchasers from Congress of a large tract of country, as the site of a future city; though a trivial accident afterward changed the locality, and placed the Queen City of the West at a point twenty miles farther up the Ohio. It was near the head of that great bend of the Ohio, now widely known as North Bend,—a spot which has become classic ground to the American, as the residence of that excellent man, and distinguished statesman and soldier, the venerated and lamented Harrison. The fort was garrisoned by a small party of soldiers, commanded by a captain, who was almost as much insulated from the rest of the world as Alexander Selkirk in the island of Juan Fernandez.

At this sequestered spot, a treaty was to be held by commissioners appointed by the President, with the Shawanoes, a migratory and gallant nation, which had fought from South Carolina to Pennsylvania, along the whole line of the western frontier, and whose eventful history, unless it has been lately collected by an ingenious writer who is about to publish a life of Tecumthe, remains to be written. It is enough to say of them here, that no

western tribe has produced so many distinguished individuals, or carried on so constant a series of daring enterprises.

For several days previous to that appointed for holding the council, parties of Indian warriors were seen arriving and erecting their temporary lodges at a short distance from the fort. An unwonted bustle disturbed the silence which usually reigned at this retired spot. Groups of savages, surrounding their camp-fires, passed the hours in conversation and in feasting; the tramp of horses and the barking of dogs were heard in every direction. The number of Indians assembled was much greater than was necessary, or was expected; and their disposition seemed to be any thing but pacific. Irritated by recent events, and puffed up by delusive promises of support, they wore an offended and insolent air. Their glances were vindictive, and their thirst for vengeance scarcely concealed. No one acquainted with the savage character could doubt their intentions, or hesitate for a moment to believe they only waited to ripen their plan of treachery, and at a moment which should be most favorable to their purposes, to butcher every white man in their power.

The situation of the garrison was very precarious. The fort was a slight work, which might be readily set on fire, and the number of Americans was too small to afford the slightest chance of success in open fight against the numerous force of the Shawanoes. The only hope for safety was in keeping them at a distance; but this was inconsistent with the purposes of meeting them in council, to treat for peace.

Both parties held separate councils on the day previous to that appointed for the treaty. That of the Indians was declamatory and boisterous. The caution with which they usually feel their way, and the secrecy that attends

all their measures, seems to have been abandoned. They had probably decided on their course, and deeming their enemy too weak to oppose any serious opposition, were declaiming upon their wrongs, for the purpose of lashing each other into that state of fury which would give relish for the horrid banquet at hand, by whetting the appetite for blood. The American commissioners saw with gloomy forebodings these inauspicious movements, and hesitated as to the proper course to be pursued. To treat with savages thus numerically superior, bent on treachery, and intoxicated with an expected triumph, seemed to be madness. To meet them in council, would be to place themselves at the mercy of ruthless barbarians, whose system of warfare justified and inculcated every species of stratagem, however disingenuous. To close the gate of the fortress, and break up the negotiation, would be at the same time a declaration of war, and an acknowledgment of weakness, which would produce immediate hostilities. In either case, this little band of Americans stood alone, dependent on their own courage and sagacity only, and cut off from all hope of support. They were far beyond the reach of communication with any American post or settlement. Under these circumstances, it was proposed to postpone the treaty, upon some plausible pretence, and to endeavor to amuse the Indians, while the utmost diligence should be used in preparing the fort for a siege: and in this opinion all concurred save one; and happily that one was a master spirit, the Promethean fire of whose genius seldom failed to kindle up in other bosoms the courage that glowed in his own. That man was Colonel GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

Clarke was a Virginian of high spirit, and of consummate skill as a military leader. A series of daring exploits, evincing a brilliant genius in their conception,

executed with accuracy and energy, and terminating in successful results, had placed his name in the first class of our revolutionary heroes. It was said of him, by one who had followed him in battle, "He was the bravest man I ever knew; his courage was governed by a wisdom that bore him through whatever he undertook, in security and in triumph; and one could only see, after the event, that it partook not of rashness nor presumption, although it bore that appearance." The truth was, that this remarkable man, to the gallant spirit that belonged to him as a native of Virginia, added a knowledge of human nature, that enabled him to read and control the minds around him, and a promptness and energy of purpose that no ordinary obstacle could obstruct.

Whatever might have been the real opinion of Colonel Clarke on this occasion, he treated the idea of danger with ridicule, and insisted, calmly, cheerfully, even playfully, and in a way that disarmed all opposition from his colleagues, that the negotiation should go forward.

An apartment in the fort was prepared as a council-room, and, at the appointed hour, the doors were thrown open. At the head of the table sat Clarke, a soldier-like and majestic man, whose complexion, eyes, and hair, all indicated a sanguine and mercurial temperament. The brow was high and capacious, the features were prominent and manly; and the expression, which was keen, reflective, and ordinarily cheerful and agreeable, was now grave, almost to sternness.

The Indians, being a military people, have a deep respect for martial virtue. To other estimable or shining qualities they turn a careless eye, or pay at best but a passing tribute, while they bow in profound veneration before a successful warrior. The name of Clarke was familiar to them: several brilliant expeditions into their

country had spread the terror of his arms throughout their villages, and carried the fame of his exploits to every council-fire in the West. Their high appreciation of his character was exemplified in a striking as well as an amusing manner, on another occasion, when a council was held with several tribes. The celebrated Delaware chief, Buckinghamelas, on entering the council-room, without noticing any other person, walked up to Clarke, and as he shook hands cordially with him, exclaimed, "It is a happy day when two such men as Colonel Clarke and Buckinghamelas meet together!"*

Such was the remarkable man who now presided at the council table. On his right hand sat Colonel Richard Butler, a brave officer of the Revolution, who soon after fell, with the rank of brigadier-general, in the disastrous campaign of St. Clair. On the other side was Samuel H. Parsons, a lawyer from New England, who afterwards became a judge in the north-western territory. At the same table sat the secretaries, while the interpreters, several officers, and a few soldiers, stood around.

An Indian council is one of the most imposing spectacles in savage life. It is one of the few occasions in which the warrior exercises his right of suffrage, his influence and his talents, in a civil capacity, and the meeting is conducted with all the gravity, and all the ceremonious ostentation with which it is possible to invest it. The matter to be considered, as well as all the details, are well digested beforehand, so that the utmost decorum shall prevail, and the decision be unanimous. The chiefs and sages, the leaders and orators, occupy the most conspicuous seats; behind them are arranged the younger braves, and still farther in the rear appear the women and youth,

* See Appendix.

as spectators. All are equally attentive. A dead silence reigns throughout the assemblage. The great pipe, gaudily adorned with paint and feathers, is lighted, and passed from mouth to mouth, commencing with the chief highest in rank, and proceeding, by regular gradation, to the inferior order of braves. If two or three nations be represented, the pipe is passed from one party to the other, and salutations are courteously exchanged, before the business of the council is opened by the respective speakers. Whatever jealousy or party spirit may exist in the tribe, it is carefully excluded from this dignified assemblage, whose orderly conduct, and close attention to the proper subject before them, might be imitated with profit by some of the most enlightened bodies in christendom.

It was an alarming evidence of the temper now prevailing among them, and of the brooding storm that filled their minds, that no propriety of demeanor marked the entrance of the savages into the council-room. The usual formalities were forgotten, or purposely dispensed with, and an insulting levity substituted in their place. The chiefs and braves stalked in, with an appearance of light regard, and seated themselves promiscuously on the floor, in front of the commissioners. An air of insolence marked all their movements, and showed an intention to dictate terms, or to fix a quarrel upon the Americans.

A dead silence rested over the group; it was the silence of dread, distrust, and watchfulness; not of respect. The eyes of the savage band gloated upon the banquet of blood that seemed already spread out before them; the pillage of the fort, and the bleeding scalps of the American, were almost within their grasp; while that gallant little band saw the portentous nature of the crisis, and stood ready to sell their lives as dearly as possible.

The commissioners, without noticing the disorderly con-

duct of the other party, or appearing to have discovered their meditated treachery, opened the council in due form. They lighted the peace-pipe, and, after drawing a few whiffs, passed it to the chiefs, who received it. Colonel Clarke then rose to explain the purpose for which the treaty was ordered. With an unembarrassed air, with the tone of one accustomed to command, and the easy assurance of perfect security and self-possession, he stated that the commissioners had been sent to offer peace to the Shawanoes; that the President had no wish to continue the war; he had no resentment to gratify; and, that if the red men desired peace, they could have it on liberal terms. "If such be the will of the Shawanoes," he concluded, "let some of their wise men speak."

A chief arose, drew up his tall person to its full height, and assuming a haughty attitude, threw his eye contemptuously over the commissioners, and their small retinue, as if to measure their insignificance, in comparison with his own numerous train, and then stalking up to the table, threw upon it two belts of wampum, of different colors—the *war* and the *peace* belt.

"We come here," he exclaimed, "to offer you two pieces of wampum; they are of different colors; you know what they mean: you can take which you like!" And turning upon his heel, he resumed his seat.

The chiefs drew themselves up, in the consciousness of having hurled defiance in the teeth of the white men. They had offered an insult to the renowned leader of the Long Knives, to which they knew it would be hard for him to submit, while they did not suppose he would dare to resent it. The council-pipe was laid aside, and those fierce wild men gazed intently on Clarke. The Americans saw that the crisis had arrived: they could no longer doubt that the Indians understood the advantage they possessed,

and were disposed to use it; and a common sense of danger caused each eye to be turned on the leading commissioner. He sat undisturbed, and apparently careless, until the chief who had thrown the belts on the table had taken his seat: then, with a small cane which he held in his hand, he reached, as if playfully, towards the war-belt, entangled the end of the stick in it, drew it towards him, and then, with a twitch of the cane, threw the belt into the midst of the chiefs. The effect was electric. Every man in council, of each party, sprang to his feet; the savages, with a loud exclamation of astonishment, "Hugh!" the Americans in expectation of a hopeless conflict against overwhelming numbers. Every hand grasped a weapon.

Clarke alone was unawed. The expression of his countenance changed to a ferocious sternness, and his eye flashed, but otherwise he was unmoved. A bitter smile was slightly perceptible upon his compressed lips, as he gazed upon that savage band, whose hundred eyes were bent fiercely and in horrid exultation upon him, as they stood like a pack of wolves at bay, thirsting for blood, and ready to rush upon him, whenever one bolder than the rest should commence the attack. It was one of those moments of indecision, when the slightest weight thrown into either scale will make it preponderate; a moment in which a bold man, conversant with the secret springs of human action, may seize upon the minds of all around him, and sway them at his will. Such a man was the intrepid Virginian. He spoke, and there was no man bold enough to gainsay him — none that could return the fierce glance of his eye. Raising his arm and waving his hand towards the door, he exclaimed: "*Dogs! you may go!*" The Indians hesitated for a moment, and then rushed tumultuously out of the council-room.

The decision of Clarke on that occasion, saved himself

and his companions from massacre. The plan of the savages had been artfully laid: he had read it in their features and conduct, as plainly as if it had been written upon a scroll before him. He met it in a manner which was unexpected; the crisis was brought on sooner than was intended; and upon a principle similar to that by which, when a line of battle is broken, the dismayed troops fly, before order can be restored, the new and sudden turn given to these proceedings by the energy of Clarke, confounded the Indians, and before the broken thread of their scheme of treachery could be reunited, they were panic-struck. They had come prepared to brow-beat, to humble, and then to destroy; they looked for remonstrance, and altercation; for the luxury of drawing the toils gradually around their victims; of beholding their agony and degradation, and of bringing on the final catastrophe by an appointed signal, when the scheme should be ripe. They expected to see, on our part, great caution, a skillful playing off, and an unwillingness to take offense, which were to be gradually goaded into alarm, irritation, and submission. The cool contempt with which their first insult was thrown back in their teeth surprised them, and they were foiled by the self-possession of one man. They had no Tecumthe among them, no master-spirit to change the plan, so as to adapt it to a new exigency; and those braves, who in many a battle had shown themselves to be men of true valor, quailed before the moral superiority which assumed the vantage ground of a position they could not comprehend, and therefore feared to assail.

The Indians met immediately around their own council fire, and engaged in an animated discussion. Accustomed to a cautious warfare, they did not suppose a man of Colonel Clarke's known sagacity would venture upon a display of mere gasconade, or assume any ground that he

was not able to maintain; and they therefore attributed his conduct to a consciousness of strength. They knew him to be a consummate warrior; gave him the credit of having judiciously measured his own power with that of his adversary; and suspected that a powerful reinforcement was at hand. Perhaps at that moment, when intent upon their own scheme, and thrown off their guard by imagined security, they had neglected the ordinary precautions that form a prominent feature in their system of tactics; they might be surrounded by a concealed force, ready to rush upon them at a signal from the fort. In their eagerness to entrap a foe, they might have blindly become entangled in a snare set for themselves. So fully were they convinced that such was the relative position of the two parties, and so urgent did they consider the necessity for immediate conciliation, that they appointed a delegation to wait on Clarke, and express their willingness to accept peace on such terms as might be agreeable to him. The council re-assembled, and a treaty was signed, under the dictation of the American commissioners. Such was the remarkable result of the intrepidity and presence of mind of George Rogers Clarke.

CHAPTER XXV.

Causes of the failure of several of the Expeditions in the North-western Territory—St. Clair's Campaign.

THAT the engagements of the regular troops with the Indians in this region should have been so often disastrous, is by no means surprising; on the contrary, when we reflect on the character of the army, and the circumstances under which our troops were placed, we can only wonder that they should ever have been successful. The troops which had been engaged in the Revolutionary War, had been disbanded, and did not, necessarily, form any part of the military peace establishment of the Federal government, though many individuals, who had served in the Continental line, afterwards entered the army as officers or privates. The first standing army authorized by Congress, was too small to offer strong inducements to gentlemen of talent and enterprise, to embrace the military life as a profession; the officers, therefore, though many of them were high-minded, gallant men, were not generally the *elite* of the nation, and a large portion of the men were either worn-out old soldiers, or raw recruits of degraded character. The habit of intemperate drinking prevailed to an alarming extent. Among the specimens of the military of that day, who survived the assaults of time, and came down to us as the honored relics of a past generation, this propensity was strongly developed,

and the appellation of *old soldier*, was always associated with the idea of a hard-drinking man. We have also some records that attest this fact; the proceedings of courts-martial in those days show that the charge of drunkenness was more than once brought home to the gentlemen of the sword; and some of the published reminiscences of the old heroes, attest the same lamentable truth. General Eaton has left a list of some of his companions, in which the expressive phrases, "*dead per brandy*," "*dead per ditto*," occur with melancholy frequency. Public opinion had not then placed the stamp of disgrace upon that species of dissipation, and military discipline, although severe, was imperfect.

Our government was then but recently organized, and the war department had not acquired character or stability. It was the branch of the executive which was least esteemed. The standing army had been made the theme of bitter party denunciation, had been pronounced dangerous to liberty, and had been stigmatized by the demagogues of the day with the bitterest and foulest epithets in the vocabulary of party invective. It was decidedly unpopular. While, therefore, it appeared certain that neither its numbers, nor the respectability of its appointments, would be enlarged by the deliberate action of government, it was doubtful whether the whole establishment would not be swept off as a nuisance. Congress made appropriations for military purposes with reluctance; and there was little to encourage the war department in making any decided efforts to improve the service, or sustain the reputation of the army.

The government was poor, and our councils were distracted. These facts have not been made sufficiently prominent by those who have commented upon the services and sufferings of the soldiers and the first settlers

in the West, nor considered with the attention they deserve, in connection with the rapid improvement of our country, and the vigorous growth of our institutions. The pioneers first penetrated into the western forests during the stormy period of the Revolution, when our infant nation was struggling in the grasp of a powerful antagonist, and gasping for existence. At a period a little later, the government was unsettled and powerless. The patriots of the Revolution had willed that we should be free; but it required many years, and much fierce contention, to determine the precise character and extent of the freedom for which they had successfully fought. Parties, equally adverse to rational liberty, which advocated the high-toned principles of aristocracy on the one hand, and the ferocious dogmas of unlicensed democracy on the other, were engaged in controversy, and struggling for the ascendancy. By one or the other, almost every national institution, and every branch of the political economy of the country, was denounced and sought to be prostrated; and the government, unwilling to expend its limited resources upon an unpopular or an evanescent institution, was uncertain what institution to foster, and which to leave to its fate.

The army was left to sustain itself—miserably paid, wretchedly clad, badly supplied, and carelessly governed; its honor was supported alone by the patriotism and gallantry of those who composed it. At the same moment, when the navy was withering under the hostility of the government and the indifference of the people, the army was sinking under the effects of popular fury and executive coldness.

Under such circumstances, troops were raised for the defence of the western frontiers. They were not authorized by Congress without opposition. There were some

who objected to the prosecution of any tramontane wars, because they doubted the expediency of attempting to extend the territorial limits of the United States beyond the Alleghenies. Some affected to question the right of Congress to acquire new territories, not embraced within the actual boundaries of the original States of the confederacy; and some, consulting a timid prudence, foresaw, in any attempt to possess the broad lands of the West, by military occupancy, a series of bloody and expensive wars with the British, the Spaniards, and the countless hordes of fierce aborigines, who would be incited and supplied by both those powers; while none knew, and few imagined, even in the wildest dreams of speculation, the width, the fertility, the resources, the inexhaustible treasures of national wealth, and the boundless field for individual enterprise, which lay concealed in silent splendor amid the shadows of the western forests. The troops, therefore, who were sent to the West, were not supported by the enthusiasm of national pride; neither the hopes of the people, nor the steady confidence of the government, stimulated their ambition, or supported them in the patient endurance of fatigue and danger. The pride of individual character, and the sense of military duty, may do much to sustain men under the pressure of danger; but brilliant results have seldom attended any military enterprise, which did not enlist the sympathies of the people, and hold out the bright rewards of fame.

It should also be recollected, that while the Indians possessed greater physical and numerical strength, more ardor and confidence than at present, with the same military knowledge and discipline which they now exhibit, the tactics of civilized warfare were in a state infinitely inferior to that in which we see them. They had not the advantage of any of those countless improvements in the

mechanic arts, which have given such completeness and finish to the weapons and equipment of the modern soldier. Their movements were heavy, complicated, and ill adapted to partisan warfare. The simplicity, the rapidity of evolution, and the concentration of force, which the genius of Napoleon, and of the galaxy of brilliant men by whom he was surrounded, and opposed, introduced into military operations, were then unknown. In the comparison, therefore, between the savage and the civilized warrior, the Indian occupied a higher ground at that period than at the present time; he has deteriorated, while we have advanced.

A mistaken opinion was long entertained of the prowess, as well as of the military capacity of the Indian warrior. A variety of circumstances had contributed to invest the red men with higher attributes than they really possessed, to give them a repute to which they were not entitled, and to throw a gratuitous terror around them, which caused the courage of the disciplined soldier to sink into a mysterious dread as he penetrated into the wilderness, and the blood to forsake his cheek, when he heard the terrific sound of the war-whoop. It was difficult to overcome this panic. The dreadful cruelties of the Indians, their butchery of the helpless, their torture of the prisoner, the cunning with which they sometimes entrapped their enemies, and the fury with which they rushed upon an unprepared or inferior enemy, all contributed to produce an awe among the soldiery which was not easily removed. A few successes on the part of the savages, strengthened the belief in their superiority; and there has been more than one period in our history, when they gained advantages from the panic created by ignorance of their force and their character.

In addition to all the other unpropitious circumstances

to which we have adverted, was that of being obliged to operate in a wilderness, without magazines, without any depôts of supplies, and through which it was difficult to transport the baggage and munitions which were absolutely indispensable. Entirely cut off from the settled parts of the country, an army acting in the West at that time, could look for no support in any emergency. What they lost in battle could not be supplied by reinforcement; if their provisions or ammunition became destroyed by accident, or diminished by capture, the deficiency was irreparable. Months must roll away before the government could be advised of any disaster, of any change of plan, or other vicissitude which might render aid or advice desirable, and even then the feeble hand of government could not be moved until it received vitality from the tardy action of Congress.

But perhaps the most efficient cause of the failure of the regular troops, on several occasions, was the system of tactics used in battle. The troops were formed in close order, under the plan of Steuben, which was adapted only to the warfare of disciplined armies. Wayne, with more judgment, introduced the system of forming his men in open order, extending his lines so as to prevent the enemy from turning his flanks, and strengthening both the rear and flanks by reserves. The same plan was adopted by his successors, and by none with more brilliant success than General Harrison, long afterwards, in the war of 1812. A regular army thus formed cannot be defeated by Indians.

These remarks occur forcibly to our minds, when we contemplate the events of the disastrous campaign of St. Clair, and reflect upon the odium incurred by a deserving patriot, and the blight which fell upon a brilliant character, in consequence of a single military miscarriage.

Neither the capacity nor the courage of St. Clair admit of doubt. He was a soldier of spotless reputation. His talents were commanding, and his experience great. The force placed under his command was larger than any that had previously acted against the Indians in this region, and some of the officers under him were gentlemen of high reputation. The object of the campaign was the destruction of the Indian towns upon the Miamies; a purpose which, we have seen, had more than once been effected by small bodies of men, under less distinguished leaders. The army, consisting of about fourteen hundred effective troops, moved from Fort Washington in September, 1791, and seems to have been conducted with abundant caution. Two forts were erected by the army as it proceeded, about forty miles from each other, as places of deposit, and resting points for the security of convoys which might follow the troops, and for the safety of the army itself in case of disaster. The march was slow and laborious; delayed by the opening of a road, and by the adoption of measures of abundant precaution. Two months were occupied in tardy marches, enlivened only by occasional skirmishes with the enemy.

The campaigns of Clarke and St. Clair afford, by contrast, admirable illustrations of the different modes of warfare adopted against the Indians, while they show, conclusively, the excellence of the one, and utter futility of the other. Clarke moved with light troops, unencumbered by baggage, and neither halted to establish posts, nor to open roads. He marched so rapidly that the enemy had no time to penetrate his designs, or anticipate his movements. The blow fell before they were aware of the point at which it was intended to strike—perhaps while they were yet ignorant that it was impending; and he retired before the dismay produced by his sudden approach had

subsided, before the shock of the onset could recoil upon himself, or the scattered forces of the enemy could be rallied. St. Clair, at the head of an imposing force, was retarded by the very strength which was intended to render his expedition formidable, and by the precautions used for the security of his army, while the enemy avoided his approach with facility, impeded his march, and retaliated his attacks. The fault was not in the leader, but in the plan of the campaign, and the kind of troops employed. All that an able commander could effect with such a force, under the circumstances by which he was surrounded and overruled, was accomplished by General St. Clair. The brilliant talents of this brave soldier and veteran patriot were exerted in vain in the wilderness. The wariness and perseverance of Indian warfare created every day new obstacles and unforeseen dangers; the skill of the experienced leader was baffled, and undisciplined force prevailed over military science. The art of the tactician proved insufficient, when opposed to a countless multitude of wily savages, protected by the labyrinths of the forests, and aided by the terrors of the climate. At a moment of fancied security, his troops were unexpectedly assailed upon all sides, by a numerous and well organized foe, who had long been hanging upon his flanks, and had become intimately acquainted with his strength, his order of encampment, and the distribution of his force—who knew when to attack, and where to strike. The officers acted with their accustomed intrepidity, but the men quickly became panic-struck, and a scene of dreadful confusion ensued; and after a short, though gallant resistance, our troops commenced a disorderly flight. The Indians pursued for about four miles, slaughtering all who fell into their hands, and filling the air with their yells of triumph, until their avidity for plunder called them back to the

deserted camp, where the spoils of the vanquished troops were to be divided among the victors. The flight of the dispersed and beaten soldiers was continued to Fort Jefferson, a distance of thirty miles. The loss on this occasion, owing to the too close order in which the troops were formed, was mournfully great; thirty-eight officers and nearly eight hundred men were slain. A committee of the House of Representatives in Congress, appointed to investigate the causes of the failure of this expedition, in the most explicit terms, exculpated the commander-in-chief from all blame, and add their opinion, "that as his conduct, in all the preparatory arrangements, was marked with peculiar ability and zeal, so his conduct during the action furnished strong testimony of his coolness and intrepidity." Judge Marshall remarks, with his usual felicity of manner, "more satisfactory testimony, in favor of St. Clair, is furnished by the circumstance, that he still retained the undiminished esteem and good opinion of the President."

We shall only allude to the successful campaign of General Wayne. It is too well known to require more particular notice. By dint of rigid discipline, indefatigable exertion, and above all, a remarkable talent for Indian warfare, he redeemed the frontier settlements from destruction, and inflicted a heavy vengeance upon our tawny neighbors.

In reference to all these wars, it has never been sufficiently urged, that they were but a continuation, and a protracted sequel to the War for Independence. For years after the United States had been acknowledged as a nation, Great Britain continued to hold a number of military posts within our north-western limits, and to urge a destructive warfare through her savage allies. Though peace was nominally established, there was, in fact, no cessation

of hostilities—the seat of war was only transferred to the shores of the Ohio, and the mother country never ceased to indulge the hope of re-uniting the severed colonies to her empire, until the War of 1812 crushed the last vestige of her delusive anticipations. It was against Britain that St. Clair, Harmar, Wayne, and Harrison fought; and they, with others who bled in the western wilds, contributed as much to the purchase of our independence as those who fought for our birthright at an earlier period. The struggle for liberty was commenced and gallantly maintained on the shores of the Atlantic; it was carried on by the pioneers through long years of peril; and was only closed by the brilliant successes of the Last War.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Indian hating—Some of the sources of this animosity—Brief account of Colonel Moredock.

THE violent animosity which existed between the people of our frontier and the Indians, has long been a subject of remark. In the early periods of the history of our country, it was easily accounted for, on the ground of mutual aggression. The whites were continually encroaching upon the aborigines, and the latter avenging their wrongs by violent and sudden hostilities. The philanthropist is surprised, however, that such feelings should prevail now, when these atrocious wars have ceased, and when no immediate cause of enmity remains; at least upon our side. Yet the fact is, that the dweller upon the frontier continues to regard the Indian with a degree of terror and hatred, similar to that which he feels towards the rattlesnake or panther, and which can neither be removed by argument, nor appeased by any thing but the destruction of its object.

In order to understand the cause and the operation of these feelings, it is necessary to recollect that the backwoodsmen are a peculiar race. We allude to the pioneers, who, keeping continually in the advance of civilization, precede the denser population of our country in its progress westward, and live always upon the frontier. They

are the descendants of a people whose habits were identically the same as their own. Their fathers were pioneers. A passion for hunting, and a love for sylvan sports, have induced them to recede continually before the tide of emigration, and have kept them a separate people, whose habits, prejudices and modes of life, have been transmitted from father to son with but little change. From generation to generation they have lived in contact with the Indians. The ancestor met the red men in battle upon the shores of the Atlantic, and his descendants have pursued the footsteps of the retreating tribes, from year to year, throughout a whole century, and from the eastern limits of our great continent to the wide prairies of the West.

America was settled in an age when certain rights, called those of *discovery* and *conquest*, were universally acknowledged; and when the possession of a country was readily conceded to the strongest. When more accurate notions of moral right began, with the spread of knowledge, and the dissemination of religious truth, to prevail in public opinion, and regulate the public acts of our government, the pioneers were but slightly affected by the wholesome contagion of such opinions. Novel precepts in morals were not apt to reach men who mingled so little with society in its more refined state, and who shunned the restraints, while they despised the luxuries of social life. Men whose knowledge of history came by tradition, who received the facts of the past without the philosophy that was necessary to analyze them.

The pioneers, who thus dwelt ever upon the borders of the Indian hunting-grounds, forming a barrier between savage and civilized men, have received but few accessions to their numbers by emigration. The great tide of emigration, as it rolls forward, beats upon them, and rolls

them onward, without either swallowing them up in its mass, or mingling its elements with theirs. They accumulate by natural increase; a few of them return occasionally to the bosom of society, but the great mass moves on.

It is not from a desire of conquest, or thirst of blood, or with any premeditated hostility against the savage, that the pioneer continues to follow him from forest to forest, ever disputing with him the right to the soil, and the privilege of hunting game. It is simply because he shuns a crowded population, delights to rove uncontrolled in the woods, and does not believe that an Indian or any other man has a right to monopolize the hunting grounds, which he considers free to all. When the Indian disputes the propriety of this invasion upon his ancient heritage, the white man feels himself injured, and stands, as the southern folks say, upon his reserved rights.

The history of the borderers of England and Scotland, and of all dwellers upon frontiers, who come often into hostile collision, shows, that between such parties an intense hatred is created. It is national antipathy, with the addition of private feud and personal injury. The warfare is carried on by a few individuals, who become known to each other, and a few prominent actors on each side soon become distinguished for their prowess or ferocity. When a state of public war ostensibly ceases, acts of violence continue to be perpetrated from motives of mere mischief, or for pillage or revenge.

Our pioneers have, as we have said, been born and reared on the frontier, and have, from generation to generation, by successive removals, remained in the same relative situation in respect to the Indians and to our own government. Every child thus reared, learns to hate an Indian, because he always hears him spoken of as an enemy. From the cradle, he listens continually to horrid

tales of savage violence, and becomes familiar with narratives of aboriginal cunning and ferocity. Every family can number some of its members or relatives among the victims of a midnight massacre, or can tell of some acquaintance who has suffered a dreadful death at the stake. Traditions of horses stolen, and cattle driven off, and cabins burned, are numberless, told with great minuteness, and listened to with intense interest. With persons thus reared, hatred towards an Indian becomes a part of their nature, and revenge an instinctive principle. Nor does the evil end here. Although the backwoodsmen, properly so called, retire before that tide of emigration which forms the more stationary population, and eventually fills the country with inhabitants, they usually remain for a time in contact with the first of those who eventually succeed them, and impress their own sentiments upon the latter. In the formation of each of the western Territories and States, the backwoodsmen have, for a while, formed the majority of the population, and given the tone to public opinion.

If we attempt to reason on this subject, we must reason with a due regard to facts, and to the known principles of human nature. Is it to be wondered at, that a man should fear and detest an Indian, who has been always accustomed to hear him described only as a midnight prowler, watching to murder the mother as she bends over her helpless children, and tearing, with hellish malignity, the babe from the maternal breast? Is it strange, that he whose mother has fallen under the savage tomahawk, or whose father has died a lingering death at the stake, surrounded by yelling fiends in human shape, should indulge the passion of revenge towards the perpetrators of such atrocities? They know the story only as it was told to them. They have only heard one side, and

that with all the exaggerations of fear, sorrow, indignation and resentment. They have heard it from the tongue of a father, or from the lips of a mother, or a sister, accompanied with all the particularity which the tale could receive from the vivid impressions of an eye-witness, and with all the eloquence of deeply awakened feeling. They have heard it perhaps at a time when the war-whoop still sounded in the distance, when the rifle still was kept in preparation, and the cabin door was carefully secured with each returning night.

Such are some of the feelings, and of the facts, which operate upon the inhabitants of our frontiers. The impressions which we have described are handed down from generation to generation, and remain in full force long after all danger from the savages has ceased, and all intercourse with them been discontinued.

Besides that general antipathy which pervades the whole community under such circumstances, there have been many instances of individuals who, in consequence of some personal wrong, have vowed eternal hatred to the whole Indian race, and have devoted nearly all of their lives to the fulfillment of a vast scheme of vengeance. A familiar instance is before us in the life of a gentleman who was known to the writer of this article, and whose history we have often heard repeated by those who were intimately conversant with all the events. We allude to the late Colonel John Moredock, who was a member of the territorial legislature of Illinois, a distinguished militia officer, and a man universally known and respected by the early settlers of that region.

John Moredock was the son of a woman who was married several times, and was as often widowed by the tomahawk of the savage. Her husbands had been pioneers, and with them she had wandered from one territory to

another, living always on the frontier. She was at last left a widow, at Vincennes, with a large family of children, and was induced to join a party about to remove to Illinois, to which region a few American families had then recently removed. On the eastern side of Illinois there were no settlements of whites; on the shore of the Mississippi a few spots were occupied by the French; and it was now that our own backwoodsmen began to turn their eyes to this delightful country, and determined to settle in the vicinity of the French villages. Mrs. Moredock and her friends embarked at Vincennes in boats, with the intention of descending the Wabash and Ohio rivers, and ascending the Mississippi. They proceeded in safety until they reached the Grand Tower on the Mississippi, where, owing to the difficulty of the navigation for ascending boats, it became necessary for the boatmen to land, and drag their vessels round a rocky point, which was swept by a violent current. Here a party of Indians, lying in wait, rushed upon them, and murdered nearly the whole party. Mrs. Moredock was among the victims, and *all* her children, except John, who was proceeding with another party.

John Moredock was just entering upon the years of manhood, when he was thus left in a strange land, the sole survivor of his race. He resolved upon executing vengeance, and immediately took measures to discover the actual perpetrators of the massacre. It was ascertained that the outrage was committed by a party of twenty or thirty Indians, belonging to different tribes, who had formed themselves into a lawless, predatory band. Moredock watched the motions of this band for more than a year, before an opportunity suitable for his purpose occurred. At length he learned that they were hunting on the Missouri side of the river, nearly opposite to the recent

settlements of the Americans. He raised a party of young men and pursued them; but that time they escaped. Shortly after, he sought them at the head of another party, and had the good fortune to discover them one evening, on an island, whither they had retired to encamp the more securely for the night. Moredock and his friends, about equal in numbers to the Indians, waited until the dead of night, and then landed upon the island, turning adrift their own canoes and those of the enemy, and determined to sacrifice their own lives, or to exterminate the savage band. They were completely successful. Three only of the Indians escaped, by throwing themselves into the river; the rest were slain, while the whites lost not a man.

But Moredock was not satisfied while one of the murderers of his mother remained. He had learned to recognise the names and persons of the three that had escaped, and these he pursued with secret, but untiring diligence, until they all fell by his own hand. Nor was he yet satisfied. He had now become a hunter and a warrior. He was a square-built, muscular man, of remarkable strength and activity. In athletic sports he had few equals; few men would willingly have encountered him in single combat. He was a man of determined courage, and great coolness and steadiness of purpose. He was expert in the use of the rifle and other weapons; and was complete master of those wonderful and numberless expedients by which the woodsman subsists in the forest, pursues the footsteps of an enemy with unerring sagacity, or conceals himself and his design from the discovery of a watchful foe. He had resolved never to spare an Indian, and though he made no boast of this determination, and seldom avowed it, it became the ruling passion of his life. He thought it praiseworthy to kill an Indian; and

would roam through the forest silently and alone, for days and weeks, with this single purpose. A solitary red man, who was so unfortunate as to meet him in the woods, was sure to become his victim; if he encountered a party of the enemy, he would either secretly pursue their footsteps until an opportunity for striking a blow occurred, or, if discovered, would elude them by his superior skill. He died about the year 1829, an old man, and it is supposed never in his life failed to embrace an opportunity to kill a savage.

The reader must not infer, from this description, that Colonel Moredock was unsocial, ferocious, or by nature cruel. On the contrary, he was a man of warm feelings, and excellent disposition. At home he was like other men, conducting a large farm with industry and success, and gaining the good-will of all his neighbors by his popular manners and benevolent deportment. He was cheerful, convivial, and hospitable; and no man in the territory was more generally known, or more universally respected. He was an officer in the ranging service during the War of 1813-14, and acquitted himself with credit; and was afterwards elected to the command of the militia of his county, at a time when such an office was honorable, because it imposed responsibility, and required the exertion of military skill. Colonel Moredock was a member of the legislative council of the Territory of Illinois, and at the formation of the State government was spoken of as a candidate for the office of governor, but refused to permit his name to be used.

There are many cases to be found on the frontier, parallel to that just stated, in which individuals have persevered through life in the indulgence of a resentment founded either on a personal wrong suffered by the party, or a hatred inherited through successive genera-

tions, and perhaps more frequently on a combination of these causes. In a fiction, written by the author, and founded on some of these facts, he has endeavored to develop and illustrate this feeling through its various details.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Character of the Pioneers—Felons—The Harpes—Meason—
Sturdevant—Lynch's Law.

As the western country became better known, report spoke goldenly of its fertility; and a casual reference to the map was sufficient to show the great commercial advantages to be derived from the numerous and valuable streams which intersect it in every direction; but there were many obstacles to its settlement. From a period shortly after the Revolution, to the time of the Embargo, in 1807, there was no reason to induce any class of citizens in the United States to emigrate; all were fully and profitably employed at home. The sanguinary wars which spread desolation throughout the European continent, not only opened markets for all our surplus produce, but made us the carriers of other nations. Never did American enterprise shine more conspicuously than in the improvement of these advantages; the art of ship-building was brought to a perfection unknown in any other country; our flag floated in every part of the world; there was no adventure, however novel or hazardous, which our merchants did not attempt; and our sailors displayed, on every occasion, the skill and boldness which has since made them conspicuous in the annals of naval warfare. Happily, too, those enterprises were generally successful. The consequence was, that every man engaged in com-

mercial pursuits found sufficient employment for his capital, while the laboring classes received high wages, and the farmer had always a ready market, and an ample price for his produce. This flourishing state of commerce and agriculture diffused life and spirit into every rank and department of society. There was scarcely such a thing known, as a man laboring merely to *support his family*; no one was satisfied unless he was growing rich, and few were disappointed, except by their own improvidence. It would be useless to point out the great statesmen and lawyers who have attained their present eminence from an obscure origin; or the wealthy merchants, farmers, and mechanics, who, from the most abject poverty, have risen to opulence. Our country is full of such examples; and they stand as monuments of those happy days, when industry was not only a sure but a rapid guide to wealth.

Under such circumstances, few persons were disposed to emigrate to a new country; and, although some were tempted by the great prospects of gain which the fertile regions in the West were said to offer, many were discouraged by the unsettled state of the country, its reputed unhealthiness, and the vicinity of the Indian tribes.

To Europeans, this part of America offered no attractions; it was too remote, too insulated, too barbarous, and too entirely uncongenial with all their habits, tastes, and feelings.

The first settlers of this country, therefore, were men whose object was not gain, but who appeared to have been allured by the very difficulties which discouraged others. They were hardy, enterprising men, fond of change, and familiar with fatigue, who seem to have thought with Fitz James —

“If a path be dangerous known
The danger's self is lure alone.”

The manners and institutions of a new people are always curious—presenting the naked outlines of character, the first rudiments of civilization, and all the simple elements of society. In New England, the *fathers* contended successfully with the savage and the climate; they made laws, burned witches, prohibited kissing, and knocked their beer-barrels on the head for *working* on the Sabbath. They had many simple fashions and queer ways, which have vanished with their witches and their blue-laws. They were not so military in their habits as their prototypes in the West; because, though equally brave and enterprising, they were more industrious, more frugal, and less mercurial in their temperament. Religion was with them a powerful spring of action, and discouraged all wars except those of self-defence. The social and moral virtues, the sciences and arts, were cherished and respected; and there were many roads to office and to eminence, which were safer and more certain, and not less honorable, than the bloody path of warlike achievement.

Kentucky was settled at a period when religious fanaticism had vanished, and when the principles of the revolution, then in full operation, had engendered liberal and original modes of thinking—when every man was a politician, a soldier, and a patriot, ready to make war or to make laws, to put his hand to the plough or to the helm of state, as circumstances might require. They went to a wilderness, with all these new notions in their heads, full of ardor and full of projects, determined to add a new State to the family of republics, at all hazards. The rifle and the axe were incessantly employed. The savage was to be expelled: the panther, the wolf, and the bear, to be exterminated; the forest to be razed; houses to be built; and when all this was accomplished, their labors were but commenced.

A frontier is often the retreat of loose individuals, who, if not familiar with crime, have very blunt perceptions of virtue. The genuine woodsman, the real pioneer, is independent, brave, and upright; but as the jackal pursues the lion to devour his leavings, the footsteps of the sturdy hunter are closely pursued by miscreants destitute of his noble qualities. These are the poorest and idlest of the human race, averse to labor, and impatient of the restraints of law and the courtesies of civilized society. Without the ardor, the activity, the love of sport, and patience of fatigue, which distinguish the bold backwoodsman, these are doomed to the forest by sheer laziness, and hunt for a bare subsistence; they are the "cankers of a calm world and a long peace," the helpless *nobodies*, who, in a country where none starve and few beg, sleep until hunger pinches, then stroll into the woods for a meal, and return again to their slumbers.

A still worse class also infested our borders, desperadoes flying from justice, suspected or convicted felons escaped from the grasp of the law, who sought safety in the depth of the forest, or in the infancy of civil regulations; the horse-thief, the counterfeiter, and the robber, found here a secure retreat, or a new theatre for the perpetration of crime.

We have spoken, in another work, of two brothers named Harpe, who appeared in Kentucky about the year 1793, spreading death and terror wherever they went. Little else was known of them, but that they passed for brothers, and came from the borders of Virginia. They had three women with them, who were treated as their wives, and several children, with whom they traversed the mountainous and thinly settled parts of Virginia into Kentucky, marking their course with blood. Their history is wonderful, as well from the number and variety, as the incredible atrocity of their adventures.

Passing rapidly through the better settled parts of Kentucky, they proceeded to the country south of Green river, which at that time was just beginning to be inhabited.

Here they soon acquired a dreadful celebrity. Neither avarice, want, nor any of the usual inducements to the commission of crime, seemed to govern their conduct. A savage thirst for blood—a deep rooted malignity against human nature, could alone be discovered in their actions. They murdered every defenceless being that fell in their way, without distinction of age, sex, or color. In the night, they stole secretly to the cabin, slaughtered its inhabitants, and burned their dwelling—while the farmer who left his house by day, returned to witness the dying agonies of his wife and children, and the conflagration of his possessions. Plunder was not their object; travelers they robbed and murdered, but from the inhabitants they took only what would have been freely given to them, and no more than was immediately necessary to supply the wants of nature; they destroyed without having suffered injury, and without the prospect of gain. A negro boy, riding to a mill with a bag of corn, was seized by them, and his brains dashed out against a tree; but the horse which he rode, and the grain, were left unmolested. Females, children, and servants, no longer dared to stir abroad; unarmed men feared to encounter a Harpe; and the solitary hunter, as he trod the forest, looked around him with a watchful eye, and when he saw a stranger, picked his flint and stood on the defensive.

It seems incredible that such atrocities could have been often repeated in a country famed for the hardihood and gallantry of its people; in Kentucky, the cradle of courage and the nurse of warriors. But that part of Kentucky, which was the scene of these barbarities, was then

almost a wilderness, and the vigilance of the Harpes for a time insured impunity. The spoils of their dreadful warfare furnished them with the means of violence and of escape. Mounted on fine horses, they plunged into the forest, eluded pursuit by frequently changing their course, and appeared, unexpectedly, to perpetrate new enormities, at points distant from those where they were supposed to lurk. On these occasions, they often left their wives and children behind them; and it is a fact honorable to the community, that vengeance for these bloody deeds, was not wreaked on the helpless companions of the perpetrators.

A person named Meason was also conspicuous in the early history of this region, as an audacious depredator. At that period, vast regions along the shores of the Ohio and Mississippi were still unsettled, through which boats navigating those rivers must necessarily pass; and the traders who, after selling their produce at New Orleans, attempted to return by land, had to cross immense tracts of country totally destitute of inhabitants. Meason, who was a man above the ordinary stamp, in talents, manners, and stature, was both a land and a water pirate, infesting the rivers and the woods, seldom committing murder, but robbing all who fell in his way. Sometimes he plundered the descending boats; but more frequently he allowed these to pass, preferring to plunder the owners of their money as they returned; and pleasantly remarking that "these people were taking produce to market for him."

At a later period, the celebrated counterfeiter, Sturdevant, fixed his residence on the shore of the Ohio, in Illinois; and for several years set the laws at defiance. He was a man of talent and address. He was possessed of much mechanical genius, was an expert artist, and was skilled in some of the sciences. As an engraver, he was

said to have few superiors; and he excelled in some other branches of art. For several years, he resided at a secluded spot in Illinois, where all his immediate neighbors were his confederates, or persons whose friendship he had conciliated. He could, at any time, by the blowing of a horn, summon from fifty to a hundred armed men to his defense; while the few quiet farmers around, who lived near enough to get their feelings enlisted, and who were really not at all implicated in his crimes, rejoiced in the impunity with which he practiced his schemes. He was a grave, quiet, inoffensive man in his manners, who commanded the obedience of his comrades and the respect of his neighbors. He had a very excellent farm; his house was one of the best in the country; his domestic arrangements were liberal and well ordered. Yet this man was the most notorious counterfeiter that ever infested our country, and carried on his nefarious art to an extent which no other person has ever attempted. His confederates were scattered over the whole western country, receiving, through regular channels of intercourse, their supplies of counterfeit bank notes, for which they paid him a stipulated price—sixteen dollars in cash for a hundred dollars in counterfeit bills. His security arose, partly from his caution in not allowing his subordinates to pass a counterfeit bill, or do any other unlawful act in the State in which he lived, and in his obliging them to be especially careful of their deportment in the *county* of his residence, measures which effectually protected him from the civil authority; for although all the counterfeit bank notes with which a vast region was inundated, were made in his house, that fact could never be proved by legal evidence. But he secured himself further, by having a band of his lawless dependents settled around him, who were ready at all times to fight in his defense; and by

his conciliatory conduct, which prevented his having any violent enemies, and even enlisted the sympathies of many reputable people in his favor. But he became a great nuisance, from the immense quantity of spurious paper which he threw into circulation; and although he never committed any acts of violence himself, and is not known to have sanctioned any, the unprincipled felons by whom he was surrounded, were guilty of many acts of desperate atrocity; and Sturdevant, though he escaped the arm of the law, was at last, with all his confederates, driven from the country by the enraged people, who rose, almost in mass, to rid themselves of one whose presence they had long considered an evil as well as a disgrace.

Among the early settlers, there was a way of trying causes, which may, perhaps, be new to some of my readers. No commentator has taken any notice of *Lynch's law*, which was once the *lex loci* of the frontiers. Its operation was as follows: When a horse-thief, a counterfeiter, or any other desperate vagabond, infested a neighborhood, evading justice by cunning, or by a strong arm, or by the number of his confederates, the citizens formed themselves into a "*regulating company*," a kind of holy brotherhood, whose duty it was to purge the community of its unruly members. Mounted, armed, and commanded by a leader, they proceeded to arrest such notorious offenders as were deemed fit subjects of exemplary justice; their operations were generally carried on in the night. Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree in the woods; the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation. It seldom happened, that more than one or two were thus punished; their

confederates took the hint and fled, or were admonished to quit the neighborhood. Neither the justice nor the policy of this practice can be defended; but it was often resorted to from necessity, and its operation was salutary, in ridding the country of miscreants whom the law was not strong enough to punish. It was liable to abuse, and was sometimes abused; but, in general, it was conducted with moderation, and only exerted upon the basest and most lawless men. Sometimes the sufferers resorted to courts of justice for remuneration, and there have been instances of heavy damages being recovered of the *regulators*. Whenever a county became strong enough to enforce the laws, these high-handed doings ceased to be tolerated.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PATRIOT'S GRAVE.

THE following sketch, which appeared originally in the "Illinois Monthly Magazine," was written for that work by a friend of mine, then a young lawyer, but since a distinguished member of the bench and bar in Indiana.

"In the year 1810, business called me into the lower part of the State of Kentucky; that part which lies south of Green river, and which, at that time, was but little advanced in improvement or population. One day—and a very hot day it was—the rapid approach of a thunder storm induced me to rein up my steed at a log tavern in the little town of ———. Though a stranger in the country, I could at once discover, by the 'signs,' that something more than common was going on in the village. A large number of people were crowded round the door of the inn. Horses of all sizes, colors, and conditions, whose equipments were as various as themselves, were tied to the branches of the forest trees that still grew upon the *public square*. The occasional discharge of a rifle, indicated that some of the company were 'cutting the center,' for *half-pints*; while others, who had 'the best quarter nags in all Kentuck,' were prancing them up and down the streets. The conversation of those around me induced me to believe, that the court was hold-

ing its usual session in this seat of backwoods justice; and had a doubt remained, the stentorian voice of the sheriff, issuing from the door of a log school-house, with the usual 'Oh yes! oh yes! oh yes!' must have satisfied me that a general settlement of the rights of *meum* and *tuum* was about to take place. I felt a curiosity to witness this scene: and having disposed of my portion of corn-bread and bacon, which I found at a table surrounded by a promiscuous throng of jurors, witnesses, suitors, lawyers, indietees, spectators, and county officers, I concluded to spend the little time I had to remain, in personally viewing the dispensation of justice in so rude a temple.

"The house was of a single story, built of logs, unhewed. The judge was elevated on a small plank frame, a little raised above the puncheon floor. The clerk was placed at a small table, directly before him. The members of the bar were seated around on temporary benches, made of rough planks, placed upon blocks of wood; but could not be distinguished, by their appearance, from the people who sat with, or stood around them. The usual forms and ceremonies of opening a court were gone through with a celerity and precision that would have astonished a Westminster lawyer. * * * * * The first case on the civil docket was an action of slander, brought by a father—an old soldier and an early settler—as 'guardian and next friend,' for words 'falsely and maliciously uttered, published, and spoken,' by the defendant, 'of and concerning' the plaintiff's daughter, a lovely girl of about seventeen. On the calling of the cause, a person's name was mentioned which I did not distinctly hear; there was a bustle in the crowd; and after a few minutes of pushing and elbowing, an individual appeared, who announced that he was ready to proceed, as counsel for the plaintiff. He

was a tall, athletic man, of about thirty-five years of age with a fine, manly, intelligent countenance—dressed in a hunting shirt of deep blue, trimmed with yellow fringe. His face bore those indubitable marks of genius, and those traces of study and reflection, which can not be mistaken; while his fine form bore evidence, equally strong, of habitual fatigue and exposure to the elements. I pass over the incidents of the trial—the evidence, which fully sustained the plaintiff, and left the pretty client of the buckskin lawyer pure and spotless as the driven snow—and several speeches, which, though strong and forcible, did not strike me as extraordinary. During all this, the manner of the stranger in the hunting shirt was distinguished by little else than an appearance of indifference; but when he rose to make the concluding address to the jury, every eye was fixed on him; while the deep silence, the suppressed breathing, and the eager looks of the audience, attested that a sense of the presence of a superior mind pervaded the whole assembly. Even that rough and miscellaneous crowd—composed of men, some sober, some half sober, and some not sober at all—was at once awed into silence. The orator commenced in a low tone of voice, and recapitulated the evidence in a style of colloquial brevity and plainness; yet even in doing this, there was a something about him, that convinced the spectator that he was more than an ordinary man. But when he began to warm, and rise with his subject; when the fire began to illumine his eye, and his voice swelled out into its fullest tones; when every sentence was filled and rounded with rich thought and richer language; when argument and satire, persuasion and invective, burst from him in rapid succession, the orator stood confessed in all his powers. He spoke of the beauty, the delicacy, and the amiability of his fair client;

of the helplessness of woman, and the sacredness of female character; he described her parent as an aged warrior, now trembling on the brink of the grave; and of the traducer he spoke—I can not tell how—but all who heard him shrunk and trembled under the fierce, the bitter, the overwhelming philippic of the indignant advocate. When he finished, the success of his effort was shown by a triumphant verdict from the jury, and by the indignation, the tears, and the acclamations of the audience, who rushed from the house, when the orator sat down, as if unable to suppress their feelings. I followed them out. The charm was broken; the people had resumed the use of their own faculties, and were now collected in groups. Passing a little party, I heard one say:

“ ‘Did you ever hear a fellow get such a skinning?’

“ ‘It was equal to any *camphire*,’ remarked another.

“ ‘That’s true; and well he deserved it,’ added a third, ‘there’s *no two ways* about it.’

“ ‘Can you tell me,’ said I, addressing one of them, who leaned on his gun, while he wiped his eye with the fringe of his hunting shirt, ‘can you tell me the name of the gentleman who has just spoken?’

“ ‘You are not a residenter in these parts, I reckon;’ said he of the rifle.

“ ‘I am a perfect stranger;’ replied I.

“ ‘That is well seen,’ rejoined the hunter, ‘otherwise you would never have asked that question. What man in all Kentuck could ever have *brung* tears into my eyes by the *tin-full*, but Joe Davies!’

“ ‘I had seen, in the guise of a hunter, the highly gifted Joseph Hamilton Davies—and had heard, in the obscurity of a log cabin, one of the choicest efforts of a man who has seldom been excelled in genius, in generosity of heart, or manliness of character.

“Ten years afterwards, business again called me to the West. Anxious to view the improvement of this promising country, I extended my journey to the beautiful valley of the Wabash. At that period, the population had not extended a great distance up the river. Here and there, even as far up as the mouth of Mississinaway, was seen the log hut of the settler on public land, but the country was generally but thinly populated. It was the spring season ; and no country in the world presents a richer scenery or more diversified landscape than the valley of that lovely river at this period of the year. Along the path which I pursued, one small prairie skirted with the finest timber, and covered with a profusion of beautiful flowers, succeeded another ; and the eye was continually refreshed with the graceful stream and its clear waters. The richness of the grass, the beauty of the forest, the mildness and brilliancy of the spring weather, and the enchantment of the whole scene, induced me to linger for a time in the wilderness. One evening I reached the cabin of one of the most remote settlers, and learning that the battle-ground of Tippecanoe was but a few miles distant, determined to visit it. On the following morning early, I reached the spot, consecrated by the valor of our countrymen, and having tied my horse to a bush at the skirt of the prairie, ascended to a small plain of table land, in the form of a horseshoe, where

‘Many a valorous deed was done,
And many a head laid low.’

But few vestiges of the battle were remaining. Here and there, the bleached skull of some noble fellow lay on the grass ; and more than once I stumbled over the logs which had formed part of the temporary breast-work thrown up after the battle, and which have since been

scattered over the field. At an angle of the encampment, and where the carnage had been greatest, was a slight mound of earth, scarcely raised above the surrounding surface. Near it stood an oak tree, on the back of which the letters J. D. were rudely carved. This was the only memorial of one of the most favorite of Kentucky's sons; for under that mound reposed all that remained of the chivalrous, the generous, the eloquent, and highly gifted '*Joe Davies.*'

"INDIANA."

Joseph Hamilton Davies was a very remarkable person, an able lawyer, a speaker of impressive eloquence, a high-toned, chivalrous, impulsive, but eccentric man. He sometimes rode the circuit in his carriage, or on horseback, and was the best dressed gentleman in court; while sometimes he went, rifle in hand, clad as a hunter, deviating from his way in pursuit of game, and appearing at the bar in the soiled habiliments of the sportsman; but whether in the forest, or at the bar, following up his objects with an earnestness which was satisfied with nothing short of success.

He served as a volunteer under General Harrison, in the campaign of 1811 against the Indians, and fell, gallantly fighting, in the battle of Tippecanoe.

He was one of a clique of gentlemen who established and supported a newspaper called the "*Western World,*" during the excitement occasioned by the foreign intrigues, and by Burr's conspiracy, one of the avowed objects of which was to expose those transactions, and to denounce the individuals supposed to be engaged in them. The paper was conducted with ability and spirit, but was distinguished, as the organ of a party would naturally be in such times, by violence and rancor; and the principal editor, Joseph M. Street, was often obliged to sustain

his position by his physical prowess. His partner, Mr. Wood, when called upon for satisfaction, used to say, "Go to Mr. Street; I print the paper, he does the fighting."

Davies was, I think, during a part of this time, the attorney of the United States, and his natural ardor of temperament was quickened by professional ambition. A characteristic instance is related of his zeal in this business. A rumor having reached him, that General Wilkinson, who was then holding a military command at St. Louis, contemplated a movement in aid of Burr, he determined to repair to St. Louis, *incog.*, to observe for himself what was going on. Informing no one of his intention, he set out, rifle in hand, dressed as a common backwoodsman, and took his solitary way across the wilderness of Indiana and Illinois, where, probably, not a human dwelling was to be found on his route. He depended on his gun for subsistence, and slept at night in such camps as he could construct for the occasion. On reaching St. Louis, one of the first persons he met was Wilkinson, a keen, watchful, observant man, who instantly recognized him, notwithstanding his disguise, and with the address natural to him, accosted him by name, and invited him to dine with him at his quarters. Both were men of tact, and the interview was courteous, and apparently cordial; but Wilkinson managed to inform his guest that the purpose of his visit was understood, that he had nothing to conceal, and there was nothing that even the sagacity of his visitor could discover. So Davies came back as wise as he went; yet, it was afterwards argued, as a proof of the complicity of Wilkinson with Burr, that the movements of Davies must have been watched, and betrayed to him.

After these events—some years perhaps—Wilkinson was provoked, by the repeated and confident attacks of

the "Western World," to prosecute the editors for a libel. On the trial, a gentleman of the neighborhood of Lexington, a young farmer, was called as a witness for the defense, who objected to being sworn, on the ground, that he knew nothing but what had been committed to him in confidence. General Wilkinson arose instantly, and after complimenting the witness on his nice sense of honor, and the good faith with which he had, up to this time, kept his own counsel, in reference to what had been confided to him, said that he now publicly absolved him from all further observance of the pledge he had given, and that he was at liberty then, and thereafter, to disclose all that had taken place between them. The witness was then sworn, and deposed, that some time previous, being a young man, not yet engaged in business, but eager for employment, and especially for something active and adventurous, he one day met General Wilkinson in the streets of Lexington. They were unacquainted, but knew each other by sight, and Wilkinson accosting the young man by name, asked him if he would undertake a mission of some danger, but for which he would be well compensated. Replying in the affirmative, he was pledged to secrecy, and invited to a private interview; at which Wilkinson handed him a belt, that seemed to contain papers, to be worn concealed about his person, and guarded with great care, which he was to take to New Orleans, and deliver to the Governor of Louisiana. Accepting the trust, he proceeded to the Ohio river, embarked in a canoe, or skiff, and glided down the Ohio and Mississippi, whose shores were then mostly uninhabited by white men, and were infested by Indians. On his arrival at New Orleans he sought the mansion of the Governor, and announcing himself as the messenger of Wilkinson, was at once admitted to the presence of that dignitary. He was received

with civility, lodged in the Governor's house, hospitably entertained, but not allowed to leave his room, during his stay in New Orleans. After a few days detention, his belt was restored to him, again charged, as he supposed, with papers, to be delivered to General Wilkinson, which he did not see, and of the purport of which he was wholly ignorant. He returned through the wilderness to Kentucky, met Wilkinson again, in a private interview, and delivered up his trust. They had not spoken together since.

I shall close this desultory chapter with a reminiscence. About the year 1829, the discovery of rich and extensive lead mines in the north-western part of Illinois, beyond the frontier of the settlements, caused a sudden influx of population into that region, and created a necessity for the organization of a new county. A bill was introduced into the Lower House of the Legislature, for an act creating a county to be called Davies. A young lawyer, from one of the Eastern States, a member of the House, who was gifted with a great love of speaking and facility of speech, expressed a curiosity to know who this "Davies" was, who had been honored so highly by the committee which reported that bill; he had never heard of a great man of that name; and thought it would be much better to select the name of some illustrious sage or hero of the Revolution; throwing in, as he went along, some sneers about "Western great men," whose fame was confined to the backwoods. My old friend, John Reynolds, who had been a justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, was then a member of the House, and was afterwards Governor, and member of Congress, had charge of the bill. He was a Kentuckian by birth; a good lawyer; a plain, unpolished man; a quaint, original, and effective speaker, who, with the most perfect command of his own temper, could pour

out a vein of dry humor and sarcasm, very amusing to an audience, though little relished by an opponent. He replied that his young friend must have been raised very far down East, to be ignorant of the fame of *Joe Davies*; the whole West had rung his praise; in Kentucky there was not a boy big enough to hold a plough, or carry a rifle, nor an old woman who was smart enough to knit a stocking, who had not heard of Joe Davies—the talented, the eloquent, the brave Joe Davies! And so he went on, saying a good many amusing, and some severe things; but alluding throughout to his hero as *Joe Davies*. Amid much merriment, the member who had provoked these remarks, replied: “Well, Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman is so partial to the name of Joe Davies, and thinks it so vastly popular, why does he not christen his bantling by that name—the whole name?” “Agreed!” said Reynolds. “Mr. Speaker, I accept the gentleman’s suggestion, and move to insert Joe before the word Davies, wherever it occurs.” A dozen voices seconded the motion; the county was called Jo-Davies by acclamation, and still retains the name.

A P P E N D I X .

MEETING OF THE PROPRIETORS OF TRANSYLVANIA.

AT a meeting of the proprietors of Transylvania, held at Oxford, in the county of Granville, on Monday, the twenty-fifth day of September, Ann. Dom. 1775,

Present, Col. Richard Henderson, Col. Thomas Hart, Col. John Williams, Capt. John Luttrell, William Johnston, James Hogg, and Leonard H. Bullock. Col. Henderson being unanimously chosen president, they took into their consideration the present state of the said Colony, and made the following resolves, viz.:—

Resolved, That Col. John Williams be appointed agent for the Transylvania Company, to transact their business in the said Colony; and he is accordingly invested with full power, by letter of attorney.

Ordered, that Mr. Williams shall proceed to Boonsborough, in the said Colony, as soon as possible, and continue there until the twelfth day of April next: and to be allowed for his services one hundred and fifty pounds, proclamation money of North Carolina, out of the profits arising from the sale of lands, after discharging the company's present engagements.

N. B. In case the settlement should be broken up by attack of Indians or other enemies, so as to render it impossible for Mr. Williams to continue there and execute the trust reposed in him, it is agreed by the Company

that he shall still be paid the above salary, at the expiration of three years.

Resolved, That Mr. Williams be empowered to appoint one or more surveyors (and the other officers in the land office) for the said Colony, as he may find necessary. Clerks, surveyors, and chain-carriers, to be sworn before they act.

Resolved, In case of the death or removal of Mr. Williams, that Col. Richard Henderson, Capt. Nathaniel Hart, and Capt. John Luttrell, or any one of them, be, and are hereby declared agents for the said company, with the same powers as are given to Mr. Williams, until a new appointment shall be made by the proprietors.

Resolved, That the agent shall not grant any lands adjoining salt springs, gold, silver, copper, lead, or sulphur mines, knowing them to be such.

Resolved, That a reservation, to the proprietors, of one-half of all gold, silver, copper, lead, and sulphur mines, shall be made by the agent at granting deeds.

Resolved, That the agent shall take a counterpart of all deeds granted by him, and shall transmit them to the proprietors residing in the province of North Carolina, to be audited with his other proceedings, by the company.

Resolved, That all surveys shall be made by the four cardinal points, except where rivers or mountains so intervene as to render it too inconvenient: and that in all cases where one survey comes within the distance of eighty poles from another, their lines shall join without exception;

And that every survey on navigable rivers shall extend two poles out for one pole along the river;

And that each survey not on navigable rivers shall not be above one-third longer than its width;

Resolved, That a present of two thousand acres of land

be made to Col. Daniel Boone, with the thanks of the proprietors for the signal services he has rendered to the company.

Resolved, That the thanks of this company be presented to Col. Richard Callaway, for his spirited and manly behaviour in behalf of the said Colony: and that a present of six hundred and forty acres of land be made to his youngest son.

Resolved, That James Hogg, Esq., be appointed delegate to represent the said Colony in the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia; and that the following memorial be presented by him to that august body.

To the Honorable the Continental Congress now sitting at Philadelphia.

The memorial of Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, John Williams, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, William Johnston, James Hogg, David Hart, and Leonard Henly Bullock, proprietors of Transylvania, Sheweth,

That on the seventeenth day of March last, for a large and valuable consideration, your memorialists obtained from the Cherokee Indians assembled at Watauga, a grant of a considerable territory, now called Transylvania, lying on the south side of the river Ohio.

They will not trouble the honorable Congress with a detail of the risks and dangers to which they have been exposed, arising from the nature of the enterprise itself, as well as from the wicked attempts of certain governors and their emissaries; they beg leave only to acquaint them, that through difficulties and dangers, at a great expense, and with the blood of several of their followers, they have laid the foundation of a Colony, which,

however mean in its origin, will, if one may guess from present appearances, be one day considerable in America.

The memorialists having made this purchase from the aborigines and immemorial possessors, the sole and uncontested owners of the country, in fair and open treaty, and without the violation of any British or American law whatever, are determined to give it up only with their lives. And though their country be far removed from the reach of ministerial usurpation, yet they cannot look with indifference on the late arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament. If the united Colonies are reduced, or will tamely submit to be slaves, Transylvania will have reason to fear.

The memorialists by no means forget their allegiance to their sovereign, whose constitutional rights and pre-eminences they will support at the risk of their lives. They flatter themselves that the addition of a new Colony, in so fair and equitable a way, and without any expense to the crown, will be acceptable to his most gracious majesty, and that Transylvania will soon be worthy of his royal regard and protection.

At the same time, having their hearts warmed with the same noble spirit that animates the united Colonies, and moved with indignation at the late ministerial and parliamentary usurpations, it is the earnest wish of the proprietors of Transylvania to be considered by the Colonies as brethren, engaged in the same great cause of liberty and of mankind. And, as by reason of several circumstances, needless to be here mentioned, it was impossible for the proprietors to call a convention of the settlers in such time as to have their concurrence laid before this Congress, they here pledge themselves for them, that they will concur in the measures now adopted by the proprietors.

From the generous plan of liberty adopted by the Congress, and that noble love of mankind which appears in all their proceedings, the memorialists please themselves that the united Colonies will take the infant Colony of Transylvania into their protection; and they, in return, will do every thing in their power, and give such assistance in the general cause of America, as the Congress shall judge to be suitable to their abilities.

Therefore, the memorialists hope and earnestly request, that Transylvania may be added to the number of the united Colonies, and that James Hogg, Esq., be received as their delegate, and admitted to a seat in the honorable the Continental Congress.

By order of the Proprietors.

Signed, RICHD. HENDERSON, *President.*

Resolved, That Mr. Hogg be empowered to treat and contract with any person or persons who may incline to purchase lands from the company, and that he be allowed his expenses for transacting the above business.

Resolved, That the united thanks of this company be presented to Colo. Richard Henderson, Captain Nathaniel Hart, and Captain John Luttrell, for their eminent services and public spirited conduct, in settling the aforesaid Colony.

Resolved, That from this time to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, the lands in the said Colony shall be sold on the following terms:

No survey of land shall contain more than six hundred and forty acres, (except in particular cases,) and the purchaser shall pay for entry and warrant of survey two dollars; for surveying the same, and a plot thereof, four dollars; and for the deed and plot annexed, two dollars. And also shall pay to the said proprietors, their agent,

or receiver for the time being, at the time of receiving a deed, two pounds ten shilling sterling for each hundred acres contained in such deed; also, an annual quit-rent of two shillings, like money, for every hundred acres, commencing in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

And that any person who settles on the said lands before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, shall have the privilege, on the aforesaid conditions, of taking up for himself any quantity not above six hundred and forty acres; and for each taxable person he may take with him, and settle there, three hundred and twenty acres, and no more.

Resolved, That Colo. Richard Henderson survey and lay off, within the said Colony, in such places and in such quantities as he shall think proper, not less than two hundred thousand acres, hereafter to be equally divided amongst the copartners, or their representatives, according to their rateable part, (as fully set forth in the articles of agreement entered into by the copartners,) and that each copartner be permitted, by himself or his deputy, to make choice of, and survey in one or more places, any quantity of vacant land in the aforesaid Colony, for his or their particular use; but not above two thousand acres, and that agreeable to the aforesaid rateable proportions, unless on the same terms, and under the same regulations and restrictions, as laid down for other purchasers.

Resolved, That not more than five thousand acres shall be sold to any one person who does not immediately settle on the said lands; and that at three pounds ten shillings sterling per hundred, and not more than one hundred thousand acres in the whole on these terms.

Resolved, That the agent deliver what money he may

have received for the sale of land to Colo. Thomas Hart when he leaves the said Colony, and that Colo. Hart, pay what money may be due from the company to the people at Watauga on his return; and that the remainder be applied to the payment of the company's other debts. Also, that the agent take the first safe opportunity of remitting what further sums he may receive thereafter to William Johnston, treasurer, to be by him applied towards paying off the company's debts.

Resolved, That William Johnston be impowered to bargain and contract with any persons inclining to purchase lands in the said Colony.

Ordered, That Mr. Johnston do, in behalf of the proprietors, accommodate Mr. Peter Hay, merchant, (at Cross Creek, Cumberland County, North Carolina,) with a present of one thousand acres of land in the said Colony, for his friendly behaviour towards the company; or, in lieu thereof, that Mr. Hay be permitted to purchase ten thousand acres, without being obliged to settle the same, at two pounds ten shillings sterling per hundred acres, subject to office fees and quit-rents.

Resolved, That a present of six hundred and forty acres of land be made to the Reverend Mr. Henry Patillo, on condition that he will settle in the said Colony.

Resolved, That the agent duly attend to the above resolves, unless when the interest of the company makes the contrary necessary.

By order of the Proprietors.

RICHD. HENDERSON, *Prest.*

Silas Deane to James Hogg, November, 1775.

At the time of granting the New England charters, the crown of Great Britain had no idea of any real interest

or property in the American lands. The pope, as vicar of Christ, pretended, very early, to have an absolute right, in fee simple, to the earth and all that was therein; but more particularly to the countries and persons of heretics, which he constantly gave away among his favourites. When the crown of Great Britain threw off its submission to the pope, or, in other words, by setting itself at the head of the Church, became pope of Great Britain, this old, whimsically arrogant nation was, in degree, restrained; and Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1579, most graciously gave to Sir Walter Raleigh all North America, from the latitude 34° north, to 48° north; and extending west, to the great Pacific ocean; to which immense territory she had no more right or title than she had to the empire of China. On Sir Walter's attainder, this was supposed to revert to the crown, and, in 1606, James I., in consequence of the same principle, granted the south part of the above, to a company then called the London Company; and, in 1620, granted the northernmost part to a company called the Plymouth Company, containing within its bounds all the lands from 40° to 45° north latitude, and west to the South Seas. This company granted, in 1631, to certain persons, that tract described in this charter, which you will see was very liberal, and rendered them (as in reality they were) independent of the crown for holding their lands; they having, at their own expense, purchased or conquered them from the natives, the original and sole owners.

The settlement of Connecticut began in 1634, when they came into a voluntary compact of government, and governed under it, until their charter, in 1662, without any difficulty. They were never fond of making many laws; nor is it good policy in any state, but the worst of all in a new one. The laws, or similar ones to those

which I have turned down to, are necessary in a new colony, in which the highest wisdom is to increase, as fast as possible, the inhabitants, and at the same time to regulate them well.

The first is to secure the general and unalienable rights of man to the settlers: without this, no inhabitants, worth having, will adventure. This, therefore, requires the closest and earliest attention.

Next to this, is the mode or rule by which civil actions may be brought, or the surest ways and means by which every individual may obtain his right.

Then a provision for the safety of the community against high-handed offenders, house-breakers, &c.

There are two ways of regulating a community; one by correcting every offender, and the other to prevent the offence itself; to effect the latter, education must be attended to as a matter of more importance than all the laws which can be framed, as it is better to be able to prevent, than after, to correct a disease.

Peace officers will be necessary, and these ought to be chosen by the people, for the people are more engaged to support an officer of their own in the execution of his trust, than they will ever be in supporting one forced upon them.

Some regulation of civil courts ought early to be made; the most simple and least expensive is best; an honest judge will support his dignity without a large salary, and a dishonest one can have no real dignity at any rate. The General Assembly must be the supreme fountain of power in such a state, in constituting which every free man ought to have his voice. The elections should be frequent, at least annually; and to this body every officer ought to be amenable for his conduct.

Every impediment in the way of increase of people

should be removed—of course, marriage must be made easy.

Overgrown estates are generally the consequence of an unequal division of interest, left by a subject at his decease. This is prevented by an equal or nearly equal right of inheritance. This has taken place in all the N. England colonies, and in Pennsylvania, to their great emolument.

All fees of office ought to be stated and known, and they should be stated as low as possible.

Some crimes are so dangerous in their tendency, that capital punishments are necessary; the fewer of these, consistent with the safety of the state, the better.

There ought to be some terms on which a man becomes free of the community. They should be easy and simple; and every one encouraged to qualify himself in character and interest to comply with them; and these terms should be calculated to bind the person in the strongest manner, and engage him in its interest.

A new colony, in the first place, should be divided into small townships or districts, each of which ought to be impowered to regulate their own internal affairs; and to have and enjoy every liberty and privilege not inconsistent with the good of the whole.

Tenure of lands is a capital object, and so is the mode of taking out grants for, and laying them out. If individuals are permitted to engross large tracts, and lay them out as they please, the population of the country will be retarded.

Prekarious must be the possession of the finest country in the world, if the inhabitants have not the means and skill of defending it. A militia regulation must, therefore, in all prudent policy, be one of the first.

Though entire liberty of conscience ought every-where

to be allowed, yet the keeping up among a people, a regular and stated course of divine worship, has such beneficial effects, that the encouragement thereof deserves the particular attention of the magistrate.

Forms of oaths are ever best, as they are concise, and carry with them a solemn simplicity of appeal to the Divine Being; and to preserve their force, care should be had to avoid too frequent a repetition of them, and on ordinary occasions.

The preservation of the peace, being the capital object of government, no man should be permitted, on any occasion, to be the avenger of the wrongs he has, or conceives he has, received; but if possible, every one should be brought to submit to the decision of the law of the country in every private as well as public injury.

Providing for the poor is an act of humanity; but to prevent their being numerous and burthensome to the society, is at once humane and an act of the highest and soundest policy; and to effect it, the education of children, and the manners of the lower orders, are constantly to be attended to.

As, in a well ordered government, every one's person and property should be equally secure, so each should pay equally, or on the same scale, for the expenses in supporting the same.

In a new and wild country, it will be deemed, perhaps, impossible to erect schools; but the consequences are so great and lasting, that every difficulty ought to be encountered rather than give up so necessary, so important an institution. A school will secure the morals and manners, and, at the same time, tend to collect people together in society, and promote and preserve civilization.

The throwing a country into towns, and allowing these towns particular privileges, like corporations, in England

or America, tends to unite the people, and as in the least family there is, generally, the best economy, so these towns will conduct the internal and domestic prudentials better than larger bodies, and give strength, soundness and solidity to the basis of the state.

Sir,—You have, in the foregoing, the outlines of the policy of the Connecticut government, in as concise a view as I could; the great and leading principles of which will, I conceive, apply to any new state; and the sooner they are applied the better it will be for the health and prosperity of the rising community.

An equal and certain security of life, liberty and property; an equal share in the rights of legislation, and an equal distribution of the benefits resulting from society; with an early attention to the principles, morals and manners of the whole, are the great first principles of a good government, and these well fixed, lesser matters will easily and advantageously adjust, as I may say, themselves. I am far from thinking our system is entirely fit for you, in every point. It has grown up and enlarged itself, as we have grown. Its principal features are worth your attending to; and, if I had leisure, would point out, more particularly, which part I think you might adopt immediately, what additions are necessary, and why some parts should be rejected. But I will, if possible, give you, after your perusal of this, the general heads of what, from my little reading and observation, I think to be the most simple, and, consequently, the best plan of government.

I am, Sir, yours,

S. DEANE.

Thursday morning, 2d Nov. 1775.

Two laws, I see, I have run over without noting upon: the one is, for punishing vagabonds, by setting them to

hard labour. The other, for the punishment of theft, which you may think too light, but I think too severe; or, in other words, I would avoid infamous punishments, such as cropping, branding, whipping, &c., and substitute hard labour in their stead.

COPY OF A LETTER TO PATRICK HENRY.

Hillsborough, April 26th, 1775.

Sir,—The late meeting of the delegates, from the several counties, cities, and boroughs, in his majesty's antient Colony and Dominion of Virginia, at Richmond, was an event which raised the expectations and attracted the attention of the whole British America, as well on account of the acknowledged wisdom and public integrity of the delegates, as the important and interesting purposes of that numerous and respectable Convention. The copartners in the purchase of lands, on Louisa, from the Indians, neither intending by their distant and hazardous enterprise, to revolt from their allegiance to their sovereign, nor yet to desert the grand and common cause of their American brethren and fellow subjects, in their manly and glorious struggle for the full enjoyment of the natural rights of mankind, and the inestimable liberties and privileges of our happy constitution, were anxious to know the result of the wise and mature deliberations of the Convention, and particular in their enquiries concerning the several matters which became the subject of consideration in that august assembly. It was not long before we learnt the particulars from some of the members, and that the minute circumstances of our contract with the Cherokee Indians had occasionally been moved and debated. The true point of view in which, we are told, you, with

several other gentlemen, conceived the nature of the contract, and the eloquence and good sense with which you defended, and the liberal principles on which you supported our claim to the benefit of our engagement with the Indians, in addition to the universal applause of the whole continent, for your noble and patriotick exertions, give you an especial claim to our particular acknowledgements, of which we take this earliest opportunity of begging your acceptance. It would, Sir, have afforded us the most singular satisfaction to have had it in our power to give you a more substantial evidence of our gratitude. Yet we conceive the generous disinterestedness of your principles and publick conduct to be such, that even our thanks may be more than you expected or wished for. We hope, however, that our wishes to make known our gratitude to you, will be considered as a sufficient apology for our having given you the trouble of this letter.

Convinced that our purchase is neither against the laws of our country, nor the principles of natural justice and equity, and conscious to ourselves of the uprightness of our intentions, we totally disregard the reproaches thrown out against us by ill-informed or envious and interested persons; and now encouraged by the approbation of the respectable Provincial Congress of Virginia, we shall hereafter pursue with eagerness what we at first adopted with caution.

We beg that you will pardon the length of this letter, and that you will do us the honor to believe, that we are, with the highest sense of gratitude for the part you have taken in favor of our hazardous enterprise, and with the greatest respect and esteem for your eminent and distinguished character and reputation, among the

vigilant guardians and illustrious patrons of American liberty,

Sir, your most obliged and

Very mo. devoted h'ble serv'ts,

Signed, RICHD. HENDERSON,

THOS. HART,

JOHN WILLIAMS,

JAMES HOGG,

NATHL. HART,

DAVID HART,

LEND. H. BULLOCK,

JOHN LUTTREL,

WM. JOHNSTON.

TO PATRICK HENRY, ESQR.

Hanover County, Virginia.

N. B. A copy of the above letter sent to Thos. Jefferson, Esqr., Virginia.

To the Honorable the Convention of Virginia :

The petition of the inhabitants, and some of the intended settlers of that part of North America, now denominated Transylvania, humbly sheweth :

Whereas some of your petitioners became adventurers in that country from the advantageous reports of their friends who first explored it, and others since allured by the specious shew of the easy terms on which the land was to be purchased from those who stile themselves proprietors, have, at a great expense, and many hardships, settled there, under the faith of holding the lands by an

indefeasible title, which those gentlemen assured them they were capable of making. But your petitioners have been greatly alarmed at the late conduct of those gentlemen, in advancing the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling, per hundred acres, and at the same time have increased the fees of entry and surveying to a most exorbitant rate; and, by the short period prefixed for taking up the lands, even on those extravagant terms, they plainly evince their intentions of rising in their demands as the settlers increase, or their insatiable avarice shall dictate. And your petitioners have been more justly alarmed at such unaccountable and arbitrary proceedings, as they have lately learned from a copy of the deed made by the Six Nations with Sir William Johnson, and the commissioners from this Colony, at Fort Stanwix, in the year 1768, that the said lands were included in the cession or grant of all that tract which lies on the south side of the river Ohio, beginning at the mouth of Cherokee or Hogohege river, and extending up the said river to Kettaning. And, as in the preamble of the said deed, the said confederate Indians declare the Cherokee river to be their true boundary with the southard Indians, your petitioners may, with great reason, doubt the validity of the purchase that those proprietors have made of the Cherokees—the only title they set up to the lands for which they demand such extravagant sums from your petitioners, without any other assurance for holding them than their own deed and warrantee; a poor security, as your petitioners humbly apprehend, for the money that, among other new and unreasonable regulations, these proprietors insist should be paid down on the delivery of the deed. And, as we have the greatest reason to presume that his ma-

jesty, to whom the lands were deeded by the Six Nations, for a valuable consideration, will vindicate his title, and think himself at liberty to grant them to such persons, and on such terms as he pleases, your petitioners would, in consequence thereof, be turned out of possession, or obliged to purchase their lands and improvements on such terms as the new grantee or proprietor might think fit to impose; so that we can not help regarding the demand of Mr. Henderson and his company as highly unjust and impolitic, in the infant state of the settlement, as well as greatly injurious to your petitioners, who would cheerfully have paid the consideration at first stipulated by the company, whenever their grant had been confirmed by the crown, or otherwise authenticated by the supreme legislature.

And, as we are anxious to concur in every respect with our brethren of the united colonies, for our just rights and privileges, as far as our infant settlement and remote situation will admit of, we humbly expect and implore to be taken under the protection of the honorable Convention of the Colony of Virginia, of which we can not help thinking ourselves still a part, and request your kind interposition in our behalf, that we may not suffer under the rigorous demands and impositions of the gentlemen stiling themselves proprietors, who, the better to effect their oppressive designs, have given them the color of a law, enacted by a score of men, artfully picked from the few adventurers who went to see the country last summer, overawed by the presence of Mr. Henderson.

And that you would take such measures as your honors in your wisdom shall judge most expedient for restoring peace and harmony to our divided settlement; or, if your honors apprehend that our cause comes more properly before the honorable the General Congress, that

you would in your goodness recommend the same to your worthy delegates, to espouse it as the cause of the Colony. And your petitioners, &c.

James Harrod,	Chas. Creeraft,
Abm. Hite, Jun.	James Willie,
Patrick Dorane,	John Camron,
Ralph Nailor,	Thos. Kenady,
Robt. Atkinson,	Jesse Pigman,
Robt. Nailor,	Simon Moore,
John Maxfield,	John Moore,
Saml. Pottinger,	Thos. Moore,
Barnerd Walter,	Herman Consoley,
Hugh M ^c Million,	Silas Harland,
John Kilpatrick,	Wm. Harrod,
Robt. Dook,	Levi Harrod,
Edward Brownfield,	John Mills,
John Beesor,	Elijah Mills,
Conrod Woolter,	Jehu Harland,
John Moore,	Leonard Cooper,
John Corbie,	Wm. Rice,
Abm. Vanmetre,	Arthur Ingram,
Saml. Moore,	Thos. Wilson,
Isaac Pritcherd,	William Wood,
Joseph Gwyne,	Joseph Lyons,
Geo. Uland,	Andrew House,
Michl. Thomas,	Wm. Hartly,
Adam Smith,	Thomas Dean,
Saml. Thomas,	Richard Owan,
Henry Thomas,	Barnet Neal,
Wm. Myars,	John Severn,
Peter Paul,	James Hugh,
Henry Simons,	James Calley,
Wm. Gaffata,	Joseph Parkison,
James Hugh,	Jediah Ashraft,

Thos. Bathugh,	John Hardin,
John Connway,	Archd. Reves,
Wm. Crow,	Moses Thomas,
Wm. Feals,	J. Zebulon Collins,
Benja. Davis,	Thos. Parkinson,
Beniah Dun,	Wm. Muckleroy,
Adam Neelson,	Meridith Helm, Jun.,
Wm. Shepard,	Andw. House,
Wm. House,	David Brooks,
Jno. Dun,	John Helm,
Jno. Sim, Sen.	Benja. Parkison,
John House,	Wm. Parkison,
Sime. House,	Wm. Crow.

LETTER FROM COL. WILLIAMS, AT BOONESBOROUGH TO
THE PROPRIETORS.

Boonesborough, 3d January, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

IN my last, of the 27th instant, I promised, in my next, a more circumstantial account than I was capable then of giving, under the confused situation of mind I was then in, occasioned by the unhappy catastrophe of my brother's death, which happened but a few hours before that. To comply, in some measure with that promise, and to discharge a duty incumbent upon me, as well as the promptitude of mind I feel to discharge that duty, I cheerfully enter on the task, and endeavour to render some account of what I have been after since my arrival at this place, now upwards of a month since; and as the primitive intention of sending me to Transylvania was to establish a land office, appoint the necessary officers to the said office, surveyor, &c., upon the best footing in my power, and to

make sale of the lands within the said Colony, upon such terms as might be most advantageous to the proprietors and satisfactory to the inhabitants thereof; my first step was to fall on some method of appointing a person to the office of surveyor, who should give general satisfaction to the people; I thought none more likely to do so, than calling a convention and taking their recommendation for the person who I would appoint. From the dispersed situation of the people, and the extreme badness of the weather, we failed in convening a majority; however, I took the sense of those who appeared, and who unanimously recommended Colonel John Floyd, a gentleman generally esteemed, and I am persuaded truly worthy; and him I have commissioned surveyor of the Colony at present, though perhaps it may be advisable, at a future day, to divide the Colony into two districts, and to appoint another surveyor to one of the districts. The entering office I have disposed of to Mr. Nathaniel Henderson, and the secretary's to Mr. Richard Harrison; though, upon consideration, I have thought that the numerous incidental expenses were so great that some way ought to be fallen upon to defray them without breaking in upon the monies arising from the sale of the lands, and that the two dollars for entering, &c., and the other two for filling up the deeds, counterparts, annexing seals and plots, &c., was more money than the services of those offices absolutely required; I, therefore, have reserved out of each office, one dollar, to answer the purpose of defraying those extraordinary expenses; and the office is left well worth the acceptance of persons capable of filling them with credit. The number of entries on our book is now upwards of 900, great part of which was made before I came to this place, when people could make entries without money, and without price; the country

abounded with land-mongers; since there is two dollars exacted on the entry made, people are not quite so keen, though I make no doubt but all who can comply with the terms will endeavour to save their lands; and, as many people who have got entry on the book, are now out of the country, and can not possibly pay up the entry money immediately, I have thought proper to advertise, that every person who had made entry on the book, and paid no money, that they come in and pay up the entrance money by the first of April, and take out their warrants of survey, or their several entries will, after that time, be considered as vacated, and liable to be entered by any other person whatever. The surveyors have now began to survey, and some few people have been desirous of getting out their deeds immediately; but they generally complain of a great scarcity of money, and doubt their being able to take their deeds before next June, or even before next fall; though in a general way, people seem to be well reconciled to the terms, and desirous to take upon them, except some few, whom I have been obliged to tamper with, and a small party about Harrodsburg, who, it seems, have been entering into a confederacy not to hold lands on any other terms than those of the first year. As this party is composed of people, in general, of small consequence, and I have taken some steps to remove some of their principal objections, I make no doubt but to do all that away; and for that purpose have formed a design of removing myself, with the office, to Harrodsburgh, some time in February next, unless I should find, from a trip I purpose immediately taking there, that I can not do it with safety. The principal man, I am told, at the head of this confederacy, is one Hite; and him I make no doubt but to convince he is in an error. Among other things, one of the great com-

plaints was, that the proprietors, and a few gentlemen, had engrossed all the land at and near the Falls of the Ohio, which circumstance I found roused the attention of a number of people of note; I therefore found myself under a necessity of putting a stop to all clamours of that kind, by declaring that I would grant no large bodies of land to any person whatever, which lay contiguous to the Falls; which I have done in a solemn manner. This I am far from thinking will be injurious to the proprietors, but quite the reverse; and a circumstance which will render more general satisfaction, and be of as much utility to the Colony, as any step heretofore taken. You will observe that I am going on to justify the measure, before I inform you what it is. But to be brief, it is this; the Falls, it is certain, is a place which, from its situation, must be the most considerable mart in this part of the world; the lands around are generally rich and fertile, and most agreeably situated; which had occasioned many people to fix their affections on that place. Many applications have been made for large grants, at and about that place, and refused. Since which, 20,000 acres, and upwards, have been entered there for the company; 40,000 or 50,000 more, in large tracts, by a few other gentlemen; a partiality was complained of: a general murmuring ensued. Upon considering the matter, I thought it unjust; I thought it a disadvantage to the partners in general; and that some step ought to be taken to pacify the minds of the people. I therefore entered into a resolution that I would grant to no one man living, within a certain distance of the falls, more than one thousand acres of land, and that to be settled and improved in a certain space of time, under the penalty of forfeiture; that every person who had more entered than 1000 acres, might retain his 1000 out of which spot he pleased; that the several offi-

ers, who have claims there, may each, on application and complying with our terms, be entitled to a 1000 within his survey. That a town be immediately laid out, and a lot reserved to each proprietor, and then the first settlers to take the lots they may choose, enter and improve; which improvement must be done in a certain limited time, or the lot forfeited, and again to be sold, &c. These proposals seem to have given general satisfaction, and every one who had entered large quantities, within these limits, gives it up with the greatest alacrity; and I am in hopes it will meet the general approbation of the company; if so, I shall be happy; if not, I shall be very sorry, though the necessity must justify the measure. The Falls of Ohio is a place, of all others within the Colony, will admit of a town, which, from its particular situation, will immediately become populous and flourishing; the land contiguous thereto rich and fertile, and where a great number of gentlemen will most certainly settle, and be the support and protection of a town at that place; a place which should meet with every encouragement, to settle and strengthen, inasmuch as it will most certainly be the terror of our savage enemies, the Kickeboos Indians, who border more nearly on that place than any other part of the Colony; and as I think it absolutely necessary that the aforesaid proposed town, at the falls, to be laid off the ensuing spring, if I find it practicable, to raise a party about the first of March and go down and lay out the town and stake it off; though this will, in a great measure, depend upon the future tranquillity of our situation, between this and then, for I assure you the little attack made upon us by the Indians the 23d of last month, has made many people, who are ashamed to confess themselves afraid, find out that their affairs on your side the mountains will not dispense

with their staying here any longer at present; and I am well convinced, once they get there, that every alarm, instead of precipitating, will procrastinate their return. When I mention the little attack made on the 23d of last month, in this cursory manner, it is because I have heretofore sent you a particular account of that massacre, in a letter of 27th ult. Though as that letter may fail, and not get to hand, I will now endeavour to briefly relate the circumstances.

On Saturday, about noon, being the 23d, Colonel Campbell, with a couple of lads, (Sanders and M'Quinney,) went across the river. On the opposite bank they parted. Campbell went up the river about two hundred yards, and took up a bottom. The two lads, without a gun, went straight up the hill. About ten minutes after they parted, a gun and a cry of distress was heard, and the alarm given that the Indians had shot Colonel Campbell. We made to his assistance. He came running to the landing, with one shoe off, and said he was fired on by a couple of Indians. A party of men was immediately dispatched, under the command of Colonel Boon, who went out, but could make no other discovery than two mockisson tracks, whether Indians' or not, could not be determined. We had at that time, over the river, hunting, &c., ten or a dozen men, in different parties,—part or all of whom we expected to be killed, if what Colonel Campbell said was true; but that by many was doubted. Night came on; several of the hunters returned, but had neither seen nor heard of Indians, nor yet of the two lads. We continued in this state of suspense till Wednesday, when a party of men sent out to make search for them, found M'Quinney, killed and scalped, in a cornfield, at about three miles distance from town, on the north side of the river. Sanders could not be found, nor

has he yet been heard of. On Thursday, a ranging party of fifteen men, under the command of Jesse Benton, was dispatched to scour the woods, twenty or thirty miles round, and see if any further discovery could be made. To those men we gave two shillings per day, and £5 for every scalp they should produce. After they went out, our hunters returned, one at a time, till they all came in safe, Sanders excepted, who, no doubt, has shared M'Quinney's fate.

On Sunday, the 31st day of the month, our rangers returned, without doing any thing more than convincing themselves that the Indians had immediately, on doing the murder, ran off for northward, as they discovered their tracks thirty or forty miles towards the Ohio, making that way.

On the above massacre being committed, we began to doubt that there was a body of Indians about, who intended committing outrage on our inhabitants. However, we are perfectly satisfied since, that their number was only six or seven men, who set off from the Shawnee town before the treaty at Fort Pitt, with an intent, as they termed it, to take a look at the white people on Kentucky; and King Cornstalk, at the treaty, informed the commissioners of this, and said, for the conduct of these men, before they returned, he could not be responsible, for that he did not know but that they might do some mischief, and that if any of them should get killed by the whites, he should take no notice at all of it. For this we have undoubted authority, and don't at present think ourselves in any greater danger here than if the above massacre had not have been committed.

Another circumstance is, that our ammunition grows scant. I don't think there is enough to supply this place till the last of March, supposing we should have no oc-

casion of any to repulse an enemy. If we should, God only knows how long it will last. If any powder can possibly be procured, it would certainly be advisable to do it; if not, some person who can manufacture the materials we have on the way, for the purpose of making powder. Most part of those are at the block-house, or at least within two or three miles of that—the rest in Powel's Valley. Those (if we had any person who knew how properly to manufacture them into gunpowder) it would be necessary to have at this place. We have no such person, and of course they would be of but little service here. Notwithstanding, I should have sent for them before now; but people here expect the most exorbitant wages for trivial services. Not less than a dollar a day will do for any thing, which will prevent my sending till I find the necessity greater, or men to be hired cheaper.

LETTER FROM JAMES HOGG TO THE COMPANY.

January, 1776.

DEAR SIR:—On the 2d of December, I returned hither from Philadelphia; and I have now sit down to give you an account of my embassy, which you will be pleased to communicate to the other gentlemen, our co-partners, when you have an opportunity. I waited for Messrs. Hooper and Hewes a day and a half, at Richmond, but they were detained by rainy weather for several days, so that they did not overtake me till I was near Philadelphia, where I was kept two days by heavy rain, though they had it dry where they were. It was the 22d of Oct. when we arrived at Philadelphia. In a few days they introduced me to several of the Congress gentlemen, among the first of whom were, accidentally, the famous Samuel and John Adams; and as I found their opinion friendly to our

new Colony, I shewed them our map, explained to them the advantage of our situation, &c. &c. They entered seriously into the matter, and seemed to think favorably of the whole; but the difficulty that occurred to us soon appeared to them. "We have petitioned and addressed the king," said they, "and have entreated him to point out some mode of accommodation. There seems to be an impropriety in embarrassing our reconciliation with any thing new; and the taking under our protection a body of people who have acted in defiance of the king's proclamations, will be looked on as a confirmation of that independent spirit with which we are daily reproached." I then showed them our memorial, to convince them that we did not pretend to throw off our allegiance to the king, but intended to acknowledge his sovereignty whenever he should think us worthy of his regard. They were pleased with our memorial, and thought it very proper; but another difficulty occurred: by looking at the map, they observed that we were within the Virginia charter. I then told them of the fixing their boundaries, what had passed at Richmond in March last, and that I had reason to believe the Virginians would not oppose us; however, they advised me to sound the Virginians, as they would not choose to do any thing in it without their consent.

All the delegates were, at that time, so much engaged in the Congress from morning to night, that it was some days before I got introduced to the Virginians; and before then, I was informed that some of them had said, whatever was their own opinion of the matter, they would not consent that Transylvania should be admitted as a Colony, and represented in Congress, until it originated in their convention, and should be approved by their constituents. Some days after this, I was told that Messrs.

Jefferson, Wythe, and Richard Henry Lee, were desirous of meeting with me, which was accordingly brought about; but, unfortunately, Mr. Lee was, by some business, prevented from being with us, though I had some conversation with him afterwards. I told them that the Transylvania Company, suspecting that they might be misrepresented, had sent me to make known to the gentlemen of the Congress our friendly intentions towards the cause of liberty, &c. &c., but said nothing of our memorial, or my pretensions to a seat in Congress. They said nothing in return to me, but seriously examined our map, and asked many questions. They observed that our purchase was within their charter, and gently hinted, that by virtue of it, they might claim the whole. This led me to take notice, that a few years ago, as I had been informed, their assembly had petitioned the crown for leave to purchase from the Cherokees, and to fix their boundaries with them, which was accordingly done, by a line running from six miles east of the long island in Holston, to the mouth of the Great Khanaway, for which they had actually paid \$2500 to the Cherokees: by which purchase, both the crown and their assembly had acknowledged the property of those lands to be in the Cherokees. Besides, said I, our settlement of Transylvania will be a great check on the Indians, and consequently be of service to the Virginians.

They seemed to waive the argument concerning the right of property; but Mr. Jefferson acknowledged, that, in his opinion, our Colony could be no loss to the Virginians, if properly united to them; and said, that if his advice was followed, all the use they should make of their charter would be to prevent any arbitrary or oppressive government to be established within the boundaries of it; and that it was his wish to see a free government estab-

lished at the back of theirs, properly united with them; and that it should extend westward to the Mississippi, and on each side of the Ohio to their charter line. But he would not consent that we should be acknowledged by the Congress, until it had the approbation of their constituents in Convention, which he thought might be obtained; and that, for that purpose, we should send one of our company to their next Convention. Against this proposal, several objections occurred to me, but I made none.

This was the substance of our conference, with which I acquainted our good friends, Messrs. Hooper and Hewes, who joined me in opinion that I should not push the matter further; and they hinted to me, that, considering the present very critical situation of affairs, they thought it was better for us to be unconnected with them. These gentlemen acted a most friendly part all along, and gave a favorable account of our proceedings. Indeed, I think the company under great obligations to them, and I hope they will take it under their consideration. I was frequently with parties of the delegates, who in general think favorably of our enterprise. All the wise ones of them, with whom I conversed on the subject, are clear in opinion, that the property of the lands are vested in us by the Indian grant; but some of them think, that by the common law of England, and by the common usage in America, the sovereignty is in the king, agreeably to a famous law opinion, of which I was so fortunate as to procure a copy. The suffering traders, and others, at the end of last war, obtained a large tract of land from the Six Nations, and other Indians. They formed themselves into a company, (called, I believe, the Ohio,) and petitioned the king for a patent, and desired to be erected into a government. His majesty laid their petition be-

fore Lord Chancellor Camden and Mr. Charles York, then attorney-general and afterwards chancellor. Their opinion follows:—"In respect to such places as have been, or shall be acquired by treaty or grant from any of the Indian princes or governments, your majesty's letters patent are not necessary; the property of the soil vesting in the grantee by the Indian grants, subject only to your majesty's right of sovereignty over the settlements, as English settlements, and over the inhabitants as English subjects, who carry with them your majesty's laws wherever they form colonies, and receive your majesty's protection by virtue of your royal charters." After an opinion so favorable for them, it is amazing that this company never attempted to form a settlement, unless they could have procured a charter, with the hopes of which, it seems, they were flattered, from time to time. However, our example has roused them, I am told, and they are now setting up for our rivals. Depending on this opinion, another company of gentlemen, a few years ago, purchased a tract between the forks of the Mississippi and Ohio, beginning about a league below Fort Chartres, and running over towards the mouth of the Wabash; but whether or not their boundary line is above or below the mouth of the Wabash, the gentleman who shewed me their deed could not tell, as it is not mentioned, but is said to terminate at the old Shawanese town, supposed to be only thirty-five leagues above the mouth of the Ohio. And the said company purchased another larger tract, lying on the Illinois river. It was from one of this company that I procured a copy of the above opinion, which he assured me was a genuine one, and is the very same which you have heard was in possession of Lord Dunmore, as it was their company who sent it to him, expecting he would join them.

I was several times with Mr. Deane, of Connecticut, the gentleman of whom Mr. Hooper told you when here. He says he will send some people to see our country; and if their report be favorable, he thinks many Connecticut people will join us. This gentleman is a scholar, and a man of sense and enterprise, and rich; and I am apt to believe, has some thoughts of heading a party of Connecticut adventurers, providing things can be made agreeable to him. He is reckoned a good man, and much esteemed in Congress; but he is an enthusiast in liberty, and will have nothing to do with us unless he is pleased with our form of government. He is a great admirer of the Connecticut constitution, which he recommended to our consideration; and was so good as to favor me with a long letter on that subject, a copy of which is enclosed.

You would be amazed to see how much in earnest all these speculative gentlemen are about the plan to be adopted by the Transylvanians. They entreat, they pray that we may make it a free government, and beg that no mercenary or ambitious views in the proprietors may prevent it. Quit-rents they say is a mark of vassalage, and hope they shall not be established in Transylvania. They even threaten us with their opposition, if we do not act upon liberal principles when we have it so much in our power to render ourselves immortal. Many of them advised a law against negroes.

Inclosed I send you a copy of a sketch by J. Adams, which I had from Richard Henry Lee.

LORD BOTETOURT TO COLONEL DONELSON.

Williamsburgh, Aug. 9th, 1770.

SIR:—By the enclosed papers you will find that Mr. Stuart has directed his deputy, Mr. Cameron, to convene the Cherokee chiefs on the 5th of October, at Lochaber,

and that it is his particular desire that a gentleman from this dominion may attend at that congress. It is, likewise, very much my wish that the whole of that transaction may be reported to the next meeting of the general assembly by a member of their own, upon whom they can depend. I do, therefore, hereby appoint you to be present at that treaty, that you may take minutes of all their proceedings, and report to us the time which shall be then fixed upon for running the line, as well as what provisions, &c., shall be deemed necessary to be provided for that purpose; and must intreat that you be very exact in the whole of that estimate and account.

Extremely your obedient,
BOTETOURT.

COL. DONELSON.

TREATY OF LOCHABER, 18th OCT. 1770.

At a meeting of the principal chiefs and warriors of the Cherokee nation, with John Stuart, Esq., superintendent of Indian affairs, &c.

South Carolina, Lochaber, 18th Oct. 1770.

PRESENT—Col. Donelson, by appointment of his Excellency, the Right Honourable Lord Botetourt, in behalf of the Province of Virginia.

Alexander Cameron, deputy superintendent.

James Simpson, Esq., clerk of his Majesty's council of South Carolina.

Major Lacey, from Virginia.

Major Williamson, Captain Cohoon, Jno. Caldwell, Esq., Captain Winter, Christopher Peters, Esq., Edward Wilkinson, Esq., and John Hamarar, Esq.; besides a great number of the back inhabitants of the province of South

Carolina, and the following chiefs of the Cherokee nation : Oconistoto, Kettagusta, Attacullaculla, Keyatoy, Tiftoy, Tarrapinis, Eucy of Tugalo, Scaleluskey, Chinistah of Wataugah, Otasite Hey Wassie, and about a thousand other Indians of the same nation.

Interpreters.—John Watts, David M'Donald, John Vann.

TREATY.

Monday 22d October.

At a Congress of the principal chiefs of the Cherokee nation, held at Lochaber, in the province of South Carolina, on the eighteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1770, by John Stuart, Esq., his Majesty's agent for, and superintendent of the affairs of the Indian nations in the southern district of North America :

A treaty for a cession to his most sacred Majesty, George the third, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., by the said nation of Cherokee Indians, of certain lands lying within the limits of the dominion of Virginia.

WHEREAS, by a treaty entered into and concluded at Hardlabour, the 14th day of October, in the year 1768, by John Stuart, Esq., his Majesty's agent for, and superintendent of the affairs of the Indian nations inhabiting the southern district of North America, with the principal and ruling chiefs of the Cherokee nation, all the lands formerly claimed by, and belonging to, said nation of Indians, lying within the province of Virginia, to the eastward of a line beginning at the boundary of the province of North Carolina and Virginia, running in a N. by E. course to Col. Chiswell's mine on the eastern bank of the Great Canaway, and from thence in a straight line to the mouth of the said Great Canaway river, where

it discharges itself into the Ohio river, were ceded to his most sacred Majesty, his heirs and successors. And whereas, by the above recited treaty, all the lands lying between Holston's river, and the line above specified, were determined to belong to the Cherokee nation, to the great loss and inconvenience of many of his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the said lands; and representation of the same having been made to his Majesty, by his Excellency the Right Honourable Norboine Baron De Boteourt, his Majesty's lieutenant and governor-general of the dominion of Virginia; in consequence whereof his Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify his royal pleasure to John Stuart, Esq., his agent for, and superintendent of, Indian affairs in the southern district of North America, by an instruction contained in a letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, dated the 13th May 1769, to enter into a negotiation with the Cherokees, for establishing a new boundary line, beginning at the point where the North Carolina line terminates, and to run thence, in a west course, to Holston's river, where it is intersected by a continuation of the line dividing the provinces of North Carolina and Virginia, and thence a straight course, to the confluence of the Great Canaway and Ohio rivers.

Article 1.

Pursuant, therefore, to his majesty's orders to, and power and authority vested in John Stuart, Esq., agent for, and superintendent of the affairs of the Indian tribes in the southern district—it is agreed upon, by the said John Stuart, Esq., on behalf of his most sacred Majesty, George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c., and

by the subscribing Cherokee chiefs and warriors, on behalf of their said nation, in consideration of his Majesty's paternal goodness, so often demonstrated to them the said Cherokee Indians, and from their affection and friendship for their brethren, the inhabitants of Virginia, as well as their earnest desire of removing, as far as possible, all cause of dispute between them and the said inhabitants, on account of encroachments on lands reserved by the said Indians for themselves, and also for a valuable consideration in various sorts of goods, paid to them by the said John Stuart, Esq., on behalf of the Dominion of Virginia, that the hereafter recited line be ratified and confirmed, and it is hereby ratified and confirmed accordingly; and it is by these presents firmly stipulated and agreed upon, by the parties aforesaid, that a line, beginning where the boundary line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee hunting grounds terminates, and running thence, in a west course, to a point six miles east of Long Island, in Holston's river, and thence to said river, six miles above the said Long Island, and thence, in a west course, to the confluence of the Great Canaway and Ohio rivers, shall remain and be deemed by all his majesty's white subjects, as well as all the Indians of the Cherokee nation, the true and just limits and boundaries of the lands reserved by the said nation of Indians, for their own proper use, and dividing the same from the lands ceded by them to his Majesty, within the limits of the province of Virginia; and that his Majesty's white subjects, inhabiting the province of Virginia, shall not, upon any pretence whatsoever, settle beyond the said line; nor shall the said Indians make any settlements or encroachment on the lands which, by this treaty, they cede and confirm to his Majesty; and it is further agreed, that as soon as his Majesty's royal ap-

probation of this treaty shall have been signified to the governor of Virginia, or superintendent, this treaty shall be carried into execution.

Article 2.

And it is further agreed upon, and stipulated by the contracting parties, that no alteration whatsoever shall henceforward be made in the boundary line above recited, and now solemnly agreed upon, except such as may hereafter be found expedient and necessary for the mutual interests of both parties; and which alteration shall be made with the consent of the superintendent, or such other person or persons as shall be authorized by his Majesty, as well as with the consent and approbation of the Cherokee nation of Indians, at a congress or general meeting of said Indians, to be held for said purpose, and not in any other manner.

In testimony whereof, the said superintendent, on behalf of his Majesty, and the underwritten Cherokee chiefs, on behalf of their nation, have signed and sealed this present treaty, at the time and place aforesaid.

JOHN STUART. (*Seal.*)

By order of the superintendent, WILLIAM OGILVY, *Sec'y.*

Oconistoto,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Skyagusta Tiftoy,	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Kittagusta,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Tarrapinis,	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Attacullaculla,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Eucy of Tugalo,	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Keyatoy,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Scaleluskey of Sugar-	
Kinnatilah,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	town,	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Ukayoula,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Chinistah of do.	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Chukanuntas,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Chinistah of Watau-	
Skyagusta Tuukeis,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	gah,	(<i>Seal.</i>)
Woolf of Keeweés,	(<i>Seal.</i>)	Otasite Hey Wassie,	(<i>Seal.</i>)

Read in council, December 12th, 1770.

LETTER OF COLONEL HENDERSON, AT BOONSBOROUGH, TO
THE PROPRIETORS.

Boonsborough, June 12th, 1775.

GENTLEMEN,

It would be needless in me to enter into a detail of every little occurrence and cross accident which has befallen us since we left Wattauga; they can afford no instruction, and are too trifling for your amusement. No doubt but you have felt great anxiety since the receipt of my letter from Powell's Valley. At that time, things wore a gloomy aspect; indeed it was a serious matter, and became a little more so, after the date of the letter than before. That afternoon I wrote the letter in Powell's Valley, in our march this way, we met about 40 people returning, and in about four days the number was little short of 100. Arguments and persuasions were needless; they seemed resolved on returning, and traveled with a precipitation that truly bespoke their fears. Eight or ten were all that we could prevail on to proceed with us, or to follow after; and thus, what we before had, counting every boy and lad, amounted to about 40, with which number we pursued our journey, with the utmost diligence, for my own part never under more real anxiety. Every person almost that we met, seemed to be at pains to aggravate the danger of proceeding; and had we given them all a fair hearing, I believe they would, in return for the favor, have gotten all our men. Many seemed to be of opinion (who had been with Boone) that the men assembled at the mouth of Otter creek would get impatient and leave him before we could possibly get there, if no other accident befell them; and with me, it was beyond a doubt, that our right, in effect, depended on Boone's maintaining his ground—at least

until we could get to him. Here, gentlemen, your imagination must take the burden off my hands, and paint what I am unable to describe. You need not be afraid of giving scope to your fancy; it is impossible to make the picture worse than the original. Every group of travellers we saw, or strange bells which were heard in front, was a fresh alarm; afraid to look or inquire, lest Captain Boone or his company was amongst them, or some disastrous account of their defeat. The slow progress we made with our packs, rendered it absolutely necessary for some person to go on and give assurance of our coming, especially as they had no certainty of our being on the road at all; or had even heard whether the Indians had sold to us or not. It was owing to Boone's confidence in us, and the people's in him, that a stand was ever attempted in order to wait for our coming. The case was exceedingly distressing: we had not a fellow that we could send on a forlorn hope in our whole camp: all our young men had sufficient employ with the pack-horses; and, the truth is, very few would have gone, if they had been totally idle. Distress generally has something in store when it is least expected; it was actually the case with us. Mr. William Cocke, (with whom some of you are acquainted,) observing our anxiety on that account, generously offered to undertake the journey himself, and deliver a letter to Captain Boone, with all the expedition in his power. This offer, extraordinary as it was, we could by no means refuse—it was not a time for much delicacy; a little compliment and a few very sincere thanks, instantly given, preceded a solemn engagement to set off next morning; and if he escaped with his life, to perform the trust. The day proved dark and rainy; and I own, Mr. Cocke's undertaking appeared a little more dangerous than the evening before—in spite

of affectation, it was plain he thought so—whether it was from the gloominess of the weather, or the time of setting off being actually come, or what, I cannot tell; but perhaps a little of both. Indeed, I rather suspect there is some little secondary mischievous passion personating courage, hankering about the heart of man, that very often plays him a double game, by causing him to view dangers at a little distance through the wrong end of the glass; and as soon as cool deliberation, by the help of caution, has shifted the telescope, and brought the object home to a nearer view, and perhaps the dangerous features a little magnified, this monkey passion most shamefully deserts and leaves the affair to be managed as it can. Be that as it may, in these cases we are not always without a friend. *Pride* will, if possible, take up the cudgels; and let the world say what it will of her, she answers the end of genuine innate courage, (if there be such a thing,) and for aught I know, it is the thing itself. But to return to our subject: no time was lost; we struck whilst the iron was hot, fixed Mr. Cocke off with a good Queen Ann's musket, plenty of ammunition, a tomahawk, a large cuttoe knife, a Dutch blanket, and no small quantity of jerked beef. Thus equipped, and mounted on a tolerably good horse, on the day of April, Mr. Cocke started from Cumberland river, about 130 miles from this place, and carried with him, besides his own enormous load of fearful apprehensions, a considerable burden of my own uneasiness. The probability of giving Mr. Boone and his men word of our being near them, administered great pleasure, and we made the best use of our time, following on.

The general panic that had seized the men we were continually meeting, was contagious; it ran like wild fire; and, notwithstanding every effort against its progress, it

was presently discovered in our own camp; some hesitated and stole back, privately; others saw the necessity of returning to convince their friends that they were still alive, in too strong a light to be resisted; whilst many, in truth, who have nothing to thank but the fear of shame, for the credit of intrepidity, came on, though their hearts, for some hours, made part of the deserting company. In this situation of affairs, some few, of genuine courage and undaunted resolution, served to inspire the rest; by help of whose example, assisted by a little pride and some ostentation, we made a shift to march on with all the appearance of gallantry, and, cavalier like, treated every insinuation of danger with the utmost contempt. It soon became habitual; and those who started in the morning, with pale faces and apparent trepidation, could lie down and sleep at night in great quiet, not even possessed of fear enough to get the better of indolence. There is a mistaken notion amongst the vulgar, with respect to courage, which cannot be eradicated but by dint of experiment; all watching, when it comes to be put in practice, has to them the appearance of cowardice; and that it is beneath a soldier to be afraid of any thing, especially when a little fatigued. They would all agree in the morning, that it would be highly prudent and necessary to keep sentinels around our camp at night; but a hearty meal or supper, (when we could get it) and good fires, never failed putting off the danger for at least 24 hours; at which time it was universally agreed, on all hands, that a watch at night would be indispensably necessary. Human nature is eternally the same; a death-bed repentance and a surprised camp are so nearly assimilated, that you may safely swear they arise from the same cause. Without further speculation, we have been so fortunate, hitherto, as to escape both. I wish from my soul, that

they may not be in league to come together. Never was fairer opportunity, as to the one, and you may form a tolerable judgment as to the other; the western waters having, as yet, produced no visible alteration with respect to morals or Christian charity amongst us. It will no doubt surprise you, but it is nevertheless true, that we are in no posture of defence or security at this time; and, for my own part, do not much expect it will ever be effected, unless the Indians should do us the favor of annoying us, and regularly scalping a man every week until it is performed; if the intervals should be longer, the same spirit of indolence and self-security, which hath hitherto prevailed, would not only continue, but increase. To give you a small specimen of the disposition of the people, it may be sufficient to assure you, that when we arrived at this place, we found Captain Boone's men as inattentive on the score of fear, (to all appearances), as if they had been in Hillsborough. A small fort only wanting two or three days' work to make it tolerably safe, was totally neglected on Mr. Cockes arrival; and unto this day remains unfinished, notwithstanding the repeated applications of Captain Boone, and every representation of danger from ourselves. The death of poor Tivitty and the rest, who at the time you were informed, became sacrifices to indiscretion, had no more effect than to produce one night's watching after they got to Otter creek; not more than ten days after the massacre. Our plantations extend near two miles in length, on the river and up a creek. Here people work in their different lots; some without their guns, and others without care or caution. It is in vain for us to say any thing more about the matter; it cannot be done by words. We have a militia law, on which I have some dependence; if that has no good effect, we must remain for some time much

at the mercy of the Indians. Should any successful attack be made on us, Captain Hart, I suppose, will be able to render sufficient reasons to the surviving company, for withdrawing from our camp, and refusing to join in building a fort for our mutual defence. This representation of our unguarded and defenceless situation is not all that seems to make against us. Our men, under various pretences, are every day leaving us. It is needless to say any thing against it; many of them are so much determined, that they sell their rights for saving land on our present terms, to others who remain in their stead, for little or nothing; nay, some of them are resolved to go, and some are already gone, and given up all pretensions for this season, and depend on getting land on the next fall's terms. Our company has dwindled from about eighty in number to about fifty odd, and I believe in a few days will be considerably less. Amongst these I have not heard one person dissatisfied with the country or terms; but go, as they say, merely because their business will not admit of longer delay. The fact is, that many of them are single, worthless fellows, and want to get on the other side of the mountains, for the sake of saying they have been out and returned safe, together with the probability of getting a mouthful of bread in exchange for their news.

Having given you a slight view of one side of the question, it may not be amiss to turn the subject over, and see what may be said on the other hand. Notwithstanding all our negligence, self-security, scarcity of men, and whatever else may be added against us, I cannot think but we shall carry the matter through, and be crowned with success. My reasons for this opinion, calls for in you, a kind of knowledge of the geography of our country. Those who have no just idea of this matter

may be aided by Captain Hart. We are seated at the mouth of Otter creek, on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the west, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other. There were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places; though now, perhaps, not more than 60 or 70, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c.; and some returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. These men, in the course of hunting provisions, lands, &c., are some of them constantly out, and scour the woods from the banks of the river near forty or fifty miles southward. On the opposite side of the river, and north from us, about 40 miles, is a settlement on the crown lands, of about 19 persons; and lower down, towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some other settlers, how many, or at what place, I can't exactly learn. There is also a party of about 10 or 12, with a surveyor, who is employed in searching through that country, and laying off officers' lands; they have been more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be several weeks longer ranging up and down that country. Now, taking it for granted, that the Cherokees are our friends, which I most firmly believe, our situation exempts us from the first attempt or attack of any other Indians. Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements, (and is a very good man for our purpose), Colonel Floyd, (the surveyor), and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate, with the utmost despatch, every piece of intelligence respecting danger or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march and relieve the distressed, if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so tender and luxuriant that it is almost impossible for man

or dog to travel, without leaving such sign that you might, for many days, gallop a horse on the trail. To be serious, it is impossible for any number of people to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered, if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances, I think myself in a great measure secure against a formidable attack; and a few skulkers could only kill one or two, which would not much affect the interest of the company.

Thus, gentlemen, you have heard both sides of the question, and can pretty well judge of the degree of danger we are in. Let your opinions be as they may on this point, by no means betray the least symptom of doubt to your most intimate friends. If help is ever wanting, it will be long before succour can come from you, and therefore every expense of that kind superfluous and unnecessary. If we can maintain our ground until after harvest in Virginia, I will undertake for ever after to defend the country against every nation of red people in the world, without calling on the company for even a gun-flint.

Here I must beg the favor of your turning back with me to Powell's Valley. Our anxiety at that time is now of very little concern to you; but the impressions still remain on my mind, and indeed I would not wish to get clear of them in a little time. It learnt me to make an estimate of the probable value of our country; to see the imminent danger of losing it forever, and presented me with a full view of the ridiculous figure we should cut in the world, in case of failure. With respect to the real consequence of such a disappointment, I could not so well judge for the company in general, as for myself, but thought it too serious an affair with respect to us all, to be tamely given up without the fire of a single gun, or

something like an attempt to take possession and defend our rights, so long, at least, as we should find our posts tenable.

Though the danger Mr. Cocke exposed himself to in rendering this piece of service to the company, dwelt on me for some time, yet having despatched a messenger to Captain Boone was a matter of such consolation, that my burthen from that time was much lightened. We soon found, by his letters on the road, that he had a companion, and went on very well (a small stoppage by waters excepted). On Thursday, the 20th April, found him with Captain Boone and his men at the place appointed, where he had related the history of his adventures, and come in for his share of applause; here it was that the whole load, as it were, dropped off my shoulders at once, and I questioned if a happier creature was to be found under the sun. Why do I confine it to myself; it was general; the people in the fort, as well as ourselves, down to an old weather-beaten negro, seemed equally to enjoy it. Indeed it was natural for us, after being one whole month, without intermission, traveling in a barren desert country, most of the way our horses packed beyond their strength; no part of the road tolerable, most of it either hilly, stony, slippery, miry, or bushy; our people jaded out and dispirited with fatigue, and what was worse, often pinched for victuals. To get clear of all this at once, was as much as we could well bear; and though we had nothing here to refresh ourselves with, but cold water and lean buffalo beef, without bread, it certainly was the most joyous banquet I ever saw. Joy and festivity was in every countenance, and that vile strumpet, envy, I believe, had not found her way into the country.

By this time, gentlemen, I make no doubt but you would be glad that I would change my subject, and enter

on something more interesting. You want a description of our country, soil, air, water, range, quantity of good land, disposition of the people here, what probability of keeping possession and availing ourselves of the purchase, how much money can be immediately raised towards defraying the first purchase, and, if any, overplus that will remain on hand for the use of the copartners, &c. &c. &c. These, sirs, are matters of the utmost importance, and many of them deserve your most serious attention. With respect to the country, Mr. Hart, who brings this, will give you ample satisfaction. All that I shall say about it is, that it far exceeds the idea which I had formed of it; and indeed it is not surprising, for it is not in the power of any person living to do justice to the fertility of the soil, beauty of the country, or excellence of its range; let it suffice, that we have got a country of good land, with numberless advantages and inducements to a speedy population; that this country is large enough, and surely will be settled immediately on some principles or other: the grand affair, on our part, is to manage matters so as to have our rights acknowledged, and continue lords of the soil. Every thing has succeeded to my wish with respect to title. The torrent from Virginia appears to be over, and gentlemen of considerable fortune, from thence, are some of them come, and others coming, with design to purchase under us, as they cannot come within the indulgences to adventurers of this season; and applications are daily making for the next year's price. Many of them are returned home, and would have been much dissatisfied, if I had not promised them, on my word and honor, that the terms should be immediately published in all the Williamsburg papers.

MEMORIAL OF THE TRANSYLVANIA COMPANY, COMMONLY
CALLED RICHARD HENDERSON & CO.

To the Honorable the Congress of the United States:

The Memorial of Thomas Hart, of the State of Kentucky,
John Williams, Leonard Henley Bullock, and James
Hogg, of the State of North Carolina, sheweth,

That in the fall of the year 1774, your Memorialists, in company with Richard Henderson, William Johnston, Nathaniel Hart, John Luttrell, and David Hart, all now deceased, entered into bargain with the Overhill Cherokee Indians, for a purchase of some of their lands; and agreeably to preliminaries then agreed to, they, in March 1775, met at Watauga with the chiefs of the said Indians, attended by upwards of twelve hundred of their people; and then and there, in fair and open treaty, after several day's conference, and full discussion of every matter relating to the purchase, in presence of, and assisted by interpreters chosen by the said chiefs, and in consideration of a very large assortment of clothes and other goods, then delivered by the said Company to the said chiefs, and by them divided among their people, they the said Company obtained from the said Indians two several deeds, signed by Okonistoto their king or chief warrior, Atakullakulla and Savonooko or Coronoh, the next in the nation to Okonistoto in rank and consideration, for themselves, and on behalf, and with the warm approbation of the whole nation. These two grants comprehended, besides a great tract of land on the back of Virginia, a vast territory within the chartered limits of North Carolina, lying on the rivers of Holston, Clinch, Powel, and Cumberland, and their several branches, to the amount of many millions of acres.

This purchase from the aborigines and immemorial possessors of the said lands, being concluded more than a year before the Declaration of Independence, before the very existence of the Americans as States, or their claim to such lands, and not contrary to any then existing law of Great Britain or her Colonies, your memorialists and their copartners with confidence concluded that they had obtained a just, clear and indefeasible title to the said lands; and being then by the said Indians put into the actual possession of the said country, they immediately hired between two and three hundred men, and proceeded across their territory, to the river Kentucky, which with all its branches was comprehended in their purchase; and there about the 20th of April in the said year of 1775, began a settlement to which they gave the name of Boonsborough. The raising of necessary accommodations for their infant Colony, and building forts for their defence against the Shawanese and other hostile Indians, on the north-west of the Ohio, added much to the prime cost of their lands, and was attended with imminent risk and danger, and even with the massacre of some of the proprietors and several of their friends and followers. .

After thus possessing and defending their property at a vast expense, trouble and danger, for several years against the savages, the Company were much astonished to find that first the Assembly of Virginia, and some years afterwards, the Assembly of North Carolina, began to call in question the rights of the said Company. It would be to no purpose at this time, to trouble Congress with any thing relating to the negotiation of the said Company with the Assembly of Virginia, as the compensation in lands, made to them by that state, remains untouched and unclaimed by any person or persons whatever against the Company, as far as has come to their know-

ledge. But the different fate of the lands granted them by the Assembly of North Carolina, makes some detail necessary.

This Assembly, in their May session of 1782, enacted that a great part of the lands lying on the river Cumberland and branches thereof, all within the said Company's purchase, should be laid off and reserved for the officers and soldiers of the North Carolina line, and soon thereafter, opened a land office for the sale of their whole purchase. However, after repeated remonstrances, presented to them by the Company, the Assembly, by way of compensation for their trouble and expense, agreed that the Company should retain 200,000 acres on the waters of Powel and Clinch rivers, part of the Company's purchase, with the grant or guarantee of the state for the same. The Company felt themselves grossly aggrieved by being thus arbitrarily dealt with; but they saw no alternative: they had not power to do themselves justice; and there was then no tribunal to which they could appeal. One of the conditions of this grant or guarantee was, that it should be surveyed within a certain limited time. The Company, therefore, found it necessary to have the survey made within the time prescribed; and though the Indians were then hostilely disposed, they ventured to depute one of their partners with a surveyor, chain carriers and guards; but after incurring an expense of £300 and upwards, the survey and plot were found defective, owing to the hurry in which the business was done. This misfortune obliged the Company to apply to the Assembly for further time to have a new survey. Time was accordingly given, and agreeably thereto, at the expense of £200 more and upwards, the survey was completed, and soon thereafter conferred by the Assembly.

But while these things were doing, the General Assem-

bly, in the year 1789, had ceded their western lands to the United States, and the United States in 1790, accepted this cession, on certain conditions, one of which was, that all entries made by, and grants made to, any persons within the limits ceded, should have the same force and effect as if the cession had not been made." Within this cession the whole of the Company's grant from the General Assembly was comprehended; and though, in the opinion of the Company, it was a compensation very inadequate to their trouble and risk and expense, yet being now in possession of a State right as well as Indian right, they flattered themselves their title to it was beyond a cavil. They concluded it to be of considerable value; and as the Holston settlements were rapidly advancing around it, they were persuaded they could venture to form settlements on it, or at least dispose of it to advantage. They therefore had a bill of partition filed in the district court of Washington; and being now in view of a speedy partition and of receiving some small compensation for their great expenditures and trouble, they could not help being greatly astonished and extremely mortified, when they learnt that almost the whole of their grant from the Assembly was ceded to the Cherokee Indians by the United States at the treaty of Holston, made on the day of .179

Such a seizure and disposal of the property of citizens without any previous stipulation with the proprietors, nay without the least notice given them or any crime alleged against them, appeared to your Memorialists not only improper but unjust; but for the honor of the States, your Memorialists hope, that at the time this cession was made to the Indians, the government was not aware that such private property was comprehended in it. At any rate, if for political reasons, and for the interest of the States,

it was found expedient to make such a sacrifice of the rights of a private company, it is to be hoped that Congress will be disposed to make ample compensation.

Twenty years have nearly elapsed since the Company made their purchase from the Indians. The expenses of this purchase from first to last have been great, and have been the means of reducing some of the Company to great difficulties ; for, owing to the facts and circumstances above set forth, they have not to this day, been able to receive the smallest recompense.

The injustice and oppression complained of are flagrant, and the facts and circumstances above set forth are notorious, at least they are well known to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the state of North Carolina, and the deeds and other vouchers are ready to be produced. And that all difficulty and dispute may hereafter be done away, your memorialists are willing, upon receiving proper compensation, to relinquish all claim to the lands purchased by them from the Indians within the chartered limits of North Carolina, an extensive territory now held by the United States in which the Indian claim was extinguished by fair purchase, at the expense of your Memorialists. Your Memorialists therefore, without further detail, beg leave to submit their case to the wisdom and justice of the Congress of the United States, and from them hope for speedy and ample redress.

Your Memorialists have only further to request, that whatever compensation Congress may be pleased to give them, may be directed to be dealt out to your Memorialists and Company, and their representatives or assigns, respectively, in proportion to the share to which each is entitled by the copartnership.

Signed for and in behalf of the Company, by

JNO. WILLIAMS, Chairman.

6th January, 1795.

“THE WAR BELT.”—The principal part of this legend was published some years ago, by an anonymous writer in a Pittsburgh newspaper, who gave the name of the late venerated Major Denny as his authority. We had heard something of the story before, though in a less authentic form; and upon conversing with our distinguished friend, General Harrison, he not only confirmed, but corrected the writer as to the place where the treaty must have been held. It was not at Cincinnati, as was alleged, but at North Bend, that Clarke held the treaty referred to. The first military post was at the latter place, and it was there that Judge Symmes intended to establish his city; but accident, or the superior advantages of the site of Cincinnati, induced a number of persons to cluster about this spot, and the Fort was brought here.

George Rogers Clarke was a remarkable man. He was one of the noblest of the sons of Virginia, so prolific in heroes and statesmen. His talents were of a high order, his military genius unsurpassed by that of any man of his age. He seems to have possessed a number of qualifications that are but rarely combined in the character of one person, and a versatility not often found united with a sound judgment. To great quickness of perception, and clearness of mind, Clarke added a solidity of judgment, a boldness of thought, and a vigor of action, that carried every thing before them. The boldness of his designs, the promptness of his decisions, the rapidity of his movements, surprised his friends as well as his enemies, inspiring fear on the one hand, and confidence on the other. It was remarked of him, that his actions always had the appearance of rashness, until the results were developed, and then they seemed to have been conceived in consummate prudence, and profound sagacity.

He was very successful in his military enterprises, some of which were brilliant. His campaign against Kaskaskia and Vincennes has seldom been excelled; there was a boldness, a completeness, a unity in the plan, a coolness and brilliancy in the execution, that would have done honor to the most accomplished leader. His appearance and manners were prepossessing and commanding. On ordinary occasions his address is said to have been dignified and winning, but in his moments of anger there was a sternness in his aspect that was terrific. Hence his sway over common minds, which were alternately allured by his cordiality, and overawed by his energy. Among the Indians his name was powerful. His rapid marches, and his successes in his campaigns against them, made him extensively known and feared, while those who approached him in friendship were won by his manners.

An amusing anecdote is told illustrative of the times and the men. An Indian chief who had been in the hostile ranks, was in the habit after peace of visiting Clarke, and became much attached to him. Having both been active leaders in the then recent wars, their conversation naturally turned upon those events—the more especially as the native warrior's fund of conversational lore must have been very limited. On one occasion they amused themselves with a kind of friendly bragging over each other, in which each enumerated the victories of his own nation. Using the personal pronoun to designate their respective nations, the conversation ran thus: "I beat you at such a place." "I made you run at such a place." "I cut you to pieces at such a place." "That was very well done, but nothing to compare to the trick I played you at such a place." At length the Indian, in an exulting manner referred to the lamentable massacre at the

Blue Lick, "I beat you there, badly,—you never gained such a victory as that." "No," replied Clarke, "perhaps we never did, but you won that by luck." And then rapidly describing the ground and the battle, which both of them were familiar with, though neither were in the engagement, he added, "Now suppose that instead of fighting you here, on the edge of the water, we had sent a party round here, and attacked you in this direction, what would have become of you?" The chief considered for a moment, and then acknowledged himself beaten. "I can't fight with you any more, General," said he. "You too much big captain for me."

