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The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke (1784) : An Online Electronic Text Edition

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John Filson

The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke (1784):
An Online Electronic Text Edition

Abstract

This is an open-access electronic text edition of Filson's seminal work on the early history of Kentucky, including the first published account of the life and adventures of Daniel Boone. Filson's work was an unabashedly optimistic account of the western territory, where Filson had acquired large land claims, whose value he sought to enhance by the publication of this advertisement and incitement for further settlement. Scarcely two years after the violent and tragic British and Indian invasion of 1782, Filson portrayed Kentucky as a natural paradise, where peace, plenty, and security reigned. Of some significance is Filson's recognition that the territory would be economically tied to the West, and especially the river ports of Natchez and New Orleans, rather than the Eastern seaboard. His reflections on the interests of the United States in acquiring and securing the western regions of North America predate the Louisiana Purchase by 18 years.

The work, and especially the narrative of Daniel Boone, proved extremely popular, and was frequently reprinted and translated into French and German. It proved to be the first in a long tradition of rousing Western adventures associated with the westward migration of the Americans.

This edition includes the complete text of the first edition, some notes, a biographical sketch of John Filson, and a discussion of the editorial procedures. It also includes the "Map of Kentucke" published in 1784 along with the book. Two versions (one color, one black-and-white) are attached as supplemental files in PDF format.

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THE

DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT

And present State of

KENTUCKE:

AND

An ESSAY towards the TOPOGRAPHY, and NATURAL HISTORY of that important Country:

To which is added,

An APPENDIX,

CONTAINING,

I. The ADVENTURES of Col. *Daniel Boon*, one of the first Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the political History of that Province.

II The MINUTES of the *Piankashaw* council, held at *Post St. Vincents*, *April* 15, 1784.

III. An ACCOUNT of the *Indian* Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States, their Manners and Customs, and Reflections on their Origin.

IV. The STAGES and DISTANCES between *Philadelphia* and the Falls of the *Ohio*; from *Pittsburg* to *Pensacola* and several other Places. —The Whole illustrated by a new and accurate MAP of *Kentucke* and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual Surveys.

By *JOHN FILSON.*

Wilmington, Printed by JAMES ADAMS, 1784.

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WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucke, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement, at the request of the author of this book, and map, have carefully revised them, and recommend them to the public, as exceeding good performances, containing as accurate a description of our country as we think can possibly be given ; much preferable to any in our knowledge extant ; and think it will be of great utility to the publick. Witness our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784,

DANIEL BOON,
LEVI TODD,
JAMES HARROD.

PREFACE.

THE generality of those geographers, who have attempted a map, or description of America, seem either to have had no knowledge of Kentucke, or to have neglected it, although a place of infinite importance: And the rest have proceeded so erroneously, that they have left the world as much in darkness as before. Many are the mistakes, respecting the subject of this work, in all other maps which I have yet seen; whereas I can truly say, I know of none in that which I here present to the world either from my own particular knowledge, or from the information of those gentlemen with whose assistance I have been favoured, and who have been well acquainted with the country since the first settlement. When I visited Kentucke, I found it so far to exceed my expectations, although great, that I concluded it was a pity ; that the world had not adequate information of it. I conceived that a proper description, and map of it, were objects highly interesting to the United States; and therefore, incredible as it may appear to some, I must declare, that this performance is not published from lucrative motives, but solely to inform the world of the happy climate, and plentiful soil of this favoured region. And I imagine the reader will believe me the more easily when I inform him, that I am not an inhabitant of Kentucke, but having been there some time, by my acquaintance in it, am sufficiently able to publish the truth, and from principle, have cautiously endeavoured to avoid every species of falsehood. The consciousness of this encourages me to hope

for the public candour, where errors may possibly be found. The three gentlemen honouring this work with their recommendation, Col. Boon, Col. Todd, and Col. Harrod, were among the first settlers, and perfectly well acquainted with the country. To them I acknowledge myself much indebted for their friendly assistance in this work, which they chearfully contributed with a disinterested view of being serviceable to the public. My thanks are more especially due to Col. Boon, who was earlier acquainted with the subject of this performance than any other now living, as appears by the account of his adventures, which I esteemed curious and interesting, and therefore have published them from his own mouth. Much advantage may possibly arise to the possessor of this book, as those who wish to travel in Kentucke will undoubtedly find it a Compleat Guide. To such I affirm, that there is nothing mentioned or described but what they will find true. Conscious that it would be of general utility, I have omitted nothing, and been exceeding particular in every part. That it may have the desired effect, is the sincere wish of

JOHN FILSON.

THE DISCOVERY, PURCHASE AND SETTLEMENT, OF KENTUCKE.

THE first white man we have certain accounts of, who discovered this province, was one James M'Bride, who, in company with some others, in the year 1754, passing down the Ohio in Canoes, landed at the mouth of Kentucke river, and there marked a tree, with the first letters of his name, and the date, which remain to this day. These men reconnoitred the country, and returned home with the pleasing news of their discovery of the best tract of land in North-America, and probably in the world. From this period it remained concealed till about the year 1767, when one John Finley, and some others, trading with the Indians, fortunately travelled over the fertile region, now called Kentucke, then but known to the Indians, by the name of the Dark and Bloody Ground, and sometimes the Middle Ground. This country greatly engaged Mr. Finley's attention. Some time after, disputes arising between the Indians and traders, he was obliged to decamp; and returned to his place of residence in North-

Carolina, where he communicated his discovery to Col. Daniel Boon, and a few more, who conceiving it to be an interesting object, agreed in the year 1769 to undertake a journey in order to explore it. After a long fatiguing march, over a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, they at length arrived upon its borders; and from the top of an eminence, with joy and wonder, descried the beautiful landscape of Kentucke. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of game, while Col. Boon and John Finley made a tour through the country, which they found far exceeding their expectations, and returning to camp, informed their companions of their discoveries: But in spite of this promising beginning, this company, meeting with nothing but hardships and adversity, grew exceedingly disheartened, and was plundered, dispersed, and killed by the Indians, except Col. Boon, who continued an inhabitant of the wilderness until the year 1771, when he returned home.

About this time Kentucke had drawn the attention of several gentlemen. Doctor Walker of Virginia, with a number more, made a tour westward for discoveries, endeavouring to find the Ohio river; and afterwards he and General Lewis, at Fort Stanwix, purchased from the Five Nations of Indians the lands lying on the north side of Kentucke. Col. Donaldson, of Virginia, being employed by the State to run a line from six miles above the Long Island, on Holstein, to the mouth of the great Kenhawa, and finding thereby that an extensive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was solicited, by the inhabitants of Clench and Holstein, to purchase the lands lying on the north side of Kentucke river from the Five Nations. This purchase he compleated for five hundred

pounds, specie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the long Island on Holstein to the head of Kentucke river; thence down the same to the mouth; thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kenhawa; but this valuable purchase the State refused to confirm.

Col. Henderson, of North-Carolina, being informed of this country by Col. Boon, he, and some other gentlemen, held a treaty with the Cherokee Indians at Wataga, in March 1775, and then purchased from them the lands lying on the south side of Kentucke river for goods, at valuable rates, to the amount of six thousand pounds, specie.

Soon after this purchase, the State of Virginia took the alarm, agreed to pay the money Col. Donaldson had contracted for, and then disputed Col. Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentlemen of another state, in behalf of himself: However, for his eminent services to this country, and for having been instrumental in making so valuable an acquisition to Virginia, that state was pleased to reward him with a tract of land, at the mouth of Green River, to the amount of two hundred thousand acres; and the state of North Carolina gave him the like quantity in Powel's Valley. This region was formerly claimed by various tribes of Indians; whose title, if they had any, originated in such a manner, as to render it doubtful which ought to possess it: Hence this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated the Bloody-Grounds. Their contentions not being likely to decide the Right to any particular tribe, as soon as Mr. Henderson and his friends proposed to purchase, the Indians agreed to sell; and notwithstanding the valuable Consideration they received, have continued ever since troublesome neighbours to the new settlers.

SITUATION and BOUNDARIES.

KENTUCKE is situated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38 ° north, and 85 ° west longitude, and lying within the fifth climate, its longest day is 14 hours 40 minutes. It is bounded on the north by great Sandy-creek; by the Ohio on the N. W. by North-Carolina on the south; and by the Cumberland mountain on the east, being upwards of 250 miles in length, and two hundred in breadth; and is at present divided into three counties, Lincoln, Fayette and Jefferson; of which Fayette and Jefferson are bounded by the Ohio, and the river Kentucke separates Fayette on its north side from the other two. There are at present eight towns laid off, and building; and more are proposed.

Louisville, at the Falls of Ohio, and Beardstown, are in Jefferson county; Harrodsburg, Danville, and Boons-burrow, in Lincoln county; Lexington, Lees-town, and Greenville, in Fayette county; the two last being on Kentucke river. At these and many other places, on this and other rivers, inspecting-houses are established for Tobacco, which may be cultivated to great advantage; although not altogether the staple commodity of the country.

RIVERS.

THE beautiful river Ohio, bounds Kentucke in its whole length, being a mile and sometimes less in breadth, and is sufficient to carry boats of great burthen. Its general course is south 60 degrees west; and in its course it receives numbers of large and small rivers, which pay tribute to its glory. The only

disadvantage this fine river has, is a rapid, one mile and an half long, and one mile and a quarter broad, called the Falls of Ohio. In this place the river runs over a rocky bottom, and the descent is so gradual, that the fall does not probably in the whole exceed twenty feet. In some places we may observe it to fall a few feet. When the stream is low, empty boats only can pass and repass this rapid; their lading must be transported by land; but when high, boats of any burthen may pass in safety. Excepting this place, there is not a finer river in the world for navigation by boats. Besides this, Kentucke is watered by eight smaller rivers, and many large and small creeks, as may be easily seen in the map.

Licking River heading in the mountains with Cumberland River, and the North Branch of Kentucke, runs in a N. W. direction for upwards of a hundred miles, collecting its silver streams from many branches, and is about one hundred yards broad at its mouth.

Red River heads and interlocks with the main branch of Licking, and flows in a S. West course into Kentucke River, being about sixty miles long, and sixty yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucke River rises with three heads from a mountainous part of the Country. Its northern branch interlocks with Cumberland; runs half way in a western direction, and the other half N. westerly. It is amazingly crooked, upwards of two hundred miles in length, and about one hundred and fifty yards broad.

Elkhorn is a small river which empties itself into Kentucke in a N. W. by W. course; is about fifty miles long, and fifty yards broad at the mouth.

Dick's River joins the Kentucke in a N. West direction; is about forty-five miles long, and forty-five yards wide at its

mouth. This river curiously heads and interlocks its branches with Salt River, Green River, and the waters of Rock-castle River.—Salt River rises at four different places near each other. The windings of this river are curious, rolling its streams round a spacious tract of fine land, and uniting almost fifteen miles before they approach the Ohio, and twenty miles below the Falls. It is amazingly crooked, runs a western course near ninety miles, and is about eighty yards wide at the mouth.

Green River interlocking with the heads of Dick's River, as mentioned above, is also amazingly crooked, keeps a western course for upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and is about eighty yards wide at its mouth, which is about two hundred and twenty miles below the Falls.

Cumberland River, interlocks with the northern branch of Kentucke, as aforesaid, and rolling round the other arms of Kentucke, among the mountains, in a southern course for one hundred miles; then in a south western course for above one hundred miles; then in a southern and S. western course for about two hundred and fifty more, finds the Ohio, four hundred and thirteen miles below the Falls. At the settlements it is two hundred yards broad; and at its mouth three hundred, having passed through North-Carolina in about half its course.

The Great Kenhawa, or New River, rises in North-Carolina, runs a northern, and N. West course for upwards of four hundred miles, and finds the Ohio four hundred miles above the Falls. It is about five hundred yards wide at its mouth. These two rivers are just mentioned, being beyond our limits. They run contrary courses, are exceeding large, and it is worth notice, that Clench, Holstein, Nolachuckey, and

French-Broad rivers, take their rise between these two, or rather westward of New River, some of them rising and interlocking with it; and when they meet, form what is called the Tenese, or Cherokee River, which runs a western course, and finds the Ohio twelve miles below Cumberland River. It is very large, and has spacious tracts of fine land.

These rivers are navigable for boats almost to their sources, without rapids, for the greatest part of the year. This country is generally level, and abounding with limestone, which usually lies about six feet deep, except in hollows, where streams run, where we find the rock in the bottom of the channel.

The springs and streams lessen in June, and continue low, hindering navigation, until November, when the autumnal rains soon prepare the rivers for boats, and replenish the whole country with water; but although the streams decrease, yet there is always sufficient for domestic uses. There are many fine springs, that never fail; every farmer has a good one at least; and excellent wells may easily be dug.

Nature of the SOIL.

THE country, in some parts, is nearly level; in others not so much so; in others again hilly, but moderately, and in such places there is most water. The levels are not like a carpet, but interspersed with small risings, and declivities, which form a beautiful prospect. A great part of the soil is amazingly fertile; some not so good, and some poor. The inhabitants distinguish its quality by first, second, and third rate lands; and scarcely any such thing as a marsh or swamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucke rises, nearly

of the size of a mountain, which in the map we have represented as such.

All the land below the Great Kenhawa until we come near the waters of Licking River is broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in some valleys, and on Little and Big Sandy creeks, where there is some first rate land, but mostly second and third rate. It is said, that near this water is found a pure salt rock. Upon the north branch of Licking, we find a great body of first rate land. This stream runs nearly parallel to the Ohio for a considerable distance, and is about seven miles from the mouth of Limestone Creek, where is a fine harbour for boats coming down the Ohio, and now a common landing. It is sixty-five miles from Lexington, to which there is a large waggon road. The main branch of Licking, is about twenty-two miles from Limestone. On this stream we find some first, but mostly second and third rate lands, and towards its head something hilly. There we find the Blue Licks, two fine salt springs, where great plenty of salt may be made. Round these licks, the soil is poor for some distance, being much impregnated with salt.

The southern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, as appears in the map, spread through a great body of first, and some second rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and some salt licks, and springs. On these several branches of Licking, are good mill-seats, and navigation to the Ohio, from the fork down to its mouth. The land is hilly, and generally poor, yet along the streams and in valleys we find some excellent land.

The Elkhorn lands are much esteemed, being situated in a bend of Kentucke River, of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, rises. Here we find mostly first rate

land, and near the Kentucke River second and third rate. This great tract is beautifully situated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover; and many of the streams afford fine mill seats.

The lands below the mouth of Elkhorn, up Eagle Creek, and towards the Ohio, are hilly and poor, except those contained in a great bend of the Ohio, opposite Great Miami, cut off, as appears in the map, by the Big-bone and Bank-lick creeks, interlocking, and running separate courses. Here we find a great deal of good land, but something hilly.

On Kentucke River we find many fertile valleys, or bottoms along the river, especially towards its rise. There is good land also on Red River, but towards the heads of this, and Kentucke, the soil is broken; but even here, we find in valleys, and along streams, a great deal of fruitful land. Generally the soil within a mile or two of Kentucke River is of the third and fourth rates; from about that distance, as we leave it on either side, we approach good lands. The country through which it winds its course, for the most part, may be considered as level to its banks, or rather precipices; from the brow of which, we behold the river, three and sometimes four hundred feet deep, like a great canal. For a more particular account of this, we refer the reader to where we treat of the curiosities of Kentucke.

Dick's River runs through a great body of first rate land, abounding every where with cane, and affords many excellent mill seats. Many mills are already built on this stream, some of which are represented in the map, and will have a plentiful supply of water in the dryest seasons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are similar to the banks of Kentucke. The several streams and branches of Salt River afford excellent mill seats. These roll themselves through a great tract of excellent land, but the country from the junction of these waters,

and some miles above towards the Ohio, which may be about twenty-five miles, is level and poor, and has abundance of ponds. For a considerable distance from the head of this river, the land is of the first quality, well situated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this, and Dick's River, the inhabitants are chiefly settled, it being the safest part of the country from the incursions of the Indians.

Green River, affords excellent mill seats, and a constant stream. This is allowed to be the best watered part of Kentucke. On its banks we find many fine bottoms, some first rate, but mostly second and third rate lands; and at some distance, many knobs, ridges, and broken poor land. Below a creek, called Sinking Creek, on this river, within fifty miles of Ohio, towards Salt River, a great territory begins, called Green River Barrens, extending to the Ohio. Most of this is very good land, and level. It has no timber, and little water, but affords excellent pasturage for cattle. On some parts of this river, we find abundance of cane, some salt licks, and sulphureous and bituminous springs. South of Green River, in the lands reserved for the continental, and state troops of Virginia, an exceeding valuable lead mine has lately been discovered. Iron ore is found on Rough Creek, a stream running into this river. That part of Cumberland River which is in the Kentucke country, traverses a hilly poor land, though in some parts we find good soil along its sides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kenhawa, and Tenese) are not in the Kentucke country, and therefore do not come properly with in my plan.

The reader, by casting his eye upon the map, and viewing round the heads of Licking, from the Ohio, and round the heads of Kentucke, Dick's River, and down Green River to the Ohio, may view, in that great compass of above one hundred

miles square, the most extraordinary country that the sun enlightens with his celestial beams.

The Ohio River, the great reservoir of all the numerous rivers that flow into it from both sides, has many fine valleys along its sides; and we observe that opposite to each of them there is a hill; these hills and bottoms changing sides alternately. It only remains under this head to inform the reader, that there is a great body of first rate land near the Falls, or Rapids, called Bare-grass; and it will be sufficient just to mention that the country on the N. West side of the Ohio, some of the waters of which I have represented in the map, is allowed by all travellers to be a most fertile, level country, and well watered.

AIR AND CLIMATE.

THIS country is more temperate and healthy than the other settled parts of America. In Summer it wants the sandy heats which Virginia and Carolina experience, and receives a fine air from its rivers. In Winter, which at most only lasts three months, commonly two, and is but seldom severe, the people are safe in bad houses; and the beasts have a good supply without fodder. The Winter begins about Christmas, and ends about the first of March, at farthest does not exceed the middle of that month. Snow seldom falls deep or lies long. The west winds often bring storms, and the east winds clear the sky; but there is no steady rule of weather in that respect as in the northern states. The west winds are sometimes cold and nitrous. The Ohio running in that direction, and there being mountains on that quarter, the westerly winds by sweep-

ing along their tops, in the cold regions of the air, and over a long tract of frozen water, collect cold in their course, and convey it over the Kentucke country; but the weather is not so intensely severe as these winds bring with them in Pennsylvania. The air and seasons depend very much on the winds, as to heat and cold, dryness and moisture.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

THE soil of Kentucke is of a loose, deep black mould, without sand, in the first rate lands about two or three feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In some places the mould inclines to brown. In some the wood, as the natural consequence of too rich a soil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large stumps in a field lately cleared. These parts are not considerable. The country in general may be considered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Those which are peculiar to Kentucke are the sugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great plenty, and furnishes every family with plenty of excellent sugar. The honey-locust is curiously surrounded with large thorny spikes, bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a sweet taste, and makes excellent beer.

The coffee-tree greatly resembles the black oak, grows large, and also bears a pod, in which is enclosed good coffee. The pappa-tree does not grow to a great size, is a soft wood, bears a fine fruit much like a cucumber in shape and size, and tastes sweet. The cucumber-tree is small and soft, with remarkable leaves, bears a fruit much resembling that from

which it is named. Black mulberry-trees are in abundance. The wild cherry-tree is here frequent, of a large size, and supplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here also is the buck-eye, an exceeding soft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and some other kinds of trees not common elsewhere. Here is great plenty of fine cane, on which the cattle feed, and grow fat. This plant in general grows from three to twelve feet high, of a hard substance, with joints at eight or ten inches distance along the stalk, from which proceed leaves resembling those of the willow. There are many cane brakes so thick and tall that it is difficult to pass through them. Where no cane grows there is abundance of wild-rye, clover, and buffalo-grass, covering vast tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries. The Shawanese sallad, wild lettuce, and pepper-grass, and many more, as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are seen the finest crown-imperial in the world, the cardinal flower, so much extolled for its scarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the three Winter months, the plains and valleys are adorned with variety of flowers of the most admirable beauty. Here is also found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia, which has an exquisite smell, and continues to blossom and seed for several months together.

This country is richest on the higher lands, exceeding the finest low grounds in the settled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common fifty and sixty bushels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible persons, that above one hundred bushels of good corn were produced from an acre in one season. The first rate land is too rich for wheat till it has been reduced by four or five years cultivation.

Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucke, has lately experienced the production of small grain, and affirms that he had thirty-five bushels of wheat, and fifty bushels of rye per acre.

I think in common the land will produce about thirty bushels of wheat, and rye, upon a moderate computation, per acre; and this is the general opinion of the inhabitants. We may suppose that barley and oats will increase abundantly; as yet they have not been sufficiently tried. The soil is very favourable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the second, third and fourth rate lands, are as proper for small grain. These accounts of such amazing fertility may, to some, appear incredible, but are certainly true. Every husbandman may have a good garden, or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleases. The soil, which is not of a thirsty nature, is commonly well supplied with plentiful showers.

Iron ore and lead are found in abundance, but we do not hear of any silver or gold mine as yet discovered.

The western waters produce plenty of fish and fowl. The fish common to the waters of the Ohio are the buffalo-fish, of a large size, and the cat-fish sometimes exceeding one hundred weight. Salmons have been taken in Kentucke weighing thirty weight. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fish, and eel, are here in plenty. It is said that there are no trouts in the western waters. Suckers, sun-fish, and other hook-fish, are abundant; but no shad, or herrings. We may suppose with a degree of certainty, that there are large subterraneous aqueducts stored with fish, from whence fine springs arise in many parts producing fine hook-fish in variety. On these waters, and especially on the Ohio, the geese and ducks are amazingly numerous.

The land fowls are turkeys, which are very frequent, pheasants, partridges, and ravens: The perraquet, a bird every way resembling a parrot, but much smaller; the ivory-bill wood-cock, of a whitish colour with a white plume, flies screaming exceeding sharp. It is asserted, that the bill of this bird is pure ivory, a circumstance very singular in the plumy tribe. The great owl resembles its species in other parts, but is remarkably different in its vociferation, sometimes making a strange, surprising noise, like a man in the most extreme danger and difficulty.

Serpents are not numerous, and are such as are to be found in other parts of the continent, except the bull, the horned and the mockason snakes. Swamps are rare, and consequently frogs and other reptiles, common to such places. There are no swarms of bees, except such as have been introduced by the present inhabitants.

QUADRUPEDS.

AMONG the native animals are the urus, or zorax, described by Cesar, which we call a buffalo, much resembling a large bull, of a great size, with a large head, thick short crooked horns, and broader in his forepart than behind. Upon his shoulder is a large lump of flesh, covered with a thick boss of long wool and curly hair, of a dark brown colour. They do not rise from the ground as our cattle, but spring up at once upon their feet; are of a broad make and clumsy appearance,

with short legs, but run fast, and turn not aside for any thing when chased, except a standing tree. They weigh from five to ten hundred weight, are excellent meat, supplying the inhabitants in many parts with beef, and their hides make good leather. I have heard a hunter assert, he saw above one thousand buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once; so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives. There still remains a great number in the exterior parts of the settlement. They feed upon cane and grass, as other cattle, and are innocent harmless creatures.

There are still to be found many deer, elks and bears, within the settlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are also panthers, wild-cats, and wolves.

The waters have plenty of beavers, otters, minks, and musk-rats: Nor are the animals common to other parts wanting, such as foxes, rabbits, squirrels, racoons, ground-hogs, pole-cats, and oppossums. Most of the species of the domestic quadrupeds have been introduced since the settlement, such as horses, cows, sheep and hogs, which are prodigiously multiplied, suffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.

INHABITANTS.

AN accurate account is kept of all the male inhabitants above the age of sixteen, who are rated towards the expences of the government by the name of Tithables; from which, by allowing that those so enrolled amount to a fourth part of the whole inhabitants, we may conclude that Kentucke con-

tains, at present, upwards of thirty thousand souls: So amazingly rapid has been the settlement in a few years. Numbers are daily arriving, and multitudes expected this Fall; which gives a well grounded expectation that the country will be exceedingly populous in a short time. The inhabitants, at present, have not extraordinary good houses, as usual in a newly settled country.

They are, in general, polite, humane, hospitable, and very complaisant. Being collected from different parts of the continent, they have a diversity of manners, customs and religions, which may in time perhaps be modified to one uniform. As yet united to the State of Virginia, they are governed by her wholesome laws, which are virtuously executed, and with excellent decorum. Schools for education are formed, and a college is appointed by act of Assembly of Virginia, to be founded under the conduct of trustees in Kentucke, and endowed with lands for its use. An excellent library is likewise bestowed upon this seminary, by the Rev. John Todd, of Virginia.

The Anabaptists were the first that promoted public worship in Kentucke; and the Presbyterians have formed three large congregations near Harrod's station, and have engaged the Rev. David Rice, of Virginia, to be their pastor. At Lexington, 35 miles from these, they have formed another large congregation, and invited the Rev. Mr. Rankin, of Virginia, to undertake that charge among them. At present there are no other religious societies formed, although several other sects have numerous adherents. But from these early movements it is hoped that Kentucke will eminently shine in learning and piety, which will fulfil the wish of every virtuous citizen.

CURIOSITIES.

AMONGST the natural curiosities of this country, the winding banks, or rather precipices of Kentucke, and Dick's Rivers, deserve the first place. The astonished eye there beholds almost every where three or four hundred feet of a solid perpendicular lime-stone rock; in some parts a fine white marble, either curiously arched, pillared or blocked up into fine building stones. These precipices, as was observed before, are like the sides of a deep trench, or canal; the land above being level, except where creeks set in, and crowned with fine groves of red cedar. It is only at particular places that this river can be crossed, one of which is worthy of admiration; a great road large enough for waggons made by buffaloes, sloping with an easy descent from the top to the bottom of a very large steep hill, at or near the river above Lees-town.

Caves are found in this country amazingly large; in some of which you may travel several miles under a fine limestone rock, supported by curious arches and pillars: In most of them runs a stream of water.

Near the head of Salt River a subterranean lake or large pond has lately been discovered. Col. Bowman says, that he and a companion travelled in one four hours till he luckily came to the mouth again. The same gentleman mentions another which operates like an air furnace, and contains much sulphur. An adventurer in any of these will have a perfect idea of primeval darkness.

There appear to be great natural stores of sulphur and salt in this country. A spring at Boonsburrow constantly emits sulphureous particles, and near the same place is a salt spring. There is another sulphureous spring upon Four Mile Creek, a

third upon Green River, and many others in different places, abounding with that useful mineral.

There are three springs or ponds of bitumen near Green River, which do not form a stream, but disgorge themselves into a common reservoir, and when used in lamps answer all the purposes of the finest oil.

There are different places abounding with copperas, easily procured, and in its present impure state sufficient for the use of the inhabitants; and when refined, equal to any in the world.

There is an allum bank on the south side of Cumberland River, situated at the bottom of a cliff of rocks projecting over it. In its present state it has the appearance and possesses the virtues of that mineral, and when purified is a beautiful allum.

Many fine salt springs, whose places appear in the map, constantly emit water which, being manufactured, affords great quantities of fine salt. At present there is but one, called Bullet's Lick, improved, and this affords salt sufficient for all Kentucke, and exports some to the Illinois. Salt sells at present for twenty shillings per bushel; but as some other springs are beginning to be worked, no doubt that necessary article will soon be much cheaper. Drenne's-lick, the Big-bone, and the Blue-licks, send forth streams of salt water. The Nob-lick, and many others, do not produce water, but consist of clay mixed with salt particles: To these the cattle repair and reduce high hills rather to valleys than plains. The amazing herds of Buffaloes which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of

land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near those springs are chiefly hilly. These are truly curiosities, and the eye can scarcely be satisfied with admiring them.

A medicinal spring is found near the Big-bone Lick, which has perfectly cured the itch by once bathing; and experience in time may discover in it other virtues. There is another of like nature near Drennen's-Lick.

Near Lexington are to be seen curious sepulchres, full of human skeletons, which are thus fabricated. First, on the ground are laid large broad stones; on these were placed the bodies, separated from each other by broad stones, covered with others, which serve as a basis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built, without mortar, growing still narrower to the height of a man. This method of burying appears to be totally different from that now practiced by the Indians. For our conjectures on this subject we beg leave to refer to appendix No. 3.—At a salt spring, near Ohio river, very large bones are found, far surpassing the size of any species of animals now in America. The head appears to have been about three feet long, the ribs seven, and the thigh bones about four; one of which is reposited in the library in Philadelphia, and said to weigh seventy-eight pounds. The tusks are above a foot in length, the grinders about five inches square, and eight inches long. These bones have equally excited the amazement of the ignorant, and attracted the attention of the philosopher. Specimens of them have been sent both to France and England, where they have been examined with the greatest diligence, and found upon comparison to be remains of the same species of animals that produced those other fossil bones which have been discovered in Tartary, Chili, and sev-

eral other places, both of the old and new continent. What animal this is, and by what means its ruins are found in regions so widely different, and where none such exists at present, is a question of more difficult decision. The ignorant and superstitious Tartars attribute them to a creature, whom they call Maimon, who, they say, usually resides at the bottom of the rivers, and of whom they relate many marvellous stories; but as this is an assertion totally divested of proof, and even of probability, it has justly been rejected by the learned; and on the other hand it is certain, that no such amphibious quadruped exists in our American waters. The bones themselves bear a great resemblance to those of the elephant. There is no other terrestrial animal now known large enough to produce them. The tusks with which they are equally furnished, equally produce true ivory. These external resemblances have generally made superficial observers conclude, that they could belong to no other than that prince of quadrupeds; and when they first drew the attention of the world, philosophers seem to have subscribed to the same opinion.—But if so, whence is it that the whole species has disappeared from America? An animal so laborious and so docile, that the industry of the Peruvians, which reduced to servitude and subjected to education species so vastly inferior in those qualities, as the Llama and the Paca, could never have overlooked the elephant, if he had been to be found in their country. Whence is it that these bones are found in climates where the elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even subsist in his wild state, and in a state of servitude will not propagate? These are difficulties sufficient to stagger credulity itself; and at length produced the enquiries of Dr. Hunter. That celebrated anatomist, having procured specimens from the Ohio, examined them with

that accuracy for which he is so much distinguished. He discovered a considerable difference between the shape and structure of the bones, and those of the elephant. He observed from the form of the teeth, that they must have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to such sustenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with the teeth necessary for its use: And from the whole he concluded to the satisfaction of naturalists, that these bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whose race is probably extinct, unless it may be found in the extensive continent of New Holland, whose recesses have not yet been pervaded by the curiosity or avidity of civilized man. Can then so great a link have perished from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human species, an animal as large as the elephant, the tyrant of the forests, perhaps the devourer of man! Nations, such as the Indians, must have been in perpetual alarm. The animosities among the various tribes must have been suspended till the common enemy, who threatened the very existence of all, should be extirpated. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps singular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the system of nature.

RIGHTS OF LAND.

THE proprietors of the Kentucke lands obtain their patents from Virginia, and their rights are of three kinds, viz. Those which arise from military service, from settlement and pre-emption, or from warrants from the treasury. The military rights are held by officers, or their representatives, as a

reward for services done in one of the two last wars. The Settlement and pre-emption rights arise from occupation. Every man who, before March, 1780, had remained in the country one year, or raised a crop of corn, was allowed to have a settlement of four hundred acres, and a pre-emption adjoining it of one thousand acres. Every man who had only built a cabbin, or made any improvement by himself or others, was entitled to a pre-emption of one thousand acres where such improvement was made.

In March, 1780, the settlement and pre-emption rights ceased, and treasury warrants were afterwards issued, authorizing their possessor to locate the quantity of land mentioned in them, wherever it could be found vacant in Virginia.

The mode of procedure in these affairs may be instructive to the reader. After the entry is made in the land-office, there being one in each county, the person making the entry takes out a copy of the location, and proceeds to survey when he pleases. The plot and certificate of such survey must be returned to the office within three months after the survey is made, there to be recorded; and a copy of the record must be taken out in twelve months, after the return of the survey, and produced to the assistant register of the land-office in Kentucke, where it must lie six months, that prior locators may have time and opportunity to enter a caveat, and prove their better right. If no caveat is entered in that time, the plot and certificate are sent to the land-office at Richmond, in Virginia, and three months more are allowed to have the patent returned to the owner.

The validity of the right of Virginia to this extensive western territory has been disputed by some, but without reason. The western boundary of that state, by charter, restricted by

the treaty of Paris, in 1763, is fixed upon the Ohio River. She has purchased the soil from the Indians, has first settled it, and established wholesome laws for the regulation and government of the inhabitants; and therefore we conclude, that the right of Virginia to Kentucke is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE OF KENTUCKE.

A CONVENIENT situation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches and happiness of every country greatly depends. I believe many conceive the situation of Kentucke to be unfavourable in this respect. I confess when I first visited this country I was of the opinion of other misinformed men, that the best channel was from Philadelphia or Baltimore, by the way of Pittsburg,* and from thence down the Ohio; and upon account of the difficulties and expences attending this route, for which there is no remedy, that goods would ever be dear. This opinion I have since reprobated, as the effect of ignorance of the trade up the Mississippi from New Orleans, or Mantchac, at the river or gut Iberville.

Those who are acquainted with America know the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the western continent. These are the principal channels through which that extensive region, bathed by their waters, and enriched by the many streams they receive, communicate with

* *From Philadelphia to Pittsburg is a land-carriage of* 320 *miles, from Baltimore* 280.

the sea, and may truly be considered as the great passage made by the Hand of Nature for a variety of valuable purposes, and principally to promote the happiness and benefit of mankind; amongst which, the conveyance of the produce of that immense and fertile country lying westward of the United States is not the least. A short description of these rivers, and some others flowing into them, are objects submitted to the reader's attention, in order to form a just idea of the favourable commercial circumstances of that important country .

The Ohio river begins at Pittsburgh, 320 miles west of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monangehela rivers, and running a winding course of S. 60° West, falls into the Mississippi 1074 miles, by the meanders of the river, below Pittsburg. The only obstruction to navigation on this river are the Rapids, as described before under the description of the Kentucke rivers; but they are passed in safety when the stream is high.

The most remarkable branches composing the head waters of Ohio are Red-stone Creek, Cheat River, and Yochiaghany. These waters are navigable to a considerable distance above Pittsburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from great Kenhawa, which is one hundred and ninety-six miles and a half below Pittsburg, the stream is navigable most of the year. Down this river great quantities of goods are brought, and some are conveyed up the Kentucke rivers, others on horse-back or in waggons to the settled parts, and sold on an average at one hundred pounds per cent. advance.

The current of the Ohio descends about two miles an hour in autumn, and when the waters are high, about five miles. Those of the Kentucke rivers are much the same, and with-

out rapids, and are of immense value to the country, affording fish and fowl, and transportation of the produce of the country to the best market. These rivers increase the Ohio more in depth than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than one and a half mile in width, and enters the Mississippi in a S. west direction with a slow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. east direction, and afterwards in a S. west, having been a little before joined by a greater river called Missouri,* which runs in an eastward direction through Louisiana, and afterwards communicates to the Mississippi‡ its own muddy and majestic appearance. From the mouth of the Ohio to New Orleans, a distance not exceeding 460 miles in a straight line, is about 856 by water. The depth is, in common, eight or ten fathoms until you approach its mouth, which empties itself by several channels into the gulf of Mexico. Here the navigation is dangerous, on account of the many islands, sand bars and logs, interspersed in its mouth, which is about twenty miles wide. This disadvantage may be remedied almost in the same manner that the stream was disconcerted. The conflict between the sea and this mighty river, which brings down with its stream great numbers of trees, mud, leaves, &c. causes them to subside and form shoals. One of these trees, stopped by its roots or branches, will soon be joined by thousands more, and so fixed, that no human force is able to remove them. In time they are consolidated, every flood adds another layer to their height, forming islands, which at length are covered with shrubs, grass and cane, and forcibly shift the bed of the river. In this manner we

* *The Missouri is supposed to be about* 3000 *miles long.*

‡ *The Mississippi is said to be about* 2500 *miles long.*

suppose most of the country on each side of the Mississippi, below the Iberville, to have been formed, by islands uniting to islands, which in a succession of time have greatly encroached on the sea, and produced an extensive tract of country. If some of the floating timber at the mouths of this river were moved into some of the channels, numbers more would incorporate with them; and the current being impeded in these, the whole force of the river uniting, one important channel would forceably be opened, and sufficiently cleared, to admit of the most excellent navigation.

About ninety-nine miles above Orleans is a fort, now called Mantchac by the Spaniards; formerly Fort Bute by the English, who built it. Near this is a large gut, formed by the Mississippi, on the east side, called Iberville; some have dignified it with the name of River, when the Mississippi, its source, is high. This is navigable at most not above four months in the year for the first ten miles; for three miles further it is from two to six feet in autumn, and from two to four fathoms the remaining part of the way to lake Maurepas, receiving in its course the river Amit, which is navigable for batteaux to a considerable distance.

Lake Maurepas is about ten miles in length, and seven in breadth; and there is a passage of seven miles between this and Lake Pontchartrain.

Lake Pontchartrain is about forty miles long, twenty four broad, and eighteen feet deep. From this lake to the sea the channel is ten miles long, and three hundred yards wide; and the water deep enough to admit large vessels through these lakes, and their communications. This place, if attended to, might be of consequence to all the western country, and to the commerce of West-Florida: For it may reasonably be supposed,

that the inhabitants and traders of the western country would rather trade at this place than at New Orleans, if they could have as good returns for their peltry, and the produce of their soil, as it makes a considerable difference in their voyage, and saves labour, money and time. Experience will doubtless produce considerable improvements, and render the navigation of the Mississippi, either by these lakes, or New Orleans, nearly as cheap as any other. That the Mississippi can answer every valuable purpose of trade and commerce is proved already to a demonstration by experience.

I have reason to believe that the time is not far distant when New Orleans will be a great trading city, and perhaps another will be built near Mantchac, at Iberville, that may in time rival its glory.

A prodigious number of islands, some of which are of great extent, are interspersed in that mighty river; and the difficulty in ascending it in the Spring when the floods are high, is compensated by eddies or counter currents, which mostly run in the bends near the banks of the river with nearly equal velocity against the stream, and assist the ascending boats. This river is rapid in those parts which have clusters of islands, shoals and sand-banks; but the rapidity of these places will be no inconvenience to the newly invented mechanical boats,* it being their peculiar property to sail best in smart currents.

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* *This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and recommended to government by two gentlemen of first rate abilities, Mr. Charles Rumsey and Doct. James McMacken. Their proposals are, "to construct a species of boat, of the burthen of ten tons, that shall sail, or be propelled by the force of mechanical powers thereto applied, up the stream of a fresh water river the distance of between 25 and 40 miles a day, notwithstanding the velocity of the water should move at the rate of 10 miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of three hands."*

From New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, bateaux, carrying about 40 tons, have been rowed by eighteen or twenty men in eight or ten weeks, which, at the extent, will not amount to more than five hundred pounds expence, which experience has proved to be about one third of that from Philadelphia. It is highly probable that in time the distance will be exceedingly shortened by cutting a-cross bends of the river.

Charlevoix relates, that at Coupee or Cut-point, the river formerly made a great turn, and some Canadians, by deepening the channel of a small brook, diverted the waters of the river into it. The impetuosity of the stream was so violent, and the soil of so rich and loose a quality, that in a short time the point was entirely cut through, and the old channel left dry, except in inundations, by which travellers save 14 leagues of their voyage. The new channel has been sounded with a line of thirty fathoms without finding bottom. When the distance is shortened, which I believe may readily be done, and the mechanical boats brought to their highest improvement, the expences of a voyage from New Orleans to the Falls of Ohio will be attended with inconsiderable expence. Now we know by experience that forty tons of goods cannot be taken to the Falls of Ohio from Philadelphia under sixteen hundred pounds expence; but by improvements on the Mississippi, with the conveniences of these boats, goods can be brought from New Orleans to the Falls for the tenth part of that expence; and if they are sold at one hundred pounds per cent. now, when

brought from Philadelphia at expences so great, what may the merchant afford to sell his goods at, who brings them so much cheaper? Besides, the great advantages arising from the exporting of peltry, and country produce, which never can be conveyed to the eastern ports to any advantage. It is evident also that the market from which they receive imports, must consequently receive their exports, which is the only return they can possibly make.

By stating the commerce of Kentucke in its proper terms, we find the expences such, that we conclude with propriety, that that country will be supplied with goods as cheap as if situated but forty miles from Philadelphia.

But perhaps it will be replied, New Orleans is in the possession of the Spaniards, who, whenever they please, may make use of that fort, and some others they have on the Mississippi, to prevent the navigation, and ruin the trade. The passage through Iberville is also subject to the Spaniards, and besides, inconvenient; that stream continuing so short a time, and in the most disadvantageous season.

I grant it will be absurd to expect a free navigation of the Mississippi whilst the Spaniards are in possession of New Orleans. To suppose it, is an idea calculated to impose only upon the weak. They may perhaps trade with us upon their own terms, while they think it consistent with their interest,* but no friendship in trade exists when interest expires; therefore, when the western country becomes populous and ripe for

* *Article 8th of the late Definitive Treaty, says, The navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great-Britain and the citizens of the United States.*

trade, sound policy tells us the Floridas must be ours too. According to the articles of the Definitive Treaty, we are to have a free and unmolested navigation of the Mississippi; but experience teaches mankind that treaties are not always to be depended on, the most solemn being broken. Hence we learn that no one should put much faith in any state; and the trade and commerce of the Mississippi River cannot be so well secured in any other possession as our own.

Although the Iberville only admits of a short and inconvenient navigation, yet if a commercial town were built there, it would be the center of the western trade; and a land carriage of ten or twelve miles would be counted no disadvantage to the merchant. Nay, I doubt not, that in time a canal will be broke through the gut of Iberville, which may divert the water of Mississippi that way, and render it a place of the greatest consequence in America; but this important period is reserved for futurity.

APPENDIX.

The ADVENTURES of Col. DANIEL BOON; containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of Kentucke.

CURIOSITY is natural to the soul of man, and interesting objects have a powerful influence on our affections. Let these influencing powers actuate, by the permission or disposal of Providence, from selfish or social views, yet in time the mysterious will of Heaven is unfolded, and we behold our conduct, from whatsoever motives excited, operating to answer the important designs of heaven. Thus we behold Kentucke, lately an howling wilderness, the habitation of savages and wild beasts, become a fruitful field; this region, so favourably distinguished by nature, now become the habitation of civilization, at a period unparalleled in history, in the midst of a raging war, and under all the disadvantages of emigration to a country so remote from the inhabited parts of the continent. Here, where the hand of violence shed the blood of the innocent; where the horrid yells of savages, and the groans of the distressed, sounded in our ears, we now hear the praises and adorations of our Creator; where wretched wigwams stood, the miserable abodes of savages, we behold the foundations of cities laid, that, in all probability, will rival the glory of the greatest upon earth. And we view Kentucke situated on the

fertile banks of the great Ohio, rising from obscurity to shine with splendor, equal to any other of the stars of the American hemisphere.

The settling of this region well deserves a place in history. Most of the memorable events I have myself been exercised in; and, for the satisfaction of the public, will briefly relate the circumstances of my adventures, and scenes of life, from my first movement to this country until this day.

It was on the first of May, in the year 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness for a time, and left my family and peaceable habitation on the Yadkin River, in North-Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucke, in company with John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Monay, and William Cool. We proceeded successfully, and after a long and fatiguing journey through a mountainous wilderness, in a westward direction, on the seventh day of June following, we found ourselves on Red-River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians, and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucke. Here let me observe, that for some time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather as a prelibation of our future sufferings. At this place we encamped, and made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found every where abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browzing on the leaves of the cane, or croping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of

beasts of every kind natural to America, we practised hunting with great success until the twenty-second day of December following.

This day John Stewart and I had a pleasing ramble, but fortune changed the scene in the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, on which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucke river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick canebrake upon us, and made us prisoners. The time of our sorrow was now arrived, and the scene fully opened. The Indians plundered us of what we had, and kept us in confinement seven days, treating us with common savage usage. During this time we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious of us; but in the dead of night, as we lay in a thick cane brake by a large fire, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me for rest, I touched my companion and gently awoke him. We improved this favourable opportunity, and departed, leaving them to take their rest, and speedily directed our course towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and the company dispersed and gone home. About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, determined to find me, if possible, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding the unfortunate circumstances of our company, and our dan-

gerous situation, as surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting so fortunately in the wilderness made us reciprocally sensible of the utmost satisfaction. So much does friendship triumph over misfortune, that sorrows and sufferings vanish at the meeting not only of real friends, but of the most distant acquaintances, and substitutes happiness in their room.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stewart, was killed by the savages, and the man that came with my brother returned home by-himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death amongst savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus situated, many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, I believe few would have equally enjoyed the happiness we experienced. I often observed to my brother, You see now how little nature requires to be satisfied. Felicity, the companion of content, is rather found in our own breasts than in the enjoyment of external things; And I firmly believe it requires but a little philosophy to make a man happy in whatsoever state he is. This consists in a full resignation to the will of Providence; and a resigned soul finds pleasure in a path strewed with briars and thorns.

We continued not in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the Winter storms. We remained there undisturbed during the Winter; and on the first day of May, 1770, my brother returned home to the settlement by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me by myself, without bread, salt or sugar, without company of my fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog. I confess I never before was under greater necessity of exercising philosophy and fortitude. A few days I passed un-

comfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety upon the account of my absence and exposed situation, made sensible impressions on my heart. A thousand dreadful apprehensions presented themselves to my view, and had undoubtedly disposed me to melancholy, if further indulged.

One day I undertook a tour through the country, and the diversity and beauties of nature I met with in this charming season, expelled every gloomy and vexatious thought. Just at the close of day the gentle gales retired, and left the place to the disposal of a profound calm. Not a breeze shook the most tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and, looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains, the beauteous tracts below. On the other hand, I surveyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The sullen shades of night soon overspread the whole hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My roving excursion this day had fatigued my body, and diverted my imagination. I laid me down to sleep, and I awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as the first. I returned again to my old camp, which was not disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane-brakes, to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but fortunately for me, in my absence. In this situation I was constantly exposed to danger, and death. How un-

happy such a situation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes, and if it does, only augments the pain. It was my happiness to be destitute of this afflicting passion, with which I had the greatest reason to be affected. The prowling wolves diverted my nocturnal hours with perpetual howlings; and the various species of animals in this vast forest, in the daytime, were continually in my view.

Thus I was surrounded with plenty in the midst of want. I was happy in the midst of dangers and inconveniences. In such a diversity it was impossible I should be disposed to melancholy. No populous city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind, as the beauties of nature I found here.

Thus, through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures, I spent the time until the 27th day of July following, when my brother, to my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Shortly after, we left this place, not thinking it safe to stay there longer, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitring that part of the country until March, 1771, and giving names to the different waters.

Soon after, I returned home to my family with a determination to bring them as soon as possible to live in Kentucke, which I esteemed a second paradise, at the risk of my life and fortune.

I returned safe to my old habitation, and found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm on the Yadkin, and what goods we could not carry with us; and on the twenty-fifth day of September, 1773, bade a farewel to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucke, in company with five families more, and forty men that joined us in Powel's Valley, which is one hundred and fifty miles from the now set-

tled parts of Kentucke. This promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity; for upon the tenth day of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six, and wounded one man. Of these my eldest son was one that fell in the action. Though we defended ourselves, and repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles, to the settlement on Clench river. We had passed over two mountains, viz. Powel's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain when this adverse fortune overtook us. These mountains are in the wilderness, as we pass from the old settlements in Virginia to Kentucke, are ranged in a S. west and N. east direction, are of a great length and breadth, and not far distant from each other. Over these, nature hath formed passes, that are less difficult than might be expected from a view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror. The spectator is apt to imagine that nature had formerly suffered some violent convulsion; and that these are the dismembered remains of the dreadful shock; the ruins, not of Persepolis or Palmyra, but of the world!

I remained with my family on Clench until the sixth of June, 1774, when I and one Michael Stoner were solicited by Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to go to the Falls of the Ohio, to conduct into the settlement a number of surveyors that had been sent thither by him some months before; this country having about this time drawn the attention of many adventurers. We immediately complied with the Governor's request, and conducted in the surveyors, compleating a tour of eight hundred miles, through many difficulties, in sixty-two days.

Soon after I returned home, I was ordered to take the command of three garrisons during the campaign, which Governor Dunmore carried on against the Shawanese Indians: After the conclusion of which, the Militia was discharged from each garrrison, and I being relieved from my post, was solicited by a number of North-Carolina gentlemen, that were about purchasing the lands lying on the S. side of Kentucke River, from the Cherokee Indians, to attend their treaty at Wataga, in March, 1775, to negotiate with them, and, mention the boundaries of the purchase. This I accepted, and at the request of the same gentlemen, undertook to mark out a road in the best passage from the settlement through the wilderness to Kentucke, with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking.

I soon began this work, having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed. We proceeded with all possible expedition until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, and where we were fired upon by a party of Indians that killed two, and wounded two of our number; yet, although surprised and taken at a disadvantage, we stood our ground. This was on the twentieth of March, 1775. Three days after, we were fired upon again, and had two men killed, and three wounded. Afterwards we proceeded on to Kentucke river without opposition; and on the first day of April began to erect the fort of Boonsborough at a salt lick, about sixty yards from the river, on the S. side.

On the fourth day, the Indians killed one of our men.—We were busily employed in building this fort, until the fourteenth day of June following, without any farther opposition from the Indians; and having finished the works, I returned to my family, on Clench.

In a short time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clench to this garrison; where we arrived safe without any other difficulties than such as are common to this passage, my wife and daughter being the first white women that ever stood on the banks of Kentucke river.

On the twenty-fourth day of December following we had one man killed, and one wounded, by the Indians, who seemed determined to persecute us for erecting this fortification.

On the fourteenth day of July, 1776, two of Col. Calaway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eight men, and on the sixteenth overtook them, killed two of the party, and recovered the girls. The same day on which this attempt was made, the Indians divided themselves into different parties, and attacked several forts, which were shortly before this time erected, doing a great deal of mischief. This was extremely distressing to the new settlers. The innocent husbandman was shot down, while busy cultivating the soil for his family's supply. Most of the cattle around the stations were destroyed. They continued their hostilities in this manner until the fifteenth of April, 1777, when they attacked Boonsborough with a party of above one hundred in number, killed one man, and wounded four—Their loss in this attack was not certainly known to us.

On the fourth day of July following, a party of about two hundred Indians attacked Boonsborough, killed one man, and wounded two. They besieged us forty-eight hours; during which time seven of them were killed, and at last, finding themselves not likely to prevail, they raised the siege, and departed.

The Indians had disposed their warriors in different parties at this time, and attacked the different garrisons to pre-

vent their assisting each other, and did much injury to the distressed inhabitants.

On the nineteenth day of this month, Col. Logan's fort was besieged by a party of about two hundred Indians. During this dreadful siege they did a great deal of mischief, distressed the garrison, in which were only fifteen men, killed two, and wounded one. The enemies loss was uncertain, from the common practice which the Indians have of carrying off their dead in time of battle. Col. Harrod's fort was then defended by only sixty-five men, and Boonsborough by twenty-two, there being no more forts or white men in the country, except at the Falls, a considerable distance from these, and all taken collectively, were but a handful to the numerous warriors that were every where dispersed through the country, intent upon doing all the mischief that savage barbarity could invent. Thus we passed through a scene of sufferings that exceeds description.

On the twenty-fifth of this month a reinforcement of forty-five men arrived from North-Carolina, and about the twentieth of August following, Col. Bowman arrived with one hundred men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and from hence, for the space of six weeks, we had skirmishes with Indians, in one quarter or other, almost every day.

The savages now learned the superiority of the Long Knife, as they call the Virginians, by experience; being outgeneralled in almost every battle. Our affairs began to wear a new aspect, and the enemy, not daring to venture on open war, practised secret mischief at times.

On the first day of January, 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking River, to make salt for the different garrisons in the country.

On the seventh day of February, as I was hunting, to procure meat for the company, I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians, and two Frenchmen, on their march against Boonsborough, that place being particularly the object of the enemy.

They pursued, and took me; and brought me on the eighth day to the Licks, where twenty-seven of my party were, three of them having previously returned home with the salt. I knowing it was impossible for them to escape, capitulated with the enemy, and, at a distance in their view, gave notice to my men of their situation, with orders not to resist, but surrender themselves captives.

The generous usage the Indians had promised before in my capitulation, was afterwards fully complied with, and we proceeded with them as prisoners to old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town, on Little Miami, where we arrived, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather, on the eighteenth day of February, and received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages.—On the tenth day of March following, I, and ten of my men, were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived the thirtieth day, and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

During our travels, the Indians entertained me well; and their affection for me was so great, that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others, although the Governor offered them one hundred pounds Sterling for me, on purpose to give me a parole to go home. Several English gentlemen there, being sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with human sympathy, generously offered a friendly supply for my wants, which I refused, with many thanks for their kindness; adding,

that I never expected it would be in my power to recompense such unmerited generosity.

The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit, and on the tenth day of April brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an exceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as chearful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe, in their countenances and gestures, the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me; and, when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect, and entire friendship, often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was, in common, with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape, and carefully avoided their suspicions, continuing with them at Old Chelicothe until the first day of June following, and then was taken by them to the salt springs on Sciotha, and kept there, making salt, ten

days. During this time I hunted some for them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucke, if possible, and remarkably well watered.

When I returned to Chelicothe, alarmed to see four hundred and fifty Indians, of their choicest warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, ready to march against Boonsborough, I determined to escape the first opportunity.

On the sixteenth, before sun-rise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonsborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

I found our fortress in a bad state of defence, but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, strengthen our gates and posterns, and form double bastions, which we compleated in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow prisoners, escaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had an account of my departure, and postponed their expedition three weeks.—The Indians had spies out viewing our movements, and were greatly alarmed with our increase in number and fortifications. The Grand Councils of the nations were held frequently, and with more deliberation than usual. They evidently saw the approaching hour when the Long Knife would disposess them of their desirable habitations; and anxiously concerned for futurity, determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucke. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

About the first of August, I made an incursion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to surprise a small town up Sciotha, called Paint-Creek-Town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of

thirty Indians, on their march against Boonsborough, intending to join the others from Chelicothe. A smart fight ensued betwixt us for some time: At length the savages gave way, and fled. We had no loss on our side: The enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took from them three horses, and all their baggage; and being informed, by two of our number that went to their town, that the Indians had entirely evacuated it, we proceeded no further, and returned with all possible expedition to assist our garrison against the other party. We passed by them on the sixth day, and on the seventh, we arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the eighth, the Indian army arrived, being four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Capt. Duquesne, eleven other Frenchmen, and some of their own chiefs, and marched up within view of our fort, with British and French colours flying; and having sent a summons to me, in his Britannick Majesty's name, to surrender the fort, I requested two days consideration, which was granted.

It was now a critical period with us.—We were a small number in the garrison:—A powerful army before our walls, whose appearance proclaimed inevitable death, fearfully painted, and marking their footsteps with desolation. Death was preferable to captivity; and if taken by storm, we must inevitably be devoted to destruction. In this situation we concluded to maintain our garrison, if possible. We immediately proceeded to collect what we could of our horses, and other cattle, and bring them through the posterns into the fort: And in the evening of the ninth, I returned answer, that we were determined to defend our fort while a man was living—Now, said I to their commander, who stood attentively hearing my sentiments, We laugh at all your formidable preparations: But thank you for giving us notice and time to provide for our defence. Your efforts will not prevail; for our gates shall for ever deny you admittance.—Whether this answer affected their courage, or not, I cannot tell; but, contrary to our expectations, they formed a scheme to deceive us, declaring it was their orders, from Governor Hamilton, to take us captives, and not to destroy us; but if nine of us would come out, and treat with them, they would immediately withdraw their forces from our walls, and return home peaceably. This sounded grateful in our ears; and we agreed to the proposal.

We held the treaty within sixty yards of the garrison, on purpose to divert them from a breach of honour, as we could not avoid suspicions of the savages. In this situation the articles were formally agreed to, and signed; and the Indians told us it was customary with them, on such occasions, for two Indians to shake hands with every white-man in the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. We agreed to this also, but were soon convinced their policy was to take us prisoners.—They immediately grappled us; but, although surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army. They immediately attacked us on every side, and a constant heavy fire ensued between us day and night for the space of nine days.

In this time the enemy began to undermine our fort, which was situated sixty yards from Kentucke river. They began at the water-mark, and proceeded in the bank some distance, which we understood by their making the water muddy with the clay; and we immediately proceeded to disappoint their design, by cutting a trench a-cross their subterranean passage. The enemy discovering our counter-mine, by the clay we

threw out of the fort, desisted from that stratagem: And experience now fully convincing them that neither their power nor policy could effect their purpose, on the twentieth day of August they raised the siege, and departed.

During this dreadful siege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed, and four wounded, besides a number of cattle. We killed of the enemy thirty-seven, and wounded a great number. After they were gone, we picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds weight of bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of our fort; which certainly is a great proof of their industry. Soon after this, I went into the settlement, and nothing worthy of a place in this account passed in my affairs for some time.

During my absence from Kentucke, Col. Bowman carried on an expedition against the Shawanese, at Old Chelicothe, with one hundred and sixty men, in July, 1779. Here they arrived undiscovered, and a battle ensued, which lasted until ten o'clock, A. M. when Col. Bowman, finding he could not succeed at this time, retreated about thirty miles. The Indians, in the mean time, collecting all their forces, pursued and overtook him, when a smart fight continued near two hours, not to the advantage of Col. Bowman's party.

Col. Harrod proposed to mount a number of horse, and furiously to rush upon the savages, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate step had a happy effect, broke their line of battle, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had nine killed, and one wounded. The enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps being taken.

On the twenty-second day of June, 1780, a large party of Indians and Canadians, about six hundred in number, commanded by Col. Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's stations, at the Forks of Licking River, with six pieces of artillery. They carried this expedition so secretly, that the unwary inhabitants did not discover them, until they fired upon the forts; and, not being prepared to oppose them, were obliged to surrender themselves miserable captives to barbarous savages, who immediately after tomahawked one man and two women, and loaded all the others with heavy baggage, forcing them along toward their towns, able or unable to march. Such as were weak and faint by the way, they tomahawked. The tender women, and helpless children, fell victims to their cruelty. This, and the savage treatment they received afterwards, is shocking to humanity, and too barbarous to relate.

The hostile disposition of the savages, and their allies, caused General Clark, the commandant at the Falls of the Ohio, immediately to begin an expedition with his own regiment, and the armed force of the country, against Pecaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burnt the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time I returned to Kentucke with my family; and here, to avoid an enquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucke, I am under the necessity of informing him that, during my captivity with the Indians, my wife, who despaired of ever seeing me again, expecting the Indians had put a period to my life, oppressed with the distresses of the country, and bereaved of me, her only happiness, had, before I returned, transported my family and goods, on horses, through the wilderness, amidst a multitude of dangers, to her father's house, in North-Carolina.

Shortly after the troubles at Boonsborough, I went to them, and lived peaceably there until this time. The history of my going home, and returning with my family, forms a series of difficulties, an account of which would swell a volume, and being foreign to my purpose, I shall purposely omit them.

I settled my family in Boonsborough once more; and shortly after, on the sixth day of October, 1780, I went in company with my brother to the Blue Licks; and, on our return home, we were fired upon by a party of Indians. They shot him, and pursued me, by the scent of their dog, three miles; but I killed the dog, and escaped. The Winter soon came on, and was very severe, which confined the Indians to their wigwams.

The severity of this Winter caused great difficulties in Kentucke. The enemy had destroyed most of the corn, the Summer before. This necessary article was scarce, and dear; and the inhabitants lived chiefly on the flesh of buffaloes. The circumstances of many were very lamentable: However, being a hardy race of people, and accustomed to difficulties and necessities, they were wonderfully supported through all their sufferings, until the ensuing Fall, when we received abundance from the fertile soil.

Towards Spring, we were frequently harassed by Indians; and, in May, 1782, a party assaulted Ashton's station, killed one man, and took a Negro prisoner. Capt. Ashton, with twenty-five men, pursued, and overtook the savages, and a smart fight ensued, which lasted two hours; but they being superior in number, obliged Captain Ashton's party to retreat, with the loss of eight killed, and four mortally wounded; their brave commander himself being numbered among the dead.

The Indians continued their hostilities; and, about the tenth of August following, two boys were taken from Major Hoy's

station. This party was pursued by Capt. Holder and seventeen men, who were also defeated, with the loss of four men killed, and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. Several stations which had lately been erected in the country were continually infested with savages, stealing their horses and killing the men at every opportunity. In a field, near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

Every day we experienced recent mischiefs. The barbarous savage nations of Shawanese, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Delawares, and several others near Detroit, united in a war against us, and assembled their choicest warriors at old Chelicothe, to go on the expedition, in order to destroy us, and entirely depopulate the country. Their savage minds were inflamed to mischief by two abandoned men, Captains McKee and Girty. These led them to execute every diabolical scheme; and, on the fifteenth day of August, commanded a party of Indians and Canadians, of about five hundred in number, against Briant's station, five miles from Lexington. Without demanding a surrender, they furiously assaulted the garrison, which was happily prepared to oppose them; and, after they had expended much ammunition in vain, and killed the cattle round the fort, not being likely to make themselves masters of this place, they raised the siege, and departed in the morning of the third day after they came, with the loss of about thirty killed, and the number of wounded uncertain.—Of the garrison four were killed, and three wounded.

On the eighteenth day Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of

the main fork of Licking River, about forty-three miles from Lexington, as it is particularly represented in the map, where we overtook them on the nineteenth day. The savages observing us, gave way; and we, being ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When the enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, as represented in the map, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being over-powered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men; seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented Colonels Todd and Trigg, Major Harland and my second son, were among the dead. We were informed that the Indians, numbering their dead, found they had four killed more than we; and therefore, four of the prisoners they had taken, were, by general consent, ordered to be killed, in a most barbarous manner, by the young warriors, in order to train them up to cruelty; and then they proceeded to their towns.

On our retreat we were met by Col. Logan, hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we unfortunately wanted in the battle; for, notwithstanding the enemy's superiority of numbers, they acknowledged that, if they had received one more fire from us, they should undoubtedly have given way. So valiantly did our small party fight, that, to the memory of those who unfortunately fell in the battle, enough of honour cannot be paid. Had Col. Logan and his party been with us, it is highly probable we should have given the savages a total defeat.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these he-

roes to the scene of action, though with a few men to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horse-back, a few on foot; and, being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing that I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled: Some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such a putrified condition, that no one could be distinguished from another.

As soon as General Clark, then at the Falls of the Ohio, who was ever our ready friend, and merits the love and gratitude of all his country-men, understood the circumstances of this unfortunate action, he ordered an expedition, with all possible haste, to pursue the savages, which was so expeditiously effected, that we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and probably might have obtained a great victory, had not two of their number met us about two hundred poles before we come up. These returned quick as lightening to their camp with the alarming news of a mighty army in view. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, evacuated their towns, and reluctantly left their territory to our mercy. We immediately took possession of Old Chelicothe without opposition, being deserted by its inhabitants. We continued our pursuit through

five towns on the Miami rivers, Old Chelicothe, Pecaway, New Chelicothe, Will's Towns, and Chelicothe, burnt them all to ashes, entirely destroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where spread a scene of desolation in the country. In this expedition we took seven prisoners and five scalps, with the loss of only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by our own army.

This campaign in some measure damped the spirits of the Indians, and made them sensible of our superiority. Their connections were dissolved, their armies scattered, and a future invasion put entirely out of their power; yet they continued to practise mischief secretly upon the inhabitants, in the exposed parts of the country.

In October following, a party made an excursion into that district called the Crab Orchard, and one of them, being advanced some distance before the others, boldly entered the house of a poor defenceless family, in which was only a Negro man, a woman and her children, terrified with the apprehensions of immediate death. The savage, perceiving their defenceless situation, without offering violence to the family attempted to captivate the Negro, who, happily proved an over-match for him, threw him on the ground, and, in the struggle, the mother of the children drew an ax from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly appeared, and applied their tomahawks to the door. An old rusty gun-barrel, without a lock, lay in a corner, which the mother put through a small crevice, and the savages, perceiving it, fled. In the mean time, the alarm spread through the neighbourhood; the armed men collected immediately, and pursued the ravagers into the wilderness. Thus Providence, by the means of this Negro,

saved the whole of the poor family from destruction. From that time, until the happy return of peace between the United States and Great-Britain, the Indians did us no mischief. Finding the great king beyond the water disappointed in his expectations, and conscious of the importance of the Long Knife, and their own wretchedness, some of the nations immediately desired peace; to which, at present, they seem universally disposed, and are sending ambassadors to General Clark, at the Falls of the Ohio, with the minutes of their Councils; a specimen of which, in the minutes of the Piankashaw Council, is subjoined.

To conclude, I can now say that I have verified the saying of an old Indian who signed Col. Henderson's deed. Taking me by the hand, at the delivery thereof, Brother, says he, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it.—My footsteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons, and a brother, have I lost by savage hands, which have also taken from me forty valuable horses, and abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the chearful society of men, scorched by the Summer's sun, and pinched by the Winter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: Peace crowns the sylvan shade.

What thanks, what ardent and ceaseless thanks are due to that all-superintending Providence which has turned a cruel war into peace, brought order out of confusion, made the fierce savages placid, and turned away their hostile weapons from our country! May the same Almighty Goodness banish the accursed monster, war, from all lands, with her hated associates, rapine and insatiable ambition. Let peace, descend-

ing from her native heaven, bid her olives spring amidst the joyful nations; and plenty, in league with commerce, scatter blessings from her copious hand.

This account of my adventures will inform the reader of the most remarkable events of this country.—I now live in peace and safety, enjoying the sweets of liberty, and the bounties of Providence, with my once fellow-sufferers, in this delightful country, which I have seen purchased with a vast expence of blood and treasure, delighting in the prospect of its being, in a short time, one of the most opulent and powerful states on the continent of North-America; which, with the love and gratitude of my country-men, I esteem a sufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON

Fayette county, Kentucke.

PIANKASHAW COUNCIL.

In a COUNCIL, *held with the Piankashaw Indians, by Thomas J. Dalton, at Post St. Vincent's, April* 15, 1784.

MY CHILDREN,

WHAT I have often told you, is now come to pass. This day I received news from my Great Chief, at the Falls of Ohio. Peace is made with the enemies of America. The White Flesh, the Americans, French, Spaniards, Dutch and English, this day smoke out of the peace-pipe. The tomahawk is buried, and they are now friends.

I am told the Shawanese, Delawares, Chicasaws, Cherokees, and all other the Red Flesh, have taken the Long Knife by the hand. They have given up to them the prisoners that were in their nations.

My Children on Wabash.

Open your ears, and let what I tell you sink deep in your hearts. You know me. Near twenty years I have been among you. The Long Knife is my nation. I know their hearts; peace they carry in one hand, and war in the other.

I leave you to yourselves to judge. Consider, and now accept the one, or the other. We never beg peace of our enemies. If you love your women and children, receive the belt of wam-

pum I present you. Return me my flesh you have in your villages, and the horses you stole from my people at Kentucke. Your corn-fields were never disturbed by the Long Knife. Your women and children lived quiet in their houses, while your warriors were killing and robbing my people. All this you know is the truth. This is the last time I shall speak to you. I have waited six moons to hear you speak, and to get my people from you. In ten nights I shall leave the Wabash to see my Great Chief at the Falls of Ohio, where he will be glad to hear, from your own lips, what you have to say. Here is tobacco I give you: Smoke; and consider what I have said.—Then I delivered one belt of blue and white wampum; and said, Piankashaw, speak, speak to the Americans.

Then the Piankashaw Chief answered;

My Great Father, the Long Knife,

You have been many years among us. You have suffered by us. We still hope you will have pity and compassion upon us, on our women and children; the day is clear. The sun shines on us; and the good news of peace appears in our faces. This day, my Father, this is the day of joy to the Wabash Indians. With one tongue we now speak.

We accept your peace-belt. We return God thanks, you are the man that delivered us what we long wished for, peace, with the White Flesh. My Father, we have many times counselled before you knew us; and you know how some of us suffered before.

We received the tomahawk from the English: Poverty forced us to it: We were attended by other nations: We are sorry for it. We this day collect the bones of our friends that long ago were scattered upon the earth. We bury them in one grave. We thus

plant the tree of peace, that God may spread branches; so that we can all be secured from bad weather. They smoke as brothers out of the peace-pipe we now present you. Here, my Father, is the pipe that gives us joy. Smoke out of it. Our warriors are glad you are the man we present it to. You see, Father, we have buried the tomahawk: We now make a great chain of friendship never to be broken; and now, as one people, smoke out of your pipe. My Father, we know God was angry with us for stealing your horses, and disturbing your people. He has sent us so much snow and cold weather, that God himself killed all your horses, with our own.

We are now a poor people. God, we hope, will help us; and our Father, the Long Knife, will have pity and compassion on our women and children. Your flesh, my Father, is well that is among us; we shall collect them all together when they come in from hunting. Don't be sorry, my Father, all the prisoners taken at Kentucke are alive and well; we love them, and so do our young women.

Some of your people mend our guns, and others tell us they can make rum of the corn. Those are now the same as we. In one moon after this, we will go with them to their friends at Kentucke. Some of your people will now go with Costea, a Chief of our nation, to see his Great Father, the Long Knife, at the Falls of Ohio.

My Father,

This being the day of joy to the Wabash Indians, we beg a little drop of your milk, to let our warriors see it came from your own breast. We were born and raised in the woods; we could never learn to make rum—God has made the White Flesh masters of the world; they make every thing; and we all love rum———

Then they delivered three strings of blue and white wampum, and the coronet of peace.

PRESENT, in COUNCIL

MUSKITO,
Capt. BEAVER,
WOODS & BURNING,
BADTRIPES,
ANTIA,
MONTOUR
CASTIA,
GRAND COURT;

With many other Chiefs, and War Captains, and the Principal Inhabitants of the Post of St. Vincent's.

OF THE INDIANS.

WE have an account of twenty-eight different nations of Indians, Eastward of the Mississippi. Their situation is as follows.

The Cherokee Indians are nearest to Kentucke, living upon the Tenese River, near the mouths of Clench, Holstein, Nolachucke, and French-Broad Rivers, which form the Tenese or Cherokee River, in the interior parts of North-Carolina, two hundred miles from Kentucke.

The Chicamawgees live about ninety miles down the Tenese from the Cherokees, at a place called Chicamawgee, which in our language signifies a Boiling Pot, there being a whirlpool in the river dangerous for boats. The Dragomonough, a Chief of the Cherokees, with sixty more, broke off from that nation, and formed this tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirl-pool.

The Cheegees, and Middle-Settlement Indians, are settled about fifty and eighty miles South of the Cherokees.—These four tribes speak one language, being descended from the Cherokees.

The Chicasaws inhabit about one hundred miles N. W. from our settlement at French Lick, on Cumberland River, on the heads of a river called Tombeche, which runs into Mobile Bay.

The Choctaw nation are eighty miles from the Chicasaws, down the same river.

The Creek Indians live about one hundred and sixty miles South of the Choctaws, on the Apalache River, which runs into the Gulph of Mexico, some little distance East of Mobile Bay.

The Uchees Indians occupy four different places of residence, at the head of St. John's, the Fork of St. Mary's, the head of Cannuchee, and the head of St. Tillis. These rivers rise on the borders of Georgia, and run separately into the ocean.

The Catauba Indians are settled in North-Carolina, about two hundred miles distant from Charles-town, in S. Carolina.

The tribes to the Westward of Ohio River are the Delawares, living upon the Miskingum River, which runs into the Ohio one hundred and eighty-seven miles above Sciotha, on the N. West side.

The Mingo Nation lives upon a N. W. branch of Sciotha River, as is represented in the map.

The Wyandotts possess the banks of a river called Sandusky, which heads and interlocks with Sciotha, and, running in a contrary direction nearly N. W. for a great distance, falls into Lake Erie.

The Six Nations are settled upon waters running into Lake Ontario, that head in the mountain, from whence the Ohio and Susquehannah rivers rise.

The Shawanese Indians occupy five towns on the waters of Little and Great Miami, as appears in the map.

The Gibbaways are fixed on the East side of Detroit River, and opposite the fort of that name. This river runs out of Lake Huron into Lake Erie, is thirty-six miles in length,

and the fort stands on the West side, half way betwixt these lakes.

The Hurons live six miles from the Gibbaways, towards Lake Huron, and on the same side of the river.

The Tawaws are found eighteen miles up the Mawmee or Omee River, which runs into Lake Erie.

There is a small tribe of Tawas settled at a place called the Rapids, some distance higher up the river than the former.

The Mawmee Indians live two hundred and forty miles up this river, at a place called Rosedebeau.

The Piankashaws reside about one hundred and sixty miles up Wabash River:—

The Vermilion Indians about sixty miles higher;—and the Wyahtinaws about thirty miles still further up the same river.

The Wabash heads and interlocks with Mawmee, and runs a contrary direction into Ohio three hundred and eighteen miles below the Falls.

The Long-isle or Isle-River Indians live on Isle, or White River, which runs into Wabash.

The Kickapoos are fixed on a branch of Mawmee River above the Long-isle Indians.

The Ozaw Nation lives on the Ozaw River, which runs into Mississippi:—

And the Kakasky Nation, on the Mississippi, two hundred miles above the Ozaws.

The Illinois Indians inhabit upon the Illinois River, which falls into the Mississippi;—

And the Poutawottamies near St. Joseph's, a town on a branch of the Illinois.

The Sioux and Renards, are neighbours to the fort of Michillimackinac, on Lake Michigan.

These are the principal part of the Nations within the limits of the United States. Allowing about seven hundred to a nation or tribe, they will contain, in all, twenty thousand souls, and consequently may furnish between four and five thousand warriors.

The Speculations of curious idleness have framed many systems to account for the population of this immense continent. There is scarce a people in the old world which has not had its advocates; and there have not been wanting some, who, despairing to loosen, have cut the knot, by supposing that the power, which furnished America with plants, has in the same manner supplied it with men, or at least, that a remnant in this continent was saved from the universal deluge, as well as in the other. As this subject is rather curious than useful, and, in its very nature, does not admit of certainty, every thing that passed in America before the arrival of the Europeans being plunged in Cimmerian darkness, except those little traditional records, which diffuse a glimmering light on the two empires of Mexico and Peru, for about two hundred years at most before that period, we shall only slightly touch on that subject; chiefly for the sake of taking notice of some modern discoveries which seem to strengthen the probability of some former theories. The great similarity, or rather identity, of the persons and manners of the Americans, and those of the Tartars of the N. Eastern parts of Asia, together with a presumption, which has long possessed the learned, that Asia and America were united, or at least separated only by a narrow sea, has inclined the more reflecting part of mankind to the opinion, that the true origin of the Indian is from this quarter. The immense seas, which separate the two continents on every other side, render it highly improbable that any colonies could ever

have been sent a-cross them before the discovery of the magnetical compass. The ingenious M. Buffon too has remarked, and the observation appears to be just, that there are no animals inhabiting in common the two continents, but such as can bear the colds of the North. Thus there are no elephants, no lions, no tigers, no camels in America; but bears, wolves, deer, and elks in abundance, absolutely the same in both hemispheres. This hypothesis, which has been gaining ground ever since its first appearance in the world, is now reduced almost to a certainty by the late discoveries of Capt. Cook. That illustrious, but unfortunate navigator, in his last voyage, penetrated for a considerable distance into the strait which divides Asia from America, which is only six leagues wide at its mouth; and therefore easily practicable for canoes. We may now therefore conclude, that no farther enquiry will ever be made in to the general origin of the American tribes.

Yet, after all, it is far from being improbable that various nations, by shipwreck, or otherwise, may have contributed, in some degree, to the population of this continent. The Carthaginians, who had many settlements on the coast of Africa, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and pushed their discoveries as far as where the two continents in that quarter approach each other the nearest, may probably have been thrown by tempests on the American coast, and the companies of the vessels finding it impracticable to return, may have incorporated with the former inhabitants, or have formed new settlements, which, from want of the necessary instruments to exercise the arts they were acquainted with, would naturally degenerate into barbarity. There are indeed some ancient writers, who give us reason to suppose, that there were colonies regularly formed by that nation in America, and that the communication, af-

ter having continued for some time, was stopped by order of the State. But it is difficult to conceive that any people, established with all those necessaries proper for their situation, should ever degenerate, from so high a degree of cultivation as the Carthaginians possessed, to a total ignorance even of the most necessary arts: And therefore it seems probable, that if that nation ever had such colonies, they must have been cut off by the natives, and every vestige of them destroyed.

About the ninth and tenth centuries, the Danes were the greatest navigators in the universe. They discovered and settled Iceland; and from thence, in 964, planted a colony in Greenland. The ancient Icelandic chronicles, as reported by M. Mallet, contain an account of some Icelanders, who, in the close of an unsuccessful war, fled to Greenland, and from thence Westward, to a country covered with vines, which from thence they called Vinland.

The adventurers returned home, and conducted a colony to their new discovery; but disturbances arising in Denmark, all communication with Greenland, as well as Vinland, ceased; and those countries remained unknown to the rest of the world for several ages. The remains of this colony are probably to be found on the coast of Labrador, in the nation of the Esquimaux. The colour of their skins, their hairy bodies and bushy beards, not to mention the difference of manners, mark an origin totally distinct from that of the other Indians.

In the year 1170, Madoc, son of Owen Gwynnedh, Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the situation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the Welsh historians, in quest of new settlements, and leaving Ireland to the North, proceeded West till he discovered a fertile country; where, leaving a colony, he returned, and persuading many of his coun-

try-men to join him, put to sea with ten ships, and was never more heard of.

This account has, at several times, drawn the attention of the world; but as no vestiges of them had then been found, it was concluded, perhaps too rashly, to be a fable, or at least, that no remains of the colony existed. Of late years, however, the Western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation, inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies of the christian worship; and at length, this is universally believed there to be a fact.

Captain Abraham Chaplain, of Kentucke, a gentleman, whose veracity may be entirely depended upon, assured the author, that in the late war, being with his company in garrison at Kaskasky, some Indians came there, and, speaking in the Welsh dialect, were perfectly understood and conversed with by two Welshmen in his company, and that they informed them of the situation of their nation as mentioned above.

The author is sensible of the ridicule which the vain and the petulant may attempt to throw on this account; but as truth only has guided his pen, he is regardless of the consequences, and flatters himself, that, by calling the attention of mankind once more to this subject, he may be the means of procuring a more accurate inquiry into its truth, which, if it should even refute the story of the Welsh, will at least perform the important service to the world, of promoting a more accurate discovery of this immense continent.

There are several ancient remains in Kentucke, which seem to prove, that this country was formerly inhabited by a nation farther advanced in the arts of life than the Indians. These are there usually attributed to the Welsh, who are supposed to have

formerly inhabited here; but having been expelled by the natives, were forced to take refuge near the sources of the Missouri.

It is well known, that no Indian nation has ever practised the method of defending themselves by entrenchments; and such a work would even be no easy one, while these nations were unacquainted with the use of iron.

In the neighbourhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be seen, furnished with ditches and bastions. One of these contains about six acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not less than one hundred and sixty years old. Pieces of earthen vessels have also been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.

The burying-grounds, which were mentioned above, under the head of Curiosities, form another strong argument that this country was formerly inhabited by a people different from the present Indians. Although they do not discover any marks of extraordinary art in the structure, yet, as many nations are particularly tenacious of their ancient customs, it may perhaps be worthy of enquiry, whether these repositories of the dead do not bear a considerable resemblance to the ancient British remains. Some buildings, attributed to the Picts, are mentioned by the Scottish antiquaries, which, if the author mistakes not, are formed nearly in the same manner. Let it be enough for him to point out the road, and hazard some uncertain conjectures. The day is not far distant, when the farthest recesses of this continent will be explored, and the accounts of the Welsh established beyond the possibility of a doubt, or consigned to that oblivion which has already received so many suppositions founded on arguments as plausible as these.

PERSONS AND HABITS.

THE Indians are not born white; and take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themselves with grease, and lying in the sun. They also paint their faces, breasts and shoulders, of various colours, but generally red; and their features are well formed, especially those of the women. They are of a middle stature, their limbs clean and straight, and scarcely any crooked or deformed person is to be found among them. In many parts of their bodies they prick in gun-powder in very pretty figures. They shave, or pluck the hair off their heads, except a patch about the crown, which is ornamented with beautiful feathers, beads, wampum, and such like baubles. Their ears are pared, and stretched in a thong down to their shoulders. They are wound round with wire to expand them, and adorned with silver pendants, rings, and bells, which they likewise wear in their noses. Some of them will have a large feather through the cartilage of the nose; and those who can afford it, wear a collar of wampum, a silver breastplate, and bracelets, on the arms and wrists. A bit of cloth about the middle, a shirt of the English make, on which they bestow innumerable broaches to adorn it, a sort of cloth boots and mockasons, which are shoes of a make peculiar to the Indians, ornamented with porcupine quills, with a blanket or match-coat thrown over all, compleats their dress at home; but when they go to war, they leave their trinkets behind, and mere necessaries serve them. There is little difference between the dress of the men and women, excepting that a short petticoat, and the hair, which is exceeding black, and long, clubbed behind, distinguish some of the latter. Except the head and eye-brows,

they pluck the hair, with great diligence, from all parts of the body, especially the looser part of the sex.

Their warlike arms are guns, bows and arrows, darts, scalping-knives and tomahawks. This is one of their most useful pieces of field-furniture, serving all the offices of the hatchet, pipe, and sword. They are exceeding expert in throwing it, and will kill at a considerable distance. The world has no better marks-men, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beasts running.

GENIUS.

THE Indians are not so ignorant as some suppose them, but are a very understanding people, quick of apprehension, sudden in execution, subtle in business, exquisite in invention, and industrious in action. They are of a very gentle and amiable disposition to those they think their friends, but as implacable in their enmity; their revenge being only compleated, in the entire destruction of their enemies. They are very hardy, bearing heat, cold, hunger and thirst, in a surprising manner, and yet no people are more addicted to excess in eating and drinking, when it is conveniently in their power. The follies, nay mischief, they commit when inebriated, are entirely laid to the liquor; and no one will revenge any injury (murder excepted) received from one who is no more himself. Among the Indians, all men are equal, personal qualities being most esteemed. No distinction of birth, no rank, renders any man capable of doing prejudice to the rights of private persons; and there is no pre-eminence from merit, which begets pride, and which makes others too sensible of their own inferiority.

Though there is perhaps less delicacy of sentiment in the Indians than amongst us; there is, however, abundantly more probity, with infinitely less ceremony, or equivocal compliments. Their public conferences shew them to be men of genius; and they have, in a high degree, the talent of natural eloquence.

They live dispersed in small villages, either in the woods, or on the banks of rivers, where they have little plantations of Indian-corn, and roots, not enough to supply their families half the year, and subsisting the remainder of it by hunting, fishing and fowling, and the fruits of the earth, which grow spontaneously in great plenty.

Their huts are generally built of small logs, and covered with bark, each one having a chimney, and a door, on which they place a padlock.

Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucke station, that is, a parallelogram, or long square; and some of their houses are shingled. A long Council-house extends the whole length of the town, where the King and Chiefs of the nation frequently meet, and consult of all matters of importance, whether of a civil or military nature.

Some huts are built by setting up a frame on forks, and placing bark against it; others of reeds, and surrounded with clay. The fire is in the middle of the wigwam, and the smoke passes through a little hole. They join reeds together by cords run through them, which serve them for tables and beds. They mostly lie upon skins of wild beasts, and sit on the ground. They have brass kettles and pots to boil their food; gourds or calabashes, cut asunder, serve them for pails, cups and dishes.

RELIGION.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various; and although it cannot be absolutely affirmed that they have none, yet it must be confessed very difficult to define what it is. All agree that they acknowledge one Supreme God, but do not adore him. They have not seen him, they do not know him, believing him to be too far exalted above them, and too happy in himself to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They seem also to believe in a future state, and that after death they shall be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an elysium, or paradise.

The Wyandotts, near Detroit, and some others, have the Roman Catholic religion introduced amongst them by missionaries. These have a church, a minister, and a regular burying-ground. Many of them appear zealous, and say prayers in their families. These, by acquaintance with white people, are a little civilized, which must of necessity precede christianity.

The Shawanese, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and some others, are little concerned about superstition, or religion. Others continue their former superstitious worship of the objects of their love and fear, and especially those beings whom they most dread, and whom therefore we generally denominate devils; though, at the same time, it is allowed they pray to the sun, and other inferior benevolent deities, for success in their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other necessaries in life.

They have their festivals, and other rejoicing-days, on which they sing and dance in a ring, taking hands, having so painted and disguised themselves, that it is difficult to know any of them; and after enjoying this diversion for a while, they retire to the place where they have prepared a feast of

fish, flesh, fowls and fruits, to which all are invited, and entertained with their country songs. They believe that there is great virtue in feasts for the sick. For this purpose a young buck must be killed, and boiled, the friends and near neighbours of the patient invited, and having first thrown tobacco on the fire, and covered it up close, they all sit down in a ring, and raise a lamentable cry. They then uncover the fire, and kindle it up; and the head of the buck is first sent about, everyone taking a bit, and giving a loud croak, in imitation of crows. They afterwards proceed to eat all the buck, making a most harmonious, melancholy song; in which strain their music is particularly excellent.

As they approach their towns, when some of their people are lost in war, they make great lamentations for their dead, and bear them long after in remembrance.

Some nations abhor adultery, do not approve of a plurality of wives, and are not guilty of theft; but there are other tribes that are not so scrupulous in these matters. Amongst the Chickasaws a husband may cut off the nose of his wife, if guilty of adultery; but men are allowed greater liberty. This nation despises a thief. Among the Cherokees they cut off the nose and ears of an adulteress; afterwards her husband gives her a discharge; and from this time she is not permitted to refuse any one who presents himself. Fornication is unnoticed; for they allow persons in a single state unbounded freedom.

Their form of marriage is short—the man, before witnesses, gives the bride a deer's foot, and she, in return, presents him with an ear of corn, as emblems of their several duties.

The women are very slaves to the men; which is a common case in rude, unpolished nations, throughout the world. They are charged with being revengeful; but this revenge is only do-

ing themselves justice on those who injure them, and is seldom executed, but in cases of murder and adultery.

Their king has no power to put any one to death by his own authority; but the murderer is generally delivered up to the friends of the deceased, to do as they please. When one kills another, his friend kills him, and so they continue until much blood is shed; and at last, the quarrel is ended by mutual presents. Their kings are hereditary, but their authority extremely limited. No people are a more striking evidence of the miseries of mankind in the want of government than they. Every chief, when offended, breaks off with a party, settles at some distance, and then commences hostilities against his own people. They are generally at war with each other. These are common circumstances amongst the Indians.

When they take captives in war, they are exceedingly cruel, treating the unhappy prisoners in such a manner, that death would be preferable to life. They afterwards give them plenty of food, load them with burdens, and when they arrive at their towns, they must run the gauntlet. In this, the savages exercise so much cruelty, that one would think it impossible they should survive their sufferings. Many are killed; but if one outlives this trial, he is adopted into a family as a son, and treated with paternal kindness; and if he avoids their suspicions of going away, is allowed the same privileges as their own people.

The CONCLUSION.

HAVING finished my intended narrative, I shall close the appendix, with a few observations upon the happy circum-

stances, that the inhabitants of Kentucke will probably enjoy, from the possession of a country so extensive and fertile.

There are four natural qualities necessary to promote the happiness of a country, viz. A good soil, air, water and trade. These taken collectively, excepting the latter, Kentucke possesses in a superior degree: And, agreeable to our description of the western trade, we conclude, that it will be nearly equal to any other on the continent of America, and the disadvantages it is subject to, be fully compensated by the fertility of the soil.

This fertile region, abounding with all the luxuries of nature, stored with all the principal materials for art and industry, inhabited by virtuous and ingenious citizens, must universally attract the attention of mankind, being situated in the central part of the extensive American empire (the limits of whose ample domains, as described in the second article of the late Definitive Treaty, are subjoined) where agriculture, industry, laws, arts and sciences, flourish; where afflicted humanity raises her drooping head; where springs a harvest for the poor; where conscience ceases to be a slave, and laws are no more than the security of happiness; where nature makes reparation for having created man; and government, so long prostituted to the most criminal purposes, establishes an asylum in the wilderness for the distressed of mankind.

The recital of your happiness will call to your country all the unfortunate of the earth, who, having experienced oppression, political or religious, will there find a deliverance from their chains. To you innumerable multitudes will emigrate from the hateful regions of despotism and tyranny; and you will surely welcome them as friends, as brothers; you will welcome them to partake with you of your happiness.—Let the

memory of Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, who banished covetousness, and the love of gold from his country; the excellent Locke, who first taught the doctrine of toleration; the venerable Penn, the first who founded a city of brethren; and Washington, the defender and protector of persecuted liberty, be ever the illustrious examples of your political conduct. Avail yourselves of the benefits of nature, and of the fruitful country you inhabit.

Let the iron of your mines, the wool of your flocks, your flax and hemp, the skins of the savage animals that wander in your woods, be fashioned into manufactures, and take an extraordinary value from your hands. Then will you rival the superfluities of Europe, and know that happiness may be found, without the commerce so universally desired by mankind.

In your country, like the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, and all kinds of fruits, you shall eat bread without scarceness, and not lack any thing in it; where you are neither chilled with the cold of capricorn, nor scorched with the burning heat of cancer; the mildness of your air so great, that you neither feel the effects of infectious fogs, nor pestilential vapours. Thus, your country, favoured with the smiles of heaven, will probably be inhabited by the first people the world ever knew.

ARTICLE II. *of the late* DEFINITIVE TREATY.

AND that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the N.W. angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due North from the source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the North-Westernmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of North latitude; from thence by a line due West on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois, or Cataraqui; thence along the middle of the said river into Lake Ontario, through the middle of the said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior Northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux to the Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most N. W. point thereof, and from thence on a due West course to

the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the Northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of North latitude; South, by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees North of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catanouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic ocean; East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly North to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia.

ROAD from Philadelphia to the Falls of the Ohio by land;

	M	M.D
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaster -	66	
To Wright's on Susquehannah - -	10	76
To York-town - - - - - -	12	88
Abbott's-town - - - - - -	15	103
Hunter's-town - - - - -	10	113
the mountain at Black's Gap - - -	3	116
the other side of the mountain - -	7	123
the Stone-house Tavern - - - -	25	148
Wadkin's Ferry on Potowmack - -	14	162
Martinsburg - - - - - -	13	175
Winchester - - - - - -	20	195
Newtown - - - - - -	8	203
Stover's-town - - - - - -	10	213
Woodstock - - - - - -	12	225
Shanandoah River - - - - -	15	240
the North branch of Shanandoah - -	29	269
Stanton - - - - - - -	15	284
the North Fork of James River - -	37	321
James River - - - - - -	18	339
Botetourt Court-house - - - -	12	351
Woods's on Catauba River - - -	21	372
Patterson's on Roanoak - - - -	9	381
the Allegany Mountain - - - -	8	389
New River - - - - - -	12	401
the forks of the road - - - -	16	417

	M	M.D
To Fort Chissel - - - - - - -	12	429
a Stone Mill - - - - - - -	11	440
Boyd's - - - - - - - -	8	448
head of Holstein - - - - - -	5	453
Washington Court-house - - -	45	498
the Block-house - - - - - -	35	533
Powel's Mountain - - - - - -	33	566
Walden's Ridge - - - - - -	3	569
the Valley Station - - - - - -	4	573
Martin Cabbin's - - - - - -	25	598
Cumberland Mountain - - - -	20	618
the ford of Cumberland River - -	13	631
the Flat Lick - - - - - - -	9	640
Stinking Creek - - - - - -	2	642
Richland Creek - - - - - -	7	649
Down Richland Creek - - - -	8	657
Rackoon Spring - - - - - -	6	663
Laurel River - - - - - - -	2	665
Hazle Patch - - - - - - -	15	680
the ford on Rock-Castle River - -	10	690
English's Station - - - - - -	25	715
Col. Edwards's at Crab-Orchard - -	3	718
Whitley's Station - - - - - -	5	723
Logan's Station - - - - - -	5	728
Clark's Station - - - - - -	7	735
Crow's Station - - - - - -	4	739
Harrod's Station - - - - - -	3	742
Harland's - - - - - - -	4	746

	M	M.D
To Harbison's - - - - - - -	10	756
Bard's-town - - - - - - -	25	781
the Salt-works - - - - - -	25	806
the Falls of the Ohio - - - -	20	826

Kentucke is situated about South, 60° West from Philadelphia, and, on a straight line, may be about six hundred miles distant from that city.

ROAD to Pittsburg, and Distances from thence down the Ohio River to its mouth, and from thence down the Mississippi to the Mexican Gulph.

	M	M.D
FROM Philadelphia to Lancaster - -	66	
To Middletown - - - - - - -	26	92
Harris's Ferry - - - - - -	10	102
Carlisle - - - - - - - -	17	119
Shippensburgh - - - - - -	21	140
Chamber's-town - - - - - -	11	151
Fort Loudon - - - - - - -	13	164
Fort Littleton - - - - - -	18	182
Juniata Creek - - - - - - -	19	201

	M	M.D
To Bedford - - - - - - - -	14	215
the foot of the Allegany Mountains -	15	230
Stony-Creek - - - - - - -	15	245
the East side of Laurel Hill - - -	12	257
Fort Ligonier - - - - - - -	9	266
Pittsburg - - - - - - - -	54	320
FROM Pittsburg to Log's-town on the Ohio River, N. side, - -	18	
To Big Beaver-Creek, N. - - - -	11	29
Little Beaver-Creek, N. - - - -	13	42
Yellow-Creek, N. - - - - - -	9	51
Ming's Town - - - - - - -	18	69
Grass-Creek, N. - - - - - -	2	71
Wheelen-Creek, S. side, - - - -	25	96
Grave-Creek, S. - - - - - -	10	106
the Long-Reach - - - - - -	16	122
the end of do. - - - - - - -	15	137
Miskingum River, N. - - - -	23	160
Little Kenhawa. S. - - - - -	12	172
Hockhocking River, N. - - - -	13	185
Great Kenhawa River, S. - - -	11	196
Great Griandot, S. - - - - -	24	220
Big Sandy-Creek, S. - - - -	13	233
Sciotha River, N. - - - - -	45	278
Big Buffalo-Lick Creek, S. - - -	24	302
a Large Island - - - - - -	20	322
the Three Islands - - - - -	10	332
Limestone-Creek, S. - - - -	7	339
Little Miami, N. - - - - - -	65	404

	M	M.D
To Licking River, South side, - - -	8	412
Great Miami River, N. - - - - -	27	439
Big-Bone Creek, S. - - - - - -	32	471
Kentucke River, S. - - - - - -	44	515
the Rapids of Ohio - - - - - -	77	592
Salt River, S. - - - - - - -	23	615
the beginning of the Low Country - - -	132	747
the first of the Five Islands - - -	38	785
Green River, S. - - - - - -	27	812
a Large Island - - - - - -	58	870
Wabash River, N. - - - - - -	40	910
the Great Cave N - - - - - -	62	972
Cumberland River S - - - - -	33	1005
Tenese River, S. - - - - - -	12	1017
Fort Messia-River, S. - - - - -	11	1028
the mouth of Ohio River - - -	46	1074
the Iron Banks, S. - - - - - -	15	1089
Chickasaw River - - - - - -	67	1156
the River Margot - - - - - -	104	1160
St. Francis's River - - - - - -	70	1230
Akansa River - - - - - - -	108	1338
Yazaw River - - - - - - -	165	1503
the Grank Gulph - - - - - -	39	1542
the Little Gulph - - - - - -	14	1556
Fort Rosalie, at the Natches, - - -	31	1587
the River Rouge - - - - - -	36	1643
the uppermost mouth of the Mississippi - - -	3	1646

	M	M.D
To Point Coupee - - - - - -	50	1696
Ibberville - - - - - -	35	1731
the Villages of the Alibama Indians - - -	39	1770
New Orleans, S. side, - - - -	60	1830
the mouths of the Mississippi - - -	105	1935

A straight line drawn from Pittsburg to the mouth of the Mississippi may be computed at two thirds of the distance by the meanders of the rivers, which will be twelve hundred and ninety miles.

Notes

3.14 DANIEL BOON] (1734–1820) Filson's narrative (pages 39–62) was the first published account of Boone's life; later ones of some significance were Daniel Bryan's verse epic *The Mountain Muse: Comprising the Adventures of Daniel Boone* (1813), Timothy Flint's *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (1833), J. M. Peck, *Daniel Boone, Pioneer and Early Settler of Kentucky* (1843), and William Henry Bogart's *Daniel Boone and the Hunters of Kentucky* (1854). The most comprehensive modern biographies are John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone: Master of the Wilderness* (1939), John M. Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (1992), and Michael A. Lofaro, *Daniel Boone: An American Life* (2003).

3.15 LEVI TODD] (1756–1807) Todd came to Kentucky in 1775 and built Todd's Station in present-day Fayette County in 1779. He became a major-general in the militia and was a leading early citizen of Lexington, Ky. He was the father of the first white child born in Kentucky (Hannah, b. February 1781) and the grandfather of Mary Todd Lincoln.

3.16 JAMES HARROD] (1742–1793) In June 1774, he founded Harrodstown (later Harrodsburg), the first settlement in Kentucky. He was elected Kentucky's representative to Virginia House of Delegates in 1779. He was a leading landowner, politician, and military commander in the region; see Kathryn H. Mason, *James Harrod of Kentucky* (1951).

27. 31 Dr. Hunter] William Hunter (1718–1783), Scottish anatomist and physician; "Observations on the Bones Commonly Supposed to Be Elephant Bones, Which Have Been Found near the River Ohio in America," *Philosophical Transactions.* 58 (1768): pp. 34-45; available at http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ilej/

28.11 New Holland] Australia.

29.1 the two last wars] The Revolutionary War and the Seven Years (or "French and Indian") War.

30.20 gut Iberville] A "gut" is a narrow passage or channel; the Iberville River, also known as Bayou Manchac, joins the Mississippi River near Baton Rouge.

21.4 pheasants, partridges] Not the ring-necked pheasant, which is an introduced species, but probably the ruffed grouse, still known to some local inhabitants as "phaisants"; "partridges" are probably bobwhite quail.

25.7 copperas] a green hydrated ferrous sulfate $FeSO_4 \cdot 7H_2O$, used in making inks and pigments.

45.22 Persepolis or Palmyra] Persepolis was the ancient ceremonial capital of the the Achaemenid Empire in southern Iran, largely destroyed by Alexander in 330 B.C.E. Palmyra was an ancient city in central Syria, destroyed by Roman armies in 274.

48.3 Col. Logan's] Benjamin Logan (1742–1802), founder of Logan's Fort or Logan's Station (also known as St. Asaph), near present-day Stanford, Ky.; see Charles Gano Talbert, *Benjamin Logan: Kentucky Frontiersman* (1962).

49.15 old Chelicothe] About 25 miles northeast of present-day Cincinnati (from the junction of the Little Miami and Ohio rivers).

52.13 Capt. Duquesne] Lt. De Quindre, according to Hamilton's journal; possibly Guillaume-François Dagneau de Quindre de La Picanier, a British army officer, son of a French settler of Detroit who had adapted to British rule.

53.6 Governor Hamilton] Henry Hamilton (1734–1796), Lieutenant Governor of Canada.

54.14 Col. Bowman] Colonel John Bowman (1738–1784) was appointed military commander of Kentucky in 1776 by the governor of Virginia. He was appointed sheriff of Lincoln County in 1781.

54.31 Col. Bird] Captain Henry Bird (sometimes spelled "Byrd"), a career British officer, was an engineer with the King's or Eighth Regiment in Detroit.

54.31 Riddle's and Martin's stations] Riddle's (also known as Ruddle's) Station was southeast of present-day Cynthiana, Ky.; Martin's Station was nearby on Stoner Creek, northeast of present-day Paris, Ky. Around 200 captives were kept by the Indians; another 150 that were kept in British custody survived the trip to Detroit and were held until the war's end. See J. Winston Coleman, Jr., "The British Invasion of Kentucky," http://www.shawhan.com/coleman.html.

55.14 General Clark] George Rogers Clark (1752–1818), American military commander for the northwestern frontier.

56.23 Ashton's station] Also known as Estill's Station, southeast of Richmond, in Madison County, Ky.

56.31 Major Hoy's] Major William Hoy (1743–1790) established a settlement about 6 miles north of present-day Richmond, Ky., in 1781. The boys, Jones Hoy (1773–1845) and John Callaway (b.1775), were eventually returned; see Anne Crabb, "'What Shall I Do Now?' The Story of the Indian Captivities of Margaret Paulee, James Hoy, and Jack Callaway, 1779–ca.1789," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 70 (October 1996), 363-404.

57.1 Capt. Holder] Captain John Holder (c.1750–1799) had come to Kentucky in 1775; he established a station (fort) about two miles below (north) Boonesbourough in 1781.

57. McKee and Girty] Loyalists Alexander McKee (c.1735–1799) and Simon Girty (1741–1818) were translators and liaisons between the British army and their native allies during the Revolution. Both were from the frontier settlements of western Pennsylvania.

57.28–29 Col. Todd, Col. Trigg, Major Harland] John Todd (1750–1782), Stephen Trigg (1744–1782), and Silas Harlan (1752–1782) were killed in the battle.

63.3 *Thomas J. Dalton*] Valentine Thomas Dalton (1752–1807) was Indian Agent for Indian Affairs for the state of Virginia in the Wabash District and an officer under George Rogers Clark.

63.3–4 *Post St. Vincent's*] Now Vincennes, Indiana.

71.2 M. Buffon] Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788), French naturalist, mathematician, biologist, cosmologist and author.

72.13 M. Mallet] Allain Manesson Mallet (1630-1706), *Description de l'univers contenant les differents systemes du monde, les cartes generales & particulieres de la geographie ancienne & moderne* (Paris, 1683).

89.21 the River Margot ... 1160] For a discussion of this error in arithmetic, see the "Note on the Text," below.

About the Author

JOHN FILSON was born near Brandywine Creek in Chester County, Pennsylvania, probably in 1753, although some sources date his birth as much as twelve years earlier. He attended the West Nottingham Academy in Colora, Maryland, and studied with the Reverend Samuel Finley, afterwards president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton). He worked as a schoolteacher and surveyor in Pennsylvania until 1782 or 1783, when he acquired over 13,000 acres of western lands and moved to Kentucky. He settled in Lexington, taught school, surveyed land claims, and travelled the region interviewing the settlers and leading citizens. He wrote *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* during this period, and travelled to Wilmington, Delaware, to have it published in the summer of 1784. He later sought to issue a second edition, with an endorsement from George Washington, but Washington declined to endorse the work because the map was not based on actual surveys. Filson returned to Kentucky in June of 1785 and made two trips through the Illinois Territory before returning to Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1786. The following year, he came back to Kentucky, settled at Lexington, and advertised a plan to start a seminary; but he was involved in numerous lawsuits and financial difficulties, and eventually lost title to most of his land claims. In September 1788, he entered into a partnership with Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson to develop an 800-acre tract on the site of present-day Cincinnati, Ohio. Filson surveyed and laid out a town, which he named Losantiville, with wide streets and regular right angles; and the lower part of Cincinnati stands today substantially as Filson mapped it. In late September 1788, Filson accompanied a surveying party north to the Great Miami River. When the group was attacked by a group of hostile Shawnees, Filson disappeared, and his body was never found.

Note on the Text

This online electronic edition of *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* is derived from the text of the first edition, published in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1784. It was transcribed from electronic page images of the first edition accessed online from the Kentuckiana Digital Library (http://kdl.kyvl.org/) and was collated against page images of a different copy of the first edition (held by the Filson Historical Society of Louisville, Kentucky) in the Library of Congress American Memory Collection—The First American West: The Ohio River Valley, 1750-1820 (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawhome.html). (Digital ID number: icufaw cbf0004).

Filson composed the work in 1783–84 while living in Lexington, Kentucky, and went to Wilmington in the summer of 1784 to have it published. He also employed engraver Henry Pursell and printer Ternon Rook of Philadelphia to produce the accompanying map. The edition, consisting of 1,500 copies, priced at $1.50, appeared in October 1784 and was not re-issued. The map, however, went through eight printings by 1793. Filson's plans for a second edition of the work, to be endorsed by George Washington, were ultimately abandoned.

A French translation of Filson's book was published in Paris in 1785 as *Histoire de Kentucke: Nouvelle colonie a l'ouest de la Virginie.* A German edition, *Reise nach Kentucke und nachrichten von dieser neu angebaueten landschaft in Nordamerica,* appeared in Leipzig in 1790. The work was reprinted by Gilbert Imlay, along with additional materials, in volume II of *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America* (London, 1793; New York, 1793), and also issued separately in London the same year. A number of facsimile editions have been produced, and Corinth Books published a new edition in 1962, with an introduction by William H. Masterson. Filson's account of Boone's adventures was first issued separately in Philadelphia in 1787 as *Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon*, and has

been republished many times since. There is no evidence that Filson was involved in any of the reissued or reprinted editions of his work.

This online electronic edition preserves the text, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and orthography of the 1784 Wilmington first edition. Typographical errors have been corrected, and a list of emendations is provided, below. The type and page design are based on the first edition, but adjusted to the present larger size. The typeface used in this edition is IM Fell De Walpergen Pica, digitized and furnished by Igino Marini (http://iginomarini.com), based on seventeenth-century originals cut by Peter de Walpergen. In deference to modern readers the long s has not been used; and, for the sake of more accurate searching and excerpting, the ligatures for sh, st, ct, fi, fl, ff, ffi, and ffl have not been employed. The ornaments are reproductions or reconstructions of those used in the original edition.

Following is a list of typographical errors corrected; line numbers do not include include running heads or hairlines:

Page.line	*1784 text*	*emended to*
6.3	Col Boon	Col. Boon
39.18	Here;	Here,
40.18	for merly	formerly
42.1	sa-[/]savages	savages
50.9	accordin	according
55.9	tomahawked	tomahawked.
58.11	sixty seven	sixty-seven
77.18	shingled	shingled.
85.1	Philadelpia	Philadelphia
89.27	36	56

One feature deserves special note: the table of distances from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico (pages 87–90) contains two errors, one of them probably the typesetter's and the other probably Filson's. The table gives the distance from "Fort Rosalie, at the Natches," to "the River Rouge" as 36 miles, but the running total of distance increases by 56 (from "1587" to "1643"). This seems most likely to be a misreading by the compositor of Filson's manuscript "5" as a "3,"

and so this error is corrected and included in the list of emendations. A larger error, however, appears seven lines earlier, when the distance from "Chickasaw River" to "the River Margot" is given as 104 miles, but the running total only increases by 4 miles, from "1156" to "1160." This mistake in addition is carried through the remainder of the table, and it understates the total distance from Pittsburgh to the mouth of the Mississippi by 100 miles. Since Filson based his subsequent calculation of the straight-line distance between those points on the river distance of 1935 miles (× 2/3 = 1290), this was not an error introduced by the typesetter; and so the calculation is allowed to stand without emendation.

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August 24, 2006