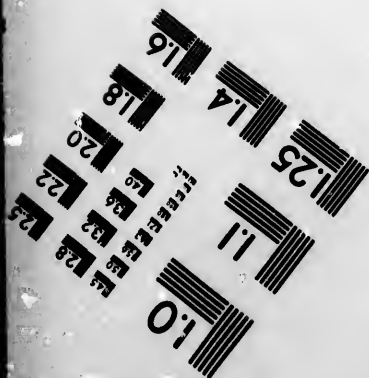
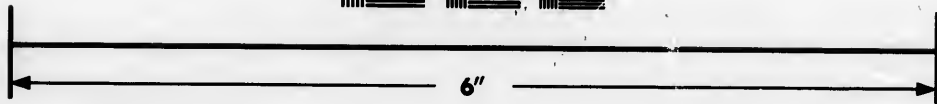
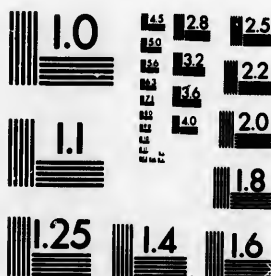


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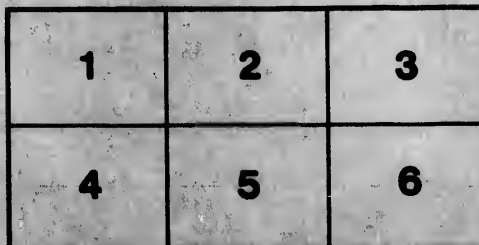
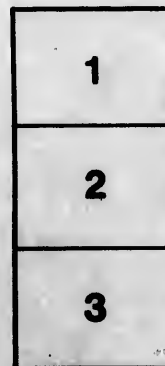
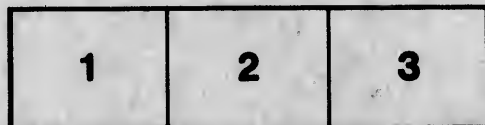
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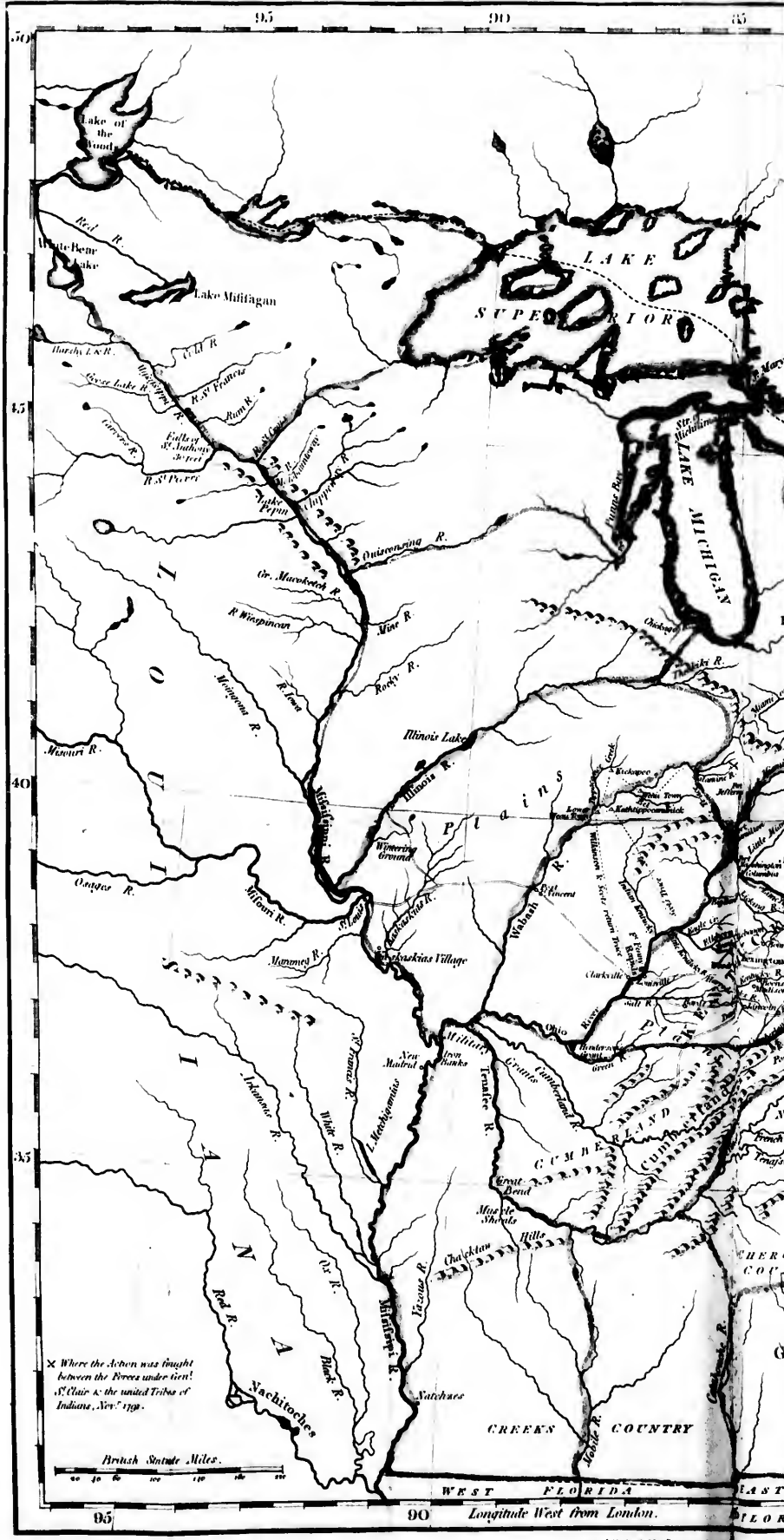
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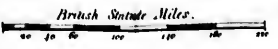
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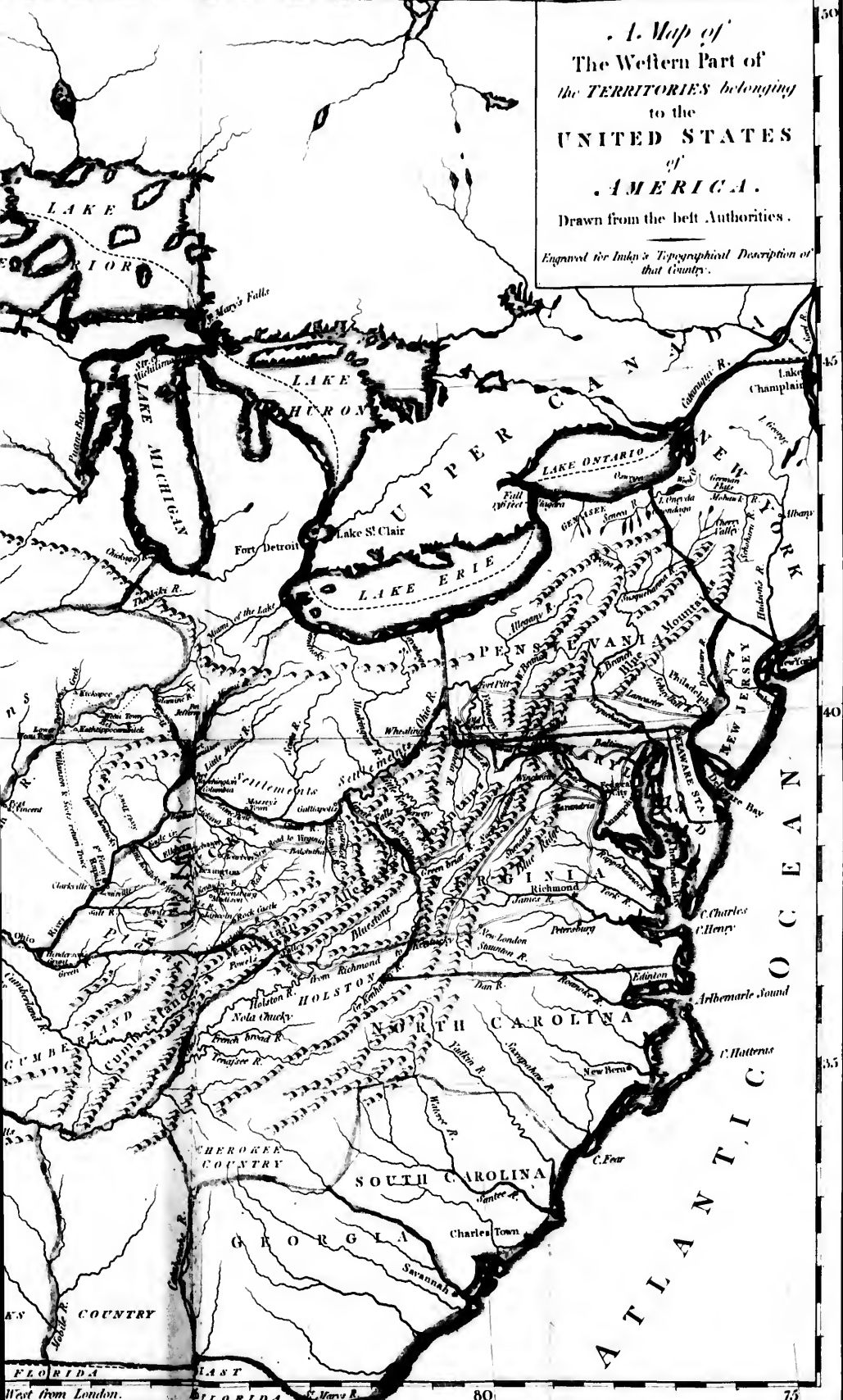


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between the Forces under Genl.
St. Clair & the united Tribes of
Indians, Nov. 1798.



WEST FLORIDA EAST FLORIDA
Longitude West from London.

1. Map of
The Western Part of
the TERRITORIES belonging to the
UNITED STATES
of
AMERICA.
 Drawn from the best Authorities.
 Engraved for Imho's Topographical Description of that Country.



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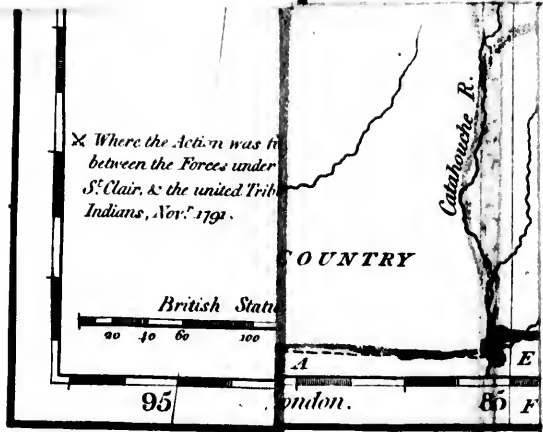
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Indians, Nov. 1791.

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Printed Feb^r 1793. by J. B. Brett

A
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION
OF THE
WESTERN TERRITORY
OF
NORTH AMERICA:

CONTAINING

A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT of its Soil, Climate, Natural History, Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Customs, With an ample Description of the several Divisions into which that Country is partitioned;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE
DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT,
AND
PRESENT STATE OF KENTUCKY.

AND

AN ESSAY towards the TOPOGRAPHY, and NATURAL HISTORY of that important Country.

By JOHN FILSON.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

- 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. VINCENT'S, 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.

By GEORGE IMLAY,

A Captain in the American Army during the War, and Commissioner for laying out Lands in the Back Settlements.

Illustrated with correct Maps of the Western Territory of NORTH AMERICA; of the STATE of KENTUCKY, as divided into Counties, from the latest Surveys; and a Plan of the Rapids of the OHIO.

THE SECOND EDITION,
WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Author of the following Letters having been an early witness to the settlement of Kentucky, had frequently suggested to me the importance of that rising country. But I confess that, with every deference to his judgment, I was not aware how deservedly it had been estimated as of the utmost consequence. A momentous æra, during several years of which the eyes of the whole world were attentively fixed upon Europe, had so entirely occupied my mind, that, regardless of occurrences in the remote parts of America, I felt no inconsiderable astonishment at finding that Kentucky was to be admitted as a separate State into the federal government.

It struck me as a natural object of enquiry to what a future increase and elevation of magnitude and grandeur the spreading empire of America might attain, when a country had thus suddenly risen from an uninhabited wild, to the quantum of population necessary to govern and regulate its own administration.

It was under this idea that I requested my friend to send me, at his leisure, a complete description of the western country of America; an enumeration of the laws and government of Kentucky; and an account of that district of country which appeared the most likely to become a new State.

All this he has done in so ample a manner, that when the news of the defeat of General St. Clair was received, I thought that the letters in question would prove acceptable to the Public, as imparting to them a more particular knowledge of that country, so apparently the bone of contention between the Indians and the Americans.

Con-

Conceiving a newspaper to be the most proper channel of communication, I offered a copy of such of the letters as I had then received, to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle. But the important crisis of the time, with respect to parliamentary business and European politics, did not admit of his devoting so large a share of that excellent paper to their insertion, as the length of the letters would have required; and to have mutilated them, would have been doing injustice to the Author, and leaving the information incomplete. But as several other of his letters have since come to my hands, I have determined to publish them in a book, not doubting but that the world will receive as much information and amusement from them as I myself have experienced.

It is very certain that no work of the kind has hitherto been published in this country; and when original matter is brought before the Public, surely it cannot fail to prove ac-

ceptable to the philosopher, and entertaining to the curious.

The occasional remarks, which he has interspersed, respecting the laws, religion, and customs of Europe, are entitled to the greatest indulgence, as I believe them to be made with the greatest candour.

A man who had lived until he was more than five-and-twenty years old, in the back parts of America (which was the case with our Author, except during the period he served in the army), accustomed to that simplicity of manners natural to a people in a state of innocence, suddenly arriving in Europe, must have been powerfully stricken with the very great difference between the simplicity of the one, and what is called *etiquette* and good breeding in the other.

Perhaps such a person is better calculated than ourselves to judge of our manners; and doubtless habit very materially acts upon the human mind; and since it has been too much

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the practice in Europe to confer favours in proportion to the servility of courtiers, I am apprehensive that we have imperceptibly lost much of our energy and manliness.

The calculated rise of the American empire, which these letters contain, will not, I think, appear extravagant, when we recollect the rapid strides which have advanced it to its present flourishing state of wealth and population.

In the life of Edward Drinker, which was published in Philadelphia, April 1783, are contained these remarkable particulars :

“ Edward Drinker, was born in a cottage in 1688, on the spot where the city of Philadelphia now stands, which was inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders.

“ He often talked of picking blackberries, and catching wild rabbits, where this populous city is now seated. He remembered the arrival of William Penn, and used to

point out the spot where the cabin stood in which that adventurer and his friends were accommodated on their arrival.

“ He saw the same spot of earth, in the course of his own life, covered with woods and bushes, the receptacles of wild beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a great and flourishing city, not only the first in wealth and arts in America, but equalled but by few in Europe.

“ He saw splendid churches rise upon morasses, where he used to hear nothing but the croaking of frogs; great wharfs and warehouses, where he had often seen savages draw their fish from the river; he saw that river afterwards receiving ships and merchandize from every part of the globe, which, in his youth, had nothing bigger than an Indian canoe.

“ He had been the subject of many crowned heads; but when he heard of the oppressive and unconstitutional acts passed in
Britain,

Britain, he bought them all, and gave them to his grandsons to make kites of; and embracing the liberty and independence of his country, after seeing the beginning and end of the British empire in Pennsylvania, and after triumphing in the establishment of freedom, he died in November 1782."

I repeat, that when we recollect the wonderful changes which have taken place during the life of one man in Pennsylvania; under all the disadvantages with which the population of that country was attended, as well as the rest of America, posterity will not deem it extraordinary, should they find the country settled quite across to the Pacific Ocean, in less than another century.

I will suppose that the inhabitants of America amount at present to four millions of souls at least, and that their population doubles once in twenty or twenty-five years; at the end of a hundred years their number will be sixty-four millions.

This is a very simple but very obvious truth. To be sensible of this, we have only to mark the stages of its growth. For, whether the secret of its amazing fecundity is owing to the great proportion of room which the extent of its territory affords, signifies very little, as it does not appear likely that any material alteration, in that respect, will take place in the course of so short a time as a century; as the expansion of its dominion will secure the same advantages to population.

The immense extent of the American empire abounds with all climates, with every kind of soil, and with rivers so various and extensive, that it seems calculated to become a rival to half the globe in trade and riches.

Some obstructions have interfered with the navigation of the Mississippi, which were as repugnant to sound policy on the part of Spain, as it was distressing to the people of the western country.

It

It was under that coercion that the people of Kentucky in convention in the year 1788, petitioned the United States upon the subject of their grievances; who, in consequence, remonstrated with the Court of Spain upon that subject, when some indulgence was granted, though that navigation was not entirely liberated.

This petition contains sentiments so pure, and so manly, that I think there cannot be a better idea conveyed of their dispositions and manners, than by inserting it at full length.

*“ Fathers, fellow-citizens, and
Guardians of our rights,*

“ As we address you by the appellation of fathers, we rely on your paternal affection to hear us; we rely on your justice, as men and citizens, to attend to the wrong done to men and citizens; and as a people recognised by the solemn acts of the union, we look for protection to the federal head.

“ When the peace had secured to America

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rica that sovereignty and independence, for which she had so nobly contended, we could not retire with our Atlantic friends, to enjoy, in ease, the blessings of freedom. Many of us had expended, in the struggle for our country's rights, that property which would have enabled us to possess a competence with our liberty. On the western waters, the commonwealth of Virginia possessed a fertile, but uninhabited wild. In this wilderness we fought, after having procured liberty for our posterity, to provide for their support.

“ Inured to hardships by a long warfare, we ventured into almost impenetrable forests—without bread or domestic cattle, we depended on the casual supplies afforded by the chase—hunger was our familiar attendant, and even our unfavoury meals were made upon the wet surface of the earth, with the cloud-deformed canopy for our covering. Though forced to pierce the thicket, it was not in safety we trod—the vile
savage

savage thirsted for blood, lurked in our paths, and seized the unsuspecting hunter.

“ Whilst we lamented the lost friend, a brother, a father, a wife, a child became the victim to the barbarian tomahawk—Instead of consolation, a new and greater misfortune deadened the sense of former afflictions. From the union we receive no support; but we impeach not their justice. Ineffectual treaties, often renewed, and as often broken by the savage nations, served only to supply them with the means of our destruction.

“ But no human cause could controul that Providence which had destined this western country to be the seat of a civilized and happy people. The period of its accomplishment was distant, but it advanced with rapid and incredible strides. We derived strength from our falls, and numbers from our losses—the unparalleled fertility of our soil made grateful returns, far disproportioned to the slight labour which our safety

safety would permit us to bestow—our fields and herds afford us not only sufficient support for ourselves, but also for the emigrants, who annually double our numbers, and even a surplus still remains for exportation—this surplus would be far greater, did not a narrow policy shut up our navigation, and discourage our industry.

“ In this situation we call for your attention—we beg you to trace the Mississippi from the ocean—survey the innumerable rivers which water your western territory, and pay their tribute to its greatness—examine the luxuriant soil which those rivers traverse. Then we ask, can the GOD OF WISDOM AND NATURE have created that vast country in vain? Was it for nothing that he blessed it with a fertility so astonishing? Did he not provide those great streams which enter into the Mississippi, and by it communicate with the Atlantic, that other nations might enjoy with us the blessings of our prolific soil? View the country, and you

will answer for yourselves. But can the presumptuous madness of man imagine a policy inconsistent with the immense designs of the DEITY? Americans cannot.

“As it is the natural right to the inhabitants of this country to navigate the Mississippi, so they have also a right derived from treaties and national compacts.

“By the treaty of peace, concluded in the year 1763, between the crowns of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the free navigation of the river Mississippi was ascertained to Great Britain.

“The right thus ascertained was exercised by the subjects of that crown, until the peace of 1783, and conjointly with them by the citizens of the United States. By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independency of the United States, she also conceded to them the free navigation of the Mississippi.

“It was a right naturally and essentially annexed to the possession of the western country.

country. As such it was claimed by America, and it was upon that principle she obtained it. Yet the court of Spain, who possess the country at the mouth of the Mississippi, have obstructed your citizens in the enjoyment of that right.

“ If policy is the motive which actuates political conduct, will you support this right, and thereby enable us to assist in the support of government?

“ If you will be really our fathers, stretch forth your hands to save us—if you would be worthy guardians, defend our rights. We are a member, that would exert every muscle for your service. Do not cut us off from your body. By every tie of consanguinity and affection, by the remembrance of the blood which we have mingled in the common cause, by a regard to justice, and to policy, we conjure you to procure our rights.

“ May your councils be guided by wisdom and justice, and may your determination

tion be marked with decision and effect! Let not your beneficence be circumscribed by the mountains which divide us; but let us feel that you are really the guardians and asserters of our rights. Then you would secure the prayers of the people, whose gratitude would be as warm as their vindications of their rights will be eternal—Then our connection shall be perpetuated to the latest times, a monument of your justice, and a terror to your enemies."

The first edition of this work having excited a general curiosity respecting the Western country of the United States of America, but more particularly that of the State of Kentucky, the Editor has thought it would not be unwelcome to the Public to annex an appendix, containing a description of Kentucky by Filson, published in America 1784; from which Morfe and all other writers (our author excepted) since that æra, have taken their

their information, concerning the development of the first rise and progress of a State, the circumstances of which are so truly astonishing.

The propriety of adopting these motives were enforced by the peculiar energy which a corroboration of accounts, so wonderful in the estimation of Europeans produces, and which the two works possess, that it must be impressed upon the mind of every intelligent reader, who sometimes fear the ardour of the authors imagination may exceed the just limits of truth and precision; and the justness of these accounts are farther strengthened by a narrative, comprehended within this Appendix, written in a style of the utmost simplicity, by a man, who was one of the Hunters who first penetrated into the bosom of that delectable region.

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TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION,

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LETTER I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

THE task you have given me, however difficult, I undertake with the greatest pleasure, as it will afford me an opportunity of contrasting the simple manners, and rational life of the Americans, in these back settlements, with the distorted and unnatural habits of the Europeans: which have flowed no doubt from the universally bad laws which exist on your continent, and from that pernicious system of blending religion with politics, which has been productive of universal depravity.

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While ignorance continued to darken the horizon of Europe, priestcraft seems to have forged fetters for the human mind, and, in the security of its own omnipotence, to have given a stamp to the writings, and opinions of men, that riveted the tyranny of those ingenious sophists--- The consequence has been lamentable in the extreme.

There are æras favourable to the rise of new governments; and though nature is governed by invariable laws, the fortune of men and states appear frequently under the dominion of chances: but happily for mankind, when the American empire was forming, philosophy pervaded the genius of Europe, and the radiance of her features moulded the minds of men into a more rational order.

It was the zenith of your power, and the inflated grandeur of visionary plans for dominion, which the remains of gothic tyranny produced, that gave occasion to the rise of our independence. We claim no merit or superior wisdom in avoiding the complication of laws which disgraces the courts of Great Britain, as well as the rest of Europe.

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We have only appropriated the advantages of new lights, as they have shone upon us; which you have an equal chance of doing; and your not doing it, must remain a monument of your folly; calculated to excite the astonishment and indignation of a more manly progeny. However, I shall leave this subject for the present, and proceed in order in the history, &c. &c. which you request; hoping that you will be content to receive my remarks by letter, from time to time, as I may find an opportunity of sending them.

The vestiges of civilization described by Carver and others, on this side of the Allegany mountains, are intirely imaginary. Every mark that is human has the feature of barbarism, and every comparifon of the natives and animals, with those of the old world, tends to confirm the opinion of those sensible men (some of whom wrote more than a century ago) who thought that America was peopled from Scythia, by the streights of Kamtschatka: which opinion has been followed by your judicious natural historian Pennant, in his preface to his Artic Zoology. They say, first, " America has always been better
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peopled on the side towards Asia, than on that towards Europe: Secondly, The genius of the Americans has a greater conformity to that of the Tartars, who never applied themselves to arts: Thirdly, The colour of both is pretty much alike; it is certain that the difference is not considerable, and is perhaps the effect of the climate, and of those mixtures with which the Americans rub themselves: Fourthly, The wild beasts which are seen in America, and which cannot reasonably be supposed to have been transported thither by sea, could only have come by the way of Tartary." An addition to these arguments is, that the bison of Scythia, and what is called the buffalo in America, are precisely the same species of animal; besides, the animals of both countries bear the strongest resemblance to each other.

Every thing tends to convince us, that the world is in an infant state. If it is subject to change only from the gradual wear which the operations of the elements necessarily produce, and which is so insensible as to require us to contemplate the immensity of time and space to comprehend a

cause for the alterations we discover, still the various phænomena, which are every where to be found, both on the surface and in the bowels of the earth, afford sufficient proof that there has been a recent alteration upon the face of the globe. Whether or not mankind came originally from the East signifies little. It is, however, certain, that Europe was in its infancy three thousand years ago; and that America was still less advanced to maturity, I believe also will be acknowledged; though the barbarism of the one, and the comparative civilization of the other, is no argument: for, let our hemisphere have been peopled as it would, it had the disadvantage of having no polished country in the neighbourhood of its vast extent of dominion; and if it received emigrants from Tartary, they were equally savage with themselves; or if from the wreck of a Chinese, or Japanese vessel, they seem to have been too rare (if ever) to have been productive of much good to the Americans. The idea of the Incas of Peru being of Chinese origin merits no consideration.

That man possesses from nature the talents necessary

cessary to his own civilization, and that perfection of philosophy and reason which dignifies his nature, admits, I should conceive, of no dispute.

In all countries which wear the marks of age, men seem always to have been advancing their improvements for the comfort and order of society. Adventitious circumstances have rapidly encreased them in modern times in the old world, while they have retarded them in the new, among the natives. The improvements in navigation led to the overthrow of two empires in America which had attained considerable improvements; and if the natives which still remain are barbarous, we must, in justice to human nature, allow that the contempt with which the Whites have always treated them, and the nefarious policy of encouraging their fury for intoxication, have proved the only cause of it. This produced such an effect, that the population of the Indian nations, had decreased more than a twentieth nearly a century ago, according to the account of Charlevoix.

While Spain was practising the most odious tyranny, and sacrilegious inhumanity under the
cloak

cloak of a detestable religion, over millions of the miserable Americans, gorging an insatiable avarice in the glittering mines of the new world, England and France, with more humanity, opened settlements in North America. Other European powers had some part in these settlements; but, after some changes previous to the beginning of the present century, England seems to have been left in quiet possession of the country lying upon the Atlantic coast from East Florida to the Bay of Fundy. The French, in the mean time, were rearing a colony in the inhospitable and frozen forests of Canada. The ambition of Lewis XIV. and the dazzling scenery which the grandeur of his projects displayed, alone could have prompted that people to have persevered in so ruinous an undertaking. But in pursuing the great object of that voracious tyrant, the river St. Lawrence was ascended, Lake Ontario was traversed, the falls of Niagara were passed, and following the waters which lead to the Mississippi river, the delectable country of Louisiana opened in all the splendour and variety of its charms.

After the treaty of Utrecht, both nations con-

tinued quietly the object of aggrandizement. The plan of France was insidious. In possession of the mouth of the river Mississippi, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico in about lat, 29°, and the river St. Lawrence, which empties into the sea between Cape North and the coast of Labrador, to the northward of lat. 48°, she seems to have contemplated the consolidation of this vast empire. Missionaries were every where employed to convert the natives; and so successful were they, that a person, even in times of hostility, speaking French, will find security from the attachment of the people to every thing which is French.

The miscarriage of the celebrated scheme of Law, for settling Louisiana, for a time retarded the progress of that colossal plan. But the communication between Canada and Louisiana being fixed and secured by fortresses at Niagara and Detroit, and the Indians being universally friendly to the French, the features of the Titan was discovered in their erecting Fort Du Quesne at the junction of the Mononahala and Allegany rivers, which form the Ohio. This led to the

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war between England and France in the year 1755, you may well recollect. But though that war terminated so gloriously for Great Britain, and securely for the then colonies, still we remained ignorant of the whole of the fine country lying between the high hills, which rise from Great Sandy river, approximate the Allegany mountain, and extending down the Ohio to its confluence with the Mississippi, and back to those ridges of mountains which traverse America in a S. W. b. W. direction, until they are lost in the flat lands of West Florida. However, Indian traders, and certain men, called Long Hunters, from Virginia and North Carolina, by penetrating these mountains (which ramify into a country 200 miles over from east to west, called the Wilderness), were fascinated with the beauty and luxuriance of the country on the western side, which their enraptured imaginations could not find words sufficient to depict.

A grant had been sold by the Six Nations of Indians to some British commissioners at Fort Stanwix in 1768, which comprehended this country, and which afforded the Americans a pretext
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for a right to settle it; but it was not yet sufficiently known, and those Indian nations who were not concerned in the grant, became dissatisfied with the prospect of a settlement which might become so dangerous a thorn in their side, and committed some massacres upon the first explorers of the country. However, after the expedition of Lord Dunmore in 1774, and the battle at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the army of Col. Lewis and the confederated tribes of Indians (in which these intrepid people suffered severely), they were in some measure quiet. The assembly of Virginia began now to encourage the peopling that district of country called Kentucky, from the name of a river which runs nearly through the middle of it *. This encouragement consisted in offering 400 acres of land to every person who engaged to build a cabin, clear a piece of land, and produce a crop of Indian corn. This was called a settlement right. Some hundreds of these settlements were made;

* This river is about 250 yards wide at its mouth, and is navigable for upwards of 130 miles; its current is considerably rapid.

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but, in the mean time, Mr. Richard Henderson of North Carolina, a man of no inconsiderable abilities, and more enterprize, had obtained a grant from the Cherokee tribe of Indians for this same tract of country; and though it was contrary to the laws of the land for any private citizen to make purchases of the Indians, still Mr. Henderson persevered in his intention of establishing a colony of his own. To the inhabitants he intended to grant the power of making their own laws, while he retained the executive authority in his own hands. He actually took possession of the country, with many of his followers, where he remained pretty quiet, making very little improvement, Virginia being at that time entirely occupied with the war which had commenced between Great Britain and the Confederated States. Most of the young men from the back settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, who would have migrated to this country, having engaged in the war, formed that body of men called Rifle-men; which not only checked the growth of the settlement, but so dried up the sources of emigration, that it was near being annihilated by the fury of

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the savages, who were hurried on by the emissaries of the government of Canada.

Though a considerable number of inhabitants had fled from the different states to this country, in search of an asylum against the calamities of the war on the other side of the mountains in 1778, 1779, and 1780, yet so distressed was the settlement during this last year, after a rigorous winter (which had been more than usually severe upon the continent), that the settlers judged right, when they determined to abandon the country for ever; but they were diverted from this step by a seasonable reinforcement of emigrants, after having experienced every horror which a sanguinary war can produce.

The legality of Mr. Henderson's claim was investigated by the state of Virginia in 1781; and though there could be no sort of equity in it, he having acted in contempt of the state, the legislature, to avoid feuds or disturbances (for Henderson still had influence), agreed, as an indemnification for the expence and trouble he had been at, that he should be allowed a tract of country twelve miles square, lying in the forks
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of the Ohio and Green rivers: a tract of his own chusing.

Virginia gave farther rewards and encouragements at this time to the first settlers, for the perils they had undergone in the establishment of their settlement, of a tract of 1000 acres, called a pre-emption right, to be laid off adjoining to the settlement of 400 acres, the grantee only paying office fees for the same*. At this period

* At this time, what was called Continental Currency, was reduced to as low a rate as 500 for one; nay, I believe 1000 was a more common exchange. This circumstance, though it had its good effects, so far as it tended to accelerate the settlement of the country, still was productive of no small degree of evil and injustice. For in consequence of the great quantity of this money, which lay dead in the hands of individuals, it was no sooner known in the different states, that Virginia held out an opportunity to them of obtaining a consideration for this depreciated currency, than it was sent to the treasury of that state in such quantities, and given for land warrants, that in a short time more of them were issued than would have covered half the territory within its limits.

Previous to this æra, great part of the valuable land in the district of Kentucky, had been either taken up on old military grants, and pre-emption rights, or located by those who had been first in obtaining their warrants; for it required some time for the business to extend itself, and become generally known and understood.

In consequence, a large proportion of the holders of treasury warrants

period (i. e. 1781), a land office was opened by the state, granting warrants for any quantity of unlocated

warrants were disappointed, when they determined, if they could not obtain prime land, they would lay their warrants upon such as was vacant, however sterile, which doubtless was proper; for though the warrants had cost them only a nominal value, nor was the state of Virginia sensible of the dangerous avenue they were opening to fraudulent practices, yet it was possible, in an extensive tract of mountainous country, there might be in the valleys, or between the hills, some bottom land which, in the progress of settlements, would be of value. But they did not stop here; for finding a general spirit of migration was taking place from every part of the Atlantic, to the Western country, and that the reputation of the fine lands upon the Ohio, particularly those of Kentucky, were every day advancing in estimation, they determined to have their surveys made out in the most artful manner, by having for corner trees, such kinds as are never known to grow but in the most fertile soil, and which may always be found in the narrow strips of bottom land, and the plots embellished with the greatest elegance, displaying fine water courses, mill seats (where perhaps there will not be a grain of corn for half a century to come), plains, groves and meadows.

Hence proceeded so generally the business of land-jobbing—hence it is that there is to be seen in the Mercuries throughout Europe, such immense tracts of land in America offered for sale—and hence it is that so many persons have cause to complain of having been deceived in the accounts which have been given of land they have purchased.

I had given such an account in this work, of the good and indifferent veins of land, which I believed would have directed every purchaser of such land against the danger of imposition; but

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but as I have been informed, that land-jobbers have considered it as a work favourable to their views, I shall here make some remarks, which, if attended to, will infallibly prevent frauds.

The country that separates the back countries of Virginia from Kentucky, is, the greater part of it, mountainous, and through which, to its champaign lands, is nearly 150 miles, the whole of that tract of wilderness extending from Holston nearly north, crossing Great Sandy River, the Great and Little Kanhaways, quite into the fine lands in the district belonging to Pennsylvania, exclusive of some small tracts in the upper countries of Virginia upon the Ohio, all of which are occupied, is altogether broken into high, rugged, and barren hills, the bottoms excepted, and, in all probability, will not be inhabited for centuries to come, by reason of the immense tracts of good land lying west of the Ohio and Mississippi; and that tract of country lying southerly from Holston, and extending to Cumberland, Powell's Valley, Nolachusky French-broad, and Clinch excepted, is little better.

Besides, Kentucky itself extends a considerable distance into these broken tracts of country, and perhaps it is only possible for a stranger to guard against imposition, by making one of the conditions of his contract, that it shall be of such a rate of land. *i. e.* The different soils have been classed by the general consent of the people, and are well understood by the distinction of first, second, third and fourth rate land; the last is the lowest rate, I am convinced, that any person would settle upon, and the difference of its value, in my opinion, is as two to one in the ratio of its rate.

Now, the greater part of the broken tracts of country would not come under either of these denominations; consequently,
if

paid into the treasury, at so much for an hundred acres. The great plenty, and little value, of this money, soon caused the whole country to be located, which was one of the material causes of its rapid population.

It was necessary, in the management of this business, that care should be taken to prevent that perplexity and litigation, which the vague manner in which that business was executed in many instances, would necessarily produce. For this purpose, three principal surveyors were appointed, who were to lay, or cause to be laid off, by their deputies, the different locations within the limits of their districts: this being done, and recorded in the office, the original survey was sent to the deputy register's office, there to be recorded, where it must be six months, from which it was sent to the principal register's office at Richmond, the seat of government, there to remain three months, in order that any person having a claim, by virtue of a prior location,

if these hints should be attended to, and sufficient security given for a performance of the agreement of the contracting parties upon such principles, to which no honest person would object, imposition would be effectually prevented.

might

might have an opportunity to enter a caveat, and prevent a surreptitious grant from issuing. Commissioners were also sent to adjust the claims of settlement and pre-emption rights; by which means order was preserved, and the government of a district of country, detached, and separated at that time more than 200 miles from any other settled country—a country which had grown up under the devastation of a most barbarous Indian and civil war, and under the miseries of famine and distress, settled by all orders of men in the United States, men of different interests, and different politics, was preserved; and the order and quiet, which prevailed in 1784, was sufficient to have induced a stranger to have believed that he was living under an old settled government. Such is the science of jurisprudence, when it works upon simple, but substantial springs. Hence arise harmony without expence, and equity without litigation. Here are no musty forms, to lead you into labyrinths of doubt and perplexity, no contradictory cases and reports to distract your opinions:—our decisions are governed by acts of the legislature, decreed upon the elementary principles of truth and justice.

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After

After the peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783, the settlement of Kentucky was considered as formed; but it was not yet determined, whether it was to be an appendage of Virginia or not. The United States claimed the back country as the property of the whole union, which should be appropriated to the use of the federal government; but Virginia urged the right of the charter granted by James I. which described its boundaries in this strange way.—To commence at a point southward of the capes of Chesapeak Bay, in lat. $36\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ running due west from thence, then setting off from the said beginning, and running to lat. $37^{\circ} 57'$ upon the coast, which is a little to the northward of the said capes, and then running a north-west course. This indefinite grant, having no actual boundaries, seems to have originated in the belief of the times of its birth, *i. e.* that the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were only divided by a narrow tract of country. This grant forming a kind of obtuse angle, expanding as it advanced westward, comprehended the whole of the fine country on both sides of the Ohio. But, in order to adjust all

disputes, the state of Virginia offered to concede the country westward of the Ohio, provided that other individual states, holding back lands, would give up theirs, and the whole of the country comprehended within the present limits of the state, on the eastern side of the river Ohio, should be guaranteed to them by Congress. This was done; and thus the federal government became possessed of all the back lands in America.

Thus stood matters respecting Kentucky the latter end of 1783. As it is necessary for me to take a retrospective glance of the progress of peopling several other parts of the western country, I must beg your indulgence and time for another letter. In the mean time, believe me to be devoted to your wishes.

I am, most sincerely,

Your's, &c.

L E T T E R I I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

THE memorable defeat of General Braddock retarded, for some little time, our opportunities of acquiring a further knowledge of the country on the sources of the Ohio. But the taking Fort du Quesne by General Forbes, in 1760, opened to the view of the colonies of that day a new world. Lands were granted by government to the army, for services done during the war, which in a great measure, with the garrisoning Fort du Quesne (now called Fort Pitt), contributed to form the first English settlement upon the western waters.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, by which Great Britain obtained a cession of East and West Florida, and all the country lying east of the Mississippi, with a right to navigate that river, frequent excursions had been made from that time down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. But in these excursions, which were by water, very little knowledge of the Kentucky country

country had been obtained, except at the Rapids, and some few other places upon the banks of the river.

Louifiana was well known, and many settlements were forming, previous to the late war, on the eastern side of the Mississippi, above and below the Natchez : some troops had been stationed in the Illinois, and at Post St. Vincent on the Wabash river, where the French inhabitants lived and cultivated their little plantations, in the style of the Patriarchs of old ; enjoying the charms of nature, decked in all the soft simplicity which the genial current of the human soul, unsophisticated by the alloy of European artifice, produces in such elegant and fascinating variety. They possessed all the social talents in an eminent degree : and their hospitality was ever enlivened with the charms of wit, and the exhilarating juice of the vine * ; which grew and flourished

* The Illinois country is in general of a superior soil to any part of North America that I have seen. It produces fine oak, hickory, cedar, mulberry trees, &c. some dying roots, and medicinal plants ; hops, and excellent wild grapes ; and, in the

flourished to such a degree as to produce wine for exportation. These settlements still exist; but the settlements upon the Mississippi that were made previous to the war, were broken up by Indians, who inhabit the country between Georgia and West Florida, called the Cherokee, Creeks, Chactaw, and Chichasaws nations. Besides, by the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States, we acquired the country on the eastern side of the Mississippi river, only as low as the commencement of the 32 deg. or to the Natchez; so that those settlements could not be renewed by the Americans, as both East and West Florida fell into the hands of Spain by the same peace.

The southern limits of Virginia, being lat. $36\frac{1}{2}$ deg. are divided from North Carolina by a line of demarkation in a direct west line, until it strikes the Mississippi a little below its junction with the Ohio. The same ridge of mountains which separates Virginia from the western coun-

year 1769, one hundred and ten hogheads of well tasted and strong wine were made by the French settlers from these grapes.

HUTCHINS.

try,

try, separates the Carolinas also; and on this side of the mountain, within the limits of North Carolina, the luxuriance of the soil, in some parts, is equally astonishing as that of Kentucky. When Lord Cornwallis penetrated into the back parts of that state, many of its inhabitants began to fly over the mountains for security; and thus commenced the settlement called Cumberland, from the name of its river *, which is a considerable branch of the Ohio, and joins it not a great way from its mouth. This settlement began to form in 1780, and was encouraged by the same means as the settlement of Kentucky, *i. e.* by settlements and pre-emption rights; and now promises to become second in magnitude to Kentucky, of all the settlements upon the western waters, and in a few years, from its rapid growth, doubtless will become a distinct state. Such is the rapidity with which this part of the world is peopling.

There are settlements still to the southward of this, in what is called the Great Bend of the Te-

* Cumberland river is 250 yards wide at its mouth; its current gentle, and it is navigable upwards of 200 miles from its mouth.

nafee, or the Muscle Shoals, which have been made without the permission of the federal Government. This is a fine tract of country, and in time must become very valuable from its particular situation, and the peculiar manner in which the navigation of this country must be conducted, concerning which I shall expatiate in its proper place. Its proximity to the southern Indians renders it rather dangerous at present; but the growing strength of Frenchbroad and Nolachusky above, upon the waters of the same rivers, will soon afford security to every part of the Tenasee country.

The country of Holston is still above these settlements upon the head waters of the same river, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina; and that you may form some idea of the prowess of those people, I will relate a circumstance, which, perhaps, is not generally known on your side of the water. When Lord Cornwallis had advanced, in 1780, into the back parts of North Carolina, he detached Col. Ferguson with about 500 British troops, to a place called King's Mountain, in order to give security to the *faithful* and *loyal*

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loyal subjects of his Majesty, who were considerably oppressed by their *unfaithful* countrymen the *rebels*. Col. Campbell, a Virginian, who lived in those back settlements, hearing of the rendezvous of the loyalists, under the banner of Col. Ferguson's detachment, at King's Mountain, assembled what militia he could, and began his march on horseback in the evening, without mentioning their destination, and by continuing their march, without intercession, for upwards of one hundred miles, came up with them the second morning, about the break of day, when their horses were left at the foot of the mountain with a small guard; his little army, divided into three detachments, were led to separate attacks, and in less than half an hour the hill was carried, Col. Ferguson killed, and the greater part of his detachment made prisoners. Col. Campbell's army amounted to about 500: he took more prisoners. From such specimens, I think those people can have nothing to fear from M'Gilvery.

I have not related this story from vanity, or from the most distant idea that the Americans are in any respect superior to Englishmen; so far from it,

it, that no man can more warmly admire the true English than I do: but I have told it as a circumstance tending to prove, that men feeling the spirit of liberty are always superior to slaves; and that a well regulated militia are equal to the defence of a country without the expence of supporting a standing army, which is not the only inconvenience flowing from such a system. How much of the labour and ingenuity of a state is sacrificed by such a policy! In how many instances have the laws and civil authority been trampled upon by the contumely and ignorance of men educated with none but military ideas and habits, and thereby the respect due to laws contaminated, and an indignant people awed by a martial phalanx! While a good citizen feels his own insignificance, the patriotic heart mourns for the sacrilege committed upon their privileges with that impunity, which the patronage of a standing army affords to the executive power of a state?

We will now return to Kentucky, which is the key-stone of the settlements upon the waters of the Mississippi. The years 1783 and 1784 brought
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out vast numbers of emigrants from all parts of America ; particularly the latter year, when it was supposed that in Kentucky alone, not less than 12,000 souls became settlers : several Europeans from France, England, and Ireland were among the number. The Indians gave us a respite, and there seemed to be nothing wanting to make us the happiest people upon earth.

In 1782 the State of Virginia had given us a General Court, with Judges and an Attorney-General, to manage all legal affairs respecting the district, without the trouble and expence of travelling to Richmond, which is distant between five and six hundred miles, two hundred of which were through an uninhabited wilderness. In 1783, 1784, and 1785, great part of the country was surveyed and patented, and the people in the interior settlements pursued their business in as much quiet and safety as they could have done in any part of Europe. Court-houses were built in the different counties, and roads were opened for carriages, which seven years before had not been seen in the country. The only roads hitherto were for single horses.

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In 1785 the district had grown so considerable from the great number of emigrants which had arrived, and that respectability which it had acquired produced a disposition in the inhabitants to become an independent State, and to be admitted as another link in the great federal chain. A convention was immediately formed by sending deputies from the different counties, who met at our then metropolis, Danville, for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration ; when it was determined, after some debating, to petition Virginia for that purpose. An Act had already passed that State, authorising any district of country over the mountains to separate whenever a majority of the inhabitants should wish it : but in this instance it was urged, by those who were not friendly to the separation, that it was not the wish of the majority of the inhabitants of Kentucky to become independent. In fact, many Gentlemen holding considerable tracts of land in the district, who were not residents, thought our separation would be premature, particularly as we had courts of justice, whose jurisdiction was distinct from that of Virginia, and the only solid complaint

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complaint (which, indeed, was a serious one) was the distance to which we must send our representatives, and our local situation requiring in some instances a legislation, which the majority of the Assembly of the State would not be competent to judge of. However, this business was procrastinated; for finding, though we might separate whenever we chose, yet that it was optional with the legislature of Virginia to recommend us to be taken into the federal government (which they were not likely to do, and which it was certain could not be done without), we were content to remain as we were for that time.

The federal government in the course of this year undertook to lay off the country west of the Ohio, in such manner as would answer the purpose of selling the land, and settling the country. Peace had been made the preceding year at Fort M'Intosh, between the United States and the Indians, in which the country upon the Muskingum, Scioto, and the Great and Little Miami rivers, had been given up by the Indians as a consideration for former massacres, and as necessary to produce

duce permanent tranquillity ; they finding the United States, by cession from Great Britain, had a right to all the country within the limits described in the treaty of 1783, and that it would be in vain for them to remonstrate against their peopling it, particularly as it was to Great Britain they were to look to for restitution, who had abandoned them when allies, and sold their country without even consulting them. But when the surveyors began to act, the Indians discovered immediate and hostile signs of disapprobation, some massacres were committed, and the business was put off until the following Spring.

Congress as yet had taken no decided measures as to the organization of this country, or the mode of parcelling it out, and disposing of it ; the discontinuance of the late war was still recent, and the multifarious objects which presented themselves to an infant Government, not recovered from the shocks of a doubtful credit, together with the habitual idleness which the profession of arms produces, threw an embarrassment over all their

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their proceedings. It was in this dilemma that they recommended the meeting of a convention, to be composed of deputies from the different States, to assemble in Philadelphia in May, 1787, to take into their consideration the nature and defects of the federal government as it then existed. In this examination they found that the old government wanted efficiency, and the total absence of unison between the different States, from local laws and customs, was productive of delay, and a variety of obstructions, tending to counteract the concord of confederation.

It was under these considerations that the present federal government arose. It has established one great and important principle for the benefit of mankind, and the extension of civilization, which is, that a power may so exist in a government, as to admit of alteration or change, without danger to the tranquillity of the State; by government recommending to the constituent powers of that State, the deputing men to inquire into the radical defects of their constitution, and making such alterations as the improved wisdom of

of experience may find necessary. It is thus in the progression of things that governments will arrive at perfection.

I must beg that you will excuse this digression, as it was necessary to account for the delay in proceeding to the settlement of the country west of the Ohio. This business took up the greater part of 1787, so that it was a year or more before much was done. In the meantime the Indians continued to increase their depredations, under a belief, that if once the Whites were suffered to establish themselves on their side of the Ohio, there would be no end to their incroachments until they became extirpated. In this opinion they were not a little encouraged by the English traders at Detroit and Niagara, who, from an avarice in human nature hard to be accounted for (but as it degenerates under bad laws and worse morals), seek, in murder and bloodshed, for the sale of a few extra pounds of gun-powder and lead. However some land had been surveyed in 1786 and 1787, and in the latter year a settlement was formed upon the Muskingum, which
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may be looked upon as the commencement of the American settlements upon the western side of the Ohio. In 1788 and 1789 some farther surveying was done; but little since has been transacted in those parts, except wars between the Indians and the settlers. Yet it is to be hoped that the decided measures taken by the United States will secure peace, which cannot fail to promote prosperity.

Nature in her pride has given to the regions of this fair river a fertility so astonishing, that to believe it, ocular demonstration becomes necessary. During these times of barbarous war and massacre, the people of Kentucky and Cumberland, secured by their numbers and strength, except in their outermost plantations, enjoyed perfect security. The former continued to keep in view the object of her independence, and from the respectable figure she has made in the administration of her affairs, it is at length agreed, that she is to be admitted into the federal union in June 1792.

Having furnished you with only an imperfect history of the manner in which this back country

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has been settled, I will endeavour, in compliance with your request, to give you a description of its natural and artificial productions. Believe me to be, sincerely,

Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R III.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY.

IN casting your eyes over the map of America, you will discover that its western (or middle) country is divided from the Atlantic country by a chain of mountains which rise in the remote parts of the States of New York and New Jersey, and run a south-westerly course, until they are lost (as I observed before) in the flat lands of West Florida. The western country is those parts which are watered by the streams running into the Mississippi.

It is about fifty miles over the Allegany mountain, crossing by the route which General Braddock took from Fort Cumberland near the Potowmac, at the descent into the country of Redstone on the Monongahala, the southern branch of the Ohio. This river rises in the same mountain considerably to the southward, runs nearly parallel with it, the opposite way, upwards of one hundred miles, and is navigable for boats nearly to its source; the whole of this country

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beyond the mountain is extremely fertile, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of timber calculated for building houses, boats, cabinet work, &c. &c. The sugar maple tree is intermixed in great quantities. From the foot of the mountain it is about fourteen miles to Redstone Old Fort, which is on the banks of the Monongahala, and the usual place of embarkation of people coming down the Ohio, who travel Braddock's road; from thence to Pittsburg is about fifty miles by water. Large tracts of flat land lay all along upon the banks of this river from the Old Fort to Pittsburg, which are capable of being made into extensive and luxuriant meadow ground.

This country is populous, it being the oldest settlement, and made immediately after taking Fort du Quesne. The Yohogania empties itself into the Monongahala about sixteen miles above its junction with the Allegany river: the country on this river is more uneven, but in the vallies the soil is extremely rich. Near to Pittsburg the country is well peopled, and there, as well as in Redstone, all the comforts of life are in the
greatest

greatest abundance. Flour is manufactured in as good a style as in any part of America; and butter, cheese, bacon, and every kind of provisions can be had in the greatest quantity. This whole country abounds in coal, which lies almost upon the surface of the ground: the hills opposite Pittsburg upon the banks of the Monongahala, which are at least three hundred feet high, appear to be one solid body of this mineral.

This must become in time the most valuable grazing country in all America from the fertility of its soil, its capability of being formed into extensive meadows, and its proximity to the mountains which attract the clouds, and produce that moisture so necessary to grass;---besides which, its situation is about three hundred miles from Philadelphia, about two hundred and forty from Baltimore, and about two hundred and twenty from the federal city on the Potowmac, a distance which is too great to carry by land the bulky articles of husbandry; but to which cattle may be driven with the greatest ease.

This country has derived no inconsiderable advantage from the settlement of Kentucky, and

the other settlements that are making on the Ohio and Mississippi, the great road of migrating from the northern states lying through it: and indeed it is most convenient, both from Maryland and Virginia, at all seasons of the year, provided that there be any thing bulky to carry, the passage being for the greatest part by water, and the Potowmac navigable, a few places excepted, to Fort Cumberland; all of which obstructions will be removed in a few years by canals that are cutting*. From Fort Cumberland it is about sixty miles land carriage to Redstone Old Fort; but so friendly has nature been to this country, though it is without seas, yet the rivers run in such directions that there is scarce any place in all the back parts of America where art may not reduce the land carriage to a very small distance. I cannot speak upon so general a subject definitively; but I mean to be understood within fifteen leagues. It is asserted from the best authorities, that the land carriage between the Potowmac and Ohio may be reduced to less than twenty miles.

* Those canals will be finished in the course of 1793.

Such

Such is the progression of things in this country, while there was apparently no market for its superfluous productions, that every article has sold extremely well, in consequence of the number of emigrants who have been continually passing down the Ohio.

Down from Pittsburg the country is flat on the banks of the river; but a little distance from them it is considerably broken, particularly on the north-western side. Much good land, however, is interspersed on the south side as far as the approach to the Little Kanhaway, where the nature of the soil seems reversed, and the good land is then found on the western side upon the Muskingum. There are some strips of rich land upon the Little Kanhaway; but, farther up the river, the country is broken and sterile, producing scarce any other timber than the fir tree, or pine and knotty black oaks, which are generally deemed symptoms of a bad soil. This tract of bad land extends quite into the mountains in a south direction, and runs south-westerly as far as Great Sandy river, with little or no variation,

except on the bottoms of the Great Kanhaway *, which are extensive and rich. The bottoms on the Ohio are every where extensive and luxuriant. On the western side of the river, the country beyond the rich vein of land on the Muskingum is only tolerable on this side of the head waters of the Sciota, which are succeeded by as fine a body of land as the imagination can paint. This extends considerably near to the Ohio, and running westward quite to the Miami, now approximates its banks, and displays, in its verdure and variety of majestic forests, all that beauty and richness, which have been so much celebrated by travellers who have passed through them. The country on the eastern side, except on the banks of the rivers, is indifferent. There is a body of good land on Great Sandy; but leaving that in a south-westerly course, high,

* This river at its mouth is nearly 500 yards wide, and the current gentle for about 10 or 12 miles, when it becomes considerably rapid for upwards of 60 miles farther, where you meet with the first falls, when it becomes almost impossible to navigate it from the great number of obstructions which its various cataracts present,

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rugged, and broken hills arise, which will hardly ever be capable of cultivation: these hills extend between thirty and forty miles, and open into the fine lands of Kentucky.

We have travelled now about five hundred miles down the Ohio in its meandering course, and we will suppose ourselves at Limestone, where the champaign country on the eastern side of the river begins. This is the usual landing place for people coming down in boats, who mean to settle in the upper part of the State, as I shall in future call it. It is now necessary to look back to that country, which we have travelled through with such rapidity. Pittsburg lies in about lat. $40^{\circ} 40'$, the general course of the Ohio is about W. S. W. and the distance by land from Pittsburg to Limestone is nearly 300 miles. But as the north-eastern limits of the State are Great Sandy, which is some distance above Limestone, we may fix them, as nearly as can be, in lat. 39° . I am sorry I cannot speak with more precision, but these things have not yet been ascertained from observation.

The east side of the Ohio for about ten or twenty

twenty miles below Whealing, which is about one hundred below Pittsburg, is generally well settled. There are few settlements on the opposite shore until you come to the Muskingum, and the country now wears the face of a wilderness on both sides of the river, there being no habitations worth notice, except at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, until we arrive at Limestone.

Every thing here assumes a dignity and splendour I have never seen in any other part of the world. You ascend a considerable distance from the shore of the Ohio, and when you would suppose you had arrived at the summit of a mountain, you find yourself upon an extensive level. Here an eternal verdure reigns, and the brilliant sun of lat 39°, piercing through the azure heavens, produces, in this prolific soil, an early maturity which is truly astonishing. Flowers full and perfect, as if they had been cultivated by the hand of a florist, with all their captivating odours, and with all the variegated charms that colour and nature can produce, here, in the lap of elegance and beauty, decorate the smiling

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groves. Soft zephyrs gently breathe on sweets,
and the inhaled air gives a voluptuous glow of
health and vigour, that seems to ravish the intoxi-
cated senses. The sweet songsters of the forests
appear to feel the influence of this genial clime,
and, in more soft and modulated tones, warble
their tender notes in unison with love and na-
ture. Every thing here gives delight; and, in
that mild effulgence which beams around us, we
feel a glow of gratitude for that elevation our all-
bountiful Creator has bestowed upon us. Far
from being disgusted with man for his turpitude
or depravity, we feel that dignity nature bestowed
upon us at the creation; but which has been con-
taminated by the base alloy of meanness, the
concomitant of European education; and what
is more lamentable, is, that it is the consequence
of your very laws and governments.

You must forgive what I know you will call
a rhapsody, but what I really experienced after
travelling across the Allegany mountain in March,
when it was covered with snow, and after finding
the country about Pittsburg bare, and not re-
covered

covered from the ravages of winter: there was scarcely a blade of grass to be seen; every thing looked dreary, and bore those marks of melancholy which the rude hand of frost produces. I embarked immediately for Kentucky, and in less than five days landed at Limestone, where I found nature robed in all her charms.

It naturally struck me there must be something in climate that debased or elevated the human soul; and that chill penury which a sterile country and damp cold climate produces, in accumulating the wants of men, had increased their dependence, which at once saps the first principles of man. I conceived in the infancy of the world, that men in temperate climates had retained their freedom longest. Thus in England you have enjoyed a considerable share of liberty, while almost all Europe have suffered under the fetters of an odious despotism. The perfection of arts will meliorate the condition of man in every part of the world; but the amelioration of government and education must take place before he will be able to resume his pristine dignity.

From

From Limestone to Licking creek * the country is immensely rich, and covered with cane, rye grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed that grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten or twelve feet, and is in thickness from the size of a goose-quill to that of two inches diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavour and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt, otherwise this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels. The rye grass, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half high to three

* This river is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, and its principal branch is navigable nearly 70 miles.

and

From

and a half, and the head and beard resemble the real rye, and sometimes produce a small grain long and slender not unlike rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain that it is a very good and valuable grass. The clover is in no respect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarse and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of grass, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being esteemed the most valuable.

In order to travel into the interior parts of the State the route lies across the branches of Licking creek. There are several of them which take their rise in the high hills of Great Sandy, and the spurs of the Allegany mountain; they traverse a most delightful country, and form a junction a small distance below the Lower Blue Lick*. A salt spring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a most curious manner, by the buffalo and deer, which

* There are two salt springs upon Licking, both of which are now worked with success.

lick

lick the earth on account of the saline particles with which it is impregnated. The country from the Fork to the Ohio is considerably broken, but generally rich, and continues uneven, except on the banks of the river, quite to the mouth of the Kentucky, which is about one hundred and ten miles below the mouth of Licking creek by water, and seventy above the Rapids of the Ohio. Between the mouths of Licking and Kentucky lies the Great Bone Lick, which is justly celebrated for the remarkable bones which are found there, and which gave name to the place. Several of those bones have been sent to Europe; but I believe no person who has written upon natural history has given any decided opinion to what class of animals they belonged. Buffon has called them the Mammouth; but I am at a loss to know from what authority, as we have no tradition either oral or written, that gives an account of any species of animals which were as large as those must have been, judging by the magnitude of the bones. Buffon says, that similar bones have been found both in Ireland (if I am not mistaken) and in some part of Asia.

It

lick

It appears somewhat extraordinary, at the first view, that we should discover manifest proofs of there having existed animals of which we can form no adequate idea, and which in size must have far exceeded any thing now known upon earth; and those signs too, in climates where the elephant (the largest animal now in existence) is never found. Every phænomenon upon the earth tends to confirm the idea, that it ever has been subject to revolutions, besides its diurnal and annual motion from east to west.

After passing the Blue Lick, the soil, if possible, increases in richness. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about midway, and is nearly central of the finest and most luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth. From Lexington to Leesburg is about twenty miles; to Boonsbury it is about twenty; the Upper Blue Lick nearly thirty. This square, which is nearly fifty miles, comprehends entirely what is called first rate land. Leesburg lies on the Kentucky, about twenty miles from its mouth by land, and nearly forty by water. The country between that and the Ohio is broken, but rich,

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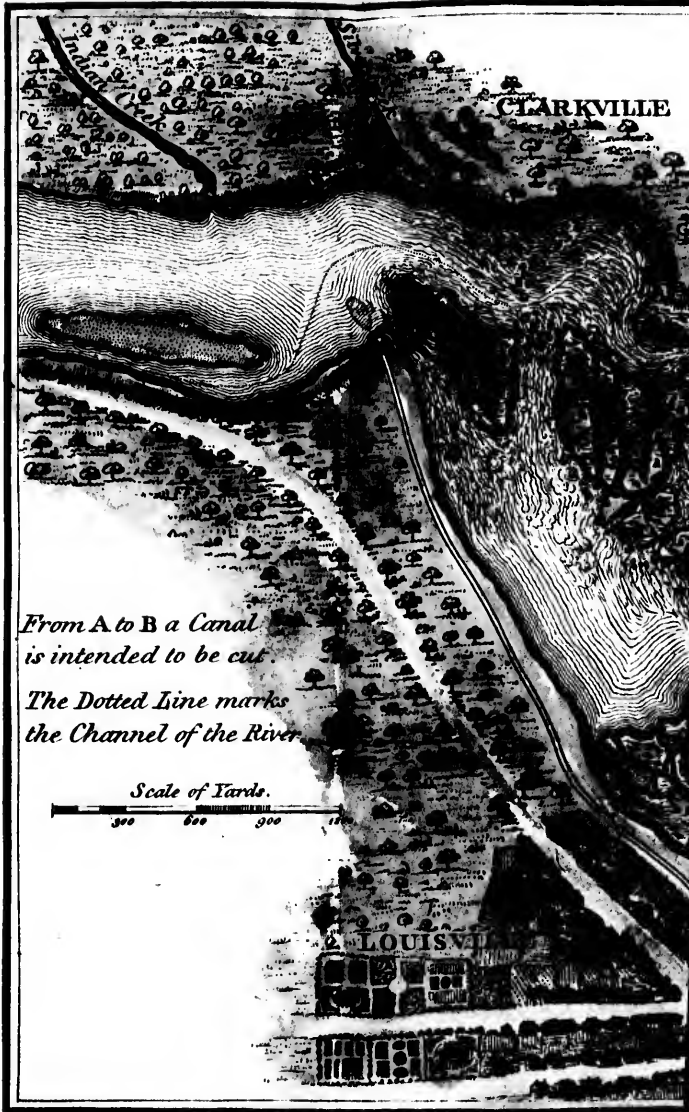
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rich, though it is not deemed a valuable body of
 land. The Kentucky is bound every where by
 high rocky precipices, that are generally two
 hundred feet and upwards perpendicular, and
 which makes its passes difficult. Few places on
 it have any bottom land, as the rock rises mostly
 contiguous to the bed of the river; which con-
 finement, after heavy rains, renders it very for-
 midable from the impetuosity of its current.
 On ascending the banks of this river, the land on
 either side is equally good for some distance above
 Boonsburg; but adjacent to the mountains from
 whence the river rises, the country becomes
 broken, steril, and of little or no value. Boons-
 burg lies on the Kentucky, about sixty miles
 above its mouth by land, and about one hundred
 and thirty by water. From Leesburg down the
 river on the south side, for about ten or twelve
 miles, the hills are considerably high and steep;
 but when you pass the waters of Drinnon's Lick
 creek, you fall into a body of good champaign
 land, which extends, with little variation, to the
 Rapids of the Ohio. From Leesburg to Danville,
 the country, for the first twenty miles, is of an

inferior rate of land for this country ; but farther on, you get into the rich country I have mentioned, comprehended within the square of fifty miles.

Lage bodies of good land lie on every side of Danville for twenty miles and upwards ; but in the course from thence to the Rapids of the Ohio, on the waters of Salt river (which takes its name from a salt spring, called Bullit's Lick, that is on its banks, about twenty miles from the mouth of the river) the country is, in some places, broken into ridges of hills, which are in general good land, but not well watered. As you approach the Rapids it becomes more level, better watered, and the soil more fertile. The country of Beargrafs is beautiful and rich ; as, indeed, is the land on Goose and Harrod's creeks. In the fork of the Ohio and Salt river, which form a junction about twenty miles below the Rapids, the country is flat, and interspersed with small lakes or ponds, occasioned by the extreme lowness of the banks of the Ohio in this fork, which, when flooded, overflows the country, and the water fills these ponds periodically, or as often

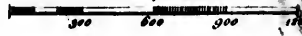
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CLARKVILLE

*From A to B a Canal
is intended to be cut.
The Dotted Line marks
the Channel of the River.*

Scale of Yards.



LOUISVILLE

Engraved for Inlay's American Topography.

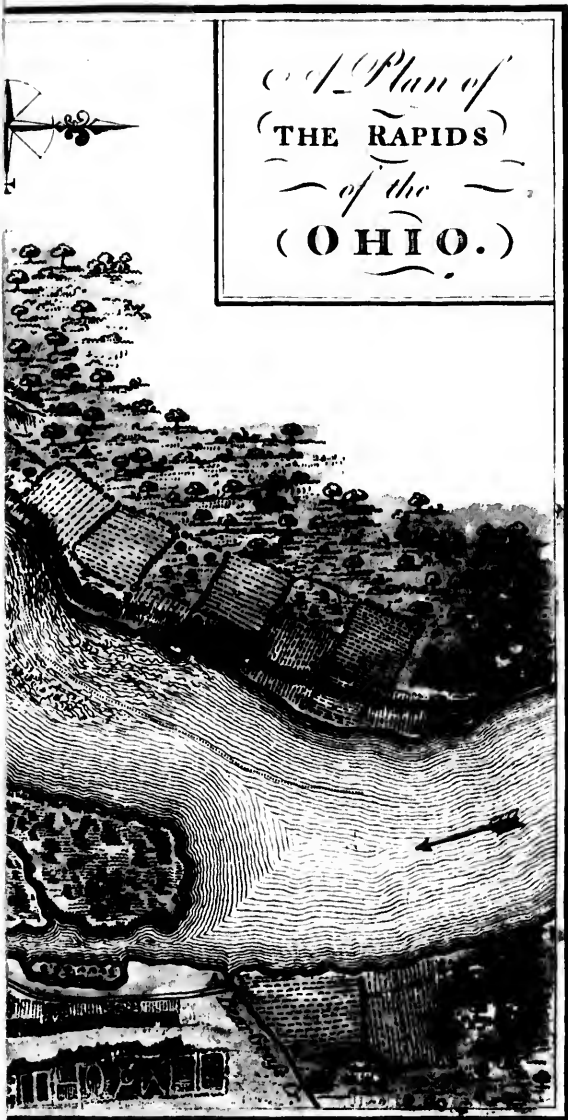


of Plan of
(THE RAPIDS)
of the
(OHIO.)

Published Feb^{ry} 1793, by J. Debrett, Fecaultilly, London.

T. Corder Sculp^t

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A Plan of
(THE RAPIDS)
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as those inundations happen, and which are frequent from December until April.

The Rapids of the Ohio lie about seven hundred miles below Pittsburg, and about four hundred above its confluence with the Mississippi. They are occasioned by a ledge of rocks that stretch across the bed of the river from one side to the other, in some places projecting so much, that they are visible when the water is not high, and in most places when the river is extremely low. The fall is not more than between four and five feet in the distance of a mile; so that boats of any burthen may pass with safety when there is a flood; but boats coming up the river must unload; which inconvenience may very easily be removed by cutting a canal from the mouth of Beargrass, the upper side of the Rapids, to below the lower reef of rocks, which is not quite two miles, and the country a gentle declivity the whole way. A view of the Rapids are pointed out in the annexed plate, in which is marked the proposed canal.

The situation of the Rapids is truly delightful. The river is full a mile wide, and the fall of wa-



London Sculp.

ter, which is an eternal cascade, appears as if nature had designed it to shew how inimitable and stupendous are her works. Its breadth contributes to its sublimity; and the continually rumbling noise tends to exhilarate the spirits, and gives a cheerfulness even to sluggards. The view up the river is terminated, at the distance of four leagues, by an island in its centre, which is contrasted by the plain on the opposite shore, that extends a long way into the country; but the eye receding, finds new beauties, and ample subject for admiration, in the rising hills of Silver creek, which, stretching obliquely to the north-west, proudly rise higher and higher as they extend, until their illumined summits imperceptibly vanish. Clarkville, on the opposite shore, completes the prospect, and from its neighbourhood, and from the settlement forming upon the Officers land, a few years must afford us a cultivated country, to blend appropriate beauty with the charms of the imagination. There lies a small island in the river about two hundred yards from the eastern shore; between which and the main is a quarry of excellent stone for building, and
in

in great part is dry the latter part of summer. The banks of the river are never overflowed here, they being fifty feet higher than the bed of the river. There is no doubt but it will soon become a flourishing town: there are already upwards of two hundred good houses built. This town is called Louisville.

I omitted to mention, that when the State of Virginia conceded the country west of the Ohio to the United States, she reserved a tract of country lying opposite to the Rapids, for those officers and soldiers called State troops, and who had been immediately employed in the western country.

Having left the country on the western side of the Ohio at the Miami, I shall continue my description of the country on this side, as far as my knowledge extends, and will then proceed upwards.

In leaving the Rapids in a south-westerly direction the country is flat, it bordering upon the country I have described in the fork of the Ohio and Salt rivers. After passing the main branch

of the Salt river * near Bullitt's Lick, ten miles distant, in the fork of the north and south branches, the country becomes broken and hilly ; but between which and the Cumberland road, that leads from the upper parts of Kentucky, there is a considerable extent of fine land ; but travelling a few leagues farther southward, you arrive at extensive plains, that extend upwards of one hundred and fifty miles in a south-west course, and end only when they join the mountainous country. Some few clumps of trees, and a grove here and there, are the only obstructions to a boundless horizon. It is pleasant to behold the deer bounding over the scraggy shrubs which cover the earth. While the setting sun gilds those extensive plains, the mild breezes of a summer's eve, playing upon the enraptured senses, softens the heart to love and friendship. Unperceived, upon some eminence, you may enjoy the sports of wild animals, which here rove unconcerned lords of the field. Heavens ! what

* This river is about 150 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and its principal branch is navigable about 60 miles.

charms are there in liberty ! Man, born to enslave the subordinate animals, has long since enslaved himself. But reason at length, in radiant smiles, and with graceful pride, illumines both hemispheres; and FREEDOM, in golden plumes, and in her triumphal car, must now resume her long lost empire.

We now have arrived upon the waters of Green river : at the mouth of which, and between that and the Ohio, lies Henderson's grant of twelve miles square, as I mentioned. The plains extend beyond the head waters of this river quite into the limits of North Carolina ; but at the mouth, and for forty miles above, there is a large proportion of good land, particularly upon Panther creek. From the mouth of Green river * up the Ohio to Salt river, the land upon the banks of the Ohio is generally fertile and rich ; but leaving its banks you soon fall into the plain country, which is considered as little better than barren land. However, it is most likely that it will prove excellent for sheep to feed upon,

* Green river is upwards of 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current is gentle, and it is navigable nearly 150 miles.

the climate being nearly the same as that of Spain, where the finest wool in Europe is produced. And though the land is not reckoned valuable in this country, on account of its comparative sterility, yet it is of a superior quality to great part of the soil in the lower parts of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. It abounds with hazel, which, it is well known, never grows kindly in a poor soil.

The native strawberry is found in these plains in the greatest abundance, as are likewise plums of different sorts; and, if we can form any idea of the native grape that grows spontaneously here, what the same soil is capable of producing when they are cultivated, it would appear that no climate or soil in the world is more congenial to the vine; for I have never tasted more delicious grapes; and it is the opinion of some judicious foreigners, who have visited these genial regions, that as good wine as can be made in any part of the globe, might be produced from the native grape properly cultivated. There is nothing more common than to meet with a pleasant wine made here by the settlers, who
know

know nothing of the use of vats, or the degree of fermentation necessary to the perfection of the art of wine making. But, I flatter myself some progress will be made in this business, as several foreigners have long had it in agitation to undertake it.

The country between Green and Cumberland rivers is generally rich, and finely watered. There is in it a most valuable lead mine, and several salt springs; and between Green and Salt rivers there are two of a bitumen, which, when analyzed, is found to be amber. But, so much do we stand in need of chymists, and mineralists, that we remain ignorant of the properties and value of many fossils which have been discovered; and many continue unknown, I apprehend, from the want of curiosity of men whose only object seems to be cultivation, and the science of government. Perhaps these are the most essential to the happiness of men in the wild state which this country is in. Arts appear to follow population. Necessity has been the mother of invention, it is true; but from the attainment of that perfection to which we have arrived in arts and philosophy,

philosophy, wisdom and science must go forward. It is physically impossible for man to degenerate do barbarism.

When the greatest merit consists in the exercise of the most useful and appropriate talents, I think it is likely that the ingenuity of men will feel a more lively stimulus to the exercise of invention from the love of fame, the love of mankind, and regard to their own dignity, than it ever yet experienced from necessity. While odious distinctions exist, and men are rewarded in proportion to their servility, human nature must be robbed of half its manliness, and consequently men will be slothful. How many drones do we observe in every part of Europe, who feed upon the industry of the necessitous, who work only as it is necessary to their existence! Such have been the effects of the factitious duties of man in your hemisphere, that every thing has become perverted; and governments, instead of securing happiness to men, have only tended to aggrandize individuals, and thus has flowed in that debasement of character which has marked half the inhabitants of Europe

rope with little more dignity than brute creatures.

Cumberland river rises among the mountains, considerably to the north-east, and, after its several branches have joined it, runs a long way south, and enters the limits of North Carolina. After a course of half a degree within those limits, it turns to the north-west, and empties itself into the Ohio, at some distance above its junction with the Mississippi. The Tenasee runs into the Ohio, not a long way below the mouth of Cumberland. The Tenasee is the most important of the southern branches of the Ohio*. Its northern fork, called Holston, rises in the country of the same name (which I have before mentioned), and, after passing through Nolachucky, is joined by the main or south branch. This branch rises in the remote parts of the

* The Tenasee is 600 yards wide at its mouth, and upon ascending it, to the distance of 260 miles, it widens to between two and three miles, which width it continues for nearly thirty miles, and which comprehends what is called the Great Bend.

Thus far it is navigable without any obstruction, and, some trifling falls excepted, it may be navigated at least 600 miles farther.

State

State of Georgia, and, after traversing the borders of the Cherokee country, is joined by the Holston branch, when it is called the Tenasee : from thence it runs south-westerly, quite through the limits of North Carolina, and approaches the head waters of the Mobile, which empties itself into the Gulf of Mexico. In its course, it is very rapid thus far : from the material declivity of the high country, which from mountains gradually sink into a flat, there is a number of falls, but none of them considerable. It now turns again to the northward, and from its lazy motion it is obvious that there is very little fall of water from this to the Ohio. This turn constitutes what is called the Great Bend of the Tenasee, or Muscle Shoal, from the number of shoals in this part of the river that are covered with these shell-fish. The river is here from two to three and a half miles wide. Its importance will consist in its being the most convenient inlet from the upper parts of Virginia and the Carolinas to the Mississippi, it being navigable for boats of forty tons burthen from Holston, the falls excepted, where carrying places will answer until there

there are canals made, which can be done with very little expence.

Holston is a narrow strip of country, surrounded on every side by mountains; but there is a passage which winds through them, so as to admit of a passage this way, and down the river, without any difficulty of bad roads whatever. Should you continue your route by land in the road to Kentucky (which I shall describe in another place), you would have several mountains to pass, and at least two hundred miles of bad road.

After you leave the plains which extend into the Cumberland country, in your course to the Tenafee, the country is somewhat broken, but mostly rich. Great part of the land lying between these rivers and the Ohio, and between Cumberland and Green rivers, was in military grants, made by Virginia to their officers and soldiers, and is esteemed a valuable situation for its proximity to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi. Their grants extend as low on the Mississippi as the partition line between Virginia and North Carolina: all of which is a beautiful

tiful country : and the banks of the river, which are very high, prevent it from overflowing, which is not the case a great way lower down.

The land in the Great Bend of the Tenafee is very fine ; but when you approach the country of the Chickasaws, it becomes broken, light, and sandy : and, as you extend to the southward, I have been informed (I never travelled farther than this by land) the soil grows still lighter, and, except a large body of good land on the Mississippi and the bottoms of the several streams that run into the Gulf and the Mississippi, it is little better than West Florida, which has been celebrated in Europe for its fertility ; but so fine a country have I been endeavouring to describe to you, that, judging by comparison, the people in Kentucky and Cumberland look upon that as an indifferent soil.

This letter has imperceptibly grown to a considerable length. I was anxious to comprehend within this sketch, all the country denominated the western country on both sides of the Ohio to the Miami, and then the whole of the Kentucky and Cumberland countries, and the country upon
the

the Tenasec, in order that I might proceed up the Ohio on the western side, comprehending the whole of the country between that and the Mississippi, back to the Miami, and continuing northward to the Lakes: afterwards to shew the probable rise and grandeur of the American empire, before I proceeded to an account of the artificial productions, &c. of Kentucky and Cumberland. Farewell.

Believe, my Friend,

I am yours sincerely.

LET-

L E T T E R IV.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

IN contemplating the vast field of the American empire, what a stupendous subject does it afford for speculation! Government, ethics, and commerce, acting upon principles different in many respects from those of the old world, and entirely in others! A government which, with its spreading branches, seems in its mighty grasp to promise liberty and protection to one hemisphere! A government which, from its simple construction, and the unity and efficiency of its action, is not less remarkable in the political, than its natural history is to the physical world!

In ten years more, perhaps, a settlement will be formed sufficiently populous to become a federal state in the country into which I am now going to advance; the limits of which, from the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio to Detroit, is between five and six hundred miles; and taking the medium distance between Pittsburg and the

the

the mouth of the Ohio, across to the Mississippi from the Ohio is very little less. The inhabitants of this immense district do not, including French, amount to five thousand. The country in this fork (if I may so call it) is various. Great part of it has been described by Charlevoix, Hutchins, and Carver. Charlevoix seems to have gone rapidly from Detroit by water the greatest part of the way to New Orleans. Hutchins to have done nearly the same from Pittsburg, down the Ohio to the Mississippi, and up that river to the Illinois; so up that, and from thence to Detroit. He has given a tolerably good account of the Illinois country. Carver confined his travels and remarks to the lakes, the upper part of the Mississippi, particularly the river St. Pierre, and the north-western branch of that river, and to the customs and manners of the Indian nations. These authors have all considerable merit. They have written so agreeably, that their books have been generally read; which has tended to disseminate a knowledge of this country in a savage state. This part of it is little better; but you must view it as a creation bursting from a chaos of hetero-

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gencous matter, and exhibiting the shining tissue with which it abounds.

Immediately in the fork the land is flat, and liable to overflow ; but as you advance on either river the banks rise, and the country expanding, displays a luxuriant soil for a long distance above the Wabash on the Ohio side, and quite to the Illinois on the Mississippi side, which is about two hundred and thirty miles above its junction with the Ohio, and twenty above the mouth of Missouri. This country lies nearly in the same parallel of latitude of Kentucky. From the mouth of the Wabash * the bottoms on the Ohio are extensive and extremely fertile, as is the country from thence to Post St. Vincent ; but towards the rapids of the Ohio, and beyond the bottoms of this river, the country is considerably broken, and the soil in some places light and indifferent. After leaving Post St. Vincent, in the route to the Illinois country, you soon fall into those extensive plains which have been described

* The Wabash is nearly 300 yards wide at its mouth, and except some inconsiderable rapids, it is navigable upwards of 400 miles.

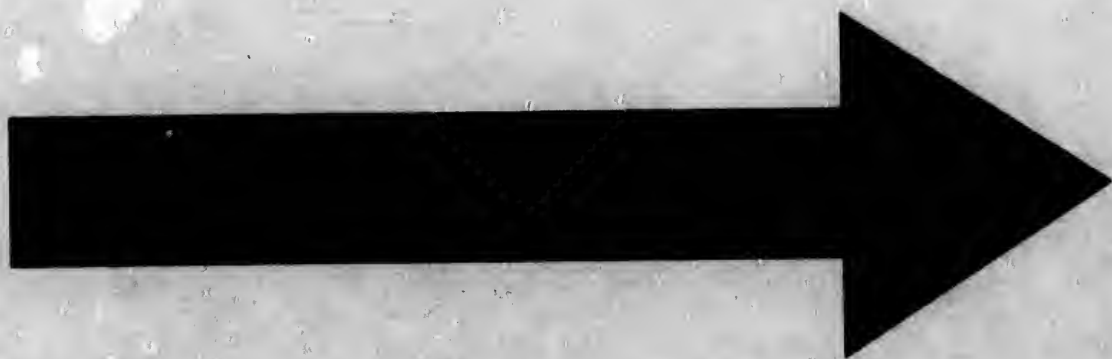
in such glowing colours by Hutchins. This is certainly a beautiful country, and the immense number of deer, elk, and buffalo, which are seen grazing in those natural meadows renders even wildness enchanting. The air in this climate is pure, and the almost continual unclouded sky lends not a little to charm the senses, and to render even wildness delightful. The country between Post St. Vincent and Kaskaskies is flat and plain, with little variation. As you ascend the Illinois river * the soil grows more fertile, and on either side you find immense forests.

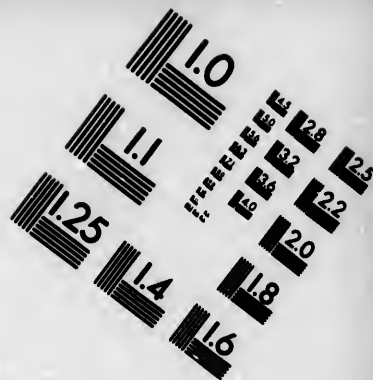
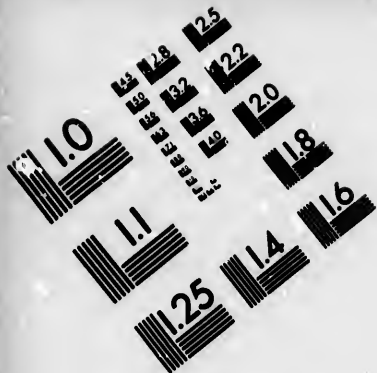
I must now beg you will travel with Hutchins from hence to Detroit †. He will conduct you up the head branches of this river, and, after a short passage, you will embark again on the waters of Lake Michigan, discovering how the operations

* The Illinois is a fine gentle river, and navigable to its source for batteaux. Its width is various—in places it is nearly half a mile: but its general breadth may be considered about 250 yards.

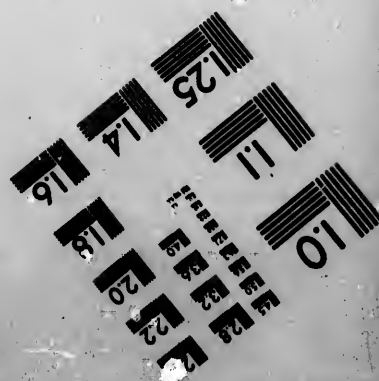
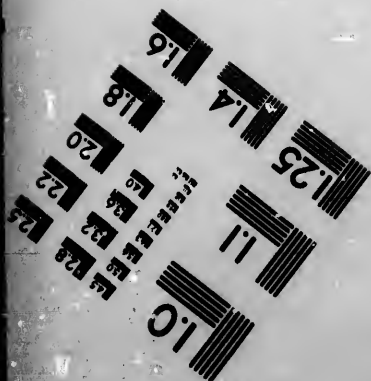
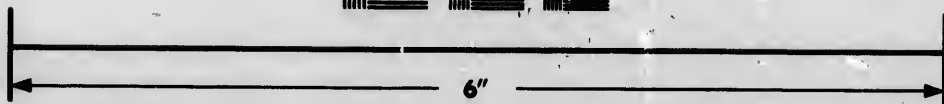
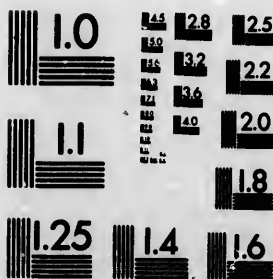
† The Illinois river furnishes a communication with Lake Michigan by the Chiago river, and by two portages between the latter and the Illinois river; the longest of which is only four miles.

HUTCHINS.





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of this great country will be facilitated by the peculiar courses of its immense and numerous rivers. His observations I have been told are considerably accurate, and, as I have not had the advantage of travelling this route, I recommend you to read his book, which was originally published in England, and no doubt is still to be had.

Detroit lies between lat. 42° and 43° upon the Straights which communicate between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, considerably to the westward of Pittsburg. The country lying between them is not remarkable for any thing but being a wilderness. The soil and climate are such as would entitle it to the reputation of a fine country in any part of Europe, except in winter, when the frost is extremely severe, but less intense than that of Canada. Quebec lies nearly in the same latitude of Paris, and from the description which the Emperor Julian has given of the winters he quartered there, during his command in Gaul, there seems to be little difference between the winters of France at that period, in respect to cold, and the present winters of Canada. Perhaps

haps the extent of continent lying to the north-west, and the immense lakes of fresh water which cover it, will not admit of the climate of that part of America being so rapidly meliorated as the climate of Europe has been by cultivation. However, it is certain, that as the country has been more opened in America, and thereby the rays of the sun have acted more powerfully upon the earth, these benefits have tended greatly already to soften the winter season: so that peopling Canada (for which we are much obliged to *you*) is a double advantage to *us*. First, it is settling and populating a country, that must, sooner or later, from the natural order of things, become part of our empire, and immediately meliorating the climate of the Northern States. But, to return to Detroit. Our course from thence to the head waters of the Miami is south-westerly. The country for some distance is flat, and the soil heavy and damp; but, upon the waters of those rivers, it is beautiful, and abounds in the gifts of nature.

The communication between Lake Erie and the Ohio by water this way, will be up the

southern branches of the lake, and by short passages you arrive upon the waters of the great Miami, Sciota, and Muskingum, which are navigable when flooded*. It must be observed, that the rivers I have been mentioning are not navigable, throughout the year, for boats of above ten or fifteen tons. Great part of the country between this and the Wabash is champaign; but in travelling towards the Rapids of

* Great Miami is about 300 yards wide at its mouth, is a rapid stream, but without cataracts, with several large branches navigable for batteaux a long way up: the principal of which interlocks with a branch of the Miami river, which runs into Lake Erie, to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to Sandusky.

Sciota is about 200 yards wide at its mouth, its current gentle, and is navigable for nearly two hundred miles to a portage of only five or six miles to Sandusky.

Muskingum is a fine gentle river, confined by high banks, which prevents its floods from overflowing the surrounding country. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the Ohio, and navigable, without any obstructions, by large batteaux to a little lake at its head; from thence to Cayahoga, a creek that empties into Lake Erie, is not above two miles; and which must become the best portage between that lake and the Ohio.

Cayahoga at its mouth is wide and deep enough to receive large sloops from the lake.

Sanducky is a considerable river that empties into Lake Erie; its stream is gentle, and large enough at its mouth to receive sloops.

the

the Ohio you pass considerable plains, and then fall into a broken and hilly tract of poor land, that continues with little variation until you approach the Rapids, when all the variety and charms, which this river produces, present themselves again. From Detroit to the Rapids is nearly four hundred miles.

I have gone cursorily over the western country which is peopled, and about to be peopled : but have purposely avoided taking any notice of those parts which are so little known, and of which I could say nothing but from the information of hunters and savages, which has been industriously collected and published by Carver, Jefferson, and others. Besides, as it is your wish only to be informed of the advantages of settlement, it would have been idle to have troubled you with accounts of countries that will not be settled, or at least formed into States, in our time.

The rapid population of the western country has not only astonished America itself, but it must amaze Europe, when they enter into the views and increase of this growing empire. The first

settlement on the western waters by the English was in 1760, and, under the influence of almost continual Indian wars, that settlement (I am now speaking of the upper settlement on the Ohio) now contains not less than an hundred thousand souls. The State of Kentucky did not make a permanent settlement before 1780, which now contains not less than an hundred thousand. The Cumberland settlement began about this time, but it was at least three years afterwards before there was security given to that settlement, and there are settled about fifty thousand souls more.

Besides the settlement in the Great Bend of the Tenasee, which will join them in their separation from North Carolina, the settlement of Nola Chucka and French-broad, made on the branches of the Tenasee in the year 1782, 1783, 1784, and 1785, contain between thirty and forty thousand souls; several other settlements are forming at the Iron Banks on the Mississippi, besides those upon the western side of the Ohio, which, including the inhabitants at Post St. Vincent and the Kaskaskies (I judge from the best information) do not fall short of fifty thousand.

I have

I have not mentioned the number in the settlement of the Great Bend of the Tenasee, as I have not been able to collect any satisfactory information respecting them: but I suppose the aggregate number of souls in the western country is very little, if at all, short of four hundred thousand, including the settlements of Holston, Clinch River, and Powel's Valley, which taken together may amount to seventy thousand souls, and which are properly on the western waters.

The settlements on the western side of the Ohio have been greatly harassed and retarded by the Indian war, which has continued with little variation since 1785; but the vigorous measures which their depredations have obliged Congress to adopt, must end with a permanent peace, or in a few years their provocations will lead to the extirpation of the whole of the Miami and Illinois tribes. Their prowess and determined resolution will, no doubt, considerably annoy our army, which, having been mostly recruited from the Atlantic country, are not acquainted with such dexterity and courage, or indeed habituated to their manner of fighting; but our numbers
have

have grown too considerable; for, defeats only invigorate our measures, while the loss of every man, to nations whose population is so extremely tardy as that of the savages of America, is a lamentable consideration.

In the peopling this country new States will naturally arise, and thus, in contemplating the continent of America, we may form an adequate idea of what will be the magnitude of its federal empire. The upper settlement on the Ohio, though more populous than the settlement of Cumberland, is not likely to become a separate State so soon. The greatest part of it is within the limits of Pennsylvania, and not so remote from the capital of that State as the Cumberland settlement is from the capital of North Carolina. The intercourse is continual, and the productions of the country, or at least their cattle, may be driven to Philadelphia, &c. &c. as I have observed before; and their influence is not sufficient to procure them an act of separation, should they desire it. In the case of North Carolina and Cumberland there is little or no communication between them, nor is it to be expected that it ever

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can be the interest of either to continue the connection; therefore, it is most likely, that district will follow Kentucky in the links of the great federal chain.

I must now proceed upon conjecture, as there are no definite limits prescribed by the federal government for the lines of demarkation, which are to be the different boundaries or limits of new States that will arise. However, it is easy, by consulting natural boundaries, to form a pretty just idea where will be their different divisions. I have already remarked that Kentucky and Cumberland are divided by a line in lat. $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which will be the boundary of Cumberland to the northward. The mountains will most likely be its eastern limits: its southern limits will be, either the partition line continued between North Carolina and Georgia (South Carolina never possessed any western land), or it will run southerly, until it strikes that ridge of hills which divides the Tenasee country from the country of the Chacktaws; thence a due west course to the Mississippi, or following some one of those branches which rise in those hills, and pursuing its

its course to that river. This will comprehend a district of country of nearly two hundred miles in length from east to west, and nearly an hundred and fifty from north to south. I cannot speak here with accuracy, as it is that part of all the western country which is least known.

The country upon the head waters of the Tenasee stands next in the list of advancement. This country includes the settlement of Holston, the settlement of Clinch, and the settlements of Powel's Valley, which are part in Virginia, and part in North Carolina; besides the settlements of Nola Chucka and French-broad. This last settlement will be extended to the borders of the Cherokee country, which will bind this State to the southward. Its western boundary will be Cumberland Mountain, which will divide it from the States of Kentucky and Cumberland. Its northern limits will be the ridges of hills that divide the waters of the Tenasee and the Great Kanaway, and its eastern boundary will be the high hills that divide the eastern from the western waters in this part of America, which are called in Virginia the North Mountains, and which con-

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tinue their course through the Carolinas. This State will be in extent upwards of two hundred miles from north to south, and the average width from east to west nearly an hundred and fifty.

This country has mountains on every side but the south-west, and is interspersed with high hills in most parts of it. The valleys are extremely fertile, and every where finely watered. The climate in the upper part of the country is not so temperate as that of Kentucky, though it lies in the same latitude, which is owing to the neighbouring mountains. Many parts of this district are well settled, and cultivation was brought to such considerable perfection, that the inhabitants had it in contemplation to become independent seven years since, under the distinction of the State of Franklin, of which very probably you may have read. Its population is not only considerable, but its respectability in every consideration will very soon intitle it to the rank of a distinct State; though it may require some time to effect a unity of sentiments, and a consolidation of its various and detached settlements into

into that order which the organs of government require.

Before I leave this side of the Mississippi, I must beg leave to digress, and shew what will be the probable destination of the Indian nations, who live between the southern limits of the country I have been mentioning, and the Floridas, and which may amount to thirteen thousand inclusive of men, women, and children.

The Cherokees are about two thousand five hundred; the Creeks three thousand five hundred; the Chactaws are about six thousand; and the different vagrant nations may amount to a thousand more.

The settlements making in the upper parts of Georgia, upon the fine lands of the Oconee and Okemulgee rivers, will in a very few years bid defiance to them in that quarter. The Georgian troops have already defeated them, and forced them to be quiet. The settlement of Frenchbroad, aided by Holston, have nothing to fear from them; and the Cumberland is too puissant to apprehend any danger. The Spaniards are
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in possession of the Floridas (how long they will remain so must depend upon their moderation and good manners), and the settlements at the Natchez and above, which will soon extend to the southern boundaries of Cumberland ; so that they will be completely enveloped in a few years. Our people will continue to encroach upon them on three sides, and compel them to live more domestic lives, and assimilate them to our mode of living, or cross to the western side of the Mississippi.

In the settlement of Long Island, in the State of New York, some of the tribes of Indians remained, and lived in continual intercourse with the whites. Whether it was from any cruelty practised upon them, or from their predominant passion for ardent spirits, I will not pretend to say ; but it is certain that very few of them remain, and they are a slothful, degenerate order of beings, compared with the aborigines of that country. In the settlement of South Carolina the Catawbas were allotted a tract of country, and though they have retained their courage, their numbers have greatly declined. The cause

of civilization proving repugnant to their population, I think, may be sufficiently accounted for in the whites encouraging their thirst for intoxication.

I will next take notice of the Genesee country, which lies upon the waters that run into Lake Ontario, and which it is expected will be peopled as soon as the Six Nations of Indians are peaceable. This is a very rich and fertile tract of country, lying in the remote parts of New York, bounded by Pennsylvania to the south-east, by the lakes to the north-west, and high hills and a wilderness from the Ohio country. I have hitherto omitted taking notice of it, as not properly belonging to the western country; but as I am going to proceed to partition the country west of the Ohio into separate States, I thought it most consistent to keep up the chain of connection; and without mentioning this district, there would have been a chasm between New York and the uppermost State upon the waters of the Ohio.

Let us now return to the Ohio. That ridge of hills which divides the waters of this river
from

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

Between the mouth of the Illinois river and waters of Lake Michigan, lies a district of country equally fertile with any part of the western coun-

try; but, in the progression of our settlements, it will be some years before any settlements can be formed there, except in the fork of the Mississippi and Illinois; which may be erected into a State, by running a line from a point lat. $42^{\circ} 30''$ upon the Mississippi, in such a direction as to strike the head branches of the Illinois. But it is most likely that the country on the Mississippi and Missouri will be settled before this district, though it is considered as the empire of Spain. However, I will not be so indecorous as to parcel out the territories of other nations: it is sufficiently presumptuous to have gone so far as I have.

I have now marked out the imaginary boundaries of six new States, exclusive of those on the eastern side of the Ohio, the Genesee settlement, and without including the country between the northern limits of Kentucky and Pittsburg, or the country between Niagara, Detroit, and the sources of those rivers which run into the Ohio.

The upper settlement on the eastern side of the Ohio will most likely follow the Cumberland and Holston in its independence. In peopling
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the new States I conclude the lowermost will be first settled, and consequently the first to be admitted into the federal government. The district of country that will be last settled, in all probability, between the Ohio, the lakes, and the Mississippi, to the south of St. Anthony's Falls, is perhaps that which lies between Niagara and Detroit, and extending to the ridge of hills which divides the waters of lake Erie and Ohio, by reason of its damp and cold soil. The surrender of the forts of Niagara and Detroit (which I understand is about to be done), may increase the settlements upon the borders of Lake Erie; but I think it is not likely that un hospitable clime will find inhabitants, while the genial regions of the Mississippi are in a great measure uninhabited.

It is next necessary to take notice how, and in what probable time, these States will be inhabited. The first settlement upon the Ohio, and the progress made in agriculture, were extremely tardy. But it is necessary to recollect, that America was not only in an infant state at the conclusion of the war in 1763, but that the continual wars with the Indians greatly retarded the progress

gress of that settlement; and if the same obstructions have been given to the settlements on the western side of the Ohio, it is equally certain that the exhausted condition of the finances of the United States, until within a year and a half past, did not permit them to take those vigorous measures necessary to their tranquillity; and that permanent settlements on that side of the river, and the increase of the necessaries of life (which are now in greater abundance in the western country than in any other part of America), will enable them to support their situation with infinitely more ease, than when we were obliged to bring almost every thing for use over the mountain.

I have estimated the number of souls on the western waters at 400,000. I should suppose, from the disposition to early marriages, which is general, and the extraordinary fecundity it is observed every where prevails, with the addition of the emigrants who may be expected from the eastern States, that the inhabitants will double once in 15 years for the next 60 years to come, at least,---which in the first 15 years will be equal to
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peopling four or five of these States ; and I think we may expect to see at the end of 30 years the whole country I have been describing inhabited.

The ratio of increase after the first 30 years appears almost too astonishing for belief: 6,400,000 souls increase in the course of 60 years, when it is notorious that all America added to her population little more than 2,000,000 in the course of a century, no doubt will appear a calculation too extravagant ; for which reason it will be necessary for me to state the rise of the one, and the probable growth of the other.

Mr. Jefferson, in his notes on Virginia (to which I shall have frequent occasion to advert in my subsequent letters), allows a duplication only once in $27\frac{1}{4}$ years. He takes the space of 118 years inclusive from 1654, until the year 1702, when the tythes of Virginia had increased from 7209 to 153,000 ; which estimate, he says, is corroborated by the particular uniformity of the intermediate enumerations taken in 1700, 1748, and 1759. According to this increase, he supposes the inhabitants of Virginia alone

will amount to between 6 and 7,000,000 within ninety-six years.

It appears, by a statement which he has made of the emigrants in different years to that country, that the greatest number in any one year was 3000, which was the year 1628. From the year 1654 the dissolution of the Virginia Company took place, and importations almost ceased until it became the practice of your government to transport convicts to the colonies; so that it does not appear that the peopling of Virginia was materially owing to the migrations from Europe: whereas I have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive in the single State of Kentucky within one year, and from 4 to 10,000 in several other years.

Great part of the country from the Bay of Fundy to Cape Florida upon the sea coast is unfavourable to agriculture. New England has never yet produced corn sufficient to supply its inhabitants with bread; which must proceed either from the ignorance of the arts of husbandry in that country, or from the poverty of the soil;

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I believe both have helped to retard the progress of agriculture. Long Island is chiefly a sand heap, where the inhabitants seem for a great length of time to have been content to live upon fish. The State of New York for a considerable distance back is a continuation of hills and stones. The country from Polouhook to the capes of the Delaware is a flat of nothing but salt marshes and pine barrans, which extend for twenty miles up the country; and the whole country from those capes southward to the Gulf of Florida is no better, for a considerable distance from the sea, the bottoms of the rivers excepted; so that the first settlers of America had not only the natives to contend against, but also extreme poverty.

The extension of the Dutch settlement from New York up Hudson's river to the fine lands about Albany, and to the fertile banks of the Rariton, in Jersey, and the settlement of Pennsylvania by the celebrated Penn, first produced that plenty which is not only necessary to comfort, but is essential to occasion that fecundity which distinguishes the rapid population of most

infant countries, after they have overcome the first difficulties of establishing a settlement.

As the natives were driven back, the settlers began to penetrate into the fertile regions of the middle parts of the States, which lie at some distance from the sea coast. But several causes now combined to retard the population of the country. The unfavourable appearance of the soil of New England induced most of its inhabitants to lead sea-faring lives, which not only tend to check the natural increase of men by the losses incidental to such an employment, but hinder, in a material degree, the propagation of the species by the separation of the sexes.

This business was in some measure common to the whole colonies. Besides which, the wars that England was often engaged in against France and Spain, and in which we were also concerned, with the frequent Indian wars, and the late American war, helped not a little to obstruct the natural proportion of the increase of inhabitants. America had only crossed the line between poverty and affluence when the late unfortunate war commenced.

commenced. However, there was a still more nefarious and detestable cause for this slowness of population arising from the introduction of African slavery. Men began then to look upon it as infamous to labour—amusements were invented to fill up their time—dissipation followed in all the excess of idleness and folly. The fair sex were neglected; marriages were less early, and less frequent. And thus it happened that the inhabitants of Virginia were found to double only once in 27½ years, and which has been adopted by some persons as a criterion to estimate the increase of the inhabitants of all the other States; but it is not a fair criterion, for it is notorious, that Pennsylvania is much better peopled than Virginia, though its first settlement was at a later date. But, now, for the reverse. Though we enjoy an extensive inland navigation, we are not liable to the same loss of men which the perils of the sea produce; nor any of that loss which maritime countries suffer by their citizens entering into foreign service, or settling in foreign countries: our voyages will be regulated by the periodical floods, and the æras of absence will

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be more determinate and certain ; so that absence here cannot so materially interrupt domestic happiness, and cannot in the least retard the increase of inhabitants. It is impossible that we can experience any thing like poverty, for no country, perhaps, upon the globe is so rich in the comforts and necessaries of life. As to wars, we can have none after a few years more are past. The Spaniards may put us to some inconvenience for a few years to come ; but, in doing this, they will not only risk the loss of New Orleans, but the whole of Louisiana, which they consider as the key to Mexico. Thus secured from wars, and the inland navigation of the country not subjecting us to material losses in that business ; with the propensity to early marriages, produced by the simplicity and innocence of youth, tutored under the pure maxims of virtue and reason ; it cannot be considered as a sanguine calculation, when we add the additional consideration of the probable number of emigrants we may receive, that our population will double once in fifteen years.

Having endeavoured to give you an idea of
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the country north-west of the Ohio, omitted in my last, and what will be the probable partitions of the New States to be laid off on that side of the river, the population, and expected increase of the inhabitants of the western country; I shall take leave of you for the present, and in my next you shall have an account of its productions, navigations, &c.

I remain, affectionately,

Yours, &c.

J. E. T.

L E T T E R V.

MY DEAR FRIEND, KENTUCKY,

IN the advancement of civilization, agriculture seems to have been in every country the primary object of mankind—Arts and sciences have followed, and, ultimately, they have been relevant to each other. Fortunately for us the present æra of reason not only admits, but makes it necessary, that they should go hand in hand. The decency of life is not the smallest of sublunary blandishments. Purity is to the body what virtue is to the soul;—an eternal invigorating germ, whose blossoms diffuse the most fragrant odours, and give a vivacity to the mind equally manly and delightful.

The western limits of the federal empire are bounded on the north by the Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and the Lake of the Wood*; to the west by the Mississippi; and

* Lake Ontario is about 600 miles in circumference, Lake Erie nearly 300, Lake St. Clair about 90, Lake Huron is reckoned 1000, and Lake Superior between 15 and 1600.

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and extending as far south as the Natchez, or lat. 32 deg. then is bound by the Floridas to the south. What is called the Western Territory lies on this side of the Allegany Mountain, within these limits*.

Here is found all the variety of soil and cli-

The Lake of the Wood from east to west is about 70 miles, and its greatest breadth about forty.

Lake Michigan is divided on the north-east from Lake Huron by the Streights of Michillimacknac. Its greatest length is 230 miles, its breadth about 60, and its circumference nearly 600.

On the north-west parts of this lake its waters branch out into two bays; that which lies towards the north is Noquet's Bay, and the other Puans, or Green Bay.

The waters of this, as well as the other great lakes, are clear, wholesome, abound in fish, and are of sufficient depth for the navigation of ships.

It is worth observing, that some of these lakes, in magnitude, are almost equal to the seas of Europe; and though there is not an immediate communication for ships with the Atlantic ocean, yet the advantages they must afford to the operations of commerce will prove not only very considerable, but, I conceive, will be nearly as beneficial as open seas, when the surrounding countries are under that same government, and influenced by reciprocal interest.

* Colonel Gorden, in his Journal, says, "that this country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be the most healthy, the most pleasant, and most fertile spot of earth known to European people."

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mate necessary to the culture of every kind of grain, fibrous plants, cotton, fruits, vegetables, and all sorts of provisions. The upper settlements on the Ohio produce chiefly wheat, oats, barley, rye, Indian corn or maize, hemp and flax. The fruits are apples, pears, cherries, peaches, plums, strawberries, raspberries, currants, gooseberries, and grapes; of culinary plants and vegetables, there are turnips, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, cymbiline or squash, cucumbers, pease, beans, asparagus, cabbages, brocoli, celerly and fallads; besides which there are melons and herbs of every sort. The provision consists of beef, pork, mutton, veal, and a variety of poultry, such as ducks, Muscovy ducks, turkeys, geese, dunghill fowls, and pigeons. The superfluous provisions are sold to the emigrants, who are continually passing through those settlements, in their route to the different districts of country, and which I have enumerated. Some considerable quantities of spirits distilled from rye, and likewise cyder, are sent down the river to a market, in those infant settlements where the inhabitants have not had time to bring orchards

chards to any perfection, or have not a superfluity of grain to distil into spirits. The beef, pork, and flour are disposed of in the same way. The flax and hemp are packed on horses and sent across the mountain to the inland towns of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and (as I hinted in a former letter) in a few years, when grazing forms the principal object of those settlers, they will always find a market for their cattle at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

These settlements might produce a considerable quantity of sugar, but hitherto what they have made has served for little more than home consumption, as every part of the back country from lat. 42° to 36° and upon the Mississippi, as far north as lat. 45° . produces an abundance of the sugar maple-tree as would be equal to furnish sugar for the inhabitants of the whole earth; and to send it to any of the market towns on the Atlantic is too far to be profitable, until the canals of the Potowmac shall have been finished. That country produces also all the pot-herbs which are common in Europe: several kinds of nuts grow in the forests, such as chefnuts, hickory, and

and black walnuts. The mountains, hills, and uninhabited parts abound in deer, wild turkeys, and a species of grouse, called by the Americans promiscuously partridge or pheasant. There is an abundance of wild fowl, as indeed is the case in every part of the western country : to enumerate these could prove for you neither amusement or instruction.

Linen and woollen cloths, leather, and hats, for home consumption, are manufactured with considerable success. The two first articles are only made in families for their own use ; but the latter are made by men of profession in that business, and are of a quality that would not disgrace the mechanics of Europe. Blacksmiths work of all sorts, even to making fire arms, is done there ; as is also cabinet work, wheelwright, mill-wright, house carpentry, joinery, shoe-making, &c. &c. in short, all the trades, immediately necessary to the promotion of the comforts of new settlements, are to be found here.

After passing to the southward of lat. 40 deg. the climate becomes favourable to the culture of tobacco. It will, no doubt, grow farther to the

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the north ; but neither its flavour is so aromatic, or the crop so certain or productive. Indeed the farther south tobacco grows, generally the finer its quality : hence it is, that the saegars of Cuba are so much admired for their peculiar scent, and the Oroonookoo for its mildness. However, this is of little consequence to any country, as it is certain no cultivation is so pernicious to the soil, and of so little real advantage to the cultivator. It continually impoverishes the land ; and every additional season, instead of producing riches to an estate, tends to beggar it : every vestige of its growth is misery and devastation, and no soil, but one as prolific as that of the Nile, would be capable of producing it for any length of time, according to the system which has been pursued in Virginia and Maryland. However, the whole of the Ohio and Mississippi country below lat. 40 deg. is perhaps better adapted to produce tobacco in quantity than any other country upon the face of the globe.

Kentucky produces, besides tobacco, all the different kinds of grain that I have described in the upper settlement ; all the fruits, with the addition of apricots and nectarines ; these and

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peaches

peaches grow here to very great perfection, particularly when planted upon a light foil, which should always be the case when it can be found; but however extraordinary it may appear, it is not often the case in this district of country.

Those culinary plants, vegetables, &c. I have enumerated above, are produced in the whole western country. In some parts they grow to greater perfection than in others, as in this the cucumber, turnips, peas, and many others are much finer than I ever saw them any where beside. The cantilope melon is only to be equalled by those in Persia. We are not at the trouble and expence of forcing. Every thing put into the ground of the vegetable kind grows in a most wonderful manner.

The foil is uncommonly favourable to hemp and Indian corn. I have known 12 cwt. of the former produced from an acre of ground, and as much as 100 bushels of the latter. This has not only been done from an uncommon fertile spot, but there are large bodies of land adjoining, which are equally prolific. I believe that,

were

were I to mention upon an average the produce of the whole country, it would be found to be nearly as follows ;

Hemp per acre	-	800 cwt.
Indian corn, or maze, ditto	-	60 bushels.
Wheat, ditto	-	30 ditto.
Barley, ditto	-	40 ditto.
Oats, ditto	-	50 ditto.
Clover and timothy grafs, ditto	-	25 cwt.

Besides hemp and flax for manufacturing, cotton is cultivated with considerable success, particularly in the southern parts of the State, and Cumberland ; and, no doubt, in a few years, when our settlements extend to the Natchez, cotton will be produced in as great perfection as in the East or West Indies. No soil or climate can be more congenial to this plant than the regions on the lowermost parts of the Mississippi. We have in our power to promote the culture of silk also. The mildness of the climate and the great quantity of the mulberry trees, which are every where interspersed in our forests, render this matter extremely easy ; but how far this will be politic, when the use of silk is going

out of fashion, is a matter that requires some consideration. Cotton has supplied its place, and its superior excellence, I apprehend, will always make it a more profitable manufactory.

The growth of wool will form an important consideration with us. The plains I have described extend quite to the mountains, so that sheep here may have every advantage which the flocks of Spain enjoy. If we can form any idea from the samples of wool produced in many parts of the country, we may conclude that our most sanguine expectations will be fully answered.

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

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

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

There is a variety of wild fowl in every part of this State, particularly teal, and the summer duck. The latter breeds with us. Its incubation is always in temperate climates, which is the reason of its being called the summer duck.

The productions of Cumberland are nearly the same as those of Kentucky. The quality of tobacco is perhaps something better ; but the climate being considerably warmer, it is not so favourable to wheat and barley, nor does grass grow there so luxuriantly as with us.

The country below Cumberland soon becomes warm enough for indigo and rice ; and perhaps these articles, in a few years, will be cultivated on the Mississippi with as much success, if not more, than they ever were in South Carolina, or

Georgia; particularly the former, as the soil on the Mississippi is infinitely more luxuriant than any in the Carolinas. Some essays were made in this business previous to the late war; but the object was abandoned in the destruction of the settlement I mentioned in a former letter, made below the Natchez.

Oranges, and other tropical fruits, grow at the Natchez, and some distance above, to considerable perfection. There are a variety of nuts that grow both in Kentucky and Cumberland, some of which are common to both: the most remarkable of them is the Pacane; all of which have been noticed both by Carver and Jefferson. Grapes, plums, gooseberries, and strawberries, grow also spontaneously in the southern parts of Kentucky, and in most parts of Cumberland.

The produce of the western country will be nearly the same in the same parallels of latitude throughout; so that comparing my imaginary States with the settled country south-east of the Ohio, you will be able to form a just idea of what they will be capable of producing. But to comprehend the object of the commerce of this

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this country, it is first necessary to contemplate it, abounding in all the comforts of life, limited in its variety of climate only by what is not desirable; with a soil so prolific, a navigation so extensive, and a security so permanent, from being inland, that it seems this vast extent of empire is only to be equalled for its sublimity but by the object of its aggrandizement.

Provisions, tobacco, and raw materials will constitute the first articles of our trade*.

Such

* The following just and judicious observations were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770, when Secretary of State for the North American Department :

“ No part of North America will require less encouragement for the production of naval stores, and raw materials for manufactories in Europe, and for supplying the West India Islands with *lumber, provisions, &c.* than the country of the Ohio; and for the following reasons :

First, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate, the native grapes, silk worms, and mulberry trees, abound every where; hemp, hops, and rye grow spontaneously in the valleys and low lands; lead and iron are plenty in the hills; salt springs are innumerable; and no soil is better adapted to the culture of tobacco, flax, and cotton, than that of the Ohio.

Second, The country is well watered by several navigable rivers, communicating with each other; by which, and a short land carriage, the produce of the lands of the Ohio can, even now (in the year 1772), be sent cheaper to the sea-port town of

H 4

Alexandria,

Such a quantity of beef, pork, bacon, butter, cheese, &c. &c. might be furnished from this country

Alexandria, on the Potomac river in Virginia (where the troops of General Braddock landed), than any kind of merchandise is sent from Northampton to London.

Third, The river Ohio is, at all seasons of the year, navigable with large boats, like the west country barges, rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of February to April large ships may be built on the Ohio, and sent to sea, laden with hemp, iron, flax, silk, tobacco, cotton, pot-ash, &c.

Fourth, Flour, corn, beef, ship-plank, and other useful articles can be sent down the stream of the Ohio to West Florida, and from thence to the West India islands, much cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Philadelphia, to those islands.

Fifth, Hemp, tobacco, iron, and such bulky articles, may also be sent down the stream of the Ohio to the sea, at least 50 per cent. cheaper than these articles were ever carried by land carriage, of only 60 miles, in Pennsylvania; where waggonage is cheaper than in any other part of North America.

Sixth, The expence of transporting European manufactures from the sea to the Ohio, will not be so much as is now paid, and must ever be paid, to a great part of the countries of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Whenever the farmers or merchants of the Ohio shall properly understand the business of transportation, they will build schooners, sloops, &c. on the Ohio, suitable for the West India or European markets; or, by having black walnut, cherry tree, oak, &c. properly sawed for foreign markets, and formed into rafts in the manner that is now done by the settlers near the upper parts of the Delaware in Pennsylvania, and thereon flow their hemp, iron, tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans,

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country as will one day, no doubt, furnish the West India islands, and afford relief to the miserable Chinese, whose scanty portion of rice is

It may not, perhaps, be amiss to observe, that large quantities of flour are made in the distant (western) countries of Pennsylvania, and sent by an expensive land-carriage to the city of Philadelphia, and from thence shipped to South Carolina, and to East and West Florida, there being little or no wheat raised in those provinces.

The river Ohio seems kindly designed by nature, as the channel through which the two Floridas may be supplied with flour; not only for their common consumption, but also for the carrying on an extensive commerce with Jamaica, and the Spanish settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millstones in abundance are to be obtained in the hills near the Ohio; and the country is every where well watered with large and constant springs and streams for grist and other mills.

The passage from Philadelphia to Pennsacola is seldom made in less than a month, and sixty shillings per ton, freight (consisting of sixteen barrels), is usually paid for flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800 or 1000 barrels of flour may go in about the same time from Pittsburg, as from Philadelphia to Pennsacola, and for half the above freight; the Ohio merchants would be able to deliver flour, &c. there in much better order than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the damage and delay of the sea, and charges of insurance, &c. as from thence to Pennsacola.

This is not mere speculation; for it is a fact, that about the year 1746, there was a great scarcity of provisions at New Orleans; and the French settlements at the Illinois, small as they then were, sent thither in one winter upwards of eight hundred thousand weight of flour."

only

only sufficient to keep soul and body together. Our mountainous countries must always prove excellent ranges for herds of cattle; the grass, in the summer, affording sufficient food to fatten them, without the expence of cultivated meadows, and the winters are seldom so severe as to require any other food than the cane and peavine.

The navigation of this country has been much talked of. The distance from one place to another has been computed with some degree of accuracy, and the various experiments which have been made confirm the opinion that its difficulty is merely imaginary.

The common mode of descending the stream is in flat-bottomed boats, which may be built from 15 to 500 tons burthen. But, as far as I have been able to judge, I should suppose, that about 50 or 60 tons burthen would be the most convenient, wieldy, and consequently safe, particularly when the waters are very high; for in such cases the rapidity of the current makes it difficult to manage an unwieldy mass with facility. These boats are built of oak plank, with a certain proportion

portion of breadth to their length, i. e. nearly as 12 feet to 40; which will be a boat of nearly 40 tons. They are covered or not as occasion may require. The object is to build them as cheap as possible, for their unwieldiness prevents the possibility of their returning, and they can only be sold as plank.

Several of these boats setting out together, let us suppose 5, 10, 15, or 20, of 60 tons burthen each, which would require each 6 hands to navigate them; ten boats then of 60 tons each will employ 60 hands, which will be equal to navigate up the stream 3 boats of 5 tons each, and would be more than sufficient to bring back the cargo that the produce of the ten boats would purchase; as the articles we export are gross and bulky, while we want only in return superfine goods: the coarser goods of every sort will always be manufactured in the country. We also make our own salt, sugar, spirits, malt liquor, and shall soon make our own wine. These boats must be worked up with steam and sails,

The invention of carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam, is a late improvement

provement in philosophy by a Mr. Rumsey of Virginia, whose ingenuity has been rewarded by that State with the exclusive privilege of navigating those boats in her rivers for 10 years; and as this grant was given previous to the independence of Kentucky, the act of separation guarantees his right. Some circumstance or other has prevented his bringing them into use. However, there can be no doubt of the success of his scheme, for the Assembly of Virginia had the most unequivocal assurances before they gave the privilege, in a certificate signed by General Washington and Man Page, Esquire; setting forth, that they had seen a boat, they believed to be constructed by Mr. Rumsey, ascend a stream without the aid of manual labour, but without mentioning the operating cause, which has since appeared to be steam. If this principle should fail (and from such authority I do not conceive how it is to be presumed), I flatter myself that philosophy is capable of supplying the place in the appropriation of some one of the secrets with which mechanics abound.

In taking a retrospective view of the world,

we are for a moment surpris'd when we recollect that some thousands of years had elapsed before printing was invented ; and that the only way of accumulating the copies of art and genius was by the tardy method of transcribing ; and that the art of navigation was for nearly as long a time devious, and regulated by no certain laws, the stars and head lands of different countries being the only guides to the adventurous mariner, who often perished when the heavens were obscured. O Liberty ! how many blessings hast thou brought us ! Man, in promulgating his opinions, now finds security under the wings of an established freedom ; and the dismal dungeon, which eclipsed the luminous mind of the celebrated Italian, would now be erected into a school for him to lecture in, instead of a prison to bewail the miserable ignorance and depravity of his fellow-creatures. Truth and reason have led to this melioration of manners---it will lead to more benefits to mankind.---But should we still be obliged to row our boats against the stream, it is not only practicable, but easy.

The frequent turnings in the Mississippi produce

duce in every bend eddy water; which, with the advantage the wind affords, that blowing the greater part of the year from the south-west, and directly up the windings of the river, by reason of the vacancy between the banks and rising forests on either side, afford a channel for the current of the air, is sufficient with sails, keeping as much as possible in the eddy water, to carry a boat 50 miles a day up the stream.

To account for those winds philosophically would be extremely easy; but, as it is a circumstance notorious from the testimony of voyagers in the Mississippi and Ohio, I presume the test of experience will be preferred to any philosophical disquisition upon the subject.

Should this navigation prove too tedious, and no improvements appear likely to be made in it, the importing into the country may be facilitated by another channel, from the Gulf of Mexico up the Mobile, which is a lazy current; from the principal branch of which there is but a short passage to a branch of the Tenasee, when you will have the advantage of the stream quite into the Ohio. I have enumerated this circumstance
merely

merely for the sake of information; for I have not the smallest doubt of the eligibility of the navigation of the Mississippi, which is proved from the experiments which are daily making.

The distance from Pittsburg to the Muskingum is 173 miles; to the Little Kenhaway 178; to the Great Kenhaway 285; to Great Sandy 342; to the Sciota 390; to Limestone 500; to the Little Miami 510; to Licking Creek 524; to the Great Miami 550; to the Great-bone Creek 582; to the Kentucky 626; to the Rapids 703; to Salt river 723; to Green river 922; to the Wabash 1019; to Cumberland river 1113; to the Tenafee 1126; to the Mississippi 1183; from thence to New Orleans is about 1005.

I have mentioned that it is about 230 from the mouth of the Ohio up the Mississippi to the mouth of the Misouri, and about 20 from thence to Illinois, which is navigable for batteaux to its source. From thence there is a portage only of 2 miles to Chickago, which is also navigable for batteaux to its entrance into Lake Michigan, which is a distance of 16 miles. This lake affords communication with the river St. Lawrence through

through Lake Erie, passing Niagara by a portage of 8 miles. The Lakes Erie and Michigan are navigable for vessels drawing 6 and 7 feet water. This is one of the routes by which the exchange of commodities between the northern and southern parts of this empire will be facilitated.

In continuing the plan of intercourse, it will be found extremely easy to pass through Lake Ontario to Wood creek; up Wood creek, and by a portage of about 3 miles, you arrive at a creek, which in 3 miles more brings you to Fort Edward upon the Mohawk river, a branch of Hudson's river. There are several carrying-places between that and its junction with Hudson; but very little labour would remove them, and which I have no doubt but the State of New York* will be judicious enough to set early about. It is certain they have ordered surveys to be made, and plans are forming for the removal of those obstructions. It has been long in

* That State passed an Act of Assembly in July 1792, for removing all the obstructions between Hudson's river and Lake Ontario; by which means, when it is done, there will be an inland navigation, taking its various courses of nearly 2000 miles in extent.

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between PITTSBURG and the Mouth of the OHIO.

	Pittsburg														
	Big Beaver 48														
	Little Beaver 12 40														
	Yellow Creek 12 24 52														
	Two Creeks 20 32 44 72														
	Long Reach 52 72 34 96 124														
	End of Long Reach 16 68 88 100 112 140														
	Mufkingum 33 49 101 121 133 145 173														
	Little Kenhaway 57 38 54 106 126 138 150 178														
	Hockhocking 15 20 53 69 121 141 153 165 193														
	Great Kenhaway 92 107 112 145 161 213 233 252 257 285														
	Great Sandy 57 149 164 169 202 218 270 290 309 314 342														
	Sciota 48 105 197 212 217 250 266 318 338 357 362 390														
Limestone	110	158	215	307	322	227	360	376	428	448	467	472	500		
le Miami	10	120	168	225	317	332	337	370	386	438	458	477	482	510	
k	14	24	134	132	239	331	346	351	384	400	452	472	491	496	524
	40	50	160	208	265	357	372	377	410	426	478	498	517	522	550
	72	82	192	240	297	389	404	409	442	458	510	530	549	554	582
	116	126	236	284	341	433	448	453	486	502	554	574	593	598	626
	193	203	313	361	413	510	525	530	563	579	631	651	670	675	703
	213	223	333	381	438	530	545	550	583	599	651	671	690	695	723
	412	422	532	580	637	729	744	749	782	793	850	870	889	894	922
	509	519	629	677	734	826	841	846	897	896	947	967	986	991	1019
	603	613	723	761	828	920	935	940	973	990	1041	1061	1080	1085	1113
	616	646	736	774	841	933	948	953	986	1003	1054	1074	1093	1098	1126
	673	703	793	831	898	990	1005	1010	1043	1060	1111	1131	1150	1155	1183

A TABLE OF DISTANCES

							Pittsburg	
							Big Beaver 28	
							12	40
							12	52
							12	72
							14	124
							20	140
							33	173
							18	178
							13	193
							12	285
							19	342
							17	390
							17	500
							17	510
							11	524
							Gre 7	550
							Great Bone Cre 9	582
							Kentucky 43	626
							Rapids 77	703
							12 ⁰	675
							Salt River 20	723
							97	695
							14 ⁰	894
							Green River 199	922
							319	349
							298	894
							349	922
							Wabash 97	1019
							296	436
							416	991
							393	1019
							436	991
							Cumberland River 94	1113
							191	530
							390	1085
							510	1113
							487	1085
							530	1113
							Tennessee 13	1126
							107	543
							204	1098
							403	1126
							523	1098
							501	1126
							543	1126
							Mississippi 57	1183
							70	60
							164	1155
							261	1183
							460	1155
							580	1183
							558	1155
							60	1183
							1155	1183

Pittsburg

Beaver	28
12	40
24	52
44	72
96	124
112	140
145	173
150	178
165	193
257	285
314	342
362	390
472	500
482	510
496	524
522	550
554	582
598	626
675	703
695	723
894	922
991	1019
1085	1113
1098	1126
1155	1183

embryo with them. It was impossible a plan of so much utility could escape that sage and penetrating politician General Schuyler, whose vast estate lies mostly in that part of America.

There are also portages into the waters of lake Erie from the Wabash, Great Miami, Muskingum, and Allegany, from 2 to 16 miles *. The portage between the Ohio and Potowmac will be about 20 miles when the obstructions in the Monongahala and Cheat rivers are removed, which will form the first object of the gentlemen of Virginia when they have completed the canal on the Potowmac.

The obstructions to the navigation of the Great Kanaway are of such magnitude, that it will require a work of ages to remove them ; but if ever that should be done, there will be an easy communication between that and James river^d and likewise with the Roanoke, which runs through North Carolina. But this is an event too remote to deserve any consideration at present.

* Some of these have been noticed in a note in a preceding part of this work.

All the rivers in this country of 60 yards wide and upwards, are navigable almost to their sources for flat-bottomed boats during their floods, and for batteaux the greater part of the year, the Great Kanhaway and little Miami excepted. The Tenasee has a considerable fall where it passes through Cumberland Mountain, where there must be a portage also. From thence it is navigable quite to Holston.

The rapids of the Ohio I have described in a former letter *. They are no obstruction in high water to boats going down the river, and indeed batteaux may pass almost at any time. There

* Colonel Gordon, in his journal down the Ohio mentions; " That those falls do not deserve that name, as the stream on the north side has no sudden pitch, but only runs over a ledge of rocks. Several boats, he says, passed them in the dryest season of the year, unloading one half of their freight. They passed on the north side, where the carrying place is three quarters of a mile long; on the south-east side, it is about half that distance, and is reckoned the safest passage for those who are unacquainted with it; but it is the most tedious, as, during part of the summer, and autumn, the batteaux-men drag their boats over the rock. The fall is about half a mile rapid water, which, however, is passable, by wading and dragging the boat against the stream when lowest, and with still greater ease when the water is raised a little."

are two small rapids in the Wabash between its mouth and St. Vincent's, but they are no impediment to navigation, except at times of low water. The Kaskaskia is a small river which runs into the Mississippi below the Illinois, and is navigable a considerable way above the plains. The Mississippi is navigable to St. Anthony's Falls, without any obstruction. Carver describes it as navigable above them as far as he travelled. We have too little knowledge of the Missouri to form any decided opinion of the extent of its navigation. It is however certain, that it is a more powerful stream than the Mississippi, and in entering that river, it triumphantly rushes across, and its turbid waters, unmixed, seem to disdain a connection so inferior. From the best information that we have been able to collect, it is navigable for 12 or 1500 miles above its mouth, without obstruction; and I think it is not unlikely that in settling the country towards its source, we shall find it is not remote from the sources of the streams running into the Pacific Ocean, and that a communication may be opened between them with as much ease as between the Ohio

and Potowmac, and also between the settlements on the Mississippi and California. This circumstance is the more likely to happen, as it does not appear that the ridges of hills which divide the waters of the Pacific Ocean from the waters of the Mississippi, are either so high or so rugged as the Allegany mountains.

You will observe, that as far as this immense continent is known, the courses and extent of its rivers are extremely favourable to communication by water ; a circumstance which is highly important, whether we regard it in a social or commercial point of view. The intercourse of men has added no inconsiderable lustre to the polish of manners, and, perhaps, commerce has tended more to civilize and embellish the human mind, in two centuries, than war and chivalry would have done in five.

The federal government regulating every thing commercial, must be productive of the greatest harmony, so that while we are likely to live in the regions of perpetual peace, our felicity will receive a zest from the activity and variety of our trade. We shall pass through the Mississippi to the
the

the sea—up the Ohio, Monongahala and Cheat rivers, by a small portage, into the Potowmac, which will bring us to the federal city on the line of Virginia and Maryland—through the several rivers I have mentioned, and the lakes to New York and Quebec—from the northern lakes to the head branches of the rivers which run into Hudson's-bay into the Arctic regions—and from the sources of the Missouri into the Great South Sea *. Thus in the centre of the earth, governing by the laws of reason and humanity, we seem calculated to become at once the emporium and protectors of the world †.

Before

* Besides the several channels of communication already mentioned, there are two others which, in a very few years, will be opened; as the Pennsylvanians have already turned their attention toward them.

One from Lake Erie to a place called Le Boeuf, down the Allegany, to a river called Kiskiminitas, then up the same a certain distance, and from thence by a short portage to a branch of the Susquehanna, called Juniata. The other is from Lake Ontario to the east branch of the Delaware, which it is said will not be attended with much difficulty; and which will be a direct communication between Philadelphia and that Lake.

There is a ridge of hills, generally called the Shining Mountains, which begin at Mexico, and continue to the east

Before I finish this letter, I shall just enter into some of the minutiae of the distance and
time

of California, that separate the water of those rivers which fall either into the gulf of that peninsula, or the Gulf of Mexico. From thence, as they continue their course northward, between the waters of the Mississippi, and the rivers that empty themselves into the Pacific Ocean, and end in about lat. 48 or 49, where several rivers have their sources, which either run into Hudson's Bay, or the South Sea.

These hills lying nearly parallel with the Allegany Mountains, a considerable distance from the Pacific Sea, forms, if it may be so called, a great valley, which constitutes what is called the Western Country of America, and is nearly in the centre of this vast continent.

In reflecting upon the object of the federal government, and the rapid strides it is making, it appears rather puerile in the United States thinking to make the seat of their government permanent upon the Powtomac; or at least it would be so, to run the country to heavy expences, when it is obvious that posterity will, in the course of a century at farthest, remove it to the Mississippi, which is the most central, and consequently the proper place. By that means the efficiency of the federal government will act like the vital fluid which is propelled from the heart, and give motion and energy to every extremity of the empire.

The country between Cape Florida and Cape North, the southern head-land of the Gulf of St Lawrence, lies between lat 25 and 48, and west long. 82 and 66; and the country between California and Nootka Sound, between lat. 30 and 47, and west long. 118 and 128, which is a distance between 15 and 1600 miles from north to south, and between 2500 and 3000 from east to west; so that if we take the medium, and
make

time of descending down the Ohio, which will serve for an account of all the other rivers. Mr.

Jefferson

make an allowance for the probable extension of the United States both to the northward and southward, it appears pretty clearly, that a spot upon the Mississippi, nearly lat. 44. I think upon Lake Pepin, or at St. Anthony's falls, ought to be placed the permanent seat of the federal government.

From a point lat. 44, upon the Atlantic coast, and running from thence a due west line, until it strikes the Mississippi, is a distance of nearly 1200 miles, and from thence to the Pacific coast, continuing the same line, it is something more; but the difference is immaterial, while the communications from thence would be facilitated to every part of the empire, by the peculiar advantages of the various navigable rivers that have their sources in the same neighbourhood. Carver has described them as follows:

“ The four most capital rivers in America, *i. e.* the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the River Bourbon, or Red River, and the Oregon, have their sources in the same neighbourhood. The waters of the three former are within thirty miles of each other; the latter is farther west.

“ This shews that these parts are the highest land in North America; and it is an instance not to be paralleled on the other three quarters of the globe, that four rivers of such magnitude should take their rise together; and each, after running several courses, discharge their waters into different oceans, at the distance of 2000 miles from their sources. For in their passage from this spot, to the Bay of St. Lawrence east, to the Bay of Mexico south, to Hudson's Bay north, and to the Bay of the Straights of Annian west, each of these traverse upwards of 2000 miles.”

Besides, the same author has described those places, and the

Jefferson has stated, that " the inundations of the Ohio begin about the last of March, and subside

truth of which is supported by the testimony of other travellers with whom I have conversed, as one of the most beautiful countries upon the earth. These are his words :

" The Mississippi below Lake Pepin, flows with a gentle current, but the breadth is very uncertain, in some places it being upwards of a mile, in others not more than a quarter.

" This river has a range of mountains throughout the whole way, which in particular places approach near to it, in others lie at a greater distance.

" The land between the mountains on either side, is generally covered with grass, with a few groves of trees interspersed, near which large droves of deer and elk are frequently seen feeding.

" In many places, pyramids of rocks appeared, resembling old ruinous towers; at others, amazing precipices :—and what is very remarkable, whilst this scene presented itself on one side, the opposite side of the same mountain was covered with the finest herbage, which gradually ascended to its summit. From thence the most beautiful prospect that the imagination can form opens to your view.

" Verdant plains, fruitful meadows, numerous islands, and all abounding with a variety of trees that yeild amazing quantities of fruit without care or cultivation : such as the nut tree, the maple, which produces sugar, vines loaded with delicious grapes, and plumb trees bending under their blooming burdens ;—but above all, the winding river flowing gently beneath, and reaching as far as the eye can extend, by turns attract your admiration, and excite your wonder. The lake is about 20 miles long, and nearly 6 in breadth.

" The Mississippi, as far as the entrance of the river St. Croix, about forty miles above Lake Pepin, is very full of islands; some of

subside in July. He has written his notes on Virginia like a man of erudition, and considering

of which are of a considerable length. On these also grow great numbers of the sugar tree, and around them vines loaded with grapes creeping to their very tops. From the lake a few small mountains are to be seen.

“ The river St. Pierre flows through a most delightful country, abounding with all the necessaries of life, which grow spontaneously; and with a little cultivation it might be made to produce its bread.

“ Wild rice grows here in great abundance, and every part is filled with trees bending under their loads of fruit; such as plumbs, grapes, and apples—The meadows are covered with hops and many sorts of vegetables; while the ground is stored with useful roots;—with angelica, spikenard, and ground nuts as large as hens eggs.

“ A little distance from the river are eminences from which you have views that cannot be exceeded for their variety and beauty;—amidst these are delightful groves, and such amazing quantities of the sugar tree, that they would produce sugar sufficient for any number of inhabitants.

“ A little way from the mouth of this river, on the north side of it, stands a hill, one part of which, that toward the Mississippi, is composed intirely of white stone of a soft nature. But what appears remarkable, is, that the colour of it is as white as the driven snow. The outward part of it was crumbled by the wind and weather into heaps of sand, of which a beautiful composition might be made; or, I am of opinion, that when properly treated, the stone itself would grow harder by time, and have a very noble effect in architecture.

“ Near that branch which is termed the Marble River, is a mountain, from whence the Indians get a sort of whetstone,
out

ing that he never was in this country, he has given such an account of it as cannot be displeasing

out of which they hew the bowls of their pipes. This country likewise abounds with a milk-white clay, of which china-ware might be made, equal in goodness to the Asiatic.

“ At the falls of St. Anthony the Mississippi is above 250 yards wide, and forms a most delightful cataract. The fall is thirty feet perpendicular, and the rapids below is about 300 yards more, render the descent considerably greater; so that when viewed at a distance they appear to be much higher than they really are.

“ The country round is extremely beautiful—It is not an uninterrupted plain, where the eye finds no relief; but it is composed of many gentle ascents, which are covered with the finest verdure, and interspersed with little groves, that give a pleasing variety to the prospect.

“ On the whole, when the falls are included, which may be seen at the distance of four miles, a more pleasing and picturesque view cannot, I believe, be found throughout the universe

“ The country, about 60 miles above the falls, to the river St. Francis, is in some places hilly, but without mountains; and the land is tolerably good. A little above this, to the north-east, are a number of small lakes, called the Thousand Lakes;—the country about which, though but little frequented, is the best within many miles for hunting, as the hunter never fails returning loaded beyond his expectations. The Mississippi here begins to grow small, it being not above 90 yards wide.”

Other travellers agree with Carver, also, in saying that there is a considerable proportion of good land upon Lake Superior and upon Red River—They describe the country about Lake Winnepeck, which lies to the north-west of Lake Superior, as very fertile; it producing vast quantities of rice, which grows
sponta-

pleasing to an European. But, as in every thing which has characterized his political life, his judgment

spontaneously; and say, that the sugar tree grows in great plenty; which, if true, not only proves the soil must be very fruitful, as they never grow in indifferent land; but that the climate must be considerably more temperate here than it is upon the Atlantic coast 10 degrees farther southward; for I never heard of a sugar tree being seen on the eastern coast of America as far north as lat. 43°. This opinion is confirmed by the following remarks made by Carver.

“ I can from my own knowledge affirm, that I found the winter I past to the westward of the Mississippi far from severe; and the north winds blowing on those countries, considerably more temperate than I have often experienced them to be nearer the coast;” (meaning the Atlantic coast) “ and that this did not arise from an uncertainty of the seasons, but was annually the case, I conclude, both from the small quantity of snow that fell, and a total disuse of snow shoes by the Indians, without which none of the more eastern nations can possibly travel during the winter.”

When it is remembered, that the settlements of the United States, have extended, in little more than a century, upwards of 600 miles back from the Atlantic, under the influence of almost continual Indian wars, exclusive of many other causes which operated to retard their growth, and which are incidental to the rise of all infant countries circumstanced in the peculiar manner that America was; and that it is not only probable, but morally certain, that the present strength of the settlements west of the Allegany mountains, must in the course of a very few years secure them from all invasion; it appears to me to be an object of the greatest importance with the present federal government to look forward to a circumstance, upon which the perfection

judgment in this appears superficial, and his mind attached to the theory of its own fabrication.

perfection of their political system depends : and it is the more so, as the present era of reason puts in their power to extend the advantages of civilization with an accelerated force, to which no period that we are acquainted with in the annals of man, has been equally auspicious.

This object has not escaped many of our most penetrating legislators ; and perhaps the sentiment would have been general, if there had been time, since our independence, for the habits of life, and the influence of education, to be done away. But the system of the aggrandizing commerce, which originated in Europe, had been transplanted upon the shores of this continent, and has taken such deep root, as in some instances to militate, to the injury of philosophy, and the happiness of mankind—Hence it has happened that spirit of selfishness which is the characteristic of prejudice, folly, and impolicy, has sometimes betrayed its features in the decisions of our union.

That this should have happened is not in the least extraordinary ; but it is to be presumed, since the Europeans are beginning to follow our example, it will give stability to those wavering characters, which will always be found among men who have not judgment sufficient to discover the principles of a just policy, nor the firmness to adopt them without the countenance of others ; so it has happened, that there have been found evil geniuses, or ignorance, which have reprobated the sublime and reasonable views of the union as chimerical.

The advantages of peace have been clearly ascertained by the most enlightend nations of Europe after struggles for dominion that have cost them millions of lives, and brought a load of evils upon themselves, which nothing but Herculean strength would be able to support ; but if man has been treated hitherto as a
beast

tion. Frequent rains in the latter end of the autumn produce floods in the Ohio, and it is an uncommon season when one of those floods does not happen before Christmas. If there is much frosty weather in the upper parts of the country, its waters generally remain low until they begin to thaw. But, if the river is not frozen over (which is not very common), there is always water sufficient for boats of any size from November until May, when the waters generally begin to subside; and by the middle of June, in most seasons, they are too low for boats above forty tons, and these must be flat-

boat of burthen, the most enlightened philosophers, particularly Dr. Adam Smith, have proved these benefits, and the folly of colonization.

I therefore think when we contemplate the progress of reason, the peculiar nature of the federal government, and the singular circumstance of a people of one intire continent speaking the same language, it seems that nothing short of a revolution in the natural intellects of men, can frustrate the design.

I have entered into these minutiae by way of illustrating, as far as the subject required, and my abilities would permit, to shew the advantages of the system of government adopted by America; and at the same time to shew that the country toward the head waters of the Mississippi is beautiful, rich, and abounding in all the varieties of nature necessary to support and embellish a great capital.

bottomed. The frost seldom continues so long as the middle of February, and immediately upon its breaking, the river is flooded; this flood may in a degree subside, but for no length of time; and it is from that period until May that the boats generally come down the river. The distance of descending is in proportion to the height of the water; but the average distance is about eighty miles in twenty-four hours, and from sixty to one hundred are the extremes: so that the mean time of going in a flat-bottomed boat from Pittsburg to the Rapids, is between eight and nine days, and about twenty days more to New Orleans: which will make a passage from Pittsburg to that place nearly a month. The inundations of the Mississippi commence something later than those of the Ohio; but it is very certain they begin in March, and subside in July. This is the most proper time to ascend the river, as you avoid the shoals, have finer weather, but, above all, when the water is high you have stronger eddies; and with taking these advantages, and with dexterous watermen,

you may proceed fifty miles a day, which will bring you back to the Rapids of the Ohio in forty days, making a large allowance for contingencies.

I shall take leave of you for the present, with observing, that the smaller rivers have no stated periods to govern their inundations; but are subject to be flooded by all heavy rains, which is a great advantage to the country, as it affords the inhabitants frequent opportunities of sending their produce to the several markets upon the large rivers.

I am,

Yours, &c.

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LETTER VI.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

IN the œconomy of the creation how wonderfully is the wisdom of Providence displayed ! Some animals are formed with particular stomachs, as in the instance of the camel, which has one adapted to contain water. It is aboriginal in the torrid zone, where the rarefaction of the air is so great, and consequently more subject to drought. In the Artic regions we find the musk buffalo, or goat, clad with long wool, which secures it against inclement cold. Man, the most defenceless, naked, and helpless of all in an infant state, in his maturity is superior in reason ; and thus the faculties of his mind and body unite in making him sovereign of the world. “ Born to destroy the inferior race of animals, he would exhaust all nature, if, by a fecundity superior to his depredations, she did not repair

repair the perpetual havock he makes. But death is only the minister of life, and destruction is the parent of reproduction."

The articles of sugar and salt, though not absolutely necessaries of life, have become, from habit, so essential, that I doubt if any civilized people would be content to live without them. The extensive climate of this country I believe is no where warm enough for the cultivation of the sugar-cane with success; and to import it would be too expensive by reason of its great weight; but nature has superseded that necessity in the supply of the sugar maple-tree. It has been long known that sugar could be made from the juice of this tree; but from the imperfect knowledge of the business of sugar-making, the samples from this liquid were such as promised no great expectations in future experiments: however, the necessity which the people were under of making them, or doing without sugar, proved, that with care and proper management, it could be made equal to the finest sugars of the West Indies or Brazil. Some samples shewn to

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a sugar

a sugar refiner in Philadelphia (which astonished him) produced several instructions in the art, which occasioned immediate success. The people began to treat the sugar-trees more tenderly: and instead of chopping a large gap in their trunk, as had always been the practice, and which was sufficient to destroy a less tender tree, the juice was found to ooze as effectually from an incision made with a screw auger of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch diameter. But this was the smallest of the improvements. All the means made use of in the West Indies for the perfection of the art were soon ascertained and practised: so that the country is not only equal to supply itself with sugar, but might, with increase of hands, supply the inhabitants of the globe.

The sugar maple-tree not only grows in the greatest abundance throughout this country within the limits I have mentioned, but it is known to be the hardiest, and the most difficult to destroy, of all the trees in our forests (the beech not excepted) by the planters, who have a method of chopping or girdling the trunks of

trees

trees about one foot and a half above the ground, in order to kill them, and thereby they prevent their crops from being shaded.

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

I have mentioned these particulars with a view to prevent your falling into the general error, that the resource of making sugar from the maple will soon be destroyed from the very nature of producing it; believing, as many do, that it is impossible for the tree to be able to bear the annual wounds which are necessary to be made in its trunk in order to draw off the juice; and that a few years must necessarily extirpate them; now, so far from there being any

danger of that, experiencè has shewn, the longer that they are used in a proper manner, the more plentiful and rich will be their juice to a certain age; which will be in proportion to the life of those trees. No exact estimate can be made of that; but I conclude their decay is not earlier than other trees.

Both in the animal and vegetable world it has been observed, that the existence of life, according to the natural order of things, is in proportion to the period of time required to produce maturity. There are exceptions to this principle to be sure; as the crane and hawk for instance, which seem to acquire maturity as early as most other birds, and are known to live a century and upwards. However, it is very certain that the life of a sugar maple is as long as an oak, or any other tree.

If there is any analogy between animal and vegetable substances (and which there most certainly is), the increasing plenty and richness of the juice from the use and age of the sugar-tree, will it not be thought more extraordinary, than that the quantity of milk is greater and more rich

rich produced from a cow that has been used for years, than from one which has been neglected, or prevented from breeding annually.

The season of tapping is mostly about the middle of February in Kentucky; but not until the latter end of the month, about Pittsburg, in the remote parts of Pennsylvania, on the head branches of the Susquahana, and Delaware, and in the State of New York. Frosty mornings and bright sunshine are necessary to produce copious exudations. The season continues in this climate about six weeks, when the juice is found to be too thin and poor to make sugar; but it is still capable of making molasses, spirits by distillation, vinegar, and an agreeable table beer.

The business of sugar-making is mostly managed by women and boys; the men generally having nothing more to do with it than to tap the trees, prepare the sheds, and different apparatus. So that our agricultural employments are very little obstructed by this business, which produces so important an article for domestic uses. The perfection to which we have brought our sugars has induced many people in the up-

per parts of the States of New York and Pennsylvania to make a business of it during the season of the juice running ; and considerable quantities have been sent to the markets of Philadelphia and York, not inferior to the best clayed, French, and Spanish sugars.

The salt springs that have been found in the single State of Kentucky, under proper management, would be sufficient to produce salt for all the inhabitants which the western country could support. There are at least twelve of those springs between Great Sandy and Cumberland ; the principal of which are the upper and lower Blue Licks, on Licking Creek ; one on the Great-bone Creek ; one on Drinnon's Lick Creek, about a mile and a half from the mouth of the Kentucky ; and Bullit's Lick, on Salt River, 20 miles from the Rapids of the Ohio. This spring is the first that was worked in the country. The first essays in this business were also imperfect, which, however, proceeded more from poverty than ignorance. The great principle by which the saline particles are chrysalized, is universally known to be by the evaporation of
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the humid ; and the greater the superficial surface of that evaporation, the more rapidly the chrystals will form. But the first settlers could not procure salt pans, and were obliged to use as a substitute the pots and kettles they had brought out for domestic purposes.

Such was the commencement of making salt in this country ; which, from its scarcity and high price, in some measure discouraged the settlement of the country. However, the great improvements since that æra have done away all those fears, and salt is now manufactured in plenty, and sold cheap.

The water is by no means so strong as sea water. It requires nearly four hundred gallons to make one bushel of salt, which is more by one half than would be wanted of sea water to produce that quantity.

The water is not collected immediately from the spring. An area of from five to ten acres round those springs is found to be impregnated with this mineral, so that by digging wells in any part of that space salt water is discovered. From this circumstance I am of opinion, that by

digging pits a body of earth would be found strongly impregnated with salt, from which the saline particles might be more easily separated than from water; and it is certain, that if the water receives its particles of salt from the earth that it passes through, such earth must contain a large proportion of salt, otherwise the strength of the water would not be so considerable. However, it will require some time to determine this matter, as the infancy of our country will not permit us to speculate too largely in experiments that would be attended with heavy expences, were they not to prove successful.

Salt springs have been found in every part of the western country, which has been well explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove every part of it is well supplied with them. The manner by which they are mostly found in uninhabited places, is by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of those roads begins to concentre, it is almost an infallible sign that a salt lick is near. Those animals resorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the salt,

make

make large roads, which leading from the Lick, branch different ways into the country.

We have various other minerals, such as iron (which is the most useful), copper, lead, sulphur, nitre, &c. &c. Iron ore is found in great plenty upon the northern branches of Licking Creek, and likewise upon the waters of Green River. A lead mine has been worked many years with considerable profit, which lies in the country of Montgomery, upon the waters of the Great Kanaway. There is another between the Cumberland and Tenasee rivers, said to be very valuable, and its ore more pure than any other which has been discovered in America. But the lead mine on the Mississippa must prove inexhaustible. It extends from the mouth of Rock River more than 100 miles upwards. Besides these, there are several others, some of which lie on the Spanish side of the Mississippa, and have been used for years past. Copper mines have been discovered in several places, but the mine on the Wabash is, perhaps, the richest vein of native copper in the bowels of the whole earth;

earth; and no doubt will render all the others of little or no value. Sulphur is found in several places in abundance; and nitre is made from earth which is collected from caves and other places to which the wet has not penetrated. The making this salt, in this country, is so common, that many of the settlers manufacture their own gunpowder. This earth is discovered in greater plenty on the waters of Green River, than it is in any other part of Kentucky. But perhaps still farther southward, it will be found in greater plenty. However, it is so common in every part of the country, that it might be made a considerable article for exportation. I have heard of black lead mines upon the head waters of the Kentucky, but I have not been able to procure any certain information respecting them. But I should conceive that there can be little doubt, that when the country, and particularly the mountainous parts of it, are well explored, all the useful minerals will be found in abundance.

I have already mentioned the coal mines in the upper parts of the Ohio country; besides which

there are great quantities of coal upon the upper branches of the Mississippi. It is particularly favourable that this mineral lies at the heads of our larger rivers, as it can be sent down with the greatest facility; and it is very certain that the great body of it, which the Ohio country alone contains, is equal to answer all the purposes for which it may be wanted throughout this extensive empire.

Though the champaign part of this country has no stone on its surface, yet every where limestone is found from 6 to 15 feet below it. Most of the bottoms of our rivulets and streams are paved with this stone. It is very easily calcined, when it becomes excellent lime. It is also convenient for building, by reason of its peculiar smoothness, and the ease with which it may be worked into any form. Besides this stone, which is the most common, every other kind of stone is found that is either useful or ornamental; such as flint, grindstone, and millstones, of a very good quality, which have been reckoned equal to French burrs. There is the
greatest

greatest plenty of marble upon the banks of the Kentucky, particularly at Leefburg. I have not seen any that has been polished; but judges in that business give us the most flattering ideas of its quality.

Clay is very common in every part of this country which is proper for bricks; and there is a superior kind on the Beech Fork of Salt River, which no doubt might be manufactured into good porcelain. Carver has mentioned a clay of this sort that he saw above St. Anthony's Falls*. Marble, chalk, gypsum, and ochres, are found in various parts.

Mr. Jefferson has described the medicinal, inflammable, bituminous, and other springs, very accurately; and as there have been no discoveries or light thrown upon the subject since he wrote, I shall refer you to his book for a particular account of them. Indeed, his account of the natural history of this country is generally to be depended upon, so that it is scarcely possible to make any improvement upon it, until farther discoveries

* This you will find mentioned in a note extracted from his book, in the preceding part of this work.

shall

shall have arisen: I therefore confine myself to such objects as he has not taken notice of, and to such as have presented themselves since he wrote, occasionally making some strictures and animadversions upon his opinions and information.

I have observed that the climate of this country is various. But, as climate is frequently different in the same parallels of latitude, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the difference between the climate on the upper parts of the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, of Kentucky and Virginia, and of Cumberland and North Carolina, which lie in nearly the same parallels one with another.

It is well known that the climate upon the Atlantic coast of America is in the extreme of heat and cold, and that it is more variable than when it was first settled by Europeans; but the winters are milder. The extremes proceed no doubt from the immense continent, that lies to the north-west, and which is interspersed with fresh water lakes. The rarefied air of the torrid zone, rushing in currents through the upper regions to the Arctic Circle, leaves a vacancy for
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the cold air, which, in supplying its place, causes those frequent chills or variations in the spring and autumn, an alternate frost, rain, and mild weather in winter, which are so common in the middle part of that country. The cold is more steady to the north of Hudson's River; but the power of the sun to the south of 41° , by counteracting the influence of the northern winds, occasions those sudden changes from heat to cold. Opening the country has greatly tended already to lessen the cold, by consequence of the greater power of the sun upon the earth; and a general cultivation, by producing a warmer atmosphere, through which the north wind passes, must tend to moderate the climate generally upon the Atlantic sea.

The greatest part of Pennsylvania lies between latitude 41° and $39^{\circ} 40'$, and should, from its situation upon the globe, be a very excellent climate; and no doubt in time it will. At present it is too subject to extremes; and by the too frequent and violent bracing, and sudden relaxation of the animal system, the elasticity of the
nerves

nerves is injured ; and thus the marks of age are visible at an earlier period in some parts of America than in others.

Farther southward the cold is less ; but as the heat is proportionally greater, the extremes are much the same quite to South Carolina. As you approach the ridge of mountains that run through America from north to south, the inhabitants look more healthy, which is the consequence of the climate being more temperate and steady.

The country on the upper parts of the Ohio, and between Pittsburg and Lake Erie, is considerably colder than Pennsylvania and Maryland, which no doubt is occasioned, in a great degree, in the former, from its proximity to the mountains ; but in a greater degree in both, from the country round them being a continual forest.

When you arrive in Kentucky you experience a greater temperature of air than in any country in which I ever travelled, Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom falling below 35 deg. in winter, nor rising above 80 in summer. The approach of the seasons

seasons is gradual. The summer continues mostly to the middle of October. The autumn, or mild weather, generally continues until Christmas, when we have some cold and frost until February; when spring approaches, and by the beginning of March several shrubs and trees begin to shoot forth their buds; by the middle of the month, the buck-eye or horse-chestnut is clad in its summer's livery; and by the middle of April the foliage of the forests is completely expanded; which is a fortnight earlier than the leaves are shot in Virginia and Maryland. Cumberland is proportionally more temperate than North Carolina, as Kentucky is to Virginia.

The rarefied air from the southern regions must be more considerable from that tract or space of the globe covered by salt water than from the countries covered with forests. Now, as almost all America may be considered as one forest, it appears to me that the vacancy occasioned by rarefaction in southern latitudes must be greater in the regions of air, both over the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, than upon the continent; and that

that the cold air from the polar circle rushes both to the south-east and south-west, and consequently the middle parts of our continent must be less subject to cold and variation, by being more out of the course of the cold winds, than the countries either upon the Atlantic or Pacific sea-coasts.

How far this theory may prove satisfactory, I can form no idea. If it is unphilosophical I hope you will treat it accordingly; it is the only way that I can account for the very great difference between the climate of this country, and that of Virginia.

Another cause for our greater temperature in summer, is, doubtless, owing to our lying so much higher. It is one continual but gradual rise from Richmond for 200 miles back. There are several risings and fallings afterwards, and several mountains in the wilderness; but I have always observed that the rise from the east to their summits, was greater than the descent west, to their base, which makes the elevation of Kentucky considerably above that of Virginia. Besides, Kentucky has no marshes or bogs, which

are very considerable in the lower parts of Virginia, and the exhaled vapours from them produce deleterious air, which appears hotter than it really is.

Mr. Jefferson's Table of average heat and cold for the different months, made from the observations of five successive years, though it furnished him with a data to estimate theoretically the climate of Virginia, can afford you no idea of its temperature. Perhaps, in some of those years, the mercury was below 0 during the winter. But when he has stated the least and greatest daily heat by Fahrenheit's thermometer for January to be from $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to 44° , you can have no conception that there can be any frost in Virginia. I do not mean to say that it is common for the mercury to fall below 0 in that country, but I mean to be understood that frost is very frequent there, and that by taking the average of the greatest heat and the greatest cold, when the extremes are so great as they are in Virginia, it is impossible for a stranger to form a just idea of its climate. Mr. Jefferson allows that the extremes are very considerable,
and

and that the mercury has been known to descend from 92 deg. to 47 in thirteen hours.

A journey to the Illinois will prevent me from writing to you again as soon as I could wish, but I shall ever remain,

Yours, &c.

L E T T E R V.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

IT is natural, I think, that you should expect by this time some account of the inhabitants, their manner of living, the mode of settling the country, the routes, distance, and mode of travelling to it, with some information respecting religion and political sentiments, and the social pleasures of the people; all of which, I am afraid, will require too much time for a letter, and therefore I beg that you will be content to receive the information in the desultory manner I shall be enabled to send it.

In some of my first letters I gave you an account of the first settlement of this country, The perturbed state of that period, and the savage state of the country, which was one entire wilderness, made the object of the first emigrants that of security and sustenance, and produced the

the scheme of several families living together in what were called Stations. These stations were a kind of quadrangular, or sometimes oblong forts, formed by building log-houses connectedly, only leaving openings for gate-ways to pass as they might have occasion. They were generally fixed in a favourable situation for water, and in a body of good land. Frequently the head of some party of connections who had a settlement and pre-emption right, seized upon these opportunities to have his land cleared, which was necessary for the support of the station; for, it was not only prudent to keep close in their forts at times, but it was also necessary to keep their horses and cows up, otherwise the Indians would carry off the horses, and shoot and destroy the cattle.

Under such circumstances, the first settlement of Kentucky was formed, which soon opened a considerable quantity of land in the county of Lincoln, which lies in the upper part of the state, and contiguous to the wilderness that ends in this delectable region.

As the country gained strength, the stations began to break up in that part of the country,

and their inhabitants to spread themselves, and settle upon their respective estates. But the embarrassment they were in for most of the conveniences of life, did not admit of their building any other houses but of logs, and of opening fields in the most expeditious way for planting the Indian corn; the only grain which was cultivated at that time.

A log-house is very soon erected*, and in consequence of the friendly disposition which exists among those hospitable people, every neighbour flew to the assistance of each other upon occasions of emergency. Sometimes they were built of round logs entirely, covered with rived ash shingles, and the interstices stopped with clay, or lime and sand, to keep out the weather. The next object was to open the land for cultivation. There is very little under-wood in any part of this country, so that by cutting up the cane, and girdling the trees, you are sure of a crop of corn. The fertility of the soil amply repays the labourer

* A house of this sort may be made as comfortable and elegant as any other kind of building; and is therefore the most convenient, as it may be erected in such a manner as to answer the circumstances of all descriptions of persons.

for his toil ; for if the large trees are not very numerous, and a large proportion of them the sugar maple, it is very likely from this imperfect cultivation, that the ground will yield from 50 to 60 bushels of corn to the acre. The second crop will be more ample ; and as the shade is removed by cutting the timber away, great part of our land will produce from 70 to 100 bushels of corn from an acre. This extraordinary fertility enables the farmer who has but a small capital to increase his wealth in a most rapid manner (I mean by wealth the comforts of life). His cattle and hogs will find sufficient food in the woods, not only for them to subsist upon, but to fatten them. His horses want no provender the greatest part of the year, except cane and wild clover ; but he may afford to feed them with corn the second year. His garden, with little attention, produces him all the culinary roots and vegetables necessary for his table ; and the prolific increase of his hogs and poultry, will furnish him the second year, without fearing to injure his stock, with a plenty of animal food ; and in three or four years his stock of cattle and sheep

will prove sufficient to supply him with both beef and mutton ; and he may continue his plan at the same time of increasing his stock of those useful animals. By the fourth year, provided he is industrious, he may have his plantation in sufficient good order to build a better house, which he can do either of stone, brick, or a framed wooden building, the principal articles of which will cost him little more than the labour of himself and domestics ; and he may readily barter or sell some part of the superfluous productions of his farm, which it will by this time afford, and procure such things as he may stand in need of for the completion of his building. Apples, peaches, pears, &c. &c. he ought to plant when he finds a soil or eligible situation to place them in, as that will not hinder, or in any degree divert, him from the object of his aggrandizement. I have taken no notice of the game he might kill, as it is more a sacrifice of time to an industrious man than any real advantage.

Such has been the progress of the settlement of this country, from dirty stations or forts, and smoky huts, that it has expanded into fertile fields,

fields, blushing orchards, pleasant gardens, luxuriant sugar groves, neat and commodious houses, rising villages, and trading towns. Ten years have produced a difference in the population and comforts of this country, which to be pourtrayed in just colours would appear marvellous. To have implicit faith or belief that such things have happened, it is first necessary to be (as I have been) a spectator of such events.

Emigrations to this country were mostly from the back parts of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina, until 1784: in which years many officers who had served in the American army during the late war came out with their families; several families came also from England, Philadelphia, New Jersey, York, and the New England States. The country soon began to be chequered after that æra with genteel men, which operated both upon the minds and actions of the back woods people, who constituted the first emigrants. A taste for the decorum and elegance of the table was soon cultivated; the pleasures of gardening were considered not only as useful but amusing. These improve-

ments in the comforts of living and manners, awakened a sense of ambition to instruct their youth in useful and accomplished arts. Social pleasures were regarded as the most inestimable of human possessions—the genius of friendship appeared to foster the emanations of virtue, while the cordial regard, and sincere desire of pleasing produced the most harmonizing effects. Sympathy was regarded as the essence of the human soul, participating of celestial matter, and as a spark engendered to warm our benevolence, and lead to the raptures of love and rational felicity.

With such sentiments our amusements flow from the interchange of civilities, and a reciprocal desire of pleasing. That sameness may not cloy, and make us dull, we vary the scene as the nature of circumstances will permit. The opening spring brings with it the prospect of our summer's labour, and the brilliant sun actively warms into life the vegetable world, which blooms and yields a profusion of aromatic odours. A creation of beauty is now a feast of joy, and to look for amusements beyond this genial torrent
of

of sweets, would be a perversion of nature, and a sacrilege against heaven.

The season of sugar-making occupies the women, whose mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking bird, the tuneful song of the thrush, and the gaudy plumage of the parroquet.—Festive mirth crowns the evening.—The business of the day being over, the men join the women in the sugar groves, where enchantment seems to dwell.—The lofty trees wave their spreading branches over a green turf, on whose soft down the mildness of the evening invites the neighbouring youth to sportive play; while our rural Nestors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyish gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthusiasm forget there are such things as decrepitude and misery. Perhaps a convivial song or a pleasant narration closes the scene.

Rational pleasures meliorate the soul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that sordid avarice and vicious habits are to be destroyed.

Gardening

Gardening and fishing constitute some part of the amusements of both sexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the studies of our ladies; and the embellishment of their houses with those which are known to be salutary, constitute a part of their employment.—Domestic cares and music fill up the remainder of the day, and social visits without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or disgust. Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have separate amusements; and thus it is that we find that suavity and politeness of manners universal, which can only be effected by feminine polish.

The autumn and winter produces not less pleasure. Evening visits mostly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or disseminate information in the disquisition of politics, or some useful art of science.

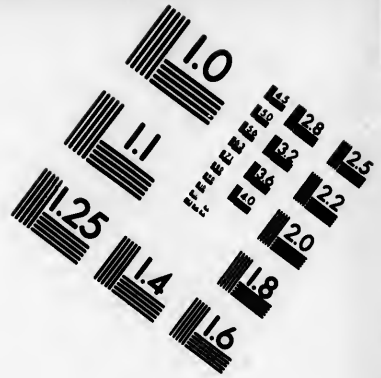
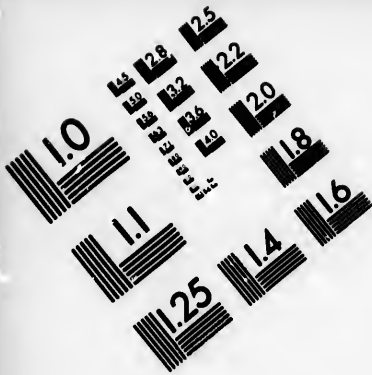
Such are the amusements of this country, which have for their basis hospitality, and all the variety of good things that a luxuriant soil is capable of producing, without the alloy of that

that distress of misery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and spirits distilled from corn and the juice of the sugar tree mixed with water, constitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drunk prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumstance, as it will be an additional spur to us to cultivate the vine.

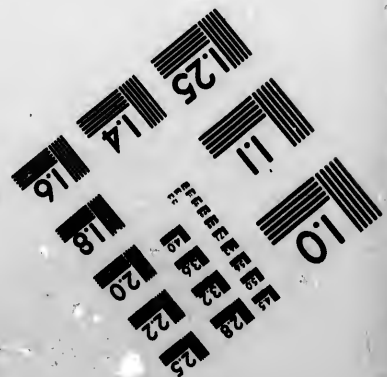
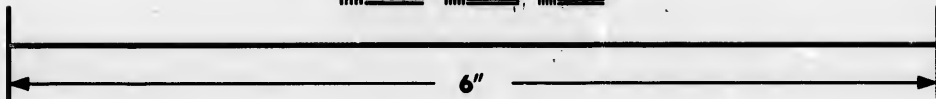
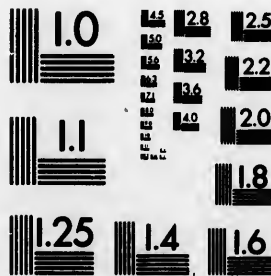
The routes from the different Atlantic States to this country are various, as may be supposed. From the northern States it is through the upper parts of Pennsylvania to Pittsburg, and then down the river Ohio. The distance from Philadelphia to Pittsburg is nearly three hundred miles. From Lancaster about two hundred and thirty. The route through Redstone and by Pittsburg, both from Maryland and Virginia, is the most eligible, provided you have much baggage; except you go from the southern and back counties of Virginia; then your best and most expeditious way is through the wilderness. From Baltimore, passing Old Town upon the Potowmac, and by Cumberland Fort, Braddock's road, to Redstone Old Fort on the Monongahala,

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is about two hundred and forty miles ; and from Alexandria to the same place, by Winchester Old Town, and then the same route across the mountain, is about two hundred and twenty miles. This last must be the most eligible for all Europeans who may wish to travel to this country, as the distance by land is shorter, the roads better, and the accomodations good ; *i. e.* they are very good to Old Town, which is one hundred and forty miles from Alexandria, and from thence to Redstone comfortable, and plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts : the road over the mountain is rather rough, but nowhere in the least difficult to pass.

Travellers or emigrants take different methods of transporting their baggage, goods, or furniture, from the places they may be at to the Ohio, according to circumstances, or their object in coming to the country. For instance, if a man is travelling only for curiosity, or has no family or goods to remove, his best way would be to purchase horses, and take his route through the Wilderness ; but provided he has a family, or goods of any sort to remove, his best way, then, would

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would be to purchase a waggon and team of horses to carry his property to Redstone Old Forte, or to Pittsburg, according as he may come from the northern or southern States. A good Waggon will cost, at Philadelphia, about 10l. (I shall reckon every thing in sterling money for your greater convenience), and the horses about 12l. each; they would cost something more both at Baltimore and Alexandria. The waggon may be covered with canvass, and, if it is the choice of the people, they may sleep in it at nights with the greatest safety. But if they should dislike that, there are inns of accommodation the whole distance on the different roads. To allow the horses a plenty of hay and corn would cost about 1s. *per diem*, each horse; supposing you purchase your forage in the most economical manner, *i. e.* of the farmers, as you pass along, from time to time as you may want it, and carry it in your waggon; and not of inn-keepers, who must have their profits. The provisions for the family I would purchase in the same manner; and by having two or three camp kettles, and stopping every evening when the weather is fine upon the
brink

brink of some rivulet, and by kindling a fire, they may soon dress their food. There is no impediment to these kind of things, it is common, and may be done with the greatest security; and I would recommend all persons who wish to avoid expence, as much as possible to adopt this plan. True, the charges at inns on those roads are remarkably reasonable, but I have mentioned those particulars as there are many unfortunate people in the world, to whom the saving of every shilling is an object; and as this manner of journeying is so far from being disagreeable, that in a fine season it is extremely pleasant.

Provisions in those countries are very cheap: beef, mutton, and pork, are something less than 2d. per lb.; dunghill fowls are from 4d. to 6d. each; duck 8d.; geese and turkeys, 1s. 3d.; butter, 3d.; cheese, I will say nothing about, as there is very little good until you arrive in Kentucky. Flour is about 12s. 6d. per cwt.

The best way is to carry their tea and coffee from the place they may set out at; good green tea will be from 4s. 6d. to 6s. per lb.; sou-chong

chong from 3s. to 5s. ; coffee will cost from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. per lb. ; loaf sugar from $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $10\frac{1}{2}$ d. But I would not recommend their carrying much sugar, for as the back country is approached, the maple sugar is in abundance, and may be bought from 3d. to 6d. per lb. Such are the expences to be incurred in travelling to this country by Redstone and Pittsburg.

The distance which one of those waggons may travel one day with another is little short of twenty miles. So that it will be a journey from Alexandria to Redstone Old Fort of eleven or twelve days, from Baltimore a day or two longer, and from Philadelphia to Pittsburg I should suppose it would require nearly twenty days ; as the roads are not so good as from the two former places.

From these prices the expence of removing a family, from either of the sea ports I have mentioned, to the Ohio, may be computed with tolerable exactitude.

The best time for setting out for this country from any of the Atlantic ports, is the latter end of either September or April. The autumn is

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perhaps

perhaps the most eligible of the two; as it is most likely that the roads across the mountain will be drier, and provisions and forage are then both more plentiful and cheap than in the spring.

If this mode should not suit the convenience of the party, by reason of their not wanting a waggon or horses when they arrive in this country, they may have their goods brought out to Redstone Old Fort from Alexandria for 12s. per cwt. and in like proportion from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

At Redstone Old Fort, or Pittsburg, they can either buy a boat, which will cost them about 5s. per ton, or freight their goods to Kentucky for about 1s. per cwt. There is no regular business of this sort; but as there are always boats coming down the river, 1s. per cwt. is the common charge for freight. But more frequently when there is boat room to spare, it is given to such as are not able to purchase a boat, or have not a knowledge of the navigation. However, that is a business which requires no skill, and there are always numbers of people coming

ing down, who will readily conduct a boat for the sake of a passage.

The distance from Philadelphia* by land to Kentucky is between seven and eight hundred miles; from Baltimore nearly seven hundred; nearly six hundred from Alexandria; and upwards of five hundred from Richmond. The roads and accommodations are tolerably good to the borders of the Wilderness; through which it is hardly possible for a carriage to pass, great part of the way being over high and steep hills, upon the banks of the rivers and along defiles, which in some places seem to threaten you at every step with danger †. This is the only route the people coming from the upper parts of Virginia and North Carolina can take at present to get into

* The distances in the settled parts only can be computed with any degree of exactitude; but from the best information that can be collected, from the Rapids of the Ohio to Santa Fé is about 1000 miles, and from thence to the city of Mexico about 1500.

The computed distance between New Orleans and Mexico is something short of 2000 miles, and about the same to Santa Fé.

† This road has been considerably improved, and a post now passes weekly through it from Philadelphia to Kentucky.

the country; the gap of Cumberland mountain being the only place it can be passed without the greatest difficulty. The opening the Tenasee will afford a convenient communication with the Mississippi. The Wilderness, which was formerly two hundred miles through, without a single habitation, is reduced from the settlement of Powel's Valley to nearly one half of that distance; and it is to be expected that in a few years more that the remainder of the distance will afford settlements for the accommodation of people travelling that route; when a good road may be made quite to Kentucky. The canals I have spoken of, which are cutting on the Potowmac*, and the removal of the obstructions in Cheat River, will render the passage from Alexandria, or the federal city, to the Ohio, both cheap and easy.

Upon the arrival of emigrants in the country they generally take a view of that part in which it is their object to settle, and according to their

* There are two considerable falls in the Potowmac, one about twelve miles above Alexandria, the other nearly thirty, and when these canals are completed, which most probably will be the latter end of 1793, its navigation will be carried quite into the Allegany mountains.

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circumstances or calling fix upon such a situation as may appear eligible for their business. But as the greater proportion of the emigrants who come to this country are husbandmen, I shall only take notice of their manner of proceeding and settling a farm. Land is to be purchased in every part of the country: the prices are various according to the improvements there may be upon it, its quality, and local situation; the general price of land, with some improvements, is from 12s. to 15s. per acre. Plantations, with orchards and other improvements, may be purchased from 1l. to 1l. 5s. per acre; good land, without improvements, may be purchased from 1s. 6d. to 8s. per ditto, which price will be according to its rate or quality and situation.

Remember, I take notice only of the settled country, as I apprehend no European would be hardy enough to form a settlement in a wilderness, which will be left for the Americans, who, no doubt, from habit, are best qualified for that sort of business. Indeed, there is a number of people who have so long been in the custom of

removing farther and farther back as the country becomes settled, for the sake of hunting, and what they call range for their cattle, which is that of their feeding upon the natural grass, that they seem unqualified for any other kind of life. This is favourable to the settling a wild and infant country; and no doubt this disposition will last (with some) as long as there is left a wilderness in America. It is however certain, this is advantageous to society, which will be bettered, and not injured, by such peculiar habits, so long as they have new countries to people: for, this adventurous spirit tends to accelerate the propagation of domestic animals of every sort.

Persons of moderate fortune, upon taking possession of the land they intend to form into a plantation, procure such stock as their circumstances will admit, and the extent of their object requires.

Let us suppose an industrious man already provided with the necessary tools for his agricultural employment, and a little money to buy stock. In such a situation, after building his house in the
manner

manner I have mentioned, which will cost him little more than his labour, he should procure some dunghill fowls, a cow, and a breeding sow. The fowls will produce eggs for his family, the cow milk and butter, if she is well taken care of; and the sow will produce two, if not three, litters of pigs within the year. These animals are very prolific in this climate and soil; and it is not a sanguine calculation to suppose the sow will have eight or ten pigs at each litter; by which means the family will have pork sufficient for the next year; and the year after they may barter bacon for beef and mutton, which I will conclude their circumstances have not permitted them, as yet, to purchase. His labour will have provided him with corn before this time, and in the extension of his plantation, and the increase of his cow and hogs, his difficulties will be over, and a few years of industry and perseverance will make him a man of property. The increasing ratio of stock is prodigious, where provision for them costs so little as it does here, and where the fertility of the soil is so wonderful. His fowls will cost about three-pence each, his breed-

ing sow about five shillings, and his cow, if a very good one, of 4 cwt. and upwards, will cost him from thirty to forty shillings.

I have hitherto supposed this industrious man not in circumstances to enable him to use horses and plough, but obliged to hoe his corn; the only difficulty of which will be the preparing the ground for the seed. According to this imperfect cultivation I will conclude that his crop of corn will not be more than 30 bushels to the acre. Now an industrious man making a settlement in the autumn would be able to open three acres of land, in the manner I have related, before the time of planting, which will be in April or May; indeed, as late as June will answer; so that he may take advantage of this favourable circumstance, and, by planting at different periods, he will be better enabled to cultivate his crop, as it will not all require his attendance at the same time. Allowing half an acre for vegetables and pulse, and the yield of his labour will be 75 bushels of corn. Admitting then that he has a wife and two children, I will allow one half of this corn for their year's support, which,
with

with the animal food his stock will afford him, and vegetables, will constitute a comfortable living. The other half he may sell, and purchase those artificial necessaries his family may want. The second autumn and winter he may open two acres more, and put the other three into better condition; one of which should be sown with flax or hemp seed, in order to give employment to his wife, and to provide linen for domestic uses. His crop of corn the second year, with the extended and improved cultivation, will not be short of 125 bushels. The surplus quantity of this year's crop will go a great way towards purchasing a horse and plough; and as the third crop will be more ample, he will then find himself comfortable and independent. I have all long supposed this farmer to have made prompt payment for every thing that he has wanted, which is seldom asked from an industrious man who is anxious to provide for his family. Such a man may not only have credit for horses and cattle, but even for the land; and in a very little time, with industry, he may pay the whole off. I have taken no notice

tice of the taxes he will have to pay, as it is most likely they would not, all together, amount to five shillings.

Provisions of every sort are both plenty and cheap in this country. Flour is from 6s. to 9s. per cwt. according to its quality. Indian corn is from 9d. to 1s. per bushel. Beef is from 1½d. to 2d. per lb. Veal, 2½d. per ditto. Mutton, 3d. ditto; which high price is owing to the general desire the farmers have to increase their stocks. Pork is from 2d. to 2½d. per lb. Bacon, from 3½d. to 4d. Bacon hams, from 4d. to 5½d. Salt beef, 2d. Hung or dried beef, 3d. Neats tongues, 6d. each. Buffalo ditto, which are a most delicious morsel, 9d. Dung-hill fowls, ducks, Muscovy ditto, geese, turkeys, Guinea fowls, and pigeons, are proportionally cheap. Butter is from 2½d. to 3½d. per lb. Cheese from 2d. to 3d. per ditto.

We have a variety of fish in our rivers; the most esteemed of which are the perch, trout, buffalo fish, and soft turtle. The perch is in size from 5 to 12 lb. is firm and fat in its season, which is from February until July, and is
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equal to any salt water fish I ever tasted. The trout is caught from 8 to 30 lb. weight. This fish is too universally known and admired to require any account of its excellence, particularly as the trout in England is the exact miniature of ours. The buffalo fish is in size from 4 to 8 lb. is a very fine fish, but inferior to the two former. But the soft turtle is, perhaps, the most delicious fish in the world, and amply compensates for our having no other testaceous fish. This turtle is gelatinous, except a small shell upon its back, about the bigness of the palm of the hand. The weight is from 6 to 10 lb.

Most people make their own sugar; but when it is sold, the price is from 3d. to 4½d. per lb. according to its fineness. The business of sugar refining is only commencing, which makes it impossible to say exactly what will be the general price of loaf or refined sugar; but I conclude it will be proportionally low with raw sugar, as the business can be carried on in this country at less expence than in Philadelphia and York, where the price of the necessaries of life is so much higher. Tea, coffee, chocolate, and
spices,

spices, are something higher here than in Philadelphia. Good green tea is from 5s. to 8s. per lb. Imperial or gunpowder, 10s. 6d. Pearl and schoulong from 12s. to 16s. Good fouchong from 4s. 6d. to 7s. per ditto. Bohea from 2s. to 3s. 6d. Coffee, from 1s. 9d. to 2s. Chocolate, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. Spices are mostly 25 per cent. higher than they are at Philadelphia or Baltimore.

I have entered into several minutiaë, in order that you may have a more clear idea of the people and situation of this country. I have not aimed so much at being agreeable, as to convey information.

In a country in the zenith of the perfection of arts, and one just removing the shade of savage wildness, the contrast appears, I know, greater to an European than it really is. We have more of simplicity, and you more of art.---We have more of nature, and you more of the world. Nature formed our features and intellects very much alike; but while you have metamorphosed the one, and contaminated the other, we preserve the natural symbols of both. You have
more

more hypocrisy—we are sincere. You are more cunning and adroit, which your laws and habits have rendered part of your natures. We are not so stupid as to not see through the veil; but when an European does us the honour to visit us, we have both too much hospitality and suavity of manners to inform them they have neither sentiments nor religion. A few years residence with us teaches them that important truth, and self-conviction is always the most lasting.

However, a delineation of the laws, and substance of the opinions, which our new code will contain, will give you a better conception of our moral and political sentiments, and their probable duration; and with hopes that an early opportunity will present itself to forward my letter upon that subject, I shall take my leave of you for the present, my dear friend, with wishing you every possible felicity. Farewell.

I am,

With the utmost regard and esteem,

Yours, &c.

J. E. T.

L E T T E R VIII,

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY,

OUR laws and government have for their basis the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. Liberty, security of person and property, resistance against oppression, doing whatever does not injure another, a right to concur, either personally or by our representatives in the formation of laws, and an equal chance of arriving to places of honour, reward, or employment, according to our virtues or talents, constitute those rights. These are the principles of our constitution; and laws grafted upon these simple but substantial principles, and a system of legal jurisprudence organized, and acting accordingly, forms the essence of our government. Whenever the government swerves materially from these fundamental principles, the compact is dissolved, and things revert to a co-equal state.

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Thus, by this plain definition of the nature of laws and government, every capacity, and every individual of the community, can judge with precision of the purity of legislation; which produces the most entire conviction in the minds of all men, of the necessity there is of acting in every instance according to the code of reason and truth. Every man is equally concerned in the welfare and prosperity of his country; his own felicity can only be co-existent with it; and to suffer his ambition to run counter to the general weal would be madness in an enlightened commonwealth, as it could only tend to produce his own eternal disgrace or ruin, where the genius of freedom is enthroned in the heart of every citizen.

Europe has long been enslaved by forms and authorities; and, while its multifarious laws and customs have served only to perplex professional men, the sophistry employed in expounding them has completely bewildered the imaginations of its citizens, and produced an obscurity of ideas upon the subject of jurisprudence and government, which is truly deplorable. There is an old adage which says, " That too much learning
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" makes a man a fool." The pandects, and civil law, added to the barbarous codes of the ancestors of men in your hemisphere, have tended not a little to embarrass the minds of men; for after a life devoted to the study and investigation of absurdity, the miserable student has generally found one foot in the grave before he has been able to discover the impossibility of obtaining the object of his pursuit.

Religion, or what you call an establishment, has had its share in rivetting the fetters of ignorance. The elucidation of truth has been retarded by the tyranny of the church; for while *priests have been the pedagogues of religion, morals, sentiments, and politics*, their interested views have been the cause of their flattering that government, whose interest it was to keep the people ignorant, as it secured to them the undisturbed division of the spoils of the industry of the great bulk of your citizens, while they were offering an indignity as gross to the Deity as their system was unnatural and unjust. What can be a greater supererogation, than presuming to arraign or judge of the sentiments of men, the propriety of which

which is to be determined before a tribunal in heaven? It is an insult too gross to merit a comment. It has been subversive of all good morals, by affording a veil to cover the hypocrisy of the most designing knaves.

You must excuse this digression; I have made it for a subject of reflection for you, that your mind may be prepared to judge impartially of a system so very simple, as that upon which the fabric of our government acts. It was first necessary to shew the cause which has produced that mystery you reverence as wisdom; but which is absolutely founded in perplexity of opinion and ignorance; or to give you a clue to reflections that may develop its fallacy.

Every man who is taxed or rated has a vote in the appointment of the representatives of the State; which consist of two houses, i. e. the House of Delegates and the Senate, who chuse a President, or Governor, for one year. The Governor chuses his own council to advise with him in all public matters. It is not immediately necessary that the legislature should approve of his appointments; but to prevent the possibility of the

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exercise of prodigality and contumely, they have reserved to themselves the privilege of objecting to such characters for his advisers who have not the public approbation; which has the good effect of producing harmony between the government and the people—of obliging men who aspire to the honours of their country to respect the public opinion; and it prevents the prostitution of principle, by interdicting the pernicious consequences of favouritism; while no ill can flow from this negative, as it is not to be presumed that the collected sentiments of a whole state can ever be prejudiced against an individual; and it is impossible for the minds of the legislature to be warped against their President, without sufficient grounds. The very idea is a solecism in reason.

Mr. Jefferson, speaking of the government of Virginia, complains, that the senate, by its constitution, is too homogeneous with the house of delegates (our senate is elected and constituted in the same manner as the senate of Virginia), because they are chosen by the same electors, at the same time, and out of the same citizens; and

and therefore he says, the choice falls upon the same description of men. It is not exactly thus, though it is liable to be so. The manner of nominating the representatives of every country should be as general as possible. Government is a compact entered into by every community for the security of the happiness and prosperity of the State; every member of which is one of the aggregate body of that State; therefore laws ought to emanate from the sentiments of the people.

The wisdom of having two houses of representatives is, that they may be a mutual check upon each other; and it is expected that the experience and collected wisdom of the senate, who are a less active body than the house of delegates, will more maturely weigh the probable consequences of any act, and prevent, by their suspension, any pernicious effects that might result from its passing into a law; or, by giving time to the house of assembly, they may correct their own errors.

If the senate has not always been chosen of men of the greatest experience, is has no doubt originated from the ignorance of its political institution;

stitution; but that is no argument against the policy of the system. It requires time for every government to acquire its proper tone, and the people must become familiar with that tone, before they can make a proper use of the instrument. At any rate, Mr. Jefferson's opinion appears to me premature; for if it is necessary to have two houses of representatives, clearly they ought to be elected by the people. As to their being elected at the same time, and from the same description of men, this can signify very little, as it adds to the number of representatives, and consequently there is a more general consent to the legislation. However, our senate will be chosen for three years, and the house of delegates will be elected annually; and it appears to me, that the people will not only soon discover the object of its political institution, but will carry it into effect. They have only to discover the wisdom of choosing men of experience for the senate, to make it a general practice; and it most certainly is better to have the system thus open, than by confining the eligibility of a senator to the restriction of a particular age, as that would
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not only be an encroachment upon the liberties of the citizens, but it would frequently deprive us of the exercise of useful and splendid talents, which might have an opportunity of obtaining a seat in the senate, when he could not in the house of delegates by consequence of the greater popularity of the delegates of the district or county to which he might belong.

The President of the State is chosen annually, and eligible for the successive years; after which he must remain out of office three years before he can become again eligible. He has a negative voice upon all acts, in consequence of which every usurpation is prevented from being surreptitiously practised upon the people by the two houses of assembly; and thus a check is given to any inconsiderate step or impetuosity of the legislature, until the sense of the people can be made known, and measures taken accordingly. The President is, besides, the guardian of the police of the State, has the power, with the advice of his council, to pardon criminals, and by proclamation governs or corrects the influence of all extraneous cases:

Such is the organization of our legislative power, which originated from a convention of the people, and may be altered, improved, or amended, by another convention of the same kind, whenever its practice proves its imperfection or deficiency. Thus it is, that in the progression of philosophy and politics, as well as in arts, and the appropriation of experimental truths, the perfection of government is to be ascertained.

All the powers of government revert to the people, and they ought to revert to them; the judiciary having been reserved to them through the medium of juries. The legislative they intrust to their representatives who are essentially the same; and the executive emanates from the legislature, so that the whole are ultimately responsible to the people. The executive to the representatives, and the representatives to their constituents.

Such is the influence of education and habit that Mr. Jefferson, who has given every possible proof of his attachment to liberty, although educated when aristocratical opinions were common,

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mon, says this is "precisely the definition of despotic government," and he adds, "that it can prove no alleviation that the powers will be exercised by a plurality of hands, and not by a single one," and then he triumphantly begs, "those who doubt it, to turn their eyes on the Republic of Venice." When he wrote this part of his notes, he seems to have been of the opinion of Mr. Burke (whose paradoxical book has found its way out here), when he remarked "that government was a contrivance of human wisdom." Otherwise I am at a loss to conceive how he could compare a government acting upon the unalienable privileges, and the light of reason, to a dark aristocracy which has rivetted upon the minds of their citizens the most diabolical superstition, and who have no more chance of judging of the polity of their senate, than they have capacity: but spread the rays of philosophy and truth among the Venetians, and then, if their tyrants practise the same despotism with impunity, I will allow that Mr. Jefferson's parallel is just. Yet such arguments would deserve nothing but contempt, were not their

author respectable for his cardinal virtues, as well as for the career he bore in the glorious struggles for American independence. However it is a lamentable consideration that men of talents and genius, who have acquired celebrity among the friends of freedom, should, by vainly circulating their crude sentiments, retard the progress of reason.

What mystery can there be either in politics or religion? Laws founded upon the rights of men, and executed with precision, of which every capacity is adequate to judge, constitute the perfection of the science of government. It is the creation of a distinction of powers, with views to interest, which infallibly leads to the obscurity of the human mind; a distinction to be avoided as much as possible, for the purpose of leaving in the hands of the people or their agents the whole powers of government. What fear of a bad administration is to be apprehended, when it is the interest of every individual to continue the guardian of his country's prosperity? It is promoting a distinction when there is none; and by creating a jealousy of power, a real
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and growing evil is produced, when the danger was only imaginary. What interest, but that of the public, can a legislature have in making the executive part of the government responsible to them? What possible danger or inconvenience can flow from such responsibility in an enlightened State? The maxims of reason and ignorance are different.

The idea which Mr. Jefferson makes use of in another part of his book, that the assembly may assume "all the powers legislative, executive, and judiciary, and that these may come to the smallest rag of delegation" is perfectly nugatory. The judiciary power the people never parted with entirely, and the executive by the agents of the representatives, qualified to judge of the laws and nature of our particular constitution, is not only a custom, but forms a part of the government. It is one of the springs by which the harmony of the system is preserved; and should it at any time be destroyed, it is the people who are to rectify the abuse. They are the potential fountain of all power; and it is only necessary

sary for them and their agents to know this, in order to prevent every danger of the wheels of government being clogged and impeded by the destruction of any one of its essential springs.

The legislature is not only unqualified for a tribunal to judge of its own laws from the plurality of its numbers, but it is impossible that it could have any object of tyranny in view, when men are familiar with their own rights! and I beg to know what motive, in common sense, could suggest the idea of embarrassing government by mutilating one of its branches? Or is it possible that Mr. Jefferson, when he said under this system, the assembly might "assume all the powers of government," could mean, that as the executive power emanated from the legislature, it was liable to be suborned, or under the controul of the representatives of the State? This idea appears indeed too childish ever to have entered into the head of even an indifferent statesman: the executive agents of a government being independent in their appointments of every power but the laws, are
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no more liable to be controuled by the legislature, than by any other power which might appoint them.

Kentucky is divided into counties in like manner as the other States, which are similar to the counties in England. It has been the crude practice hitherto, that each county should have two delegates, and one senator to represent them, without any regard to the number of suffrages they contained. This imperfect system will be changed by our amended plan as soon as it can be finished, and a *census* taken of the inhabitants; and every county will then have its number of representatives in proportion to its population—which seems to be the only consistent delegation. However, our old system as yet has not produced any bad effects; and as the fluctuations of the populations of the counties were very great, perhaps an attempt at a more exact equality would have been premature.

It is when the local interest of a State becomes different or various, that this partial representation is liable to abuse of privileges; but,
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for that reason it ought to be remedied in every State as early as possible.

In every county magistrates, or justices of the peace, are appointed by the people, but commissioned by the Governor or President: they act without reward. Their number is in proportion to the population of their district, and they are nominated from time to time as the inhabitants increase, or a vacancy happens from death, or any other cause; or as their ministry may be required. The most discreet and respectable men for integrity and knowledge are promoted to this office.

If it should happen that an ignorant person were to acquire popularity sufficient to secure his nomination to the office of a justice of the peace, the Governor is not obliged to commission him: thus, if the people should be ignorant, they are obliged to stand upon their guard, and from this vigilance springs the activity of investigation.

These magistrates have jurisdiction both criminal and civil. If the question be of law only, they decide on it themselves; but if it be of fact,

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or fact and law combined, it must be referred to a jury : the jurors decide the fact, and refer the law arising on it to the decision of the judges. However, this division of the subject lies with their discretion only ; and if the question relate to a point of public liberty, or if the judges are suspected of partiality, the jury undertake to decide both law and fact, which obliges judges to be regular, prompt, and just.

When laws are simple, and understood, it is certainly better to leave the decision of a legal question to twelve upright men, than to the arbitrary fiat of interested or prejudiced judges. But it is by this poise, or balance of power, between the jurors and judges, that fair and equitable administration is secured.

The magistrates execute their process by the sheriff, or by constables. If any person commit an offence against the State, if it be below the degree of felony, he is bound by a magistrate to appear before their court to answer it on indictment or information. If the offence amount to felony, he is committed to prison, a court of magistrates is called, and if on examination they find him guilty,

guilty, he is sent to the general court prison, before which court he is to be tried by a jury of twenty-four, thirteen of whom must concur in opinion ; if they find him guilty, he is then tried by a jury of twelve of his own county where he offended, and by their verdict (which must be unanimous) he is acquitted or condemned without appeal. The Governor has the power to pardon, except in case of treason, in which case the right resides in the General Assembly. Such do we conceive to be the value of the life of every citizen, that we afford him every possible chance of proving his innocence.

In civil matters, if the value in dispute be less than twenty shillings, a single magistrate may try it at any time and place within his county, and may award execution on the goods of the party cast. If it be of that, or greater value, it must be determined before the county court, when the quorum of magistrates must be four at least ; for which purpose, county courts must be holden some day in every month, in the court-house of the different counties. From these determinations, if the value be more than 10*l.* or

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concern the boundaries of land, there lies an appeal to one of the superior courts. It is optional with the party who brings the action, if the demand is above 10l. to bring it either in the county, or general court.

We have two superior courts. The high court of chancery, and the general court. Both receive appeals from the county courts, and also have original jurisdiction, where the value is above 10l. or where the dispute is concerning land. The high court of chancery is composed of three judges; the general court of five. The chancery holds its sessions twice a year, at stated periods. The general court sessions are quarterly; twice a year for civil and criminal, and twice for criminal only. There is also a supreme court called the Court of Appeals, composed of the judges of the two superior courts, which assembles twice a year also, at stated times, at the capital of the State. This court receives appeals in all cases from each of the superior courts, and determines them finally. This court has no original jurisdiction.—Thus far we have followed the model and practice of Virginia. We
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have no court of admiralty, nor have we completed our system of jurisprudence; but I will endeavour to give you the outlines or principles which will constitute its basis.

The first object of every free government is security of person and property; which is called Freedom. Without such a preservation there can be no pure liberty. Under such a government, every citizen has a right to do whatever does not injure another. The hinge of security in a civilized state is the security of property; but, in the security given to property, it is necessary that care should be taken not to endanger the liberty of even one of the citizens of a state. For the preservation of personal liberty, some safeguard should be kept, provided by law, both upon the designing and unsuspecting, in order to avoid the great inconveniences that have flowed from knavery and credulity, as well in most of the United States as in Europe. Prisons and dungeons have been perverted into both asylums for rapine and fraud, and into cells of solitary misery and wretchedness, which have in no degree checked the career of dissipation and

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prodigality, or produced more industry or care, and while the resentment of disappointed avarice has been glutted in the fury of revenge, the world has lost much of the talents and ingenuity of some of its most valuable citizens. Laws should be calculated to prevent distress from intemperance and folly, and the commission of crimes, as much as possible. Creditors ought to be made cautious in their security, and when they have trusted beyond a certain sum, or have not taken proper precautions, they should be liable to lose the debt. This would necessarily make the parties prudent, and so far from being injurious to trade, it would prevent many inconveniences which result from hasty dealings and insufficient security. Habit and custom act as powerfully in business as in any thing else. Men would soon acquire this sure way of dealing, and thereby their property would be preserved, and the liberty and talents of every citizen made useful to the state. Every man who lives within his income, and makes prompt payment for what he purchases, is known to be a more valuable member of society than a man who is ir-

regular and uncertain in his payments ; and it is the rapid circulation of money in the common affairs of life, which tends to lower the price of its necessaries as effectually, as the frequent returns in commerce tend to accumulate the capital employed. Laws may be made of this sort, I am sure, to regulate the transactions of men, without injuring commerce in the least ; on the contrary, it would render it more profitable, vigorous, and extensive. Liberty, and the rights of men, have been shamefully profaned under the crude idea of the aggrandisement of commerce. The fallacy of old errors will moulder away under the radiance of Philosophy, and man must look back with indignation at the sacrilege which has sullied his rank and dignity as a human being. Examine the catalogue of the poor and unfortunate debtors who have miserably endured the tortures of cold, hunger, and sickness, in a dungeon, lost to their family and friends, prevented from a possibility of obtaining the necessary means to cancel their penal obligations, and left to brood over the calamities to which the follies of a sanguine youth, bad education,

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cation, and pernicious laws, have reduced them, and which had encouraged them in the career of vice, and punished them in the hour of despair and mortification; and you must be insensible indeed not to deprecate that degradation which indigested, inhuman, and impolitic institutions have produced in every part of the world. These are the sentiments of many of our legislators, and from such opinions, I flatter myself, we shall afford testimony sufficient that prisons are unnecessary, except for homicides and traitors, who ought to be tried as immediately as the nature of the case would admit. It is the certainty of punishment, and the terror of instantly suffering, that deter men from the commission of those crimes where the conscience is concerned. It is our nature to look at every thing which is remote with indifference; but proximity excites some sensations of joy or fear in the hearts of the most callous.

It is a cruel mortification to the progeny or family of any man who has disgraced his memory by murder, treason, or any other crime, against either the laws of God or the State; and

it is a lamentable consideration in human affairs, that it should be necessary to make examples which are so degrading to the dignity of our natures. Should we then offer insult to misfortune, and reduce to beggary the innocent offspring or connections of an offending culprit? Surely not. The State is the tutelary guardian of its citizens, the protector of innocence, the promoter of felicity and prosperity, the avenger of wrongs; and not the spoiler of comfort, and the tyrant of humanity. For these reasons, neither murder, treason, or any other crime, ought to rob the family of the property of the offender by forfeiture of lands and goods to the State.

Malefactors, such as have been guilty of petty treason, manslaughter, sodomy, maiming, disfiguring, counterfeiting money, robbery, burglary, house-breaking, horse-stealing, grand larceny, petty larceny, &c. &c. should be condemned to labour for the State during such a length of time as would be proportionable to the crimes they had committed, which should be defined by law; and in case it should be found from experience that this system did not tend to deter
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from the commission of crimes, and was productive of other bad effects, it would then be time enough to introduce more rigorous measures. It is however certain, that as yet the system in question has not had sufficient time to be experienced in its full effects in those States that have introduced it in part. But so far as a judgment can be formed, it is reasonable to expect the most salutary consequences from such humane measures. Our criminal code will be established upon these lenient principles. Our laws respecting foreigners will be founded on the broad basis of hospitality, and the friendly principle, that the world ought to be governed as one great family. Respecting marriage and succession, more conformably to the laws of nature, than the laws of Europe:—women are permitted to enjoy all the privileges, and all that protection, to which reason and delicacy entitle them. It is upon similar principles that property is distributed in an equal and consistent manner; and that a father is not suffered to disinherit a child, except he can make it appear to a court of justice, that he is radically vicious; and even then, such a de-

religion must be coerced with considerations pointed out by the law.

Such are the collected sentiments of the people upon the subject of law and government ; and we have the satisfaction to know they are analogous to the opinions of a wise and judicious European author, whose virtues and superior good sense have given them a consequence in your own nation, which does him the highest honour ; and therefore I will quote from him to conclude this letter, which will shew that the sentiments of enlightened men, upon the subject of freedom and government, differ in no respect from the simple ideas of men who have no guide but reason and common sense.

“ The true interest of the people, then, is to be subject to a legislation, which, while it respects the enjoyments of the rights of mankind, is solely intent upon procuring it ; and which, faithful to the principles of an enlightened reason, seeks only the surest and simplest means of obtaining this end.—Whatever be the form of government to which the people are subjected, a free commerce, an unrestrained industry, civil laws
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distinguished for their simplicity, criminal laws for their justice and humanity, founded upon the nature of man, and of society, and deduced from these principles by reason, ought to be every where the same."——Farewell.

Yours, &c.

LETTER IX.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

I HAD the pleasure of receiving, within these two days, your favour, dated the 24th of August last, and admire the virtue and humanity of those of your citizens you mention to have left off the use of West India produce, in consequence of your parliament not having adopted any mode of effecting the abolition of the slave trade.

The little pamphlet you did me the favour to send with your packet, addressed to the people of Great Britain on that subject, with observations upon the situation of the unfortunate Africans enslaved, contains the purest sentiments of benevolence, and the most rational ideas, and it is written with a precision which does the highest honour to the author's head, as well as to his heart.

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and trampled upon the sacred privileges of man, at the very moment that we were exclaiming against the tyranny of your ministry ; but in contending for the birth-right of freedom, we have learned to feel for the bondage of others ; and, in the libations we offer to the fair goddess of Liberty, we contemplate an emancipation of the slaves of this country, as honourable to themselves, as it will be glorious to us.

I have been ashamed, in reading Mr. Jefferson's book, to see, from one of the most enlightened and benevolent of my countrymen, the disgraceful prejudices he entertains against the unfortunate negroes. But if he has given Europeans a flagrant proof of his prejudices, he has afforded common sense an opportunity of judging from his paradoxes, that such cannot be the general sentiments of the people of America.

In the revision of a code of laws proposed for the State of Virginia, it was recommended to emancipate all slaves born after passing the act, who were to be brought up, at the public expence, to different vocations, until females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age ;

age; when they should be colonized to such place as circumstances should render most proper, giving them arms, implements, &c. &c. to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them their alliance and protection, until they should have acquired strength and power equal to self-protection.

Concerning which measure, Mr. Jefferson says, "It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the blacks?" He then attempts to give reasons to prove why it would be impolitic; by alleging that the deep-rooted prejudices of the whites, and the recollection of past injuries by the blacks, would be productive of continual feuds, which would probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race.

To such objections, which he calls political, he says, "may be added others, which are moral and physical." I will observe upon his *political* opinions first. The great charge such a business would be to that State, would necessarily tend to procrastinate its execution, and perhaps render abortive the whole design, by making it necessary to relinquish an object which the finances

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of the government would not admit of being carried into execution; and thus a most odious tyranny would be prolonged. Besides, what could be so impolitic, in such a country as Virginia, as banishing a numerous class of men who might be made useful citizens, risking a depopulation of one colour, in order to supply their places with another; an undertaking which, independent of the great expence it would be attended with, would also prove surrounded by many other difficulties. From what country is the vacancy to be filled? Emigrations have been frequent from Europe to America: but it would require a length of time to recruit 250,000 inhabitants, which, I suppose, is nearly the amount of the slaves of Virginia.

There are in politics, as well as in physic, cases which require irregular prescriptions. There is no law in nature which binds one man to another; and laws, which are not founded in the principles of reason and truth, invalidate themselves. There is no statute which gives power to a white man to exercise despotism over a man because he is black. It is contrary to our bill

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of rights, as well as repugnant to the code of nature. But the mischief lies in the prejudices of the times. A complete emancipation, perhaps, would not be borne in Virginia; for which reason it must be gradual, as it has been in Pennsylvania. It would therefore be wise in that State to attach their slaves to the land of their respective masters for a certain term of years; after which they should be at liberty to change their situations, as their circumstances or pleasure would direct, the same as any other tenants.

Such a system, under salutary regulations, would not only afford the negro a considerable proportion of freedom, but would be highly advantageous to the State; as, by parcelling out their immense waste tracts of land into little farms, the low country, which has been impoverished by the pernicious cultivation of tobacco, would become fertilized, and restored to its pristine fecundity.

Let us suppose the present slaves of Virginia placed in such a situation for their lives, and that all blacks, born after passing an act for this purpose, should be free at twenty-five years of age.

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This would afford time not only to put these little farms in order, but it would reclaim the exhausted land, and leave the proprietors in a better situation than they otherwise would have been in, from a system which encourages indolence, promotes ignorance, tyranny, and every radical vice; but the blacks, by liberal conditions upon such a plan, with industry, might be able to educate their children, and accumulate a small property to encourage and support their liberty and independence, and the State would have time to acquire white emigrants, if the blacks did not answer the purposes of cultivation, and the end of the civil polity of an enlightened government; to suppose which would be as uncharitable as the remarks of Mr. Jefferson.

It will, doubtless, require a length of time to generalize marriages between the whites and blacks; but that would not prove a material disadvantage to the State. There would always be some whites who would marry blacks for the sake of property; and, no doubt, when prejudices are worn away, they would unite from more tender and delicate sentiments.

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A judicious author of this country, who has written on the complexion and figure in the human species, has said: "A nation which migrates to a different climate will, in time, be impressed with the characters of its new State: The dark colour of the natives of the West India islands is well known to approach very near to a dark copper. The descendants of the Spaniards in South America are already become copper-coloured. The Portuguese of Mitombo, in Sierra Leona, on the coast of Africa, have, by intermarrying with the natives, and by adopting their manners, become, in a few generations, perfectly assimilated in aspect, figure, and complexion." And Lord Kaims, who cannot be suspected of partiality on this subject, says of another Portuguese settlement on the coast of Congo, "That the descendants of those polished Europeans have become, both in their persons and in their manners, more like beasts than like men. These examples tend to strengthen the inference from the changes that have happened in the Anglo-Americans; and they shew how easily climate would assimilate foreigners to natives,

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tives, in the course of time, if they would adopt the same manners, and equally expose themselves to its influence."

Whether the black of negroes resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarf-skin, or in the scarf-skin itself — whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is not fixed in nature, but is the mere effect of climate, which is proved by the daily testimony of the most enlightened philosophers of the present age; who have for their support the observations and remarks of travellers upon the effects of climate in every part of the globe.

Mr. Jefferson says, it is fixed in nature; and asks, "if the difference is of no real importance?" I answer, that it is of no real importance, when compared with the object of rescuing some millions of miserable human beings from the odious prejudices which have degraded a whole race of men to the rank of beasts of burden, because they had the misfortune not to have the tinge of *red and white*.

Were

Were a man, who, with all the ardour of a youthful passion, had just been gazing upon the fair bosom of a loved and beautiful mistress, and afterwards marked the contrast of that paradise of sublunary bliss, to the African or Indian hue, to exclaim in the terms which Mr. Jefferson has used, he might be judged excusable on account of the intoxication of his heated senses—But when a grave philosopher, who has passed the meridian of life, sits down to meliorate, by his writings and opinions, the condition of the slaves of his country, whose fetters have fixed an obloquy upon the virtue and humanity of the southern Americans, I confess it appears to me not a little inconsistent.

As to the whites being more elegantly formed, as asserted by Mr. Jefferson, I must confess that it has never appeared so to me. On the contrary, I have often observed, in families which have been remarkable for feeding their blacks well, and treating them in other respects with humanity, that their negroes have been as finely formed as any whites I ever saw.—Indeed, my admiration has often been arrested in examining their
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proportion, muscular strength, and athletic powers.

If they secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a strong and disagreeable odour, it is also certain that white men, inhabiting southern climates, do the same, more than in northern latitudes : by which means an evaporation takes place from the whole surface of the body, which produces that degree of cold which is requisite to counteract the heat of the climate. As there is always a flow of bile proportionate to the degree of heat, the perspirable matter will be more or less saturated with that fluid, which, from an antiseptic quality, produces that odour which is supposed to indicate an original difference ; but which, in reality, may be discovered in a degree in all black haired people in all countries.

No doubt, too, much of that odour is owing to their difference of living from that of the whites : for it is certain, that those negroes who are cleanly, and live in the manner of their masters, have less of it.

However, there can be no doubt but that the

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animal

animal system may be so materially affected by climate, as to require a length of time to restore it to its pristine state; and whether man was aboriginal to Asia, or whether every continent has had its Adam, is of no consequence to the argument:—it is certain we are essentially the same in shape and intellect.

“Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me,” says Mr. Jefferson, “that in memory they are equal to the whites, in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigation of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless and anomalous. It would be unfair to follow them to Africa for this investigation; we will consider them here on the same stage of the whites, and where the facts are not apocryphal on which a judgment is to be formed.”

Can any position be more puerile and inconsistent? “We will consider them on the same stage of the whites, and then a comparison is not apocryphal.” Now I beg to know what can be more uncertain and false than estimating

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or comparing the intellect or talents of two descriptions of men;—one *enslaved, degraded, and fettered in all their acts of volition, without a vista through which the rays of light and science could be shot to illumine their ignorant minds.* The other free, independent, and with the advantage of appropriating the reason and science which have been the result of the study and labours of the philosophers and sensible men for centuries back. If there have been some solitary instances where negroes have had the advantage of education, they have shewn that they are in no degree inferior to whites, though they have always had in this country the very great disadvantage of associating only with their ignorant countrymen, which not only prevents that polish so essential to arrest admiration, but which imperceptibly leads to servility from the prevalence of manners.

Mr. Jefferson's own arguments invalidate themselves. "Homer told us, he says, nearly 3000 years since,

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day

"Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

Now it is most certain that the negroes in Ame-

rica have not only been enslaved, but that they have existed under the most inhuman and nefarious tyranny, particularly in the southern States.

Baron de Tott, speaking of the ignorance of the Turks, who are also slaves, but whites, said "that it was with difficulty that he could make them comprehend how two triangles could be equal to one right one." But it is only necessary to prove the nullity of Mr. Jefferson's arguments to copy his own reflection. He asks, "if the world has produced more than two poets acknowledged to be such by all nations, how many mathematicians, how many great inventors in arts and sciences had Europe, north of the Alps, when the Romans crossed those mountains?" and then he says, "it was sixteen centuries before a Newton could be formed." And after asking these questions, he absurdly expects that black poets and mathematicians are to spring up like mushrooms.

However, a black in New England has composed an ephemeris, which I have seen, and which men, conversant in the science of astro-

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ny declare exhibits marks of acute reason and genius.

To contend, however, that the world has produced but two poets, is rather the assertion of a pedant than a philosopher; and to maintain that no persons read Milton and Shakespear with delight but Englishmen is not strictly just. For every man of taste and judgment who understands the English language to perfection, must read them, and many other English poets with the most animated pleasure—and if the Jerusalem delivered, the Henriad, and the Lusiad, have only been generally read by the countrymen of their respective authors, it is not because they have neither genius nor excellence, but because it has been more the system of education in Europe to study the classics than the modern languages, which has given a predominant preference among the literari in every country to the Greek and Latin poet.

“ Religion has produced a Phillis Whately; but it could not produce a poet,” is another of Mr. Jefferson’s dogmata. Phillis was brought from Africa to America, between seven and

eight years of age, and without any assistance from a school education, and before she was fifteen years old wrote many of her poems. This information is attested by her then master, John Wheatly, dated Boston, November 14, 1772. I will transcribe part of her Poem on Imagination, and leave you to judge whether it is poetical or not. It will afford you an opportunity, if you have never met with it, of estimating her genius and Mr. Jefferson's judgment; and I think, without any disparagement to him, that, by comparison, Phillis appears much the superior. Indeed, I should be glad to be informed what White upon this continent has written more beautiful lines.

“ Imagination ! who can sing thy force ?
 Or who describe the swiftness of thy course ?
 Soaring through air to find the bright abode,
 Th' imperial palace of the thund'ring God,
 We on thy pinions can surpass the wind,
 And leave the rolling universe behind :
 From star to star the mental optics rove,
 Measure the skies, and range the realms above ;
 There in one view we grasp the mighty whole,
 Or with new worlds amaze th' unbounded soul.
 Though winter frowns, to fancy's raptur'd eyes
 The fields may flourish, and gay scenes arise ;

The

The frozen deeps may burst their iron bands,
 And bid their waters murmur o'er the sands.
 Fair Flora may resume her fragrant reign,
 And with her flow'ry riches deck the plain ;
 Sylvanus may diffuse his honours round,
 And all the forest may with leaves be crown'd :
 Show'rs may descend, and dews their gems disclose,
 And nectar sparkle on the blooming rose."

Mr. Jefferfon has been equally fevere upon Ignatius Sancho. But, as I have not the honour to be acquainted with Mr. Sancho's writings, I shall conclude that that criticism is equally marked with prejudice. His saying, " that Terence was a slave, but not black," is in contradistinction to the testimony of every other authority ; who all agree, that he was not only an African, but a Numidian, who are all known to be black.

But, to complete his paradoxes, Mr. Jefferfon has remarked, " that the Indian, with no advantage of education, is eloquent and ingenious," without recollecting that the savage is free while the poor African is enslaved ; though he allows

that servitude destroys half the worth of the human soul.

But to do justice to his candour and heart, I will give you his conclusion upon this subject: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs, gives a loose to his worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities."

After making several moral reflections upon the subject of slavery, he finishes with these emphatical words. "Indeed, I tremble for my country, when I reflect that GOD is just:—that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that, considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference!

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rence! The ALMIGHTY has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

You see, my dear friend, how powerful is the effect of habit and prejudice; that with ideas and principles founded in reason and truth, sufficient to demonstrate that slavery destroys the energy of the human mind, and with a heart which does honour to Mr. Jefferson as a man, his mind is so warped by education and the habit of thinking, that he has attempted to make it appear the African is a being between the human species and the oran-outang; and ridiculously suffered his imagination to be carried away with the idle tales of that animal's embracing the negroe women, in preference to the females of its own species.

GREAT GOD! how long is the world to be tantalized with such paltry sophistry and nonsense! My pity and indignation have been alternately excited since I have been writing this letter. But, I hope those dazzling rays of philanthropy which gleam in the flattering account you have given me of the disposition of your countrymen, will give a stab to the principles
of

of domestic tyranny, and fix an odium upon those leachers of human blood, as flagrant as they are contemptible. Farewell. In the libations of this night, and appropriate hours of love and social pleasure, the object of using my feeble powers in attempting to alleviate the oppressions of the miserable in every part of the world, shall not be forgotten.

I remain, most affectionately,

Yours, &c.

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L E T T E R X.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR last favour gave me the most lively pleasure; but, I fear, you have been too sanguine in the expectation, that the degree of loss to the revenue in consequence of the increased number who have left off the use of sugar, will compel your parliament to abolish the slave trade upon the principle of policy.

No doubt but the system is impolitic under every consideration; but when a government acts more upon principles of patronage, than upon a wise and liberal policy, little is to be expected from opinions so vitiated and controuled by bad habits of thinking.

Ignorant minds are always the most incorrigible, and the devastations which folly and contumely have produced in its perseverance in error, shews, in the strongest of all possible light,
the

the advantage of philosophy. While weak men dread what they call innovation, amendments will be very tardy; and until education with you is ameliorated, I expect your unnatural system of slavery, chartered companies, &c. &c. will be continued. However, an æra will arrive when States who are more wise than your nation appears to be in the appropriation of useful truths, will eclipse the brilliancy of your commerce, and then the spirit of a people renowned for their magnanimity will tear from the fair face of reason, the odious mask which has so long obscured her lustre.

It requires no oracular faculties to see that that period is rapidly advancing; and it is to be presumed that the most conceited and stubborn steward would take some precaution against the dangers of an impending hurricane.

Previous to your last request, I had interspersed in my different letters some account of the natural history of this country, and had referred you to Mr. Jefferson for more full information; but as it is always with the greatest pleasure I write to you, I shall give you such an account
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of it as the length of a letter and my knowledge of the subject will permit.

I am too proud to make any apology for being obliged to give you in many instances the popular names of our vegetables, &c. &c.; for, I think, it is high time that the Linnæan designation was anglicised.

Linnæus had great merit as first nomenclator in the science of natural history, and no doubt did the world a great and essential good by preferring the Latin to the Swedish language for his purpose. But from the perfection which botany and natural history have attained, I think the object of simplifying, or rendering into English, the various terms in that science, highly worthy the attention of some enlightened philosopher.

True, the Latin has hitherto been the most general language in Europe among scientific men, and thusfar the infancy of the study has been rapidly matured by the happy adoption. But the English language bids fair to supersede it; and when we take a view of the different parts of the globe that are settled by people who speak English, and compare it with the per-
fection

fection which that language has arrived at, I think it seems probable in the course of time that it will become universal.

We have a variety of spontaneous kinds of grafs, for many of which we have no name. I have spoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may consider as a grafs, since it will answer every purpose of grafs to him. I have also mentioned our clover and rye-grafs. Besides which, we have, of the grafs kind, the pea-vine, which in a small degree resembles your pea-vine. It has the same kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, shrubs, and rye-grafs, which frequently grows interspersed with it. Its blossoms are of a reddish hue, and it produces a small and imperfect pea. In very rich soil, it grows from three to five feet high; but in general it does not exceed eighteen inches or two feet, and is not of so luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but has a much nearer resemblance to grafs.

Our other principal sorts of natural grafs are, the buffalo, orchard, spear, blue, and crab grasses. The buffalo grafs is rather coarse,

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grows from nine to eighteen inches high, and is generally found most plentiful in a middling soil. It has a broad leaf, and seems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally spring up after the land has been cultivated, and from excellent pastures; and are also capable of being made into hay, particularly the spear and blue grafs.

Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus, and a profusion of daisies, appear on the approach of spring, which are succeeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, such as heart's-ease, lilies, red and white, hollyhocks, pinks, golden rod, cowslips, may-flowers-jessamine, columbine, honey-suckles, rock honey-suckles, tuberoſe, ranunculas, marſh-mallows, violets, roſes of different ſorts, &c. &c.

Of herbs, &c. we have of the wild ſort, marjoram, ſun-dew, ſage, thyme, Indian leaf, roſemary, angelica, fennel, lovage, mugwort, ox-eye, mother-wort, feverfew, cat's-mint, pennyroyal, rue, mint, yarrow, burnet, nettle, ſanicle, rupture-wort, cudweed, white and black maiden-

den-hair, colewort, ground-pine, tooth-wort, ground-ivy, lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green, hore-hound, ladies mantle, celadine, jew's-ear, horse-mint, liver-wort, water-creffes, scurvy-grass, mustard, hyssop, tansy, dock, asmart, glass-wort, hellebore, wolf's-bane, spikenard, &c. &c. &c.

You will observe, that we have adopted names that are common in Europe, and presume that it is the affinity between your plants of the above names, and ours, which have produced these denominations. How far they are applicable, requires a better botanist to determine than I profess to be; and to relate their different minutiae, would be both tedious and unsatisfactory, as it is impossible to give a just idea of their comparative similitary by a description.

FARINACEOUS, LEGUMINOUS PLANTS, &c.

Indian corn	<i>Zea mays</i>
Wild oat	<i>Zezenia aquatica</i>
Wild rye	
Indian millet	<i>Holcus latus</i>
Wild pea	<i>Dolichus</i>
Panic	<i>Panicum</i>

There are many of this species.

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Sarsap
India
Ipeca
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Virgi
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Lupine	<i>Lupinus perennis</i>
Jerusalem artichoke	<i>Helianthus tuberosus</i>
Cymlings	<i>Cucurbita verrucosa</i>
Squashes	<i>Cucurbita melopepo</i>
Purflain	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>
Lettuce	<i>Lactuca virosa.</i>

FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.

Wild hemp	<i>Acnida cannabina</i>
Wild flax	<i>Linum Virginianum</i>
Wild hop	<i>Humulus cupulus.</i>

ROOTS, &c.

Sarsaparilla	<i>Sarsaparillæ</i>
Indian physic	<i>Spiræa trifoliata</i>
Ipecacuanha	<i>Phychotria emetica</i>
Pleurisy root	<i>Asclepias decumbens</i>
Virginia snake root	<i>Aristolochia serpentaria</i>
Black snake root	<i>Actæa racemosa</i>
Seneca rattlesnake root	<i>Polygala senega</i>
Valerian	<i>Valeriana locusta radiata</i>
Ginseng	<i>Phanax quinquefolium</i>
Cassava	<i>Jatropha urens</i>
Granadillas	<i>Passiflora incarnata.</i>

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FRUITS,

FRUITS, &c.

Mulberry	Morus
Green-river plumb	
Barren, or red plumb	
Cherokee plumb	Prunus sylvestris fructu minori
Wild cherry	Prunus Virginiana
Wild crab-apple	Pyrus coronaria
Perfimmon	Diospyros Virginiana.
There are various kinds of grapes.	
Scarlet strawberries	Fragaria Virginiana
Wortleberries	Vaccinium uliginosum
	[<i>Jefferson.</i>
Wild gooseberries	Ribes grossularia
Wild currants	
Cranberries	Vaccinium oxycoccos
Black raspberries	Rubus occidentalis.

May-apple. This apple is produced from an annual plant which is among the first vegetables that come forward in the spring; it is about ten or twelve inches high, advancing rapidly to maturity, and the apple grows much in the manner of the potatoe seed, and is nearly of the same size. When ripe, it is of the colour of a pale orange.

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orange. The pulp is of a succulent nature, without any seed, and its flavour very much like the pine apple. It is ripe early in June.

Acimene. This fruit grows upon a shrub, and is from four to five inches in length, and from one to one and a half diameter. The pulp is sweet and tender. It ripens in July.

Peakimine. A species of plumb, nearly the size of the mogul plumb, but more delicious.

Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from twelve to twenty-six feet high. It is in shape more like a seed cucumber than any thing else. It is ripe about midsummer. Its pulp is yellow, and somewhat of the consistence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a custard, but it is too luscious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating.

NUT TREES, &c.

Sealy bark hiccory *Juglans alba cortiæ squamofo* [*Jefferson.*]

Common hiccory *Juglans alba fructu minore rancido* [*Clayton.*]

There are a variety of other kinds of hiccory which have not been designated.

Black walnut	<i>Juglans nigra</i>
White walnut	<i>Juglans alba</i>
Chestnut	<i>Fagus pumila</i>
Hazle nut	<i>Corylus avellana.</i>

Besides the above, the Carolina ground-nut grows low down on the Mississippi, and the peccane in the Illinois, in the county of Cumberland, and every where near the mouth of the Ohio. It is about two-thirds of the size of an English walnut, and the shell smooth and tender. Mr. Jefferson has given it a designation which is equal in length to the name of a Spanish cavalier. He specifies it as the *juglans alba, foliolis lanceolatis, acuminatis, ferratis, tomentosiss, fructu minore, ovato, compresso, vix insculpto, dulci. putamine, tenerrimo.*

Poke	<i>Phytolacca decandra</i>
Plane-tree	<i>Platanus occidentalis</i>
Lime-tree	<i>Zilia Americana</i>
Poplar	<i>Liriodendron tulipifera</i>
Black poplar	<i>Populus nigra</i>
Red flowering maple	<i>Acer rubrum</i>
Umbrella tree	<i>Magnolia tripetala</i>
Buck-eye	<i>Æsculus</i>

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Aspen	<i>Populus tremula</i>
Reed, or cane	<i>Arundo phragmitis</i>
Locust	<i>Robinia pseudo acacia</i>
Honey locust	<i>Gleditsia</i>
Barberry	<i>Berberis vulgaris</i>
Dog-wood	<i>Cornus florida</i>
Snow-drop tree	<i>Chionanthus Virginia</i>
Holly	<i>Ilex aquifolium</i>
Swamp laurel	<i>Magnolia acuminata</i>
Portugal bay	<i>Laurus indica</i>
Catalpa	<i>Bignonia catalpa</i>
Wild pimento	<i>Laurus benzion</i>
Red bud	<i>Cercis Canadensis</i>
Sassafras	<i>Laurus sassafras</i>
Common laurel of this country	Not classed
Cockspur	<i>Cratægus coccinea</i>
Red bay	<i>Laurus borbonia</i>
Dwarf rose bay	<i>Rhododendron maximum</i>
Spindle tree	<i>Euonymus Europæus</i>
Evergreen spindle tree	<i>Euonymus Americanus</i>
Alder	<i>Sambucus nigra</i>
Candleberry myrtle	<i>Myrica cerifera</i>
Sumach	<i>Rhus.</i> Not classed
Cotton tree	Not classed

Satin-wood tree	Not classed
Coffee tree	Not classed
Dwarf laurel	<i>Calmia latifolia</i>
American aloe	<i>Agave Virginica</i>
Ivy	<i>Hedera quinquefolia</i>
Hemlock fir	<i>Pinus Canadensis</i>
Papaw	<i>Annona triloba</i>
Trumpet honey-suckle	<i>Lonicera semper virens</i>
Upright honey-suckle	<i>Azalea nudiflora</i>
Juniper	<i>Juniperus Virginica</i>
Grows only in the southern parts of the western country.	
Black oak	<i>Quercus nigra</i>
White oak	<i>Quercus alba</i>
Red oak	<i>Quercus rubra</i>
Willow oak	<i>Quercus phellos</i>
Chestnut oak	<i>Quercus prinus</i>
Black-jack oak	<i>Quercus aquatica</i> [<i>Clayton</i>
Ground oak	<i>Quercus pumila</i> [<i>Ditto.</i>
Live oak	<i>Quercus Virginiana</i>

[*Miller.*

* The live oak grows only low down on the
Mississippi, on this side of the mountain.

Sugar

* The live oak grows in quantity sufficient, between the
Mississippi and the River St. Joseph, as would be equal to
build

of grass, &c. that I am unable to describe; for, indeed, they have not all obtained popular names, and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confessed, to attempt to class them; which, perhaps, is the finest field now open to a man of genius, in the science of botany, upon the face of the globe.

Buffon, Kalm, D'Abenton, Catesby, and Pen-
nant, have all touched upon the natural history
of America. The first and last have confined
themselves chiefly to the description of animals;
and as they are justly admired for their talents, I
shall confine myself merely to giving you a list of
the wild animals which are common to the west-
ern country, and refer you to their works for the
natural history. Such errors as Buffon had been
drawn into from prejudice, Mr. Jefferson has
ably confuted.

ANIMALS	WHERE COMMON.
Buffalo. Bison	Between lat. 42 and 37
Moose elk. Elan orig- nal, palmated	To the north of lat. 43
Elk, round horned	Between lat. 40 and 36
	Caribou.

ANIMALS.	WHERE COMMON.
Caribou. Renne	To the north of lat. 43
Red deer. Crof	To the south of lat. 40
Roe. Chevreul	To the north of lat. 40
Fallow deer. Daim	To the north of lat. 42
Bear. Ours	Every part of this country
Wild cat. Chat sauvage	Ditto
Wolf. Loup	Ditto
Glutton. Careajou	To the north of lat. 42
Lynx. Loup cervier	To the south of lat. 40
Beaver. Castor	To the north of lat. 37
Otter. Loutre	Between lat. 45 and 36
Red fox. Renard	To the north of lat. 39
Grey fox. Ifatis	To the south of lat. 40
Hedge-hog. Herrifon	To the north of lat. 40
Martin. Marte	To the north of lat. 38
Weasel. Belitte	To the south of the lakes
Water rat. Rat d'eau	Between lat. 42 and 36
Monax. Marmotte	
Flying squirrel. Pa-	
latouche	To the south of lat. 40
Fox squirrel	Between lat. 39 and 36
Black squirrel	Between lat. 39 and 42
Red squirrel	To the south of lat. 40

Great

ANIMALS.

WHERE COMMON.

Great grey squirrel	To the north of lat. 38
Little grey squirrel	Between lat. 38 and 32
Ground squirrel	Between lat. 40 and 36
Mink	To the south of lat. 44
Shrew mouse. Mufaraigne	To the south of lat. 43
Raccoon. Raton	To the south of the lakes as far as lat. 37
Opossum. Sarique	To the south of lat. 41
Vison. Fouine	
Seunk. Mouffette. Conepate	Between lat. 43 and 36
Congar	
Rabbit	Every part of this country, but no where so numerous as on the other side of the mountain----(N. B. There is not a wild hare in all America.)
Mouffette squash	Between lat. 43 and 36
Mouffette chinche	
Panther	To the north of lat. 33
Wood chuck	Between lat. 39 and 44
Porcupine	To the north of lat. 42
Dormouse	To the north of lat. 40.

There are besides moles, mice, and bats, several

veral other animals in the extreme parts of the country. I have omitted saying any thing respecting them, as I could not do it with sufficient accuracy; but you will find, in Mr. Jefferson's list of the aboriginal animals of America, an account of the whole of them.

I have already taken notice of the great bones which have been found in this country; but as I was not minute as to the estimate of their size, I shall just remark, that it was the opinion of your celebrated anatomist, the late Dr. Hunter, from an examination of the tusks, that the mammoth was an animal entirely different from the elephant; and Mr. Jefferson, who seems to have examined the skeleton with curious attention, says, "the bones bespeak an animal of five or six times the cubic volume of the elephant, as Mons. de Buffon has admitted." And I have been informed by a gentleman who attended the lectures of Dr. Cline, in London, that this ingenious anatomist used to produce one of the tusks of the mammoth, when he was lecturing, and declared that the animal must have been carnivorous.

In my account of the birds of this country, I shall mostly give you the Linnæan designation,
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Hairy

in preference to Catesby's, though Catesby's designation is most general.

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNEAN DESIGNATION.
Bald eagle	Falco leucocephalus
Turkey buzzard	Vultur aura
Sparrow hawk	Falco sparverius
Forked tail hawk	Falco furcatus
Pigeon hawk	Falco columbarius
Fishing hawk	Accipiter piscatorius
Field martin	
Little owl	Strix asio
Tyrant martin or king bird	Lanius tyrannus
Parrot	Pittacus
Red headed wood pecker	Picus erythrocephalus
Large red crested ditto	Picus pileatus
White bill ditto	Picus principalis
Gold winged ditto	Picus auratus
Red bellied ditto	Picus Carolinus
Small spotted ditto	Picus pubescens
Yellow bellied ditto	Picus varius
Hairy ditto	Picus villosus

POPULAR

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNEAN DESIGNA- TION.
Blue jay	<i>Corvus cristatus</i>
Crow black bird	<i>Gracula quiscalis</i>
Baltimore bird	<i>Oriolis Baltimore</i>
Bastard Baltimore dit- to	<i>Oriolis spurius</i>
Carolina cuckoo	<i>Cuculus Americanus</i>
Field lark	
Red winged black- bird	<i>Sturnus niger alis super- nerubentibus</i> [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Robin red breast	<i>Turdus migratorius</i>
Red thrush	<i>Turdus rufus</i>
Mocking bird	<i>Turdus minor cinerco albus non maculatus</i> <i>Catesby</i> .]
Little thrush	<i>Turdus minimus</i> [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Purple finch	<i>Fringilla purpurea</i>
Lettuce bird	<i>Carduelis Americanus</i>
Cowpen bird	<i>Passer. fuscus.</i> [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Little sparrow	<i>Passerculus</i> [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Towhe bird	<i>Fringilla erythrophthal- ma</i>
Blue linnet	<i>Tanagra cyanea</i>

POPULAR

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POPULAR NAMES. LINNEAN DESIGNA-
TION.

Painted finch	Emberiza biris
Rice bird	Emberiza oryzivora
Snow bird	Emberiza hyemalis
Red bird	Loxia Cardinalis
Blue gros beak	Loxia Cærulea
Crested fly catcher	Muscicapa erinita
Summer red bird	Muscicapa rubra
Red start	Muscicapa ruticilla
Cat bird	Muscicapa Caroliniensis
Black cap fly catcher	Muscicapa nigrescens
Little brown fly catcher	Muscicapa fusca
Red eyed fly catcher	Muscicapa oculis rubris
Blue bird	Motacilla sialis
Wren	Motacilla regulus
Yellow crested chat- terer	Motacilla trochilus
Whip poor Will	Caprimulgus minor A- mericanus [Catesby.
Great bat, or goat- sucker	Caprimulgus [Catesby.
House martin	Hirundo purpurea
American swallow	Hirundo pelagica

POPULAR

POPULAR

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNA- TION.
Yellow titmouse	Parus Carolinensis [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Yellow throated creeper	Parus Americanus gut- ture luteo [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Hooded titmouse	Parus cucullo nigro
Yellow rump	Parus Virginianus
Finch creeper	Parus Americanus
Crested titmouse	Parus bicolor
Nut-thatch	Sitta capite nigro [<i>Catesby</i> .]
Small nut-thatch	Sitta capite fusco [<i>Ditto</i> .]
Humming bird	Trochilus colubris
Hanging bird	
Pine creeper	Certhia pinus
King fisher	Alcedo alcyon
Kildee	Charadrius vociferus
Soree	Rallus Virginianus
Ground dove	Columba passerina
Wild pigeon	Columba migratoria
Turtle dove	Columba Caroliniensis
Lark	Allauda Alpestris

POPULAR

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POPULAR NAMES. LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.

Night Hawk	
Cat owl	
Screech owl	<i>Strix Americana (Booth)</i>
Crow	<i>Corvus</i>
Crane	<i>Ardea Canadensis</i>
Whet hawk	
Great grey eagle	
Feather head turkey	
buzzard	
Large pouch pelican	
Raven	
House swallow	<i>Hirundo rustica</i>
	<i>[Jefferson.]</i>
Ground swallow	<i>Hirundo riparira [Ditto.]</i>
Cormorant	
Squatting snipe	
Whistling plover	
Woodcock, or mud hen	
Yellow winged snipe	
Red bird with black	
wings	
Wagtail	

POPULAR NAMES.	LINNÆAN DESIGNATION.
Wild goose	<i>Anas canadensis</i>
Buffel head duck	<i>Anas bucephala</i>
Small brown duck	<i>Anas rustica</i>
White face teal	<i>Anas discors</i>
Blue winged teal	
Green winged teal	
Summer duck	<i>Anas sponfa</i>
Blue winged shovler	<i>Anas Americanes cristata</i> <i>fulvifrons</i> [Catesby.
Round crested duck	<i>Mergus cucullatus</i>
Pied bill doperchick	<i>Colymbus podiceps</i>
Large crested heron	<i>Ardea Herodias</i>
Crested bittern	<i>Ardea violacea</i>
Blue heron	<i>Ardea cærulea</i>
Small bittern	<i>Ardea virescens</i>
Small white heron	<i>Ardea æquinoctialis</i>
Indian hen	<i>Ardea stellaris</i> American <i>cana</i> [Catesby.
Wood pelican	<i>Tantalus loculator</i>
White curlew	<i>Tantalus alber</i>
Brown curlew	<i>Tantalus fuscus</i>

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We have besides, the duck and mallard, wid-geon, canvass back, wood duck, black duck, sprig tail, white head duck, black head duck, ballcoot, water pheasant, mow bird, blue peter, swan, loop, mountain pheasant, or grouse, which I mentioned in a former letter, quail, wild turkey, &c. &c.

I have now, my dear friend, complied with your wish as far as it is in my power; a country so new and extensive requires more time, and more room, than a letter will admit of to give you a complete idea of its natural history; but, I flatter myself, it will afford you a general idea upon the subject; and when the unfolding covers of a new creation, just bursting from the womb of nature, shall draw men of science to trace and investigate the various phænomena which this country exhibits, I have no doubt but the world will receive much pleasure and instruction.

The moment I have been able to collect an accurate account of the present numbers of the different tribes of Indians, which have hitherto

(244)

been considerably exaggerated, I will write to you upon the subject. In the mean time I shall remain,

Your true and affectionate friend.

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L E T T E R X I.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

KENTUCKY.

YOU will, no doubt, have heard of the defeat of our army, with the particulars, before this will reach you. It is surprising, that the experience of upwards of thirty years warfare with the Indians, should not have taught us before now, that our success or loss in these *rencontres* was to be expected alone from the abilities or talents of the Commanding Officer.

From the time of the defeat of General Braddock to the present period, the Americans have been successful or unsuccessful in these expeditions, in the exact proportion to the knowledge which our Generals have had of Indian dexterity and stratagem.

No man is more willing to allow to General St. Clair the merit of being an accomplished gentleman, a brave and judicious officer, than

R 3

I am.

I am. But I cannot help lamenting, at the same time, that men are not employed upon these occasions (when there are so many in the United States), who have from their infancy been accustomed to such perils, and practised in the necessary vigilance, to ward off the effects of that singular prowess of those heroic people.

There is an error somewhere. I am afraid that our General confided too much in the comparative strength and discipline of his army. It would have been better if he had recollected an expression of the late King of Prussia: "However well-founded any good opinion of ourselves may be, security in war is always dangerous; and rather than be negligent, it is better to take superfluous precaution." Our army certainly was taken by surprise. They had not time to form when the enemy commenced their attack, which proves the justness of that great soldier's reflection*.

Every

* Since this letter was written I have been able to ascertain more particularly the object of the expedition conducted by General St. Clair, and the cause of his being defeated.

By the treaty, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence

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Every man who engages in the perilous vocation of a soldier ought to recollect beforehand,

dependence of the United States, it was stipulated and agreed to by Great Britain, that the fortresses of Niagara and Detroit should be delivered up to the United States as immediately as it could be done with convenience. Whether it proceeded from the representations made by the government of Canada to the ministers of Great Britain, or not, I cannot presume to determine; but it is certain those plans are properly considered of more importance than was at first imagined by the British Court; and it is an indubitable truth, the moment they are possessed by the Americans, that instant the English fur trade of Canada will be reduced more than one half of what it is at present.

This declaration, as it comes from an American, may be considered as impolitic; but I have thrown it out purposely to shew how little the faith of treaties are to be depended upon, when they are found to clash with the important interests of the contracting parties,—and as I consider every species of policy, which has not integrity for its basis, mean and contemptible.

As the United States had waited more than seven years in expectation that the British Government would fulfil this engagement, and finding it was not then convenient for them to abandon those forts, they determined to establish a garrison at the mouth of the Miami, of the lake which was to have been supported by a chain of communication with Pittsburg, and for the acquisition of this purpose was the object of this expedition.

Fort Washington, at the mouth of the Muskingum, and Fort Jefferson, between the head waters of the Sciota and St. Mary's river, which empties into Lake Erie, a short distance from Sandusky, had been previously established; and the next object

hand, the sacrifices he will be obliged to make of pleasurable indulgence, and, in many instances, of

was to establish a third, south east of Sandusky, upon those ridges of hills where the waters of the lake, and those of the Ohio, take different directions.

Had this plan been effected, though the Indians might at times have harrassed those posts, still the purpose for which they would have been created must have answered; as it is impossible for them to carry on their attacks regularly, or for any length of time, by reason of their desultory manner of living; and thus, by our becoming permanently fixed upon the lake, we should at once have given a decided blow to your trade in Canada; for it was the intention of the federal government, not to permit any person to trade within the limits of the United States in that quarter, without a written privilege for that purpose, signed by the President of Congress.

The army of General St. Clair, which was to have achieved this arduous end, amounted to about 1400 men, great part of which were militia; and most of the others, inconceivable as it may appear, were recruited from the sea-port towns upon the Atlantic; and of course were composed of men who were totally unacquainted with the Indian manner of fighting;—indeed a large proportion of them were Europeans.

General St. Clair had advanced between twenty and thirty miles in front of Fort Jefferson in his course toward Lake Erie, when about sixty of the militia deserted with an intention to return to their respective homes, after whom he dispatched 300 of his men, they consisting of the only old troops he had in his army; and it was in the absence of this detachment, that his army was attacked, just at the break of day; after the troops, most imprudently, had left the parade at which they had been
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of his constitution. But when a service of danger calls him to the defence of his country, or to

some time before it was light, according to the custom in Indian war, though his out posts had been attacked incessantly during the whole night, and several of his centinels killed. The Indians, finding the army was thin of their guard, rushed upon them with such impetuosity, as to prevent their being able to form, or to act with any vigour or precision.

This grand object has not been abandoned by the federal government, and for the purpose of carrying it into execution, by measures more wise, and means more certain, than had been pursued hitherto, 3000 federal troops, with a legion of 1200 horse and foot, are to be kept in continual pay; and while the different garrisons are to over-awe the Indians, the legion is to scour the country round, so as to secure the settlements on the west side of the Ohio from their attacks, and thus by progressive and permanent establishments ward off the dangers of irregular and predatory warfare.

This system has already produced a very important effect:—the more intelligent Indian chiefs are so perfectly sensible, that it is now in vain for them to contend against a palladium, which is daily invigorated by the current of emigration, which, like a perennial plant, shews no signs of decay, that they have promised to punish those audacious fugitives, who murdered our Commissioners that were going to their nations for the purpose of offering them peace; and have also agreed to a cessation of hostilities while the preliminaries are settling; so that I have no hesitation in declaring it as my opinion, that, if the present measures are pursued with wisdom and vigour, there will be a speedy end to war and massacre in that quarter, and the whole western country must then enjoy that repose, which has so often and so fatally been disturbed by the incendiaries both of Canada and Louisiana.

avenge

avenge the insults which tyranny or barbarism have offered, it becomes ignominious not cheerfully to forego every gratification which is incompatible with heroism. It is equally ignominious to put any consideration in competition with the certainty of success.

I know that it has been much the case with us to relax in discipline for fear of harassing our men. In Indian wars it is necessary to observe this rule, which infallibly leads to victory when the combat otherwise is upon an equal footing—Never be surprised. To prevent which, it is only necessary to move with strong and active flanks, to keep powerful and vigilant guards, and to have your whole army under arms every morning at least an hour before break of day; which will effectually prevent a surprize, as the Indians never attack when their enemy is in force during the night. Move in compact order, and though you may be harassed in a degree, yet with an army of two thousand men well appointed, it would be no difficult matter to pass through the whole western country.

I hope I have not appeared too strenuous in
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endeavouring to wipe away the stain, which our recent defeat has brought upon the valour of my countrymen. There has appeared a languor in the execution of our measures respecting Indian affairs, which has not only brought an *obloquy* upon the wisdom of our councils, but has subjected us to losses that are as baneful to our population, as they are affecting to our sympathy.

Many of us have cause to mourn the loss of some friend or dear relation. Among the slain was a youth of the most promising hopes and splendid talents—talents which might have proved ornamental to his country, and useful to mankind.

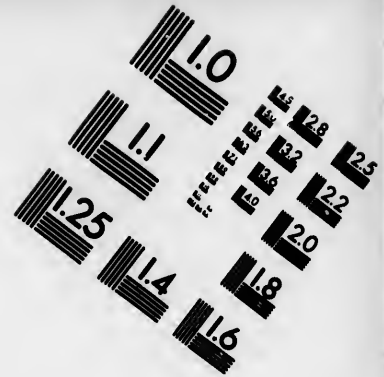
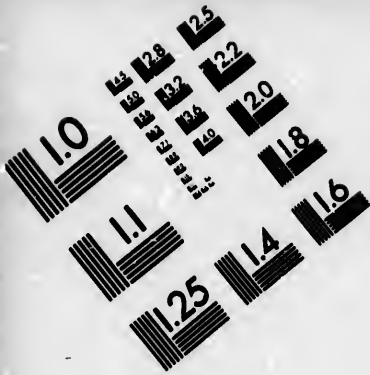
I know you will excuse me for appropriating to the death of my young friend, with a slight alteration, those beautiful lines in the *Iliad* with which Homer describes the death of Euphorbus :

The

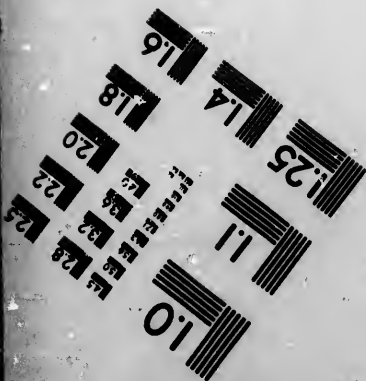
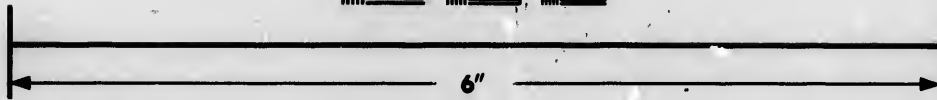
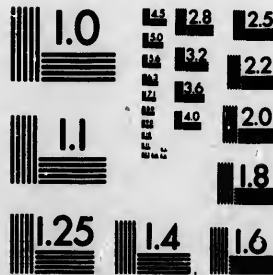
“ As the young Olive, in some Silvan scene,
Crown'd by fresh fountains with eternal green,
Lifts the gay head, in snowy flow'rets fair,
And plays and dances to the gentle air.
When lo! a whirlwind from high heav'n invades
The tender plant, and withers all its shades ;
It lies uprooted from its genial bed,

A lovely





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TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



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3.6 4.0 4.5

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A lovely ruin now defac'd and dead.
Thus young, thus beautiful, " brave Marshal" lay,
While the fierce " Indian" tore his life away."

The expedition conducted under the command of General Scott terminated with success. Indeed, from the first settlement of Kentucky not one of our expeditions have failed. The watchful Indians, who are always near us, and scarcely ever to be discovered but in force, observe the motions of our army, and readily determine from our vigilance whether an attack will prove hazardous to them or not.

I shall begin my enumeration with the southern Indians, and proceed with those of the greatest proximity; taking care to comprehend in the schedule the various tribes that we have any distinct knowledge of to the northward of the chain of lakes, which bounds our empire to the north, and those to the west of the Mississippi, and south of the Missouri.

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Cherokees	In the country between the Great Bend of the Tenassee and the ridges	

of

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	of hills (which are called the Allegany mountains), the western limits of Georgia, and the eastern branches of the Mobile	2500
Chactaws	Between the said Great Bend, the Mississippi, and Natchez	6000
Upper Creeks	Between the head branches of the river Apalachies, East Florida, the Cherokee nation, and the Mississippi	2500
Lower Creeks	Between the Upper Creeks and the Gulf of Mexico	1000
Natchez	A little to the east of the Natchez	100
Alibamons	Between the Natchez and New Orleans	400
Chekafaws	Between the southern limits of Cumberland,	the

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	the Chactaw nation, and the head waters of the Mobile	500
Lezars	Between the mouth of the Ohio and Wabash	300
Piankifhas, Ver- milions, and Mascontins	Between the Wabash and Illinois	600
Illinois	Near Cahokia	260
Kaskaskias	Near Kaskaskia	250
Pianrias	Upon the Illinois river	400
Shakies	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	170
Upper Piankif- has	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	300
Oniatonons	Near Fort Oniatonon upon the Wabash	260
Miamis	Near Fort St. Joseph	200
Twigtwecs	Upon the Great Miami river near Fort Miami	200
Wyandots	Between Fort St. Joseph and Detroit	200
Cohunewagas	Near Sandusky	200
	Mingoes	

No.	TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	Mingoes	On a southern branch of the Sciota	50
500	Mohiccons	Between the Sciota and Muskingum	40
300	Shawnees	On the head branches of the Sciota (reduced by the late action to less than)	250
600			
260	Delawares	In the country between Lake Erie and the head branches of the Muskingum, who have also suffered in the late different actions, and it is supposed they are reduced from 600 to	450
250			
400			
170			
300			
260	Delawares, or Linnelinopies	At different villages upon the north branch of the Susquehanna	400
200			
200	Aughquagahs	Upon an eastern branch of the Susquehanna	150
200			
200	Nanticocs	Between Owegy and the most eastern branch of the Susquehanna	80
goes			
		Mohiccons	

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE	No.
Mohiccons	Between Chagnet and Owegy, upon a branch of the Susquehanna	70
Conoics	Between Utsanango and Chagnet, to the eastward of the most easternmost branch of the Susquehanna	40
Saponies	Upon a north branch of the Susquehanna	30
Munfics	At Diahago, upon the north branch of the Susquehanna	120
Senecas	Upon the waters of the Ohio, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Susquehanna	550
Cayugas	Upon the Cayuga, and near the north branch of the Susquehanna	180
Onondagoes	Near Onondago	200
Oncidas	On the east side of Oneida, and head branches of the Susquehanna	250
	Tufcaroras	

No.	TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
	Tuscaroras	Between the Onchidas and Onandagoes	170
70	Mohocks	Upon the western branch of Mohock river	140
	(The last-mentioned six tribes constitute what are known by the name of the Six Nations.)		
	Orondocs	Near the three rivers	100
40	Abenakies	Near the three rivers	150
	Little Algonkins	Near the three rivers	100
30	Pouteotamies	Between St. Joseph's and Detroit	270
	Ottawas	Near Detroit	500
120	Chippawas	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	200
	Ottawas (a dif- ferent tribe)	On Saguinam bay of lake Huron	150
550	Chippawas (se- veral tribes of)	Near Michillimackinac, fort St. Mary's, on lake Superior, and upon the southern shores of that lake	5500
180			
200	Shakies	Pauns bay, on lake Mi- chigan	400
		S	Mynonamies

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
Mynomamies	Near Pauns bay, on lake Michigan	300
Ouisconsings	Ouisconsing river	300
Kickapous	Upon the southern head branches of the Missis- sippi, and the waters of lake Michigan	200
Otogamies	Between the lake of the Wood and Mississippi	300
Mascoutens	On lake Michigan, and between that and the Mississippi	400
Miscothins	Between lake Michigan and the Mississippi	340
Outimacs	Between lake Michigan and lake St. Clare	200
Musquakies	Upon the southern waters of lake Michigan	200
Sioux	On the eastern head branches of the Missis- sippi, and the islands of lake Superior	500
	Ottagaumies	

No.	TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No.
300	Ottagaumies	On the head waters of the Mississippi	300
300	Winnibagoes	On the head waters of the Mississippi	200
	Killistinoes	On lake Superior	250
200	Naudowesies	Between Michigan and lake Superior	500
300	Osevegatchies	Near Swagatchy, on the river St. Lawrence	100
	Connafedagoes	Near Montreal	90
	Cohunnewagoes	Near Montreal	150
400	Michmacs	On the river St. Lawrence	500
	Ameliftis	On the river St. Lawrence	400
340	Chalas	On the river St. Lawrence	100
200	Nipiffins	Near the head waters of the Ottawas rivers	300
200	Algonquins	Towards the head waters of the Ottawas river	250
	Round-heads	On riviereaux Teres boules, or Round-head river	2000
	Messafagues	Between lake Superior and lake Huron	1500
500 mies	Kris	Upon lake Christineaux	1200

TRIBES.	WHERE THEY RESIDE.	No:
Affinaboos	Lake Affinaboos	1200
Barbus, or Blancs	Between lake Affinaboos and the lake of the Wood	1400
Sioux of the Meadows	On the head and western branches of the Missif- sippi	2500
Sioux of the Woods	On the head and western branches of the Missif- sippi	4000
Sioux	Between the head waters of the Mississippi and Mifouri	3000
Ajoues	North of the Padoucas	1000
White Panis	South-east of the Mifouri	1500
Speckled Panis	South of the Mifouri	1200
Padoucas	South of the Mifouri	500
Grandescaux	South of the Mifouri	800
Canfes	South of the Mifouri	1000
Ofages	South of the Mifouri	400
Mifouris	On the Mifouri	1500
Arkanzas	On the river Arkanzas	1000
	There	

There are several other tribes, known by the name of Caouitas, Linways, Webings, Ousafos Les Puans, Folle Avoine, Mineamis, &c. &c. But the different tribes have been so confounded one with another, that it is impossible to collect any distinct information respecting their situation or numbers; which I apprehend has proceeded from the imperfect knowledge travellers have had of the west of the Mississippi, and to the north of lake Michigan and lake Superior; and which has precluded the possibility of gaining any accurate intelligence from them. However the above list has been corrected from the accounts of Croghan, Boquet, Carver, Hutchins, and Dodge, and by the comparative testimony of the best informed men I have been able to meet with; and whose knowledge upon this subject, though they have not written, I should prefer to either of the above authorities, who were obliged to take the greatest part of what they have related, from hearsay, or proceed upon conjecture.

There are several vagrant tribes, called Chia-
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kanessou, Onanakina, Machecous, and Souikilas, from the Cherokees, Chacktaws, and Creeks; but I should suppose, these included, that my account of those tribes is tolerably exact.

By this list, which I presume will appear as accurate as the subject will admit of, the aggregate numbers of Indians will be found less than 60,000 who inhabit the country from the gulf of Mexico, on both sides of the Mississippi, to the gulf of St. Lawrence, and as far west as the country has been explored, that is, to the head waters of the Mississippi, and from thence to the Missouri (I do not mean the head of it), and between that river and Santa Fe.

I have been able to learn very little information respecting the Indians between Santa Fe and the gulf of Mexico, and still less of those who inhabit the country between the river St. Joseph's and California. However we are in no way affected by them at present; and it is not very likely that we ever shall: for, it is to be presumed, that the federal government, in the extension of its empire, will take such precautions

tions as must prevent the horrors of such sanguinary warfare and massacre, as have hitherto marked the progress of its growth.

Certainly it is time that decided measures were taken; if possible, to civilize them; and if not, to confine them to particular districts; that is, by the vigour of our measures, to shew them that we are not to be trifled with; and whenever a tract of country is to be settled, let the demarkation be obvious, and the terms of settlement definitive; and by affording protection to the pacific, and chastising the licentious, it may be expected in time, that some amelioration will take place in their savage and sanguinary dispositions.

You will observe that the most numerous tribes are the greatest distance from us; and it is very certain, that in proportion to their distance from the whites, they are unacquainted with the use of fire-arms. All the nations north of lake Superior, and those beyond the Mississippi, as well as those on the Missouri, use only bows and arrows; so that when you take a view of their scattered

situation, the various customs and superstitions which it is necessary to reconcile, in order to produce perseverance and unity of action, and what a small proportion of them have the apparatus, or understand the use of musquetry, or possess resources sufficient to enable them to carry on lasting hostilities against the power of our increasing numbers, it must be obvious, that even our defeats will hasten their ruin.

Though we (or rather the federal troops) have been defeated several times, yet we shall soon establish a permanent security against savage invasions and massacre; for, though we have not acted entirely like Hercules, who destroyed the serpents while an infant in his cradle, still, I presume, we shall do it in our approach to maturity.

The French, by conciliating the manners of the savages, and by their diffusing a more general knowledge among them of the use of fire-arms, first rendered them formidable to the whites. The animosity continued to exist until the commencement of the late war, *when that*

very policy was practised by the English, which they had formerly so severely reprobated in the French.

In the various skirmishes and actions which have been fought between us, they have acquired a most wonderful dexterity and heroic intrepidity, but, in these acquisitions, they probably have laid the foundation of their own *extinction*; for our defeats but add to our strength; and when you recollect their comparative numbers with ours, and the comparative fecundity of our women, I think the circumstance does not appear problematical.

However, that is not our wish. We would gladly teach them the blessings of peace; and so far did the Assembly of Virginia carry this disposition, in the year 1784, that, the more effectually to accelerate so desirable an end, they took it into consideration to pass an act offering bounties to such men and women as would intermarry with the Indians. But as the animosities which then existed between them and the back settlers had arisen to such a height, it was thought
most

most adviseable to postpone it until there should be a stable peace, and till the whites and they were reconciled; but that never will be the case until we are in possession of Niagara and Detroit. Farewell.

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APPENDIX.

TABLE

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I.

II.

III.

THE
DISCOVERY, SETTLEMENT,
AND
PRESENT STATE
OF
KENTUCKY:

AND
AN ESSAY

TOWARDS THE
TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY
OF THAT IMPORTANT COUNTRY:

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

- 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.

By JOHN FILSON.

PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1784.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WE the Subscribers, inhabitants of Kentucky, and well acquainted with the country from its first settlement; at the request of the author of this book, have carefully revised it, and recommend it to the Public as an exceeding good performance, 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 Public. Witness our hands this 12th day of May, Anno Domini 1784.

DANIEL BOON,

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P R E F A C E.

THE generality of those geographers, who have attempted a map, or description of America, seem either to have had no knowledge of Kentucky 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.

When I visited Kentucky, 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 of it was an object 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 Kentucky, but having been there some time, by my acquaintance in

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it,

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 cheerfully contributed, with an 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 Kentucky will undoubtedly find it a Complete 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
KENTUCKY.

THE first whiteman 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 Kentucky 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.

covery 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 Kentucky, 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 Boone, 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 Kentucky. Here they encamped, and some went to hunt provisions, which were readily procured, there being plenty of
game,

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 Kentucky 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 laying on the north side of Kentucky. Col. Donaldson, of Virginia, being employed by the State to run a line from six miles above the Long Island, on Holston, to the mouth of the great Kenhaway, and finding thereby that an extensive tract of excellent country would be cut off to the Indians, was solicited, by

the inhabitants of Clinch and Holston, to purchase the lands lying on the north side of Kentucky river from the Five Nations. This purchase he completed for five hundred pounds, specie. It was then agreed, to fix a boundary line, running from the Long Island on Holston to the head of Kentucky river: thence down the same to the mouth, thence up the Ohio, to the mouth of Great Kenhaway; but this valuable purchase the State refused to confirm.

Richard 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 Kentucky 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 Mr. Henderson's right of purchase, as a private gentleman of another state, in behalf of himself: However for his eminent services to this country,

try, 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.

KENTUCKY is situated, in its central part, near the latitude of 38° north, and 85° west longitude,

tude, 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 Kentucky separates Fayette on its north side from the other two. There are at present eight towns laid off, and building, and more are proposed.

Louifville, 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 Kentucky 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.

R I V E R S.

THE beautiful river Ohio, bounds Kentucky 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 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, Kentucky is watered by eight smaller rivers, and many large and small creeks.

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IVERS.

Cumberland River, and the North Branch of Kentucky 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. W. course into Kentucky River, being about sixty miles long, and sixty yards wide at its mouth.

The Kentucky 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 Kentucky in a N. W. by W. course; is about fifty miles long, and fifty yards broad at the mouth.

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

* This river is a principal branch of the Kentucky.

ly heads and interlocks its branches with Salt River, Green River, and the waters of Rockcastle 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.

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 Kentucky, as aforesaid, and rolling round the other arms of Kentucky 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

ments it is two hundred yards broad; and at its mouth three hundred, having passed through North Carolina in about half its course.

The Great Kenhaway, or New River, rises in North Carolina, runs a northern, and N. W. 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 Clinch, Holstein, Nolachucky, 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 Tenasee 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

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

and scarcely any such thing as a marsh or swamp is to be found. There is a ridge, where Kentucky rises, nearly of the size of a mountain.

All the land below the Great Kenhaway until we come near the waters of Licking River is broken, hilly, and generally poor; except in some valleys, and on Little and Great 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

the soil is poor for some distance, being much impregnated with salt.

The southern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, 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 Kentucky River, of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, rises. Here we find mostly first rate land, and near the Kentucky 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 by the Big-bone and Bank-lick creeks, interlocking,

ing, and running separate courses. Here we find a great deal of good land, but something hilly.

On Kentucky 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 Kentucky 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 Kentucky 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 Kentucky.

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, and will
seasons.

have a plentiful supply of water in the dryest seasons. The banks of this river, near its mouth, are similar to the banks of Kentucky. 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 Kentucky. 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

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Salt

Salt River, a great territory begins, called Green River Barrons, extending to the Ohio. 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 Kentucky country, traverse a hilly poor land, though in some parts we find good soil along its sides. The other rivers I mentioned (viz. Great Kenhaway and Tenafee are not in the Kentucky country, and therefore do not come properly within 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 Kentucky, 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 upon which the sun ever shone.

The

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-grafs; and it will be sufficient just to mention that the country on the N. W. side of the Ohio, 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 sweeping 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 Kentucky 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 Kentucky is of a loose, deep black mould, without sand, in the first rate lands
about

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 Kentucky 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 coffee. The papwa-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 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 fallad, 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

toll'd for its scarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the 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 Kentucky, 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. Trout have been taken in Kentucky weighing thirty weight. The mullet, rock, perch, gar-fish, and eel, are here in plenty. Suckers, sun-fish, and other hook-fish, are abundant; but

no

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 and partridges *. The parrot, a bird every way resembling a parrot, but much smaller; the ivory-bill woodcock, 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 plummy 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 mockafon

* What is called a partridge by most people in America is a quail, and what is called a pheasant is a species of grouse.

snakes.

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 bos 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

* Bifon.

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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 opossums. 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.

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I N H A B I T A N T S.

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 Kentucky contains, 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

* This estimate, the reader will recollect, was made in 1784.

diversify

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 Kentucky, 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 Kentucky; 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 Kentucky will

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 Kentucky, 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 the buffalo, 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

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 primæval 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

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 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 Kentucky, and exports some to the Illinois. Drinnons-lick, the Bigbone, 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

amazing herds of Buffalo 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 Great-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 Drinnon'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 practised by the Indians. 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 repositied 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 several 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

tion 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

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.

R I G H T S O F L A N D .

THE proprietors of the Kentucky 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 cabin, 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 coun-

ty, 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 Kentucky, 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 Kentucky is as permanent as the independence of America.

TRADE OF KENTUCKY.

A CONVENIENT situation for commerce is the grand hinge upon which the population, riches, and happiness, of every country greatly depend. I believe many conceive the situation of Kentucky 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

the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to be the key to the northern parts of the southern 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 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 Pittsburg, 320 miles west of Philadelphia, being there formed by the junction of the Alleghany and Monongehela 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,

Rapids, as described before under the description of the Kentucky 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 Yohogania. These waters are navigable to a considerable distance above Pittsburg, from November until June, and the Ohio a month longer; but from Great Kenhaway, 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 Kentucky rivers, others on horseback or in waggons to the settled part, 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 four miles. Those of the Kentucky rivers are much the same, and without 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

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than breadth. At its mouth it is not more than one and a half mile in width, and enters the Mississippi in a S. W. direction with a flow current, and a fine channel. This great river, at the junction with the Ohio, runs in a S. E. direction, and afterwards in a S. W. 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. 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

sands 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 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 forcibly 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 Forte 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

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

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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

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.

From new Orleans to the Falls of Ohio, batteaux, 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 across 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

* This plan is now in agitation in Virginia, and recommended to government by two gentlemen of first rate abilities, Mr. Charles Rumsfy and Dr. James M'Macken. 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 ten miles an hour, to be wrought at no greater expence than that of three hands."

brook,

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 founded 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?

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 Kentucky 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

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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 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 upon, 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

* 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.

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.

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THE
ADVENTURES
OF
COLONEL DANIEL BOON,
FORMERLY A HUNTER;

Containing a NARRATIVE of the WARS of
KENTUCKY.

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 Kentucky, 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

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 equal the glory of the greatest upon earth. And we view Kentucky 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 wan-

der through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucky, 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 Kentucky. 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 buffalo were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundreds in a drove, and the numbers

bers 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 Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake 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 dangerous 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 substitute happiness in their room.

Soon

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 strewn 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

Soon

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 uncomfortably. 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 beautiful tracts below. On the other
hand,

hand, I surveyed the famous river Ohio that rolled in silent dignity, marking the western boundary of Kentucky 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 unhappy such a situation for a man tormented with fear, which is vain if no danger comes,

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 day time, 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

Soon after, I returned home to my family, with a determination to bring them as soon as possible to live in Kentucky, 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 farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucky, 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 settled parts of Kentucky. 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

Soon

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ed forty miles, to the settlement on Clinch 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 Kentucky, are ranged in a S. W. and N. E. 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 Clinch 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;

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, completing 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 garrison, 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 Kentucky 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 Kentucky, with such assistance as I thought necessary to employ for such an important undertaking.

I soon

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 Kentucky 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 Clinch.

In a short time, I proceeded to remove my family from Clinch to this garrison: where we
arrived

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 Kentucky 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 in cultivating the soil for his family's supply. Most of the cattle around the stations were destroyed. They continued their hostilities in this

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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 prevent 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 enemy's loss was uncertain,

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 out-generalled 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 7th 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.

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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 kind-

ness; 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

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 were 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 Sciota, 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 Kentucky, 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 man-

ner, ready to march against Boonborough, I determined to escape the first opportunity.

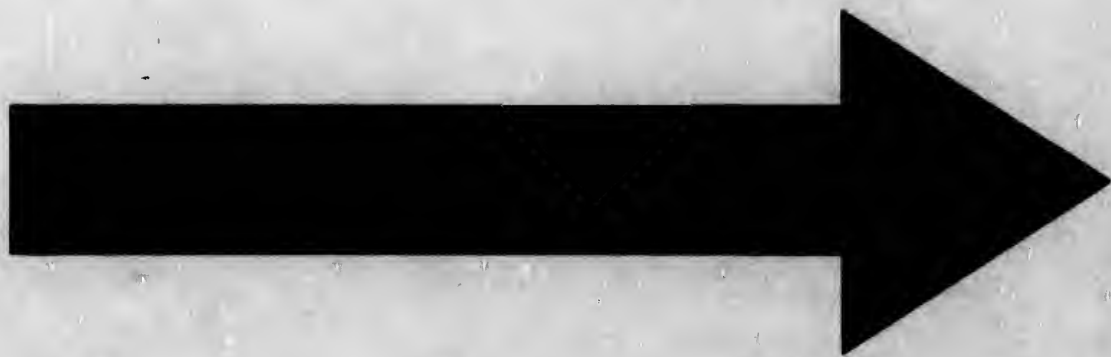
On the sixteenth, before sun-rise, I departed in the most secret manner, and arrived at Boonborough on the twentieth, after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles; during which, I had but one meal.

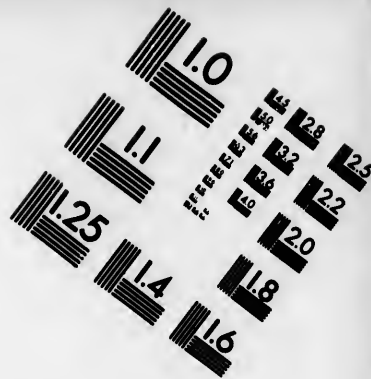
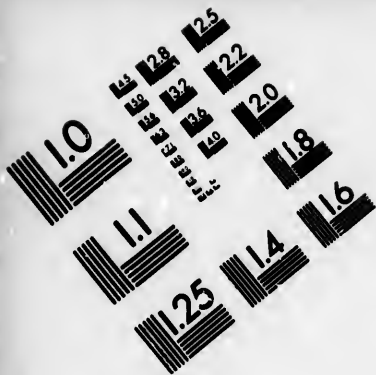
I found our fortrefs in a bad state of defence; but we proceeded immediately to repair our flanks, strengthen our gates and posterns, and form double bastions, which we completed in ten days. In this time we daily expected the arrival of the Indian army; and at length, one of my fellow prisoners, escaping from them, arrived, informing us that the enemy had, on account of my departure, 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 dispossess them of their desirable habitations; and, anxiously concerned for futurity, determined

determined utterly to extirpate the whites out of Kentucky. We were not intimidated by their movements, but frequently gave them proofs of our courage.

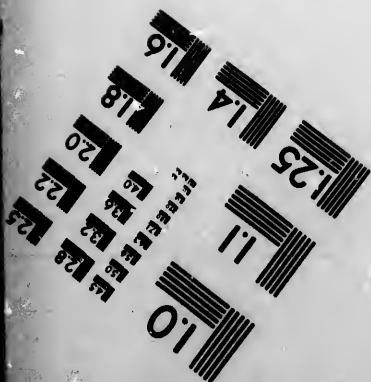
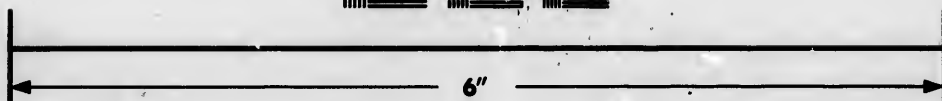
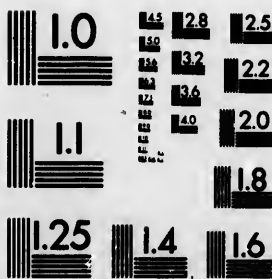
About the first of August, I made an incursion into the Indian country, with a party of nineteen men, in order to surprize a small town up Sciota, called Paint-Creek-Town. We advanced within four miles thereof, where we met a party of thirty Indians on their march against Boonsborough, intending to join 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
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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

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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 founded 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.—

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 Kentucky 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 across 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 siege, which threatened death in every form, we had two men killed, and four wounded,

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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 Kentucky 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.

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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.

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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 Kentucky with my family; and here, to avoid an enquiry into my conduct, the reader being before informed of my bringing my family to Kentucky, 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

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 Kentucky. 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 buffalo. The circumstances of many were very lamentable: however, being a hardy race of people, and accustomed to difficulties and necessities, they were

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were wonderfully supported through all their sufferings, until the ensuing autumn, 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

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field,

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 adandoned men, Captains M'Kee 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

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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, 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, 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 overpowered 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
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their country led these heroes 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 horseback, 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 countrymen, 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 came 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
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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 axe from a corner of the cottage, and cut his head off, while her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly appeared, and ap-

plied 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.

Hender-

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 cheerful 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, descending
from

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 countrymen, I esteem a sufficient reward for all my toil and dangers.

DANIEL BOON,

Fayette county, Kentucky.

PIANKA-

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

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 wampum I present you. Return me my flesh you have in your villages, and the horses you stole from my people at Kentucky. 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.—

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

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 Kentucky are alive and well; we love them, and so do our young women.

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

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

Or

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 Kentucky, living upon the Tenasee River, near the mouths of Clench, Holstein, Nolachucke, and French Broad Rivers, which form the Tenasee or Cherokee River, in the interior part of North Carolina, two hundred miles from Kentucky.

The Chicamawgees lives about ninety miles down the Tenasee 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

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this tribe, which is called by the name of the Whirlpool.

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

The Chicafaws 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 Chicafaws, 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 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 Muskingum River, which runs into the Ohio one hundred and eighty-seven miles above Scioto, on the N. W. side.

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

The Wyandotts possess the banks of a river called Sandusky, which heads and interlocks with Scioto, 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.

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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
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some, who, despairing too 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 Indians 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 across 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

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will ever be made into 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, after 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

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 Gwynedd, 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 countrymen 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

ance 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 Kentucky, 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

more accurate discovery of this immense continent.

There are several ancient remains in Kentucky, 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

nufacture 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

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

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 moccasins, 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
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world has no better marks-men, with any weapon. They will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and wild beasts running.

G E N I U S.

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 completed 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,

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.

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Old Chelicothe is built in form of a Kentucky 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.

R E L I G I O N.

THE accounts of travellers, concerning their religion, are various; and although it cannot be

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absolutely

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

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, every one 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

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 doing 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 with a few observations upon the happy circumstances, that the inhabitants of Kentucky will probably enjoy, from the possession of a country so extensive and fertile.

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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, Kentucky 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 na-

ture 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,

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 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 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

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 Missis-
 sippi 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 lati-
 tude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator,
 to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Ca-
 tanouche; thence along the middle thereof to its
 junction

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

ROAD from PHILADELPHIA to the Falls of
the OHIO by Land.

	M	M. D.
F ROM 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
Martinburg - - -	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
Paterfon's on Roanoak - -	9	381
the Allegany Mountain - -	8	389
New River - - -	12	401
the Forks of the Road - -	16	417
Fort Chiffel - - -	12	429
a Stone Mill - - -	11	440
Boyd's - - -	8	448
Head of Holstein - - -	5	453
To		

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

Kentucky is situated about south, 60° west from Philadelphia, and, on a straight line, may be about six hundred miles distant from that city.

ROAD

ROAD and Distances from PHILADELPHIA
TO PITTSBURG.

M. D.

498
533
566
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631
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723
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742
746
756
781
806
826

west
may
city.
ROAD

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

POSTSCRIPT.

P O S T S C R I P T .

IN order to communicate a distinct idea of the present complexion of the state of Kentucky, I have drawn a map from the best authorities, from which you will discern that Kentucky is already divided into nine counties; and that villages are springing up in every part within its limits, while roads have been opened to shorten the distance to Virginia, and to smooth the rugged paths, which a short time since were our only tracts of communication from one place to another.

You must have observed in a note I annexed to my last letter, the security Kentucky enjoys from the cordon of troops extending upon the western side of the Ohio; and you have only to contemplate the advanced settlements on that side of the river, I presume, to become perfectly convinced of our permanent safety from the attacks of the Indians.

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At the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, a settlement has been formed, which, united with the settlements on Elk River, makes it sufficiently populous to become a distinct county of Virginia, by the name of Kanhaway: so that if you look on either quarter of Kentucky, you will find its frontiers are guarded by settlements nearly adult.

Galliapolis, upon the western side of the Ohio, a little below the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, and extending to the Sciota River, settled by the French, forms a barrier to the north; the forts, and the different settlements contiguous to them, to the west; Cumberland to the south; and upon our back, or east, you will observe the distance through the wilderness, which separates us from the back counties of Virginia, is rapidly contracting by the approximation of our settlements with those of Virginia and North Carolina, and which will very soon cut off the communication between the northern and southern tribes of Indians.

There were two expeditions from Kentucky performed against the Indians in 1791, under

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the command of Generals Scott and Wilkinfon, that I have not hitherto noticed, and which had for their object the chastisement of a predatory, troublesome, and warlike tribe, who lived in several detached towns upon the Wabash and its waters.

The particulars of those expeditions I do not think have been generally known in Europe, and as they were undertaken when I was absent from the country, I shall subjoin an extract from a letter I received from a friend, who formed one of the party; and which, I flatter myself, will be found to contain a considerable share of information, both as to the manner and address of the Kentuckians in Indian warfare, and a more minute account of the country lying between the Ohio and the Wabash.

“General Scott, at the head of 800 Kentucky Volunteers, marched from opposite the mouth of the Kentucky River, about the beginning of June, the course he steered was about north 20° west, and in about fifteen days he struck and surprized the lower Weaucteneau towns on the Wabash River, and the pararie adjoining; but unfortunately

Unfortunately the river at that time was not fordable, or the Kickapoo Town on the north-west side, with the Indians who escaped in their canoes from the Weau Town on the south, must have fallen completely into our hands; however, about 20 warriors were killed in the Weau villages, and in the river crossing the Wabash, and 47 of their Squaws and children taken prisoners.

“Immediately after the engagement, a council of war was called, when it was determined, that Wilkinson should cross the Wabash under cover of the night, with a detachment of four hundred men, and endeavour to surprize the town of Kathtippacamunck, which was situated upon the north side of that river, at the mouth of Rippacanoe creek, and about twenty miles above the Lower Weau towns. This expedition was conducted with so much caution and celerity, that Wilkinson arrived at the margin of the prairie, within a mile, and to the west of the town, about an hour before the break of day; whilst a detachment was taking a circuit through the prairie to co-operate with the main body on a given signal; day appeared, and the volunteers

rushed into the town with an impetuosity not to be resisted. The detachment in advance reached the Rippacanoë Creek the very moment the last of the Indians were crossing, when a very brisk fire took place between the detachment and the Indians on the opposite side, in which several of their warriors were killed, and two of our men wounded.

“ This town, which contained about 120 houses, 80 of which were shingle roofed, was immediately burnt and levelled with the ground; the best houses belonged to French traders, whose gardens and improvements round the town were truly delightful, and, every thing considered, not a little wonderful; there was a tavern, with cellars, bar, public, and private rooms; and the whole marked a considerable share of order, and no small degree of civilization.

“ Wilkinson returned with his detachment, after destroying the town, and joined the main army about seven in the evening; and the day following our little army were put in motion with their prisoners; and steering about south, in
twelve

twelve days reached the Rapids of the Ohio, with the loss only of two men, who unfortunately were drowned in crossing Main White River.

“ The success of this expedition encouraged Government to set another on foot, under the command of General Wilkinson; which was destined to operate against the same tribes of Indians; whose main town, near the mouth of Ell River, on the Wabash, had not been attacked in the first excursion; and accordingly, on the first of August following, the general, at the head of 500 mounted volunteers, marched from Fort Washington, north 16° west, steering, as it were, for the Manmic villages on the Picaway Fork of the Manmic (or Miami of the lake) and St. Mary's River—This movement was intended as a feint, and the Indians, who afterwards fell upon our trail, were completely deceived; nor did we change our course, until by the capture of a Delaware Indian, we ascertained that we were within 30 miles of the principal of the Manmic villages, and having marched down our northing, at the very time we received the information, shifted our course to due west, and at the distance of 180

miles from Fort Washington we struck the Wabash within two miles and a half of Longuille, or, as the Indians call it, Kenapacomaqua—It was about 4 P. M. when we reached that river, and crossing it immediately, we marched in four columns across the neck of land, formed by the junction of the Wabash and Ell Rivers: passing several Indian war posts that had been fresh painted, we arrived completely concealed on the south bank of Ell River, and directly opposite the town of Kenapacomaqua.

“ The surprize of this town was so very complete, that before we received orders to cross the river and rush upon the town, we observed several children playing on the tops of the houses, and could distinguish the hilarity and merriment that seemed to crown the festivity of the villagers, for it was in the season of the green corn dance.

“ The want of day-light, and a morass, that nearly encircled the town, prevented us from suddenly attacking, which enabled several of the Indians to escape; and in some measure obscured the brilliancy of the enterprize, by limiting the number of warriors killed to eleven, and capturing
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ing forty Squaws and their children, after burning all the houses, and destroying about 200 acres of corn ; which was then in the milk, and in that stage when the Indians prepare it for Zoffomanony. This success was achieved with the loss of two men, who were killed.

“ About four o'clock in the afternoon we mounted our prisoners, and took a west and by north course toward the Little Kickapoo Town, which the general hoped to surprize on his way to the Great Kickapoo Town, in the pararie, on the waters of the Illinois River; but the difficulties we encountered in this march, through these almost boundless pararies, were such, that upon our arrival at the Little Kickapoo Town, we found one half the horses in the army non-effective, and unlikely to reach the Ohio, by the nearest course we could take; which consideration induced the general to relinquish the enterprize against the Great Kickapoo Town; and, accordingly, after destroying about 200 acres of corn at Kathippacanunck, Kickapoo, and the lower Weaucstenu towns, we gained General Scot's return tract, and on the 21st of August, after

a circuitous march of 486 miles, arrived with our prisoners at Louisville.

“ In the course of this march, I had an opportunity of observing the general face of the country through which we passed.—Between Fort Washington, at the crossing of the Great Miami, where at present there is a considerable settlement under the protection of Fort Hamilton, a fine body of land is found, but which is very indifferently watered. The situation of Fort Hamilton is well chosen, as advantageous for defence, as pleasing to the eye; it stands on a narrow neck of land, commanding the Miami on N. W. and a prairie and sheet of water on the N. E. about a mile wide, and two miles and an half long; from this prairie an abundant supply of forage may be got for the use of the army by repeated movings of a very fine natural grass, from the month of June till the end of September. After passing the Miami River hills, on the west side, the country in places is broken, though, generally speaking, from thence to the limits of our march, toward the Manmic villages the face of it is agreeably varied with hills and dals;

dales, well watered, and the timber mostly such as indicates a strong and durable soil. Between the Manmic trace and our west line of march toward Kenapacomaqua, there are a number of beech swamps, which will require draining before they will admit of settlements being formed—there are however delightfully pleasant and fertile situations on the Balemud and Salamine Rivers, which are only inferior to the woody plains of Kentucky in extent and climate. The prairie, in which was situated Kenapacomaqua, on the north bank of Ell River, is chiefly a morass, and produces little else, other than hazel, fallow, a species of dwarf poplar, and a very coarse, but luxuriant grass; the latter of which covers mostly the whole surface of the earth.—The same kind of prairie extends, with little alteration, until you approach Kathtippacanunck, when the whole country gradually assumes a more pleasing and valuable appearance.

On our line of march from Kenapacomaqua to Kathtippacanunck (the distance of which from the traverses we were obliged to make to avoid impassable morasses, was sixty miles), in several places,

places, the prospect was only bounded by the natural horizon, the uniformity of which was here and there broken by the distant looming of a grove on the edge of the plane, which strongly resembled the projecting points of a coach clothed with wood, and seen by mariners at a distance from the shore.

“ The situation of the late town of Kathtipacananuck was well chosen for beauty and convenience; it stood in the bosom of a delightful surrounding country on a very rich bottom, extending east and west, on the Wabash River about two miles; the bottom about half a mile wide, bounded on the east by Tippacanoe, and westward by a beautiful rising ground, skirted and clothed with thin woods--from the upper bank you command a view of the Wabash River, which is terminated by a towering growth of wood to the south, and Tippacanoe Creek to the East--the country in the rear from the upper bank spreads into a level prairie of firm, strong land, of an excellent quality, interspersed with copses, naked groves of trees, and high mounds of earth of a regular and conical form, all of which
conspire

conspire to relieve the eye, and cheer the scene with a most agreeable variety. The top of this bank, which is level with the plane of the parairie, and about two hundred feet perpendicular from the bottom in which the town stood, forms an angle about 60° , and about midway there issues from its side two living fountains, which have hitherto constantly supplied the town with water.

“ The country between Kathippacanunck and the Little Kickapoo town is beautiful beyond description. The numerous breaks, and intermixture of woodland and plains, give the whole an air of the most perfect taste; for nature here, in a propitious hour, and in a benignant mood, seems to have designed to prove, in beautifying, how far she excels our utmost efforts, and the most laboured improvements of art.

“ Between the Little Kickapoo town and the lower Weausteneau towns, the land is of the first-rate quality—at the edge of the wood lands, and before you descend into the river bottoms, one of the most charming prospects the imagination can form, displays itself in all the variegated pride of
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the most captivating beauty. From this place, through the glades and vistas of the groves in the bottom, you catch a view of the meandering river, which silently steals through this smiling country, as if pregnant with its charms, and, as if it was hurrying to communicate its joys to less happy streams. The bottoms of the Wabash on the opposite side are confined by a bluff bank nearly two hundred feet, which interrupts the prospect, and runs parrallel with the river—from the top of this bank a plain is seen stretching out to the east and west as far as the eye can reach, without tree or bush, covered with a most luxuriant herbage, and in every respect assuming the appearance of an highly improved and cultivated meadow. The plain is terminated on the south by a distant prospect of the rising woodlands, which, with a misty bloom, and in all that azure beauty, so peculiar to these fair regions, here appears in all its ætherial lustre; and seems finally lost in combining with the clouds.

“ The Briares extend about twenty-five miles south of the Wabash, from thence the country gradually breaks into hills and valleys, and until

we

we reached the waters of White River, we found the soil tolerably good. There it is very much broken, the bottoms of the rivers are narrow, and subject to frequent and violent inundations.

“ There is some tolerable good land on Rocky River, but as we approached the waters of the Blue River, the country again opens into plains, in which are interspersed clumps of scrubby oak, dwarf laurel, plumb, and hazel, that extend to Indian Creek, when the country again improves, and though it is rather broken, it continued to improve until we reached the Rapids of the Ohio.”

What I formerly advanced respecting a new State being formed in ten years from that date, west of the Ohio, merely as conjecture, does not appear to me at present the least problematical

The circumstances attending the rise of the State of Kentucky were infinitely more perilous and calamitous than extending our settlements farther westward are likely to be:—and when it is remembered that State rose, from an uninhabited wild, detached from every other country
from

from which it would obtain supplies a distance of several hundred miles, and exposed on every quarter to the merciless fury of the savages, in a shorter period of time, and that our present infant settlements are protected by a strong and active military force, directed by fatal and improved experience of our former misfortunes, with a cultivated country at their back, which pours fourth an abundance of resources to support them against the effects of contingencies and disasters, I think we may contemplate, with every degree of human certainty, the success of such a speculation.

The settlement at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, which did not commence until 1785, and which was an æra when our western affairs had a most gloomy aspect, constitutes already, with the settlements above the river Elk, a distinct county, and in which the laws of the State to which it belongs are administered with great precision and justice.

Galleapolis and the settlements upon the Miami increase daily in strength, while fresh encouragement and security are given to emigrants
by

by the vigilance of the army in their neighbourhood; who so completely overawe the Indians, that little harm in future can be dreaded from their incursions, and they well know their partial successes hitherto were owing to the folly of our war minister, and the inexperience of the officers of his appointment—but the system has been completely changed—and the success of Wilkinson and Scot's expedition is amply sufficient to justify the measure.

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R E P O R T
OF THE
SECRETARY OF STATE,
TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
OF THE
QUANTITY AND SITUATION
OF THE
LANDS NOT CLAIMED BY THE INDIANS, NOR GRANTED TO,
NOR CLAIMED BY ANY CITIZENS,
WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

READ IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, NOV. 10, 1791.

The SECRETARY OF STATE, to whom was referred by the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, the Resolution of Congress, requesting the President 'to cause an estimate to be laid before Congress at their next session, of the quantity and situation of the LANDS not claimed by the Indians, nor granted to, nor claimed by any citizens of the United States, within the territory ceded to the United States by the State of North-Carolina, and within the territory of the United States, Northwest of the river Ohio,' makes thereon the following

R E P O R T.

THE territory ceded by the State of North-Carolina to the United States, by deed bearing date the 25th day of February 1790, is bounded as follows, to wit: Beginning in the boundary between Virginia and North-Carolina, that is to say, in the parallel of latitude $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north from the equator, on the extreme height of the Stone Mountain, where the said boundary or parallel intersects it, and running thence along the said extreme height to the place where Wataugo River breaks through it; thence a direct course to the top of the

Yellow Mountain, where Bright's Road crosses the same; thence along the ridge of the said mountain between the waters of Doe River and the waters of Rock Creek, to the place where the road crosses the Iron Mountain; from thence along the extreme height of said mountain to where Nolichucky River runs through the same; thence to the top of the Bald Mountain; thence along the extreme height of the said mountain to the Painted Rock, on French Broad River; thence along the highest ridge of the said mountain, to the place where it is called the Great Iron or Smoky Mountain; thence along the extreme height of the said mountain to the place where it is called Unaka Mountain, between the Indian towns of Cowee and Old Chota; thence along the main ridge of the said mountain, to the southern boundary of the said State of North-Carolina, that is to say, to the parallel of latitude 35 degrees north from the equator; thence westwardly along the said boundary or parallel, to the middle of the river Mississippi; thence up the middle of the said river to where it is intersected by the first mentioned parallel of 36½ degrees; thence along the said parallel to the beginning: which tract of country is a degree and a half of latitude from north to south, and about 360 miles, in general, from east to west, as nearly as may be estimated from such maps as exist of that country.

The Indians having claims within the said tract of country, are the Cherokees and Chickasaws, whose boundaries are settled by the treaties of Hopewell, concluded with the Cherokees on the twenty-eighth day of November 1785, and with the Chickasaws, on the tenth day of January 1786, and by the treaty of Holston,

ston, concluded with the Cherokees, July 2d, 1791. These treaties acknowledge to the said Indians all the lands westward and southward of the following lines, to wit; beginning in the boundary between South and North-Carolina, where the South-Carolina Indian boundary strikes the same; thence north to a point from which a line is to be extended to the river Clinch, that shall pass the Holston, at the ridge which divides the waters running into Little River from those running into the Tannissée; thence up the river Clinch to Campbell's Line, and along the same to the top of the Cumberland Mountain; thence in a direct course towards the Cumberland River, where the Kentucky road crosses it, as far as the Virginia line, or parallel aforesaid, of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees; thence westwardly, or eastwardly, as the cause shall be, along the said line or parallel to the point thereof, which is due north-east from another point to be taken on the dividing ridge of Cumberland and Duck Rivers, 40 miles from Nashville; thence south-west to the point last mentioned, on the said dividing ridge, and along the said dividing ridge north-westwardly, to where it is intersected by the said Virginia line, or parallel of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees. So that there remained to the United States, the right of pre-emption of the lands westward and southward of the said lines, and the absolute right to those northward thereof, that is to say; to one parcel to the eastward, somewhat triangular, comprehending the counties of Sullivan and Washington, and parts of those of Greene and Hawkins, running about 150 miles from east to west, on the Virginia boundary, as its base, and between 80 and 90 miles from north to south, where broadest; and containing,

as may be conjectured, without pretending to accuracy, between seven and eight thousand square miles, or about five millions of acres: and to one other parcel to the westward, somewhat triangular also, comprehending parts of the counties of Sumner, Davidson, and Tannisee, the base whereof extends about 150 miles also, from east to west, on the same Virginia line, and its height, from north to south, about 55 miles, and so may comprehend about four thousand square miles, or upwards of two and a half millions of acres of land.

Within these triangles, however, are the following claims of citizens, reserved by the deed of cession, and consequently forming exceptions to the rights of the United States:

I. Appropriations by the State of North-Carolina, for their continental and state officers and soldiers.

1. Grants and titles to grants vested in individuals by the laws of the State.

III. Entries made in Armstrong's Office, under an act of that State, of 1783, for the redemption of specie and other certificates.

The claims covered by the first reservation are,

1st, The bounties in land given by the said State of North Carolina, to their continental line, in addition to those given by Congress; these were to be located within a district bounded northwardly by the Virginia line, and southwardly by a line parallel thereto, and 55 miles distant: westwardly, by the Tannisee, and eastwardly by the meridian of the intersection of the Virginia line, and Cumberland River; grants have accordingly issued for 1,239,498 acres, and warrants for the further

further quantity of 1,549,726 acres, making together 2,789,224 acres.

It is to be noted, that the south-western and south-eastern angles of this district, constituting perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the whole, are south of the lines established by the the treaties of Hopewell and Holston, and consequently in a country wherein the Indian title is acknowledged and guaranteed by the United States. No information is received of the exact proportion of the locations made within these angles.

2d, Bounties in land to Evan's battalion, raised for State purposes. These were to be taken west of the Cumberland Mountain. The locations are not yet made.

The second reservation covers the following claims :

1. Lands for the surveyor-general's fees for laying out the military bounties, to be located in the military district. The grants already issued on this account amount to 30,203 acres.

2. Grants to Isaac Shelby, Anthony Bledsoe, and Absalom Tatum, commissioners for laying out the military bounties; and to guards, chain-carriers, markers, and hunters, who attended them, already issued to the amount of 65,932 acres, located in the military district.

3. Entries in Washington county, amounting to 746,362½ acres; for 214,549½ which grants have already issued. Of the remaining 531,812½ acres, a considerable proportion were declared void by the laws of the State, and were particularly excluded from the cover of the reservation in the deed of cession, by this clause in it, to wit, " Provided that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the making

good any entry or entries, or any grant or grants, heretofore declared void, by any act or acts of the General Assembly of this State." Still it is to be considered, that many of these persons have settled and improved the lands, are willing, as it is said, to comply with such conditions as shall be required of other purchasers, form a strong barrier on the new frontier, acquired by the treaty of Holston, and are therefore objects meriting the consideration of the Legislature.

4. Entries in Sullivan county, amounting to 240,624 acres; for 173,332 acres of which, grants have already issued; of the remaining entries, many are certified void, and others understood to be lapsed or otherwise voidable under the laws of the State.

5. Certain pre-emption rights granted to the first settlers of Davidson county, on Cumberland River, amounting to 390,760 acres.

6. A grant of 200,000 acres to Richard Henderfon and others on Powell's and Clinch's Rivers, extending up Powell's River in a breadth of not less than 4 miles, and down Clinch's from their junction in a breadth not less than 12 miles. A great part of this is within the Indian territory.

Among the grants of the State now under recapitulation, as forming exceptions out of the absolute rights of the United States, are not to be reckoned here two grants of 2,000 acres each to Alexander Martin and David Wilson, adjacent to the lands allotted to the officers and soldiers; nor a grant of 25,000 acres on Duck River to the late Major General Greene; because they are wholly within the Indian territory, as acknowledged by the treaties of Hopewell and Holston.

The

The extent of the third reservation in favor of entries made in Armstrong's Office is not yet entirely known, nor can be till the 20th of December 1792, the last day given for perfecting them : the sum of certificates, however, which had been paid for these warrants into the treasury of the State, before the 20th day of May 1790, reaches in all probability near to their whole amount ; this was £ 373,649 : 6s : 5d. currency of that State, and at the price of £ 10 the hundred acres, established by law, shews that warrants had issued for 3,736,493 acres ; for 1,762,660 of these grants have passed, which appear to have been located partly in the counties of Greene and Hawkins, and partly in the country from thence to the Mississippi, as divided into Eastern, Middle, and Western districts. Almost the whole of these locations are within the Indian territory. Besides the warrants paid for as before mentioned, it is known that there are some others out-standing and not paid for : but perhaps these need not be taken into account, as payment of them has been disputed on the ground, that the lands being within the Indian territory, cannot now be delivered to the holders of the warrants.

On a review of all the reservations, after making such conjectural allowance as our information authorizes, for the proportion of them, which may be within the Indian boundaries, it appears probable that they cover all the ceded lands susceptible of culture, and cleared of the Indian title, that is to say, all the habitable parts of the two triangles before mentioned, excepting only the lands south of the French Broad, and Big Pigeon Rivers. These were part of the tract appropriated by the laws of the State to the use of the Indians,

whose

whose title being purchased at the late treaty of Holston; they are now free to be disposed of by the United States, and are probably the only lands open to their disposal, within this south-western territory, which can excite the attention of purchasers. They are supposed to amount to about 300,000 acres, and we are told that 300 families have already set down upon them without right or license.

The territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio, is bounded on the south by that river, on the east by Pennsylvania, on the north and west by the lines which divide the United States from the dominions of Great Britain and Spain.

The part of this territory occupied by Indians, is north and west of the following lines, established with the Wiandots, Delawares, Chippawas, and Ottawas, by the treaty of Fort McIntosh, and, with the Shawanese, by that of the Great Miami, to wit: beginning at the mouth of the Cayahoga, and running up the river to the portage, between that and the Tuscaroras branch of the Muskingum, then down the said branch to the Forks, at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, then westwardly, towards the portage of the Big Miami, to the main branch of that river, then down the Miami to the fork of that river next below the old Fort, which was taken by the French in 1752; thence due west to the river De la Panse, and down that river to the Wabash. So far the lines are precisely defined, and the whole country southward of these lines, and eastward of the Wabash cleared of the claims of those Indians, as it is also of those of the Poutiwatimas, and Sacs, by the treaty of Muskingum. How far on the other side of
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the Wabash, the southern boundary of the Indians has been defined, we know not. It is only understood in general, that their title to the lower country, between that river and the Illinois, has been formally extinguished by the French, while in their possession. As to that country then, and what lies still beyond the Illinois, it would seem expedient that nothing be done, till a fair ascertainment of boundary can take place, by mutual consent, between us and the Indians interested.

The country within the Wabash, the Indian line before described, the Pennsylvania line, and the Ohio, contains, on a loose estimate, about 55,000 square miles, or 35 millions of acres.

During the British government, great numbers of persons had formed themselves into companies under different names, such as the Ohio, the Wabache, the Illinois, the Mississippi, or Vandalia companies, and had covered, with their applications, a great part of this territory. Some of them had obtained orders on certain conditions, which, having never been fulfilled, their titles were never completed by grants. Others were only in a state of negotiation, when the British authority was discontinued. Some of these claims being already under a special reference by order of Congress, and all of them probably falling under the operation of the same principles, they will not be noticed in the present report.

The claims of citizens to be here stated will be,

I. Those reserved by the States in their deeds of cession.

II. Those which have arisen under the government of the United States themselves.

Under

Under the first head presents itself the tract of country from the completion of the 41st degree, to 42 deg. 2 min. of north latitude, and extending from the Pennsylvania line before mentioned, 120 miles westward, not mentioned in the deed of Connecticut, while all the country westward thereof was mentioned to be ceded; about two and a half millions of acres of this may perhaps be without the Indian lines before mentioned.

2. A reservation in the deed of Virginia of the possessions and titles of the French and Canadian inhabitants and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincent's, and the neighboring villages, who had professed themselves citizens of Virginia, which rights have been settled by an act of the last session of Congress, intitled, "An act for granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country in the territory north-west of the Ohio, and for confirming them in their possessions." These lands are in the neighbourhood of the several villages.

3. A reservation in the same deed of a quantity not exceeding 150,000 acres of land for General George Rogers Clarke, and the officers and soldiers of his regiment who were at the reduction of Kaskaskias, and St. Vincent's, to be laid off in such place on the north-west side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers should choose. They chose they should be laid off on the river adjacent to the Rapids, which accordingly has been done.

4. A reservation, in the same deed, of lands between the Scioto and Little Miami, to make up to the Virginia troops on continental establishment the quantity which the good lands, in their southern allotments, might

might fall short of the bounties given them by the laws of that State. By a statement of the 16th of September, 1788, it appears that 724,045 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres had been surveyed for them on the south-eastern side of the Ohio; that 1,395,385 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres had been surveyed on the north-western side; that warrants for 649,649 acres more, to be laid off on the same side of the river, were in the hands of the surveyor, and it was supposed there might still be some few warrants not yet presented; so that this reservation may be stated at 2,045,034 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or perhaps some small matter more.

II. The claims of individual citizens derived from the United States themselves are the following:

1. Those of the continental army, founded on the resolutions of Congress of September 16, 1776, August 12, and September 30, 1780, and fixed by the ordinance of May 20, 1785. The resolution of October 22, 1787, and the supplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, in the seven ranges of townships, beginning at a point on the Ohio, due north from the western termination of a line then lately run, as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania: or in a second tract of a million of acres, bounded east by the 7th range of the said townships, south by the lands of Cutler and Sargent; north, by an extension of the northern boundary of the said townships; and going towards the west so far as to include the above quantity; or, lastly, in a third tract of country; beginning at the mouth of the Ohio, and running up the Mississippi to the river Au Vause, thence up the same till it meets a west line from the mouth of the Little Wash; thence along that line to the Great Wash; thence down the same and the Ohio to the beginning.

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The sum total of the said military claims is 1,851,800 acres.

2. Those of the individuals who made purchases of land at New York, within the said seven ranges of townships, according to the resolutions of Congress of April 21, 1787, and the supplementary ordinance of July 9, 1788, which claims amount to 150,896 acres.

3. The purchase of one million and a half acres of land by Cutler and Sargent, on behalf of certain individuals, associated under the name of the Ohio Company. This begins where the Ohio is intersected by the western boundary of the 7th range of townships, and runs due north on that boundary 1306 chains and 25 links; thence due west to the western boundary of the 17th range of townships; thence due south to the Ohio, and up that river to the beginning; the whole area containing 1,781,760 acres of land, whereof 281,760 acres, consisting of various lots and townships, are reserved to the United States.

4. The purchase by the same Cutler and Sargent on behalf also of themselves and others. This begins at the north-eastern angle of the tract of their purchase before described, and runs due north to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio; thence due west, to the Scioto; thence down the same, and up the Ohio to the south-western angle of the said purchase before described, and along the western and northern boundaries thereof to the beginning; the whole area containing 4,901,480 acres of land, out of which, however, five lots, to wit, Nos. 8, 11, 16, 26, and 29 of every township, of six miles square, are retained by the United States, and out of the whole are retained the
three

three townships of Gnadenhuttten, Schoenbrun, and Salem; and certain lands around them, as will be hereafter mentioned.

5. The purchase of John Cleve Symmes, bounded on the west by the Great Miami; on the south by the Ohio; on the east by a line which is to begin on the bank of the Ohio, 20 miles from the mouth of the Great Miami, as measured along the several courses of Ohio, and to run parallel with the general course of the said Great Miami; and on the north by an east and west line, so run as to include a million of acres in the whole area, whereof five lots, numbered as before mentioned, are reserved out of every township by the United States.

It is suggested that this purchaser, under colour of first and larger proposition to the board of treasury, which was never closed (but pending that proposition), sold sundry parcels of land, between his eastern boundary before mentioned, and the Little Miami; and that the purchasers have settled thereon. If these suggestions prove true, the settlers will, perhaps, be thought to merit the favor of the legislature, as purchasers for valuable consideration, and without notice of the defect of title.

The contracts for lands, which were at one time under consideration with Messrs. Flint and Parker, and with Colonel Morgan, were never so far prosecuted as to bring either party under any obligation. All proceedings thereon were discontinued at a very early stage, and it is supposed that no further views exist with any party. These, therefore, are not to be enumerated among existing claims.

6. Three

6. Three townships were reserved by the ordinance of May 20, 1785, adjacent to Lake Erie, for refugees from Canada and Nova-Scotia, and for other purposes, according to resolutions of Congress, made or to be made on that subject. These would of course contain 69,120 acres.

7. The same ordinance of May 20, 1785, appropriated the three towns of Gnadenhutzen, Schoenbrun, and Salem, on the Muskingum, for the Christian Indians formerly settled there, or the remains of that society, with the grounds round about them, and the quantity of the said circumjacent grounds, for each of the said towns, was determined by the resolution of Congress of September 3d, 1788, to be so much as, with the plat of its respective town, should make up 4000 acres; so that the three towns and their circumjacent lands were to amount to 12,000 acres. This reservation was accordingly made out of the larger purchase of Cutler and Sargent, which comprehended them. The Indians, however, for whom the reservation was made, have chosen to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, so that the lands reserved for them still remain to the United States.

On the whole, it appears that the United States may rightfully dispose of all the lands between the Wabash, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, the forty-first parallel of latitude, and the Indian lines described in the treaties of the Great Miami, and Fort M^cIntosh, with exceptions only of the rights saved by the deed of cession of Virginia, and of all rights legally derived from the government of the United States, and supposing the parts south of the Indian lines, to contain as before conjectured, about

35 mil-

35 millions of acres, and that the claims of citizens before enumerated may amount to between thirteen and fourteen millions, there remain at the disposal of the United States upwards of twenty one millions of acres, in this north-western quarter.

And though the want of actual surveys of some parts, and of a general delineation of the whole on paper, so as to exhibit to the eye the locations, forms, and relative positions of the rights before described, may prevent our forming a well defined idea of them at this distance, yet, on the spot these difficulties exist but in a small degree: the individuals there employed in the details of buying, selling, and locating, possess local informations of the parts which concern them, so as to be able to keep clear of each other's rights; or, if in some instances a conflict of claims should arise, from any want of certainty in their definition, a local judge will doubtless be provided to decide them without delay, at least provisionally. Time, instead of clearing up these uncertainties, will cloud them the more, by the death or removal of witnesses, the disappearance of lines and marks, change of parties, and other casualties.

TH. JEFFERSON, Secretary of State.

November 8, 1791.

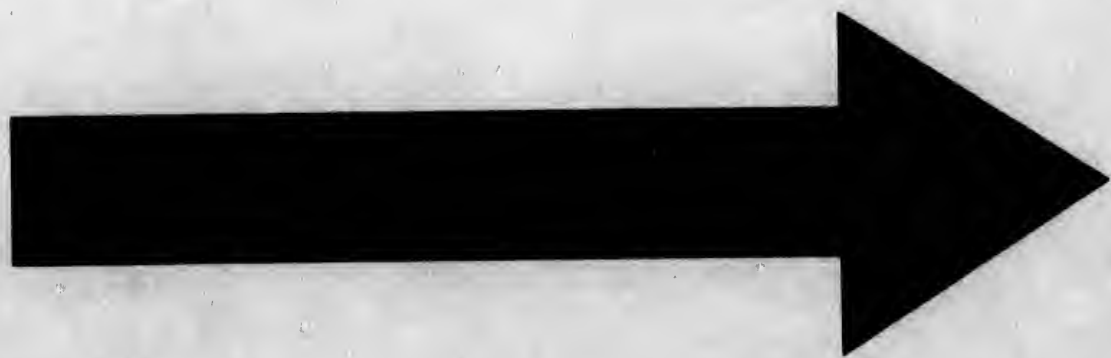
A
Al
Ar

I N D E X.

AGRICULTURE, when apparently the first object of mankind, 92.

Allegany river described, 36.

America, its present population, *Introduction*, vii; how often doubled, *ib.* wherefore calculated to rival half the globe, *ib.* viii; contrasted with Europe, 1; the causes of its independence, 2; sentiments concerning its peopling, 3; conformity of its inhabitants to the Tartars, 4—373; when in its infancy, 5; tyrannized over by Spain, 7; how countenanced by England and France, *ibid.* division of its Western Country, 35; its empire a stupendous theme for speculation, 64; its rapid population a subject of the utmost astonishment, 71; probable magnitude of its federal empire, 74; increase of its population, during the course of a century, 85, *et seq.* natural proportion of the increase of its inhabitants obstructed by wars, 88; numerous circumstances likely to accelerate and increase its population, 89, *et seq.* magnitude of its lakes, 93; produce of its Western territories, 93, *et seq.* all its known rivers favourable to commerce, 115; calculated to become the emporium and protector of the world, 117; what ought to be the situation for the permanent seat of its federal Govern-



0
E 128
E 32
E 25
E 22
E 20
1.8

10
E 10
E 5

I N D E X.

- ment, 119; its four most capital rivers described, *ibid.*
et seq. extension and strength of its settlements, 123, *et seq.*
the general climate of it described, 140, *et seq.*
contrast between it and Europe, 172; its inhabitants
not generally prejudiced against the negroes, 201;
description of its plants, fruits, trees, animals and
birds, 224, 242; its natural history touched upon by
Buffon, Kalm, D'Abenton, Catesby, and Pennant,
233; remarks concerning the population of its im-
mense continent, 372, *et seq.* what nations may be sup-
posed to have contributed to it, 375, *et seq.*
Anabaptists, the first who promoted public worship in
Kentucky, 301.
Animals, American, *locally* enumerated, 233, *et seq.*
Appendixes, 268, 400.
Army, standing, its pernicious consequences, 26.
Ashton, Captain, falls in an action against the Savages,
353.

B.

- Bisons of Scythia resemble the buffaloes of America, 4.
Black, one in New England composed an ephemeris, 213.
Blue-Licks, dreadful result of the battle there, 357.
Boats, flat-bottomed, how constructed, 106; in what
manner propelled by the force of mechanical powers,
319.
Bones of immense magnitude not ascertained, 47; con-
jectures respecting them, 306, *et seq.*
Boon, Colonel Daniel, signs his recommendations of
Filson's State of Kentucky, 271; himself one of the
earliest settlers there, 274; proceeds in quest of Ken-
tucky, with his associates, 326; finds in it abundance
of wild-beasts, *ib.* and immense quantities of buffaloes,
fearlessly browsing, *ib.* seized and plundered by the
Indians, 327; escapes, 328; joined by his brother, *ib.*
who shortly returned, leaving him alone, 330; con-
templates the beauties of the country, 331; his brother
comes back, and they depart together to Cumberland
river, 332; he soon afterwards goes home for his
family, 333; whom, with other families, he brings
towards Kentucky, *ib.* again engaged with the Indians,
ib.

I N D E X.

ib. his son falls in the action, *ib.* employed by Governor Lord Dunmore, to conduct some surveyors to a distant settlement, 335; takes a command during the campaign, *ib.* marks out the roads towards Kentucky, *ib.* assailed by the Indians, 336; erects a fort, at Boonborough, *ib.* more battles, 337, 338, 339, 340, 345, 347, 354, 358, *et seq.* their consequences, 337, 338, 339, 340, 345, 347, 354, 358, *et seq.* his daughter taken prisoner, 337; he experiences a generous treatment from the English, 341; and from the Indians, 342; escapes to Boonsborough, 344; loses his second son in battle, 356; how verifying the observations of an old Indian, 361; his prayer for the extirpation of war, 361; lives, at length, in undisturbed tranquillity, 36.

Bourbon, one of the four most capital rivers in America, 119, *et seq.*

Bowman, Colonel, his long passage through a subterraneous lake, 303; brings a reinforcement to Colonel Boon from Virginia, 339; result of his expedition against the Shawanese, 349.

Braddock, General, a consequence of his defeat, 20.

Briars, country surrounding it described, 413.

Buffaloes of America resemble the bisons of Scythia, 4; manner in which they form a lick, 46; their immense number, 67.

Buffon, in part, describes the Mammouth, 47, 236; touches upon the natural history of America, 233; his remarks concerning the animals inhabiting, in common, the two continents, 373.

Burying grounds, some, at Kentucky, perhaps bearing a resemblance to ancient British remains, 380.

C.

Calaway, Colonel, his daughters taken prisoners by the Indians, 337.

Campbell, Colonel, gains a victory over Colonel Ferguson and his detachment, 25.

Canada described, 68; its winters, *ib.*

Canals, benefits to be derived from their completion, 38.

Cane, the, described, 45.

Carolina

I N D E X.

- Carolina ground-nut, the long designation of it by Mr. Jefferson, 223.
- Carver, his ideas of civilization, on one side of the Alleghany mountains, imaginary, 3; parts of America described by him, 65; accuracy of his observations, 68; mentions the four most capital rivers of America, 119, *et seq.*
- Catabaws described, 79, 369.
- Catesby touches upon the natural history of America, 233.
- Catsfish, its immense size, 296.
- Caves, their prodigious dimensions, 303; how curiously supported, *ib.*
- Cayahoga river described, 70.
- Chaftaws described, 78, *et seq.*
- Channels of communications, by water, their varieties and extent, 117.
- Chaplain, Captain, nature of his remarks in confirmation of the idea that the Missouri colony was supposed to have been founded by Madoc, a Prince of Wales, 377.
- Charlevoix quoted, 6; parts of America described by him, 65; his account of the Ohio, 319, *et seq.*
- Chegee Indians described, 369.
- Chelicothe, old, manner in which it is built, 385.
- Cherokees described, 78, *et seq.* 368.
- Chicamawgee Indians described, 368.
- Chicasaw Indians described, 369.
- Choctaw Indians described, *ib.*
- Church, its tyranny retarding the elucidation of truth, 176.
- Clark, General, his successful expedition against Peckaway, 351; his distinguished character and fortunate expedition, 359; receives ambassadors from the Indians, 360.
- Clarkville described, 52.
- Climate, remarks concerning its effects on the skin, and its assimilation of foreigners to natives, 207, *et seq.*
- Cline, Doctor, his opinion respecting the Mammoth 236.
- Clover, the, described, 46.

I N D E X.

- Mr. Commerce, systems for its aggrandisement, how baneful, 124.
- Cook, Captain, his discoveries appear to support the hypothesis of Buffon, concerning the animals inhabiting in common; the two continents, 374.
- Conclusion, the, 390.
- Continental currency, state of the, 13.
- Cool, William, accompanies Colonel Boon in quest of Kentucky, 326.
- Cotton manufactory apparently more profitable than that of silk, 100.
- Crane, its particular longevity, 132.
- Creeks described, 78, *et seq.*
- Cumberland mountain, its horrible aspect, 334.
- Cumberland river described, 23, 283.
- Cumberland settlement, cause of its commencement, 23; its productions, 100, *et seq.*
- Curiosity natural to the soul of man, 324.
- D.
- D'Abenton touches upon the natural history of America, 233.
- Dalton, J. holds a council with the Piankashaw Indians, 363; his speech, *ib.*
- Danes, great navigators, 376; their discoveries, *ib.*
- Deer, manner in which they form a lick, 46; their immense number, 67.
- Definitive treaty, copy of its second article, 394, *et seq.*
- Detroit described, 68, *et seq.* probable surrender of its forts likely to increase the settlements upon the borders of the lake Erie, 83; of material importance to Great Britain, 247.
- Dick's river described, 282.
- Distances from one river to another, 111.
- Distinctions, their existence how baneful to human nature, 58.
- Drinker, Edward, curious particulars concerning him, *Introduction*, v; gave the unconstitutional acts of Great Britain against America, to his grandsons that they might convert them into rites, *ib.* vii.
- Dunmore, Earl of, his expedition, 10.

Elk-horn

I N D E X.

E.

- Elk-horn river described, 282.
 Elks, their immense number, 67.
 Emigrants, their numbers, 86.
 England, how politic and humane, 7; her settlements in America, 7, *et seq.* cause of the war between her and France, 8; obtains cessions by the 'Treaty' of Paris in 1763, 20; enjoying a considerable share of liberty, whilst other countries languish under despotism, 44; in what instance practising the very policy which she so severely reprobated in France, 264.
 English language, likely to supersede the Latin, 221.
 Erie, lake, its circumference, 92.
 Esquimaux Indians, supposed remains of the colony of Vinland, 377.
 Euphorbus, description of his death, 251.
 Europe, when in its infancy, 5; contrast between it and America, 172;
 Expeditions, recital of two against an Indian tribe, 402, *et seq.*

F.

- Federal Government, circumstances under which it arose, *et seq.*
 Ferguson, Colonel, defeated and killed, 25.
 Filson, John, his account of Kentucky a source of information to all succeeding writers, *Introduction*, xv; his state of it, 269; recommendations of the authenticity of his account, under the signatures of Boon, Todd, and Harrod, 271; not an inhabitant of the settlement, 273; goes thither in 1767, 276; obliged to decamp, *ib.* returns again in 1769, with Colonel Boon and others, *ib.* describes its situation and boundaries, 279, *et seq.* its rivers, 281; the nature of its soil, 285, *et seq.* its air and climate, 291, *et seq.* its soil and produce, 292; its quadrupeds, 298; its inhabitants, 300, *et seq.* its religious sects, 303; its curiosities, 302; its different springs, 303, *et seq.* its curious sepulchres, 305; its various rights of land, 309, *et seq.* its trade, 312, *et seq.*

Forbes,

Forbes
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 Fossil
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I N D E X.

Forbes, General, result of his capture of Fort Du Quesne,
20.

Fossils, why of unascertained value, 57.

France, how politic and humane, 7; her settlements in
America, 7, *et seq.* cause of the war between her and
England, 8; patriarchial manner in which her colonial
subjects lived at Post Saint Vincent, 21; conciliates
the manners of the Savages in America, 264; diffused
amongst them a more general knowledge of the use of
fire-arms, to render them more formidable to the
Whites, *ib.* when this animosity ceased, *ib.*

Franklin, state of, an intended distinction, 77.

Freemen, instances of their superiority over slaves, 26.

Friend, an accomplished military lamentation over the
loss of one, 251; his death compared to that of
Euphorbus, *ib.*

Fur trade, English, in Canada, when likely to be reduced
more than one half, 247.

G.

Gallipolis, settlement of, described, 401; increasing in
strength, 414.

Genesee country described, 80, *et seq.*

Geographers either ignorant of Kentucky, or negligently
overlooking it, 273.

Gibbaway Indians described, 370.

Girty, Captain, inflames the Savages against Colonel
Boon, and his associates. 354.

Gordon, Colonel, his high opinion of the Western limits
of the Federal Empire of America, 93; describes the
manner of passing the falls of the Ohio, 114.

Grape, native, described, 56.

Great-bone Lick described, 47.

Greenland discovered by the Danes, 376.

Green river described, 55, 283.

H.

Harland, Major, killed in an action with the Indians, 356.

Harrod, Colonel James, signs his recommendation of
Filson's state of Kentucky, 271.

Hawk, its particularly extended age, 132.

Henderfon,

I N D E X.

- Henderson, Mr. the result of his endeavours to establish a colony at Kentucky, 11; situation of his grant, 55; purchases of lands at Kentucky, 278; his right disputed by the State of Virginia, who, notwithstanding, reward him for his acquisitions, 278.
- Henriade*, the reasons why it has been so little read, 213.
- Hillsborough, Earl of, account presented to him of the various and important public advantages to be drawn from the country of the Ohio, 103, *et seq.*
- Holden, John, accompanies Colonel Boon in quest of Kentucky, 326.
- Holder, Captain, defeated at the head of his party, against the Savages, 353.
- Holston, country of, its situation, 24; described, 61.
- Homer, his idea of the result of slavery, 211; quoted, 251.
- Hunter, Dr. his opinion concerning the Mammouth, 236. of certain bones of an immense size, 308.
- Huron, lake, its circumference, 92.

I.

- Ibberville, how it might be rendered the centre of the Western trade, 322.
- Iceland discovered by the Danes, 376.
- Icelanders, their settlement at Vinland, *ib.*
- Jefferson, Mr. his remarks on population, 85; on the numbers of emigrants, 86; his account of the inundations of the Ohio, 120; a man of erudition. 121; but superficial, and attached to his own theories, 124; quoted, 140; observations concerning his tables of average heat and cold, 146; his ideas of the government of Virginia, 178, *et seq.* where adopting the sentiments of Mr. Burke, 183; his prejudices against the Negroes, 201, *et seq.* objections against his arguments on this subject, 202, *et seq.* comparatively inferior in genius to *Phillis Whately*, 214; too severe on Ignatius Sancho, 215; how mistaken with respect to Terence, *ib.* his humane and candid remarks on the relative situation of master and slave, 216; yet thinks the African a being between the *Oran-Outang*, 217; his long designation of the Carolina ground nut, 228; his opinion concerning the Mammouth, 236.

Jerusalem

I N D E X.

Jerusalem delivered, reasons why it has been so little read, 213.

Illinois country described, 21, *et seq.*

Illinois river described, 67.

Indian Chief, Old, his observations to Colonel Boon, on signing Colonel Henderson's deed, 361.

Indian nations, cause of their decrease in population, 6

Indians sell grants of land to the British Commissioners, 9; massacre the first settlers, 10; engaged against the army of Colonel Lewis, *ib.* their concessions in considerations of former massacres, 29; which, notwithstanding, they, in part, renew, 39; at war with the settlers, 33; how suffering by intoxication, 79; why they cannot carry on their attacks regularly and perseveringly, 248; their barbarous treatment of the vanquished, 350; one shot in the moment after he had killed his enemy, 354; send ambassadors to General Clark, 360; names of those present at the Piankashaw Council, 367; various nations of them described, 368, *et seq.* their persons, habits, and various ornaments, 381, *et seq.* their warlike instruments, 382; their great dexterity in using them, *ib.* their genius, disposition and constitution, 383, *et seq.* their generous allowance for mischiefs done during intoxication, 383; their natural eloquence, 384; their modes of living, *ib.* their dwellings, *ib.* their domestic utensils, 385; their religion and its accompanying ceremonies and festivals, *ib. et seq.* they feast for the recovery of the sick, 388; their laws against adultery and murder, 388, 389; their forms of marriage, *ib.* the slavery of their women, *ib.* power of their kings, *ib.* their mutual wars, 390; their cruel treatment of their captives, *ib.*

Indians, Huron, described, 371.

Introduction, i.

Invention, what the most powerful stimulus to the exercise of it, 58.

Julian, the Emperor, his opinion of the winters in France, 68.

Jurisprudence, advantageous result of its simplicity and strength, 17.

Kaims,

I N D E X.

K.

- Kaims, Lord, contends that climates assimilate foreigners to natives, 206.
- Kakasky Indians described, 372.
- Kalm touches upon the natural history of America, 233.
- Kanhaucary, Great, when the settlements at the mouth of it commenced, 414.
- Kanhaway, Great river, described, 40; magnitude of the obstructions against its navigation, 113.
- Kenapacomaqua, country near it described, 409.
- Kennaway, Great River, described, 284.
- Kennaway, Little River, described, 39.
- Kentucky, settlement of, astonishing that it should be admitted as a separate state into the Federal Government of America, *Introduction*, i; its sudden rise, ii; an object of contention between the Indians and Americans, iii; its inhabitants petition the United States to remonstrate with Spain, upon the obstruction of the navigation of the Mississippi, ix; the purity and manliness of the sentiments which the petition contains, *ib.* its peopling encouraged by Virginia, 10; the river described, *ib.* description of the various lands, their allotments, how contracted for, and how purchased or obtained 13, *et seq.* commissioners sent to adjust the claims of the settlers, 17; when considered as an established settlement, 18; strange description of its boundaries, *ib.* formed in part, by pre-emption rights, 23; the Key-stone of settlements upon the waters of the Mississippi, 26; number of emigrants resorting thither, 27; receives a General Court from the State of Virginia, *ib.* its roads more opened to admit carriages, 28; augmented in its numbers, *ib.* inclined to independence, *ib.* reasons for deferring an application to be taken into the Federal Government, 29; secure in despite of surrounding wars, 33; agreement for its admission into the Federal Union, *ib.* its population, and natural and artificial productions, 36; *et seq.* 72, 29, *et seq.* advantageous course of its rivers for the purposes of land-carriage, 38; heights of its perpendicular precipices, 49; Wine made from its native grape, 56; abounds in fossils,

I N D E X.

57; but is in want of chymists and mineralists, *ib.* its soil favourable to hemp and Indian corn, 98; and to silk and cotton, 99; excellence of its sheep and wool, 100; its salt springs described, 134, *et seq.* its various mines, minerals, and quarries, 137, *et seq.* its different springs, 140; its climate, 141, *et seq.* advantage from having neither marshes nor bogs, 145; *stations* of its inhabitants described, 148, *et seq.* their log-houses, 150; their modes of cultivation, 151, *et seq.* and the variety of their abundant resources, *ib.* fortunate consequences accruing to it from an accession of emigrants, 153, *et seq.* their occupations and pastimes, 155, *et seq.* their usual beverage, 157; their several *routes*, *ib.* modes of transporting baggage, 158; expence of travelling, 159, *et seq.* prices of provisions, 160, *et seq.* its distances from other settlements, 163; value of land; for purchase, 165; preparations and acquisitions necessary upon taking possession of it, 166, *et seq.* abundance which must ensue, 168, *et seq.* laws, government and religion, described, 174, *et seq.* state of it by *Filson*, 269; either not known or neglected by the geographers, 273; who the first white man that discovered it, 275; called, by the Indians, the dark and bloody ground, 276; inspecting houses for tobacco established within it, 280; character of its inhabitants, 300, *et seq.* its religious sects, 301; its curiosities, 302; how rising from a howling wilderness to a flourishing and splendid settlement, 324, *et seq.* a severe winter there, 352; why conceived to have been anciently inhabited by the Welsh, 379; entrenchments there, of the mode of raising which the Indians were ignorant, 379; its burial grounds perhaps bearing a resemblance to ancient British remains, 380; how possessed of the four natural qualities necessary to promote the happiness of a country, 391; the various reasons why it should universally attract the attention of mankind, 391, *et seq.* consequences likely to accrue to it from the recital of its happiness, 392, *et seq.* the inhabitants advised to imitate the political conduct of Lycurgus, Locke, Penn, and Washington, 392; and to introduce manufactures from their own internal resources, 393; reasons for supposing that, probably their

I N D E X.

- their country will be inhabited by the first people the world ever knew, *ib.* security of the settlement from a cordon of troops, extending upon the Western side of the Ohio, 400; circumstances attending the rise of the settlement, how *comparatively* perilous and calamitous, 413.
- Kentucky River described, 282.
- Kethippaca-Munck, the town of it destroyed, 403; described, with the adjoining country, 411.
- Kickapoo described with the adjoining country, 411.
- Kickapoo Indians described, 372.
- I.
- Lake, an extraordinary subterraneous, 393.
- Lakes, American, their vast magnitude, 93.
- Lakes of the wood described, 93.
- Law, Mr. miscarriage of his scheme, 8.
- Lead mine, 57.
- Learning, one result of its superabundance, 176.
- Lewis, Colonel, engaged against the Indians, 10.
- Lewis, General, proceeds to Kentucky, 277; purchases land there, *ib.*
- Lexington, remains of fortifications in its neighbourhood, 379; and of earthen vessels, a manufacture unknown to the Indians, *ib.*
- Liberty, its charms, 55; the numerous blessings which it has conferred on mankind, 109.
- Lick, a, described, 46.
- Licking Creek described, 45.
- Licking River described, 281.
- Licks, extraordinary curiosities, 304, *et seq.*
- Limestone, fertility, abundance, and beauty of this part of the country, 42.
- Linnæus, an instance of his literary merit, 221.
- Locke teaching the doctrine of toleration, 392.
- Logan, Colonel, hastens to join Colonel Boon with a reinforcement, 357.
- Long Hunters penetrate the mountains of the wilderness, 9.
- Long Island described, 87.
- Long Isle Indians described, 371.

Long

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Miss
vi
of

I N D E X.

- Long Knife, expression of the Savages, its meaning, 339.
 Louis XIV. one of the consequences of his ambition, 7.
 Louisiana, settlements of, described, 21; the key to Mexico, 90.
 Louisville described, 53.
 Lusiad, the reasons why it has been so little read, 213.
 Lycurgus banishing covetousness and the love of gold, 392.

M.

- Macbride, the first white man that discovered Kentucky, 275.
 Macken, Dr. James, proposes to construct boats so that they shall be propelled by the force of mechanical powers, 319.
 Madoc, Prince of Wales, why supposed to have founded a colony up the Missouri, 377.
 Mallet, his report from the ancient Icelandic Chronicles, 376.
 Mammouth, immense size of its bones, 47; opinions concerning it, by Buffon, Hunter, Cline, and Jefferson, 236.
 Manliness of character degenerating proportionably with the fervility of courtiers, *Introduction*, v.
 Maple Tree, productive of the finest sugars under care and management, 129; its nature and power of supply described, 130, *et seq.*
 Marriages, late and infrequent cause a slowness of population, 89.
 Mawmee Indians described, 370.
 Measures (probably successful) adopted for terminating the Indian war, 249.
 Miami, Great River, described, 70.
 Michigan, Lake, country near it described, 81, *et seq.* 93.
 Militia, its advantages, 26.
 Mingo Nation described, 370.
 Missouri, the, a more powerful stream than the Mississippi, 115; how far navigable, *ib.* its adjacent colony supposed to have been founded by Madoc Prince of Wales, 377.
 Mississippi, its navigation obstructed by Spain, *Introduction*, viii, advantages of its frequent turning, 110; eligibility of its navigation beyond that of any other channel,

I N D E X.

111; how far navigable, 115; when its inundations commence, 126; being central is proper for the seat of government, 118; described, 315; its navigation declared, by the eighth article of the Definitive Treaty, free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States of America, 323.
 Morse and all other writers take their information, concerning Kentucky, from Filson, *Introduction*, xv.
 Muscle shoals, their settlements described, 24.
 Muskinghum, settlement formed upon it, 32; described, 70.

N.

Nations, migrating, how impressed with the characters of its New State, 206.
 Navigation, one of its consequences, 6; why the art of it continued devious until after the lapse of several centuries, 109.
 Negro, his intrepid defence against the Savages, 359.
 Negroes, their proportion, muscular strength and athletic powers, 208; causes of their odour, 209, *et seq.*
 New York, state of, described, 87; the assembly of it pass an act for removing all obstructions between Hudson's River and Lake Ontario, 112.
 Niagara, probable surrender of its fort likely to encrease the settlements upon the borders of the Lake Erie, 83; of material importance to Great Britain, 247.

O.

Oak, Live Virginian, so abundant and so estimable that it would prove equal to the construction of a navy superior to the maritime strength of all Europe combined together, 230.
 Officer, his great duties, 247.
 Ohio, extreme fertility of its neighbouring lands, 32; where it rises and how far it runs, 35; the country adjacent to it described, 81, *et seq.* its productions and navigation, 92, *et seq.* multiplicity and importance of its local advantages, 103, *et seq.* mode of descending its streams, 106; its rapids no obstruction in high water, to boats going down the river, 114; distance and time of

I N D E X.

- of descending down it, 118, *et seq.* when its inundations commence, 126; further description of it, 281; table of distances between its mouth and Pittsburgh, 267; its current described, 314; roads and distances, by land, to its Falls, from Philadelphia, 397.
- Oragon, one of the four most capital rivers of America, 119.
- Orleans, New, likely to prove a great commercial city, 318.
- Owl, Great, its surprizing noise, 297.
- Ozaw Indians described, 372.

P.

- Page, Mr. signs a certificate in favour of Mr. Rumsley's invention for carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam, 107.
- Paris, treaty of it, in 1763, cessions which the English obtained by it, 20.
- Partridge, a name given by the Americans to quails, 297.
- Peace concluded between the United States and the Indians, 29.
- Penn, William, founds a city of Brethren, 392.
- Pennant, his opinion concerning the peopling of America, 3; touches upon the Natural History of America, 233.
- Pennsylvania described, 87; its population, 89.
- Pheasant, a name given by the Americans to grouse, 297.
- Philadelphia, its infancy and flourishing maturity witnessed by one man, *Introduction*, vii; roads and distances from it, by land, to the Falls of the Ohio, 399; roads and distances from thence to Pittsburg, *ib.*
- Piankashaw Council, minutes of, and speeches, 363, *et seq.*
- Pittsburg, state of the country by which it is surrounded, 44; table of distances between it and the mouth of the Ohio, 267; road, and distances, to it from Philadelphia, 399.
- Plants, American, botanically described, 224, *et seq.*
- Politics, the system which blends them with religion baneful, 1.
- Population, slowness of it, how caused, 89:

G g

Poutawottamies

I N D E X.

- Poutawottamies (Indians) described, 372.
 Powel's mountain, its horrible aspect, 334.
 Powtomac, puerile to make it the seat of government, 118.
 Preface to Filson's State of Kentucky, 273.
 Priestcraft, its pernicious influence, 2.
 Printing, why not invented until after the lapse of several centuries, 109.
 Prussia, late king of, his just remark concerning security in war, 246.
 Purity in the body and virtue in the soul compared, 92.

Q.

- Quebec described, 68.

R.

- Rankin, Mr. Pastor to the Anabaptists at Kentucky, 301.
 Rapids, situation and Fall of the, described, 51, *et seq.*
 Red River described, 282.
 Religion, the system which blends it with politics baneful, 1.
 Rice, David, a Pastor to the Anabaptists at Kentucky, 301.
 Rivers, small, their inundations not periodical, 1: 7.
 Roads, extraordinary, made by the buffaloes, 302.
 Rocky River, land near it described, 413.
 Rumsfy, Mr. of Virginia, his invention for carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam, 107.
 Rye-grats, the, described, 45.

S.

- Saint Clair, General, his estimable character, 245; the great object of his expedition, 245; defeated by the Indians, *ib.* from what probable causes, 246, *et seq.* amount and nature of his army, 248.
 Saint Clair, Lake, its circumference, 92.
 Saint Lawrence, one of the four most capital rivers of America, 119, *et seq.*
 Saint Pierre River, the fine country near it described, 121.
 Salt, process of making it, 134, *et seq.*
 Salt River described, 54, 283.
 Salt springs, what called, 46; how formed, *ib.* 57, 134, *et seq.* how discovered, 136.

Sanducky

I N D E X.

- Sanducky River described, 70.
 Sandy, Great, described, 39.
 Savages, their hostile attempts frustrated by the intrepidity of a negro and a woman, 359.
 Schuyler, General, instrumental to the removal of all the obstructions between Hudson's River and Lake Ontario, 113; his vast estate, *ib.*
 Sciota River described, 70.
 Scott, General, his expedition successful, 252; his expeditions against an Indian tribe, 402, *et seq.*
 Sepulchres, extraordinary, described, 305, *et seq.*
 Shawanese Indians described, 370.
 Scoux Indians described, 372.
 Six nations of Indians described, 370.
 Slavery, African, causes a slowness of population, 89.
 Slaves, the number of them in Virginia, 203.
 Slave-trade, observations concerning it, 200, *et seq.* its abolition not likely to be promoted because numbers may have relinquished the use of sugar, 219.
 Smith, Dr. Adam, argues in favour of peace, 125.
 Soil, the symptoms of a bad one, 39.
 Spain obstructs the navigation of the Mississippi, *Introduction*, viii; tyrannical against the Americans, 6; how long and by what means she is likely to remain in the possession of the Floridas, 78; the danger of her endeavouring to molest America, 90; considers Louisiana as the key to Mexico, *ib.* not likely to admit of a free navigation of the Mississippi, whilst she possesses New Orleans, 321.
 State troops, a tract of country reserved for them, 53.
 States United, rather puerile to think of making Powtomac the seat of government, 118.
 Stewart, John, accompanies Colonel Boon in quest of Kentucky, 326; killed by the Savages, 329.
 Strawberry, native, described, 56.
 Sugar-maple tree, abundant, 36, 95; process of making the sugar from it, 133; the numbers relinquishing the use of it not likely to promote the abolition of the Slave-trade, 219; the trees numerous near the river Saint Pierre, 121.
 Superior, Lake, its circumference, 92.

I N D E X.

T.

- Table of distances between Pittsburg and the mouth of the Ohio, 267.
 Tawaw Indians described, 371.
 Tenasee River described, 59; and the adjacent country, 76; its inhabitants designed to declare themselves independent under the distinction of the State of Franklin, 77.
 Terence, improperly described by Mr. Jefferson, 215.
 Tobacco, inspecting-houses for it established at Kentucky, 280.
 Todd, Colonel Levi, signs his recommendation of Filson's State of Kentucky, 271; killed in an action with the Indians, 356.
 Todd, Mr. bestows a library on Kentucky, 301.
 Toleration, the doctrine of it taught by Locke, 392.
 Tott, Baron de, his remarks concerning the ignorance of the Turks, 212.
 Traders, English, impelled to barbarity by avarice, 32.
 Traders, Indian, penetrate the mountains of the wilderness, 9.
 Treaty, definitive, copy of its eighth article referred to, 323.
 Trees, American, botanically described, 224, *et seq.*
 Tribes, Indian, enumeration of them and their residences, 252, *et seq.*
 Trigg, Colonel, killed in an action with the Indians, 356.

U.

- Uchee Indians described, 369.

V.

- Vermillion Indians described, 371.
 Violand colonized by Icelanders, 376.
 Virginia, State of, encourages the peopling of Kentucky, 10, *et seq.* division of its Southern limits, 22, *et seq.* urges her right to consider Kentucky as her appendage, 18; grants a general court to Kentucky, 27; reserves a tract of country for the State troops, 53; its population slow, 80; its laws respecting the emancipation of slaves,

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Yohog

I N D E X.

- slaves, 201 ; their numbers within it, 203 ; a complete emancipation not feasible, 204 ; instance of their good disposition towards the Indians, 265 ; why not carried into effect, 266 ; dispute the right of Mr. Henderson to lands purchased by him at Kentucky, yet reward him for his acquisitions, 278.
- Virtue in the soul and purity in the body compared, 92.
- Wabash River described, 66.
- Waggon's, the price of, 159.
- Walden's mountain, its terrible aspect, 334.
- Walker, Dr. proceeds to Kentucky, 277 ; purchases land there, *ib.*
- War, rules to be observed in one against the Indians, 250.
- Washington, Fort, situation of the country near it described, 408.
- Washington, General, signs a certificate in favour of Mr. Rumley's invention for carrying a boat against the stream by the influence of steam, 107.
- Weausteneau towns, the lands surrounding them described, 411 ; and the beautiful prospects, 412.
- Welsh, why conceived to have inhabited Kentucky, 379.
- Western waters, number of souls upon them, 84 ; their probable increase, 85.
- Whately, Phillis, account of, 214 ; specimen of her animated poetry, *ib.* comparatively possessing greater genius than Mr. Jefferson, *ib.*
- Wilkinson, General, his expedition against an Indian tribe, 402.
- Woman, her intrepid defence against the Savages, 359.
- Woodcocks with bills of pure ivory, 297.
- World still in an infant state, 5.
- Wyandott Indians described, 370 ; some initiated in the Roman Catholic religion, 386.

Y.

- Yohogania River described, 36.

ERRATA.

- Page vii. *line 4. read after.*
25. *line 10. for intercession, read intermission.*
92. *line 22. read Gordon.*
98. *line 13. read Cantelupe.*
120. *line 23. read yield.*
122. *line 8. for is, read which are.*
231. *last line, read has.*
247. *line 9. for plans, read places.*
325. *line 4. read distressed.*
350. *line 12. read inhabitants.*
370. *line 1. read to.*
388. *line 10. read nations.*
line 15. read adultery.
391. *line 18. read la c.*
line 20. read agriculture.
396. *line 18. read heretofore.*
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DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

- Place the Map of the Western Territory of America
to face the Title page.
Plan of the Rapids of the Ohio, page 51.
Table of distances between Pittsburg and the Ohio,
page 112.
Map of Kentucky, page 400.

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