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Manners and Customs
of Pioneer Life -- By
James Hall -- 2 vols.

Jones -- Journal of
Visits to Indians

The Infare -- Jean Thomas?

MS 76
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The
ROMANCE OF WESTERN HISTORY;

or

Sketches of History, Life and Romance
In the West.

By James Hall

Author of "Legends of the West," "Tales of the Border,"

"The Wilderness and War Path,"

"The West," &c.

CINCINNATI

Robert Clarke & Co.

1885.

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CHAPTER XV.

Character of the Pioneers--Their adventures--Anecdote of Muldrow--Of Boone--Device of the Indians--Romantic Adventure of Two Females.

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

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

rather by the glories of the boundless forest and the abundance of game, rather than by the fertility of the new lands, and the ample resources of the country. They came singly, or in small parties, careless of protection and fearless of consequences. Their first residence was a CAMP; a frail shelter formed of poles and bark, carefully concealed in some retired spot in which they hid the spoils of the chase and to which they crept for repose at night, or slept away the long, inclement days, when the hunter and his prey were, alike, driven by the storm to seek the shelter of their coverts. At other times they roamed abroad, either engaged in hunting, or in making long journeys of exploration, sleeping in the open air, and feeding upon the fruits of the forest and the flesh of wild animals, without bread or condiment. Between them and the Indians there seems to have existed, from the beginning, a mutual dislike and distrust; and, except when there happened to be a great superiority of numbers on one side, or a recent provocation, they rather avoided than sought each other. But they seldom met without shedding blood.

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER XVI.

Character of the Pioneers--Their mode of living--Introduction of steam-boats--Its effect on the manners of the people.

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

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

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

With the first emigration there are no mechanics; and for many years after but few are found in the new settlements. The farmer, therefore, makes almost everything that he uses. Besides clearing land, building houses, and making fences, he stocks his own plough, mends his wagon, makes his ox-yokes and harness, and learns to supply nearly all his wants from the forest.. The tables, bed-steads and seats in his house are of his own rude workman-ship. At first, the dressed skins of wild animals furnish the material for making moccasins; but the farmers soon begin to tan their own leather and make their own shoes; and there are thousands over the west who to this day continue to make all the shoes that are worn in their families. They universally raise cotton and often cultivate, also, hemp and flax; the spinning wheel and the loom, are common articles of furniture; and the whole hunting and farming population are clad in fabrics of household manufacture. The traveler, according to different modes of life,

is struck with the crude and uncomfortable appearance of everything about this people--the rudeness of their habitations, the carelessness of their agriculture, the unsightly coarseness of all their implements and furniture, the unambitious homeliness of all their goods and chattels, except the axe, the rifle and the horse--these being invariably the best and handsomest which their means enable them to procure. But he is mistaken in supposing them to be indolent and improvident ; and is little aware how much ingenuity and toil have been exerted in procuring the few comforts which they possess, in a country without arts, mechanics, money, or commercial intercourse.

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

Hospitality and kindness are among the virtues of the first settlers. Exposed to common dangers and toils, they become united by the closest ties of social intercourse. Accustomed to arm in each other's defence, to aid in each other's labor, to assist in the affectionate duty of nursing the sick, and the mournful office of burying the dead, the best affections of the heart are kept in constant exercise; and there is, perhaps, no class of men in our country who

obey the calls of friend-ship, or the claims of benevolence with such cheerful promptness, or with so liberal a sacrifice of personal convenience.

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

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

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for men are always more guarded in their deportment to each other and more cautious of giving offense, when they know that the insult will be quickly felt and instantly resented, than when the consequences of an offensive action are doubtful, and the retaliation distant.

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

Before the introduction of steam-boats upon this river, its immense commerce was chiefly carried on by means of keel-boats, or

Pages 237-241-244.

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

The substitution of machinery for manuel labor occasioned a vast diminution of the number of men required for river navigation. A steam boat, with the same crew as a barge, will carry ten times the burthen and perform her voyage in a fifth part of the time required by the latter. The bargemen infested the whole country, by stopping frequently and often spending their nights on shore; while the steam boats pass rapidly from one large port to another, making no halt,

except to receive or discharge merchandise at intermediate places. The commanders of steam boats are men of character; property to an immense amount, is entrusted to their care; their responsibility is great; and they are careful of their own deportment, and of the conduct of those under their control. The number of boatmen, therefore, is not only greatly reduced in proportion to the amount of trade, but a sort of discipline is maintained among them, while the increase of population has enabled the towns to enforce the regulations of their police.

CHAPTER XVII.

Character of the Pioneers--The Scotch-Irish.

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

Upon the subjugation of the northern part of Ireland by the English, in the reign of James I, the Province of Ulster was settled by Colonies from Great Britain, to whom liberal grants of land were given. "Owing to the vicinity and superior enterprise of the people of Scotland, the principal part of the settlers came from that country; which circumstance afterwards gave rise to the appellation of Scotch-Irish, denoting, not the intermarriage of two races, but the peopling of one country by the natives of another." Reared in the Kirk of Scotland, these people brought with them the fervent piety, the pure morals, and the inflexible devotion to their own form of belief, which is characteristic of that church. They could not exist without the ordinances of public worship; and while the English churches held the benefices, the Presbyterian ministers from Scotland came over and built up churches after their own model. This state of things was, for awhile, wisely tolerated; but

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afterwards, under the auspices of Wentworth and Laud a fierce persecution was stirred up against the Non-conformists of Ulster, who, after years of suffering, began to look to America as an asylum from oppression. On the 9th of September, 1836, one hundred and forty of these embarked for New England, on board a ship they had built, and called the Eagle Wing; but, being driven back by contrary winds, they landed in the western part of Scotland, where they were joined by many others. fugitives, also, from the strong hand of oppression, and the enterprise was, for the time, abandoned. Had it been prosecuted, says our authority, "the Eagle Wing might have attained as enviable a celebrity in the annals of American colonization as the more fortunate May Flower."

From that time, with some brief seasons of repose, the Scotch Presbyterians were continually harassed by the intolerance of the English church and government, but their numbers increased in Ulster. At length the fines, imprisonments and whippings became so intolerable in 1679, 1682, and 1685, that crowds of exiles fled from oppression to East New Jersey, Carolina and Maryland. A considerable portion of this emigration was from the north of Ireland, and the Scotch-Irish continued to pour into Pennsylvania in such numbers that in 1795, the Presbyterian churches there were sufficiently numerous to form a Presbytery. A large portion of these settlers, seeking for new lands, or dreading from the Colonial authorities, persecutions like those they fled from, passed through the more populous parts of the country and found homes in what were then the frontier counties.

Receiving continually new accessions from abroad , the stream of emigration extended southward until it crossed the Potomac and spread through the Valley of Virginia, between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains.

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

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culture and an elevated standard of morals. The church and the school house were among the earliest structures in every neighborhood. While yet there were no wagons nor roads, nor saw mills, buildings of solid stone were erected for public worship; and we are told of an instance in which the sand used in constructing a ~~sk~~ church was carried six miles on the backs of horses, and what is worthy of notice, that "this part of the work was all done by the ladies of the congregation."⁴.

In Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, we find the following graphic passage, illustrative of the habits of these people: "From the time Mr. Cummings commenced preaching at Sinking Spring up to about the year 1776, the men never went to church without being armed, and taking their families with them. On Sabbath morning during this period, it was Mr. Cummings' custom, for he was always a very neat man in his dress, to dress himself, then put on his shot pouch, shoulder his rifle, mount his dun horse, and ride off to church. There he met his gallant and intelligent congregation, each man with his rifle in his hand. When seated in the meeting house they presented, altogether, a most solemn and singular spectacle. Mr. Cummings' uniform habit, before entering the house, was to take a short walk alone, while the congregation were seating themselves; he would then return, at the door hold a few words of conversation with someone of the elders of the church; then would gravely walk through this crowd, mount the steps of the pulpit, deposit his rifle in a corner near him, lay off his shot pouch, and commence the solemn worship of the day." Among their other sterling qualities, the Scotch-Irish were patriotic. They were staunch republicans, and not

\$ Howe's History of Virginia.

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

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

Such were the people who formed one of the advanced columns in the great army of pioneers that conquered and settled the west. The same spirit which led them to resist oppression in the land of their fathers, the same elevation of principle and steadiness of character which inspired them with courage to cling to their religion and their own form of faith, under every vicissitude, the same
#Davidson's History, P. 21.

independence of thought and character, which has marked their whole history, made them ardent republicans and intrepid soldiers.

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

The "Classical method" was among their earliest institutions; and in rude log huts were devoted men teaching not merely the primer, but expounding the Latin poets, and explaining to future lawyers and legislators and generals, the severer truths of moral and mathematical science. Many a student who was preparing himself for the bar or the pulpit, held up the lamp to younger aspirants

held up the lamp to younger aspirants for literary usefulness and honor, in these primitive haunts, while the wolf barked in the surrounding thickets, and the Indians were kept at bay by the stout hearted sires of those who thus pursued knowledge under difficulties. Quite a number of the men who became distinguished in after life were prepared for college in such schools, and not a few who acted well their parts in conspicuous stations, , without detracting any deficiency of scholar-ship, drank at no fountain of learning of any higher name.

When the explorations of Boone, and others , to which we have alluded, were made known in Virginia, the whole population became highly excited by the florid descriptions of the delightful region of Kentucky; and parties of emigrants began to flock thither , especially from the frontier counties. Among the earliest adventurers were many of the Presbyterians from the Valley. The first party of which we have any account consisted of James, George, and Robert M'Afee, James M'Coun, senior, and Samuel Adams, who set out in May, 1773, and descended the Kanawha and Ohio in boats. these were soon followed by others; and while all parts of Virginia were sending out emigrants to the West , a steady stream of hardy men from the Valley flowed continually in the same direction, forming it is true, a small minority of the mass, but constituting one of its most important elements. Their influence could not fail to be felt in the formation of the new society. Enterprising and brave as other men, they bore their full share in all the labors and perils of the pioneers, while by their example and exertions, , a high tone of morals was infused into the public mind. Sturdily and stoutly they wielded

the axe and the sword; and as stoutly and sturdily did they bear the Bible in their minds , and found the institutions of their new communities upon its precepts. In Kentucky, as in Virginia, the school master was the humble companion and adjunct of the Presbyterian minister; the meeting house and the school house grew up together; and the footprints of the receding Indian were scarcely effaced before grammar and rhetoric, and the Westminster catechism began to be taught.

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

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Pages 245-252. Virginian element, which which forms its basis, has
been modified in some degree by this small, but energetic addition.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.

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

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At the close of the revolution the State of Virginia rewarded her military officers by donations of land in the then DISTRICT of KENTUCKY. Many of these gentlemen, who, with others, at the close of the war, found themselves without employment, emigrated to that country, carrying twith them the courage, skill, and lofty notions of military command. They became the leaders in the Indian wars; and as bravery is held necessarily, in the highest estimation, among people who are exposed to danger, they soon became the popular men of the country, and filled many of the civil offices.. A number of these gentlemen had been active and distinguished soldiers who had reaped the laurels of successful valor, and earned the gratitude of their country; while they were, at the same time, men of education and refinement. They had all the high tone of Virginia feeling, together with the military pride and the knowledge of the world acquired in several years of service. Seldom has a new community enjoyed the rare advantage of numbering among the founders of her institutions, men in whom were united such rare and happy endowments. They had the polish and elegance of gentlemen with the muscular strength and courage of the backwoodsmen. They were accustomed to war and to the athletic exercises of the forest. They rode well, and wielded the rifle with fatal precision; they were successful warriors, and good hunters; yet they were well bred men, of easy manners, cultivated minds, liberal opinions, and unbounded hospitality.

A fair proportion of them were persons of extensive property; or at least, in easy circumstances, which placed them above selfish considerations, and enabled them to live up to the native liberality of the Virginian character. The people, and the institutions of the country imbibed their spirit. Brave and hardy the Kentuckians must have been from their manner of life; but we must attribute much of their hospitality their polish, and their ~~address~~ intelligence, to the gentlemen of Virginia, who came in early times to this State, bringing with them education, wealth and talents, and whose character is now diffused over the whole West and impressed on the institutions of the newer States.

Another fact ist~~ue~~ue of Kentucky, which does not occur in the history of the other Western states, or of new countries in general. This District, when first settled, formed a part of the territory of Virginia, lying in actual contact with the mother state; and its settlement was considered rather an expansion of the OLD DOMINION, than as the formation of a new community. We do not discover, either in the traditions, or the writings of of these times, which have come down to us, that the settlers of Kentucky were called Emigrants. The idea of expatriation did not connect itself with their change of residence; they MOVED OUT to an unsettled part of their own state, considered themselves as remaining in their ~~own land~~ native land; and transferred to the soil of Kentucky all the pride, the local attachment, the love of country which we find so prominent, so characteristic, so graceful in the Virginian character. They were still Virginians.

The peculiarities of the society thus constituted were but

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

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

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

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

A

JOURNAL OF TWO VISITS

Made to some Nations of Indians

On the west side of the River Ohio,

In the years 1772 and 1773.

By the Rev David Jones, Minister of the Gospel
at Freehold, in New Jersey.

BURLINGTON

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I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Kind Reader:

You have in this Journal presented to your view my travels in two visits to the Indians in on the Rivers Ohio and Scioto; together with what endeavors were made to civilize the heathens and my judgment on that subject. I cannot be expected that a particular narrative of the occurrences of every day should be given, because this would render the work voluminous, and too expensive; but remarks were made on whatever was thought most worthy of notice.. Perhaps it might be asked, what motives influenced me to undertake a journey attended with so much expense, hardships and fatigue? By reading of the scriptures it appeared that the gospel is to be preached to all nations , and that some out of all shall join in the praises of the Lamb of God: seeing but little signs of the Kingdom of Christ among us , it was thought that it might be the day of God's mercy and visitation of these neglected savage nations. And notwithstanding the discouragements met with, I am not yet convinced but something might be done for their good, if the attempt was suitably countenanced. Thoughts relative to this subject have been in my mind for several years past, and at times, with an ardent desire to try what might be done; but my circumstances prevented any attempts till the beginning of the summer Anno Domini 1772; when, in company with Mr. John Holmes, who traveled for his health, I began my first tour, and returned from my second on the last of April, 1773; containing the travels of one year, lacking a few days, including the space of near two months between my first and second journey.

Concluding it would favor my design, and from a desire to officiate in the ministry, without dependance upon the people, had views of settling on the east side of the river Ohio, in a province then expected to take place under the propriety of Messrs. Franklin, Whar-ton, Baynton, Mprgan, and others. This induced me to take a more extensive survey of the country that what otherwise might have been expected; consequently, am able to describe this new world more to the satisfaction of such as desire to be acquainted with it. For the gratification of the reader and the better understanding of some para-graphs in the following Journal, it was thought proper thus to premise a few things; believing that most readers will enjoy as much pleasure as him that act allyally passed through the scene. It would be esteemed as no small compensation to my hardships if this Journal might be any means of exciting a pious emulation in some person better qualified to engage in the important work of civiliz-ing the poor, neglected Heathens; and if any should be so disposed, cordially I wish Godspeed in the same; and remain the reader's unworthy servant in the Gospel of Christ.

D. J O N E S.

A JOURNAL OF TWO VISITS TO THE INDIANS.

May 4, Anno Domini 1772, having prepared for my journey and committed all to the disposal of Divine Providence, went to Philadelphia and conversed with Messrs. Wharton, Baynton and Morgan concerning settling on the river Ohio; acquainted them, also, with my designs of visiting the Indians. They all were well pleased, and gave me what encouragement was then in their power. Mr. Wharton was so kind as to recommend me to the notice of col. Croghan at Fort Pitt, as he was well qualified, from his long acquaintance with the Indians, to be of great use to me in prosecuting my design; and I understood that Mr. Morgan was so good, also, as to write to the colonel in my favour.

Pleased with the present prospects, left Philadelphia; and in order to see some kindred and friends, went thro' the province of Maryland, and on the 10th of May came to the Chief town of that province, situated on good, navigable water, in the County of Baltimore, which is also the name of the town. 'Tis a town of great business considering its age, is connected in trade with the western parts of Pennsylvania, and appears in a prosperous state. I was there on the Lord's day, and was favoured with an opportunity of preaching in the Presbyterian meeting house, the minister being absent. A number of the hearers appeared genteel, and very well dressed; but was sorry to see the behaviour of some so very unbecoming the solemn worship of God--from whose omniscient inspection nothing can be hid. My hearty wishes are that instead of whispering, talking and laughing in the time of divine service, all those persons especially who are in an exalted station of life may always conduct themselves on such occasions agreeable to their genteel appearance. When I was there no Baptist meeting house was erected; but several persons of that persuasion

Pages 11-12-13

were consulting to make preparations for one; and I have been informed that a lot of land has been purchased for that purpose. Set out from thence May 14th; traveled on a course of W.N.W. 60 miles to an inland town in said province called Fredericks-Town, 'tis situated on and surrounded with good land, and a pleasing country; and though it is so distant from navigation, 'tis said there are scarcely any goods in Baltimore or Philadelphia but what may be had here, on almost as reasonable terms.

Pages 39-46.

December 27, in the morning parted with my brother and other friends, committing the event to Providence; set out in my voyage to the Shawanee towns. The weather was snowy and severe; yet, being lapped up in blankets, received no damage. At night encamped on the west side of the Ohio, and by the assistance of a large fire, slept more comfortable than can be imagined by those who are strangers to such lodging.

Monday 28, the wind blowing from the south made the river so rough that most part of the day it was impossible to travel. It is said by the traders that the wind almost universally blows up the Ohio, especially in winter, nor do I remember it otherwise. If this continues to be the case it must be of great advantage to trade on this river. Perhaps it would puzzle the greatest philosopher to assign a natural cause for the wind's blowing up this stream in the winter; but it is plain Providence has so ordered it. At evening Mr. Kelly concluded that, as the wind abated, it was duty to continue at the oars all night; therefore, we set out, and it was thought by morning we were about eight miles below the little Canhawha.

This night was severely cold--the canoe was loaded near eighteen inches above its sides; on this was my lodging. Though well furnished with blankets, was afraid my feet would have been frozen. It may well be supposed that thoughts of sleep in such apparant danger were not the most pleasing; for, moving a few inches in sleep would have made the bottom of Ohio to be my BED. Many thoughts arose in my mind what might be the event; at last, believing that God had a command of my thoughts in sleep, and could keep me from dreaming, or starting in my sleep, committed all into His hand and slept without fear. In the morning found myself safely preserved through the care of him whose tender mercies are over all the works of his hands.

Tuesday, 29. The wind, being contrary, traveled but little

Wednesday, 30, the morning being pleasant, set out for the Great Canawha, passed Hockhocking, which is a pretty large creek, coming from the west side of Ohio. Several creeks came in from the east side, some of which were passed in the night. The land passed in the day time in general, appeared good and level. About break of day, passed the mouth of the Great Canhawha. This is a great river that comes from the borders of Virginia, and is said to be about 300 yards wide at the mouth. The land about this river is esteemed very good, and it is said the seat of Government will be here; but perhaps the Great Guiandat will be found best for the metropolis. The mouth of this river, according to the calculation of Mr. Hutchins, is 226 miles below Fort Pitt, but his assistant, Mr. Hooper, by actual survey tolx me he found it much more--traders esteem it 250. This morning took breakfast of chocolate using rum as an ingredient instead of milk, and seemed very useful here in the wilderness, where flesh was out chief provision.

Pages 39-46.

Thursday 31, set out for Great Guindat--. The river Ohio, in general, bore a S.W. course, and a little more westerly; but it is very crooked in many places. This day being fair and pleasant, we traveled a great distance, so that the day following, at about 11 o'clock, we passed the mouth of Great Guindat, being January 1, 1773. This creek is very large, and it is said that it originates from Clinch Mountain, which separates it from Holston River, and, according to information, is situated west of the southern parts of Virginia. If falls do not prevent, from the appearance of this creek it may be navigable a great distance for canoes, and such small craft. Here the land appears charming and level, well supplied with fine, black oak timber; and was informed that it abounds with extraordinary springs, especially, about the branches that make this ~~xxxx~~ creek. In this part of the country, even in the winter season, pasturage is so good that creatures are well supplied without any assistance. Here are a great abundance of buffaloes, which are a species of cattle, as some suppose, left here by former inhabitants. To such as travel this country, it is most evident that it has formerly been inhabited by some people who had the use of iron. I have been informed by sundry persons that that up some of these creeks a pair of mill stones are to be seen, where it is probable a mill formerly stood. Below this creek's mouth the bank of Ohio seems near one hundred feet higher than the surface of the water in common; so that no place we passed promised superior advantages for a town, as it will always be safe from floods of waters, and easy for the inhabitants of the colony to transport their produce down the stream. The mouth of this creek, according to Mr. Hutchin's calculation, is three hundred and eight miles below Fort Pitt; but

some think it considerably farther, and from Mr. Hooper's actual survey, it is probable it may be so. About fifteen miles below, passed a stream near as large as this, called Great Sandy Creek. According to information, on the heads of these creeks is the most beautiful and fertile country to be settled that is anywhere in this new colony; would therefore recommend it to such as are disposed to settle in this new world. Here the inhabitants will not be perpetual slaves to support their creatures, for the winters are mild and short, being near the end of latitude 38, or the beginning of 39. Contiguous to this, if none in it, are the famous salt springs, which are a peculiar favor of God in this land so distant from the sea. Throughout this country, in various places, salt springs are to be seen; but more abundantly, in the southern parts the waters of which, if boiled, produces very penetrating salt, some of which I saw myself.

In this country, also, are to be seen alum mines, as the people call them; but some of them, from a chymical experiment, appear to be rather a mixture of vitriol with alum. This country has its excellences, as well as some seeming disadvantages, among which the great abundance of stone coal may be reckoned as one advantage, especially in process of time. The blacksmiths about Redstone use none other in their shops, and find it answers their purpose well; nor is it defective for materials to erect the best of buildings; for there is no scarcity of limestone and excellent quarries of freestone. At Great Sandy Creek the river Ohio makes a turn and runs for many miles near due north; and from thence to the mouth of Sciota its course may be said to be S.W. and a little more westerly.

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Saturday Jan. 2, it rained so that we were obliged to remain in camp, and though we stretched our blankets, the rain was so effective that we lay soaking wet in our beds through a great part of the night. No night seemed more uncomfortable than this; yet was not sensible of any damage received.

January 3. It rained most part of the day so that part of us remained in camp; but others, being worse disposed, went out to hunt though we were not in real want of provisions. It was so ordered that they killed nothing. Upon their return, reminded them of their impiety, and that Providence prevented their successes. All that was said seemed only like darting straws against the wind, for sense of duty was lost.

Monday 4. Set out for the river Siota, and about the middle of the day came to the mouth of it. The Shawanne Indians formerly lived near the mouth of this river; but finding that their enemies had too easy access, they moved their habitation up the stream. The mouth of Siota may be more than two hundred yards wide, and was then very deep, occasioned by the late rains. It is said that the mouth of this river terminates the colony expected to take place. For some miles before we arrived to this river, mountains seemingly impassable appeared terminating in several tops, covered with pine shrubs S.E. of Ohio. These mountains approach nigher the river Ohio, till they terminate at the edge of the stream almost opposite to the mouth of Siota. It is said that there is a way to pass over rather below Sciota; and after traveling about fifteen miles you will come to a famous level land covered with good pasturage and abounding with fine springs of water, inviting inhabitants to partake of the rich productions of Providence. This must be connected with, or part of

the land described above, on the branches of Great Sandy Creek and Guiandat. The name which the Shawannees give Siota has slipped my memory; but it signifies "Hairy River". The Indians tell us that when they came first to live here deers were so plenty that, in the vernal season, when they came to drink, the stream would be thick of hairs; hence, they gave it the name.

Encamped on the east side of this river, at a place called "Red Bank" and indeed, this is the first place in which we could encamp with safety; for, near the mouth, in floods the waters of this river and Ohio unite, covering all the low land; the two rivers, for a mile or better, running near the same course, and not far apart. According to Mr.Huthins, the mouth of this river is situated in latitude 38 and 22 minutes, and as Ohio runs three hundred and fifty-six miles below Fort Pitt.--Traders call it four hundred miles, and from the remarks of Mr.Hooper, it may be supposed to be near the matter.

were consulting to make preparations for one; and I have been informed that a lot of land has been purchased for that purpose. Set out from thence May 14th; traveled on a course of W. N. W. 60 miles to an inland town in said province called Fredericks-Town, 'tis situated on, and surrounded with good land, and a pleasing country; and 'though it is so distant from navigation, 'tis said there are scarcely any goods in Baltimore or Philadelphia but what may be had here, on almost as reasonable terms.

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CHAPTER III.

Scott's Conspiracy.

Pages 44-55.

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

"The Stern joy that warriors feel,
In foemen worthy of their steel,"

must have stood far above mediocrity. Colonel Burr was the son of a gentleman eminent for his learning and piety, for many years president of the most celebrated college in America; and was, himself, a man of transcendent genius, and great attainments. He was remarkable for the elegance of his manners, the seductiveness of his address, the power and ~~swetness~~ sweetness of his eloquence; but more so, perhaps, for the boldness and energy of his mind. Burr had contended, unsuccessfully with Jefferson, for the Presidential chair, which he lost by a single vote; but while he filled the second place in point of dignity, few at that time would have assigned him an inferior station in point of talents.

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

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

These indications were quickly succeeded by others, of a more decided character. Secret as his intentions were, the first movement towards their execution awakened suspicion. The assembling of men and collecting munitions of war roused the Government to action. Burr was arrested, his plans defeated, his adherents dispersed, and his reputation blasted. He became an exile and a wanderer; and, after

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years of suffering, returned to his native land , to become an insignificant member of that bar, of which he had been among the highest ornaments, an obscure citizen of that country over whose councils he had presided; and to add another to the list of splendid men who great without benefit to themselves or others, and whose names will be preserved only

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

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

Such was the fate of Burr; but his plans are yet enveloped in mystery. A descent on some part of Spanish America, and the establishment of an independant government has been stated to have been the object; but it is alleged that a separation of the western states from the Union formed a part of the project. The latter charge rests entirely upon the evidence of General Eaton, a gentleman whose chivalrous disposition led him through many singular adventures,

and whose history, as recorded by himself, presents a more favourable picture of his heart and genius than of his judgment. He was a man of warm temperament who adopted hasty and vivid impressions from the impulse of the moment. From his testimony I should be inclined to believe that Colonel Burr had cherished some vague ideas respecting a disjunction of the Union; but it does not appear that these speculations were ever matured into any settled plan, or confided to his

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adherents. I am led to this conclusion by the characters of Colonel Burr, and the gentlemen who were implicated with him in his disastrous expedition.

Burr was a man of extended views, a close observer of men and manners; and it is not to be presumed that that he would have lightly embraced a scheme so fraught with treason, madness and folly. He knew the American people well. He had studied them with the eye of a statesman and with the intense interest of an ambitious political aspirant. His rank in society, his political station, and his extensive practice at the bar there open a wide and varied scene to his observation and exhibited his countrymen to him in a variety of lights and shades.

Nor was Burr the man upon whom such opportunities would be lost. To him, the avenues of the human heart were all familiar, and he could penetrate with ease, into its secret recesses. To study man was his delight; to study his countrymen, his business. Could he, ~~then~~ then, have been a stranger to their intelligence, their sense of honor, their habits of calculation, and their love for their republican institutions? Could he expect to transform at once the habits, feelings, tastes, and morals of a people conspicuous for their courage and political integrity?--for such are the people of the western states. It has been supposed, and with some plausibility, that his hopes were founded on the dissatisfaction evinced by the western people at the time of the discussion of our right to navigate the Mississippi. It is true that the rude and unprovoked violation of our privileges on the river by Spain excited an universal burst of indignation throughout the union. It is also true that this feeling was most warmly displayed in the west. In the Atlantic states, the insult was felt as implicating our national honor; in the west, it was a matter of vital

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importance to all, and of personal interest to every individual, and as such it came HOME TO MEN'S BUSINESS AND BOSOMS. The Mississippi was the natural outlet, and New Orleans the mart for the produce of the west; and when that market, to which they believed they had an ~~indefeasible~~ right of access was barred to them, it was but natural ~~that~~ and common impulse of the human mind which induced a people at all times proud, impetuous, and tenacious, to call for vengeance and redress with a sternness and impatience commensurate with their injuries. The conciliatory spirit and tardy policy of Mr. Jefferson, neither satisfied their feelings, nor suited their exigencies; and they were willing to impute to tameness in the executive or to a disregard for their interests that which might have been the result of national weakness, or mistaken policy. Believing themselves to be abandoned by the general government, they felt it a duty to ~~protect~~ protect their own invaded rights; and if the government had not interposed with effect, they would doubtless have drawn the sword against whom/ the Government? No, but against the common enemy. In this there was no treason or disaffection, no estrangement from their sister states, no breach of faith with the Government, nor violation of the compact. It was only saying to the Federal head, "defend us, or we will defend ourselves."

If Colonel Burr expected to fan these feelings into rebellion he had either more boldness or less wisdom than has been commonly placed to his credit; and had he openly avowed this project he would have called down upon his head the imprecations of a people who if they had spared his life, would not have forgiven so foul and insult to their virtue and understanding. But, let us ask who were the adherents of Colonel Burr? Who were they who were to share his fortunes, to reap with him the proud laurels of successful valour, or the infamy of foul rebellion? Were they persons of obscure name and des-

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perate fortune, or were they men of good blood and fair fame? These questions are embarrassed with some uncertainty, because most of the men who have been accused of adhering to Colonel Burr, have denied the fact; and I wish not to accuse anything as a fact on this delicate subject, which is, or has been controverted. But it has not been denied that many "prosperous gentlemen" were engaged in this enterprise; and many others suspected, with a belief so strong as to amount almost to a certainty; and among these were men whom the people have since exalted to the most important trusts, and confided in with the most implicit reliance. Among them were men of high standing, who had reputations to be tarnished, fortunes to be lost, and families to be embarrassed; and many highseuled youths whose proud aspirings after fame could never have been gratified amid the horrors of a civil war and the guilty scenes of rebellion.

It is aruged against these gentlemen that they have uniformly denied their connection with Burr, which it is supposed they would not have done had they known his designs to be innocent. But this I do not conceive, to be a fair argument. The united voice of the shile nation had declared Burr to be a trator and his adherents share the obloquy which was heaped upon their misguided leader. Even admitting their innocence, or their own belief of it, still it would have been a hopeless task for this handful of men to oppose their feeble asseverations to the "voice potential" of a whole people. Many of them, also, were candidates for office, and they found the avenues of preferment closed by the anethemaes pronounced by the people against all who were concerned in what they believed to have been rank conspiracy. They might, therefore, have bent to the current which they could not stem.

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

Whatever were Burr's intentions, it is certain that they embraced schemes so alluring, or so magnificent as to win the credulous Blennerhasset from the abstractions of study and the blandishments of love. This island became the center of operations. Here arms were deposited, and men collected. and here, assembled around their watch fires, young gentlemen who "had seen better days" and "sat at good men's feasts" endured all the rigors of the climate and the privations of a campaign, rewarding themselves in anticipation, with the honors of war" and the wealth of Mexico.

Burr and Blennerhasset were the master spirits who who planned their labors; Mrs. Blennerhasset was the light and life of all their social joys. If treason matured its dark design in her mansion, here also the song, the dance, and the revel, displayed their fascinations.

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order of arrest was the signal of dispersion to this ill-fated band. and it is said that the lovely mistress of this fairy scene, the Calypso of this enchanted isle, was seen at mid-night, "shivering on the winter banks of the Ohio," mingling her tears with its waters, eluding by strategem the ministers of justice, and destitute of the comforts of life, and the solace of that hospitality which she had once dispensed with such grateful liberality.

I believe it is not doubted that Burr intended to have attempted the conquest of Mexico. A large portion of the people of that country were supposed to be waiting only for an favorable opportunity to throw off the Spanish yoke. The Americans, as their neighbors and as republicans, would, it was thought, be received without suspicion. not would Burr have unfolded his ultimate design until it should be too late to prevent its accomplishment. He would then have established a monarchy, at the head of which would have been King Aaron the First. I am told that the young gentlemen who were proceeding to join him, often amused themselves on this subject; talking half in jest and half in earnest of the offices and honors which awaited them. Titles and places were already lavishly distributed in anticipation; and Mrs. Blennerhassett, who was an accomplished and sprightly woman, had arranged the dresses and ceremonies of the Court. When the alarm was given and orders were issued for the arrest of Burr and his adherents they were obliged to resort to a variety of expedients to escape detection. At Fort M ssac, and other places, all boats descending the river were compelled to stop and undergo strict examination, to the great vexation of boatmen and peaceable voyagers who were often obliged to land at unseasonable hours. Very diligent inquiry was made for the lady just mentioned, who several times narrowly escaped detection through her own ingenuity and that of her companions.

Chapter IV.

Character of the Pioneers--Their adventures--Anecdote of Muldrow--Of Boone--DeVine of the Indians--Romantic adventure of two females.

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

Those who came first--the Boones, the Kentons, the Whitleys, were rough, uneducated men; the enterprising, fearless hardy pioneers They were literally backwoodsmen, who had always resided on the frontiers, forming the connecting link between civilized and savage men; and who did not, in their emigration to the west, form any new acquaintance with the perils of the wilderness. They had been inhabitants of the long line of frontier lying east of the Alleghany Mountains; were the descendants of men whose lives had been spent in fierce contests with the Indians; and were themselves, accustomers from infancy, to the vicissitudes of hunting and border warfare. A few of them came from Pennsylvania and Maryland; but the great body from Virginia and North Carolina. Strictly speaking, they were not farmers; for, although they engaged in agriculture, they depended chiefly on their guns for their subsistence, and were allured to the west rather by the glories of the boundless forest and the abundance of game, than by the fertility of the new lands and the ample resources of the country. They came singly or in small parties, careless of protection and fearless of consequences.

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Their first residence was a camp, a frail shelter formed of poles and bark, carefully concealed in some retired spot, in which they hid the spoils of the chase, and to which they sometimes crept for repose at night, or slept away the long, inclement days when the hunter and his prey, alike, were driven by the storm to ~~take~~ seek the shelter of their coverts. At other times they roamed abroad, either engaged in hunting, or in making long journeys of exploration; sleeping in the open air and feeding upon the fruits of the forest and the flesh of wild animals, without bread or condiment. Between them and the Indians, there seems to have existed, from the beginning, a mutual dislike and distrust; and, except when there happened to be a great superiority of numbers on one side, or a recent provocation, they rather avoided than sought each other. But they seldom met without shedding blood.

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P A R T V.

Military operations in the north-western territory.

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CHAPTER I.

Pages 117-124.

One of the earliest expeditions of the Americans beyond the Ohio which then constituted the western frontier, was that of Colonel George Rogers Clarke against Kaskaskin, in 1778. This place, as well as the posts upon the lakes, was then in possession of the British, with whom we were at war; and being one of the points from which the Indians were supplied with munitions, and enabled to harass the settlements in Kentucky, its capture was deemed so important that the Legislature of Virginia was induced to raise a regiment for the purpose. The command was given to Colonel Clarke, who planned the expedition, and who is spoken of by Chief Justice Marshall, as "a gentleman whose great courage uncommon hardihood, and capacity for Indian warfare, had given him repeated successes in enterprises against the savages." He was a man of extraordinary talents and energy of character--possessed of a military genius which enabled him to plan with consummate wisdom, and to execute his designs with precision and promptitude. Having visited Kentucky during the previous year, he was satisfied that, in order to curb the Indians effectually, it was necessary to strike at the powerful, though distant allies, by whom they were supported. His great mind readily comprehended the situation of the country; he made himself acquainted with the topography of the whole region, as far as it was known, with the localities of the enemy's posts, and the strength of their forces; and was enabled to make

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such representations as induced the Legislature of Virginia to act with vigour. A regiment was authorized to be raised for the defense of the western frontiers, without designating the particular object of the enterprise, which remained a profound secret; and such was the confidence inspired by ~~General~~ Clarke that between two and three hundred men were raised without delay.

With this force he crossed the mountains to the Monongahela and descended by water to the Falls of Ohio, where he was joined by some volunteers from Kentucky. Having halted a few days to refresh his men, he proceeded down the Ohio to the neighborhood of Fort Massie, a point about sixty miles above the mouth of that river, where he landed and hid his boats to prevent their discovery by the Indians.. He was now distant from Kaskaskia about one hundred and thirty miles, and the intervening country, --with which the writer is familiarly acquainted, must have been at that period, when in a state of nature, almost impassable. His route led through a low, flat region intersected by numerous streams and ponds, and entirely covered with a most luxuriant vegetation, which must have greatly impeded the march of troops. Through this dreary region the intrepid leader marched on foot, at the head of his gallant band, with his rifle on his shoulder, and his provisions upon his back. After wading through ponds, crossing creeks by such methods as could be hastily adopted, and sustaining two days march after the provisions were exhausted he arrived in the night, before the village of Kaskaskia. Having halted, and formed his men, he made them a brief speech, which contained only the "pithy statement, that the town was to be taken, at all events." And it was taken, accordingly, without striking a blow, ; for, although fortified, the surprise

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was so compleye that no resistance was attempted. A detachment, mounted on the horses of the country, was immediately pushed forward to surprise the villages higher up the Mississippi; they were all taken without resistance, and the British power in that quarter completely destroyed. . It is said that a hunter had discovered the American troops and apprised the inhabitants of Kaskaskia of their approach; but that his story was considered so improbable as to obtain no credit. It WAS an improbable story, although it turned out to be true. A law had been passed for the raising of a regiment; the troops had been enlisted, officered, and equipped, transported 1300 miles by land and water through a wilderness country, inhabited by the Indians~~x~~ allies of the enemy and marched into a garrisoned town without the slightest suspicion, much less discovery of the movement. When we observe the amount of time and labour which is now expended, in making a journey from Virginia to Kaskaskia, with all our improvements, and reflect how incalculably greater must have been the difficulties of such a journey sixty-five years ago, when there was no road across the mountains, nor any boats in which to navigate the rivers, but such rude craft as the traveler might construct for his own convenience; and when we take into consideration the difficulty of transporting provisions and ammunition through a wild region, the successful expedition of Col. Clarke will present itself to the mind as a brilliant military achievement.

His next exploit was bolder, more arduous, and equally successful. Kaskaskia was not strongly defended; no attack by a civilized enemy was apprehended at this remote spot, and the approach of Clarke was unsuspected. But Vincennes, situated nearly in a direct line between Kaskaskia and the Falls of Ohio, distant one hundred and sixty miles from the former place and two hundred miles from the latter had been considered within the reach of an attack from the

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American settlements and was strongly fortified. It was well garrisoned with British troops, commanded by Governor Hamilton in person, an experienced officer who was quickly apprised of the capture of the posts on the Mississippi in his rear, and prepared to expect a visit from the daring Clarke and his victorious troops. In addition to the regular force, which was greatly superior to that of Clarke in numbers and in equipment, he had under his command six hundred Indian warriors; and, being an active, skilful officer, he proposed to march as soon as possible, upon the American commander. But the season was such as to render any immediate military movement difficult and apparently impracticable. The rivers and smaller streams, all of which, in this level region, overflow their banks rapidly under heavy falls of rain, were now swelled; and the passes of the country blocked up. Unable to march his own troops under such circumstances, he considered that Clarke would be confined by the same causes, to the shores of the Mississippi, where no re-inforcement could reach him, and where he could attack him, with the certainty of success, upon the subsiding of the waters.

Colonel Clarke, who, with his other accomplishments, possessed a singular capacity for penetrating into the designs of his enemy, became informed, as well, of the present delay, as of the ulterior plan of the British commander, and determined to anticipate his intentions by marching instantly against the post of Vincennes. To affect this, it was necessary to pass, without any road, over a surface of one hundred and sixty miles of fertile soil, whose light, spongy loam, saturated with water, afforded no firm footing to the steps of his soldiery, and to cross the Kaskaskia, the Little Wabash, the Embarras, and the Great Wabash rivers, besides a number of their tributaries, all of which were swollen, and margined by wide belts

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of inundated land. But the undaunted leader pressed on--without wagons, without tents, with only such provision and ammunition as could be carried on the backs of a few pack horses, and the shoulders of the men--toiling by day through mud and water, and sleeping at night upon the wet ground.

Upon reaching the waters of the Great Wabash our adventurous troops beheld before them an obstacle, which must have daunted the hearts of warriors less resolutely determined than themselves, upon the successful achievements of their enterprise. On the eastern bank of the river stood the British fort, on a high shore, swept by the foaming current of a great river; on the western side was a tract of low, alluvian land, five miles in width, entirely inundated. The whole expanse of water to be crossed was nearly six miles in width--first, the marshy flat, in whose treacherous quicksands the writer has seen the horse sink under his rider, and become instantly buried in the mire, now covered with water, too deep in some places to be forded, and too shallow in others to admit of navigation by boats, and impeded through-out by growing timber, floating logs, or tangled brush wood, and then the swift, powerful current of the river.

Colonel Clarke was laboriously employed for sixteen days in effecting the march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes; five of which were consumed in passing the wilderness of water just described, through which he meandered in such a manner as to conceal his forces from the enemy, by avoiding the prairie, and keeping as much as possible under the cover of the timber, sometimes wading breast deep, sometimes proceeding upon rafts and canoes; and, at last, crossing the river in the night and presenting himself suddenly before the town, which was completely surprised.

It was here that the western Hannibal, as Clarke may be justly called, performed a manoeuvre which showed that he was prudent as well as daring; and that while he possessed the hardihood -5-

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to attempt the most desperate enterprise, he was fertile in expedients, and cautious in availing himself of any accidental advantage which might be presented. As he approached the town, over the wide, beautiful prairie on which it stands, and at the moment when his troops were discovered by the enemy, he found himself near a small circular eminence which concealed a part of his force from the observation of the foe. Under this cover he counter-marched his column in so skilful a manner that the leading files, which had been seen from the town, were transferred, undiscovered, to the rear, and made to pass again and again, in sight of the enemy, until all his men had been displayed several times, and his little detachment of jaded troops was made to assume the appearance of a long column, greatly superior in number to its actual force. He then promptly summoned the garrison to surrender. Governor Hamilton, after a brief defence, struck his flag. and the gallant Clarke found himself master of an important post, whose garrison, now his prisoners, consisted of a well appointed body of soldiers, twice as numerous as his own followers.

These brilliant exploits of Colonel Clarke had an important bearing upon the interests of the western country, both direct and consequential. They gave, for the moment, safety and repose to the harassed inhabitants of Kentucky, and struck with terror the whole savage population of the wide region through which he passed. They deranged an extensive plan of operations on the part of the enemy, the design of which was to annihilate all the border settlements by pouring in the combined Indian force along the whole line of our frontier, while they detached from the British interest many tribes who had long acted under the control of that power. They hastened, if they did not contribute to produce the most important political event connected with the history of the Western country--the purchase

of Louisiana. The limits of the United States were extended to the Mississippi, where they remained fixed; and Virginia, assuming her title to the conquered territory, in right of her charter, as well as of the conquest by her own arms, proceeded at once to erect it into a County, which was called Illinois.

Another direct consequence of the successes of Colonel Clarke, was the founding of Louisville. Previous to that period, the families who were collected at the Falls of Ohio, had sought safety upon the island avrest of the present site of the town; but the capture of Vincennes, by breaking up the nearest and the strongest of the enemy's western posts, relieved their apprehensions of danger and enabled them to settle on the Kentucky shore.