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DESTRUCTION OF RUDDLE'S AND MARTIN'S FORTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

by

MAUDE WARD LAFFERTY

One of the outstanding events of the Revolutionary War in the West was the invasion of Kentucky by the British officer, Captain Henry Bird, of the Eighth Regiment of his Majesty's forces, and the destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Forts. Coming in the summer of 1780 with an army of more than a thousand British regulars[1], Canadian volunteers, Indians and Tories, and bringing the first cannon ever used against the log forts of the wilderness, he captured 470 men, women and children[2], loaded them down with the plunder from their own cabin homes and drove them on foot from Central Kentucky to Detroit, a distance of 600 miles. There they were divided among their captors and some of them were taken 800 miles farther to Mackinac and to Montreal.[3] The story of their capture, of the separation of families, of the hardships endured during the six-weeks journey and of the conditions under which they lived during the fourteen years of their captivity is one of the most shocking in the pioneer period of Kentucky's history.

The invasion was planned by British officers at Detroit, their object being not only to exterminate the pioneer forts, but to force our western frontier back to the Alleghany Mountains, thus bringing out in bold relief the policy of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War—to prevent the westward growth of the American Colonies.[4]

In executing their plan they waged the War of the American Revolution on Kentucky soil, for they came under the command of a British officer flying the British flag, demanding surrender in the name of his Britannic Majesty, King George III, and made official report of the expedition to Sir Frederick Haldimand[5], the British Lieutenant General, who was then Governor of Canada[6].

THE STAGE SETTING

In order to understand the tragedy enacted in the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky that lovely June day, it will be necessary to go back across the years and set the stage providing the background. It was a land of running waters, of groves and glades and canebrakes and of primeval forests of stately trees so closely grown a man could walk for days without stepping from under the shade. It was a land teeming with wild game, where the lordly elk roamed at will and the gentle deer found seclusion, where the panther, the wolf and the bear prowled undisturbed and where the shaggy-maned buffalo and his mammoth predecessors had beaten down the earth in moving from salt lick to salt lick into traces over which the settlers came into the coveted country. Birds of bright plumage flitted from tree to tree, flocks of wild geese and wild turkeys abounded and the land was knee-deep in bluegrass and wild clover.[7]

The beauty of the country was described by wandering fur traders who had ventured into the hinterland to trade with the Indians. The colonists along the eastern shore heard their story and became literally obsessed with a desire to find a way over the seemingly impassable mountain wall of the Alleghenies and secure homes in this "second paradise," as Boone called it. As soon as the way through Cumberland Gap was made known, they came in what seemed to be an endless procession, bringing their wives, their children, their slaves, their live stock and all their worldly goods.

They came over the Wilderness Road on foot and on pack horses, the women riding and carrying their babies, the small children packed amidst the bedding in crates of hickory withes, swung panier-fashion across the backs of gentle horses. The older boys drove the live stock ahead, while the men with rifles ready kept vigilant eyes out for the redskins. There were long, weary days of travel, long, anxious nights of watching while the exhausted faltered leaving unnamed graves by the side of the trail. Many gave up the difficult journey and settled in the secure valleys of the mountains, but the hardy ones pushed on to the rich lands of Central Kentucky. There they built strong wooden forts, pre-empted their lands, cleared the forests, planted crops and established their homes.

THE RIVER ROUTE

Many of the Kentucky settlers came by the river route,[8] which was far more dangerous than the Wilderness Road. No pen can picture a more pitiable plight than that of a cargo of immigrants on a rude drifting craft, helpless on the bosom of the Ohio under the murderous fire of Indians along the banks. Yet so many came that it almost seemed an endless procession.

The boats were built at Redstone by tens of thousands for the journey down the Ohio. They were a mixture of log cabin, fort, barnyard and country grocery into which were jumbled men, women, children, horses, pigs,

chickens, cows, dogs, powder, dishes, furniture, provisions and farm implements. As they drifted into the darkness their loopholes often spurted jets of rifle fire, while the women loaded the hot rifles of the men in the flickering light of pine knots held by the silent, frightened children.

The Kentucky flatboat, floating with the current and steered by a big sweep, was literally "the boat that never came back." The fact that it could not go upstream was taken into consideration in its construction, the materials being so cut that upon arriving at its destination the boat could be broken up and used to build a home. There were flatboat houses in many of the river towns, especially in Cincinnati where the first school was taught in a flatboat house. One such house marked by a D.A.R. chapter still stands near Maysville, Kentucky, the Limestone of pioneer days.

FORTS

The forts were built usually in the form of a parallelogram, their site determined by the location of a good spring. Trees were chopped down and the logs neatly picketed and set close together in a trench which had been dug the shape and size desired. When these logs were rammed together, they made a solid wall from nine to twelve feet high, impervious to rifle fire and arrows used by the Indians, but not to cannon. The block houses or bastions, built at each of the four corners, extended over the lower story about eighteen inches so that no enemy could make lodgement under the walls without risk of enfilading fire.

The log cabins were built along the walls of the fort and had clapboard roofs, slab doors hung with deer thongs and windows covered with oiled paper. All of the cabins opened into the enclosure. Not a nail nor a scrap of iron was used in their construction.

The beds in the primitive cabins were constructed by forcing forked sticks into the floor, running poles through the forks into the log walls and stretching buffalo skins tightly over the frame work. Bedding consisted of homespun sheets and blankets and beautifully-pieced quilts and "kivers" or coverlets. In very cold weather bear skins or elk skins were added for warmth. The floor coverings were also of skins of wild animals. Cooking was done at the open fireplaces with spits, pothooks and kettles. The tables were made of slabs of wood into which pegs were driven for legs. Noggins, piggins and bowls were neatly turned, and pewter plates and horn spoons were reserved for grand occasions.[9]

THE DRESS OF THE PIONEER

As a matter of convenience the men adopted a variation of the Indian dress, a hunting shirt hanging loose and reaching half way down the thighs. It was open and overlapping in front with a most unsanitary wallet or pocket

in the bosom in which were kept a piece of jerked meat, a chunk of bread and tow for wiping the rifle barrel. The hunting shirt was sometimes made of deer skin, but as that was cold and uncomfortable in wet weather, it was more frequently made of linsey-woolsey, a homespun material of flax and wool. Leggings, covering the legs to the thighs, were fastened by strings to the belt which also held the bullet pouch, the tomahawk and the scalping knife. The breech clout was a piece of linen or cloth, about a yard long and nine inches wide which passed under the belt front and back, the ends sometimes embroidered, hanging down before and behind. The feet were shod in moccasins of dressed deer skin made of a single piece with a gathering seam along the top of the foot and another from the bottom of the heel as high as the ankle joint, without gathers. Flaps were left on each side reaching some distance up the leg and were adjusted by deer thongs. In cold weather the moccasins were stuffed with deer hair or dried leaves to keep the feet warm, a poor protection, however, for many a brave pioneer suffered torture from "scald feet." The costume was completed by a coon-skin cap, the tail dangling down behind.

The women's clothing figured little in pioneer history. The linsey-woolsey petticoat and bed gown are mentioned, the bodice, the homespun kerchief at the neck and sunbonnets "of six or seven hundred linen." Some wore shoe packs instead of moccasins. The children wore diminutive models of the adult dress.[10]

LIFE IN THE FORTS

In these forts friends found friends, neighbors sought former neighbors, kith and kin banded together in pre-empting lands and building homes, and during the intermittent periods of peace when Indians were not on the warpath, there was visiting from fort to fort. Love affairs developed, for knights were bold and ladies fair, and itinerant preachers had many knots to tie. The young people reared large families, and life within the forts was unique in the history of the nation.

The duties of the household were discharged by the women. They milked the cows, prepared the food, spun and wove material for garments, household linens, "kivers" and rag carpets. They made the winter coat of the buffalo into a coarse, warm cloth, and discovered that the lint of the wild nettle could be made to take the place of flax. By combining it with the buffalo wool, they made a good substitute for that made by combining sheep's wool and flax. When their resourcefulness led them to experiment with dyes, they found that inner bark of the white walnut produces dull yellows; black walnut, dark browns; indigo, blues; madder, dingy reds; hickory bark, yellows; sumac berries, deep reds; oak, purple; cedar berries, dove or lead color. They made their ink of oak bark mixed with cypress. When war was the order of the day, they ran

the bullets and necked them or took their own portholes for the defense of the forts, many of them being expert with the rifle. Boys who had attained the age of twelve were given their portholes also and were expected to defend them in time of attack. The men cleared the forests, planted the crops, built the forts and cabins, hunted the game and constantly watched for the savages.

But there were better times when the Indians were not on the warpath. The restless forters sought excitement in sugarings, huskings, quiltings, log-rollings, house-warmings and in dancing the three- and four-handed jigs and Irish trots. If, perchance, a fiddler found his way into the wilderness, there were gala nights when young folks reveled in the mazes of the Virginia Reel.

Although they held horse races from the very beginning, the pioneers were in a little while practicing Christians, too, as the respites from the Indian raids increased allowing the settlers a higher degree of civilization.[11]

Their homes were often established far afort, from which they ventured gun in hand to build their cabins, clear the forests and till the soil. When danger threatened, a messenger was sent from farm to farm at risk of his life to warn the settlers to gather their families and necessities together. Not then daring to light a candle or stir a fire, noiselessly, they crept through the savage-infested woodland to the sheltering fort. Even the dog of the pioneer was trained to silence lest his bark betray his master's whereabouts to the wily Indians.

Such was the life and such were the inhabitants of Ruddle's and Martin's Forts.

HINKSON'S SETTLEMENT

Hinkson's Settlement, later known as Ruddle's Fort, was built one month prior to the Battle of Lexington by Captain John Hinkson and his company of fifteen men.

Captain Hinkson's company was composed of:[12]

Captain John Hinkson

John Martin	John Cooper
Pat Callihan	Dan Callihan
George Gray	William Shields
Silas Train	John Haggin
John Townsend	Matthew Fenton
William Hoskins	Thomas Shores
John Woods	Samuel Wilson

Hinkson's Company came down the Ohio and up the Licking River in canoes as far as the forks where Falmouth is now. There they tarried a few days, then proceeded up the Licking to the Blue Licks and came over the Buffalo Trace to the point they selected for their future homes, one of the most beautiful spots in all Kentucky.[13]

They immediately took for themselves land and built fifteen cabins, named for members of their company. John Townsend on Townsend Creek, and John Cooper on Cooper's Run, raised corn in 1775 in sufficient quantities to furnish seed for the 1776 harvest.[14]

MARTIN'S FORT

About four miles away on Stoner Creek, John Martin built his cabin in 1775 which became a fortified station about 1779. He brought his family from Uniontown, Pennsylvania, down the Ohio to Limestone and with other families settled first at Hinkson's Settlement, then at his own station on Stoner Creek in Bourbon County where the Buffalo Trace crosses the creek.[15]

HAGGIN'S BLOCKHOUSE

Captain John Haggin built his blockhouse a short distance from Captain Hinkson's settlement at the place where Paddy's Run empties into the Licking River.[16]

Haggin's, like Martin's, was small and depended on the larger settlement at Captain Hinkson's in time of danger.

Captain Hinkson's original fifteen cabins increased in number, and a thriving community had developed about his fort when a sharp Indian attack found him short of ammunition and obliged to surrender. After traveling a short distance with his captors, Captain Hinkson made his escape, but his little fort was abandoned July, 1776. Some of his people took refuge in McClelland's Fort,[17] now Georgetown, while others left the country.[18]

For three years there was no sign of life at Captain Hinkson's settlement. Then in 1779 Captain Isaac Ruddle arrived at the abandoned fort and established there what is known in history as Ruddle's Fort.

RUDDLE'S FORT

Captain Ruddle, who came from the Shenandoah Valley, was one of Kentucky's earliest settlers. While General Clark was conquering the Northwest, he lived on Corn Island and later at Logan's Fort[19] near what is now Stanford, Kentucky. In 1779 he established his own settlement at Ruddle's on Hinkson Creek in what is now Bourbon County.

Ruddle's wife, Elizabeth, came of heroic stock, being a sister of Colonel John Bowman, first Military Governor of Kentucky County, Virginia, and granddaughter of Jost Hite, one of the historic characters of the Shenandoah Valley.

As the Revolutionary War progressed, the Indians, incited by the British, traveled in war parties and committed depradations on isolated settlements such as Ruddle's Mills. Ruddle, therefore, decided for the safety of his own

family and those that had gathered about him to move into Hinkson's deserted fort on the Licking River. He added to and fortified it, making it one of the largest and strongest in the Kentucky wilderness capable of accommodating from two to three hundred people.[20] His garrison was composed of forty-nine men as follows:

Isaac Ruddle, Captain

John Haggin, Lieutenant	Edward Low
John Mather, Ensign	Henry Loyl
Joseph Isaacs, Quartermaster	George Loyl
John Waters, Sergeant	Peter Loyl
John Cloyd, Drummer	Thomas Machen
Andrew Baker	Charles Munger, Sr.
Andrew Bartell	Andrew Pirtenbustle
George Bronker	Henry Pirtenbustle
Ruben Boughner	Len Pirtenbustle
John Burger, Sr.	H. Pirtenbustle, Jr.
Leonard Croft	Peter Rough
David Erdman	Stephen Ruddle
George Baker	Patrick Ryan
John Bird	William Scott
Casper Brown	John Smith, Jr.
John Burger, Jr.	Frederick Tanner
Peter Call	Moses Waters
William Delinger	Jacob Leach, Sr.
Thomas Emory	William Marshall
Paul Fisher	George Hatfall
John Hulton	William Munger, Jr.
James Ruddle	George Ruddle
John Smith, Sr.	William Sandidge
Martin Tuffleman	James Stewart

THE SPRING OF 1780

The land owners living near Ruddle's and Martin's Stations pre-empted lands for miles around, farming during intervals of peace and taking refuge within the forts when the Indians were on the warpath.[21] In the immediate neighborhood were Samuel McMillain, John Miller, Alex Pollock, Samuel Nesbitt, William McFall, Captain Asa Reese and E. E. Williams; Pat and Dan Callahan, who lived two miles from Ruddle's; Andrew Linn on Hinkson Creek; James Sodowsky and John Shelp on the Middle Fork of Licking; William Field at the mouth of Stone Creek; William Gillispie on Boone's Creek; John Cooper on Cooper's Run and Michael Stoner[22] on Stoner's Creek.

The spring following the hard winter of 1779 was unusually fine, and the inhabitants of Martin's and Ruddle's Stations saw their cattle grow fat on the luscious bluegrass and the rich soil give promise of bounteous crops. Everywhere there was an atmosphere of peace and prosperity and general well-being, and they went hopefully about their spring work with no premonition of the

tragedy that awaited them unaware that a formidable force was being collected at Detroit for the invasion of Kentucky to counteract Clark's success in the West.[23]

Major A. S. DePeyster,[24] who replaced Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton[25] when he was captured by Clark, ordered the invading force to march under the command of Captain Bird. Bird at once began preparations by assembling an army of 150 British, Tories and Canadians and several hundred Indians whose numbers were increased as they advanced southward until they finally totaled between 1,000 and 1,200 men.[26] The attackers were equipped with sailing vessels, bateaux, and birch canoes in which they were floated down the Detroit River, across Lake Erie to the Maumee, up that river to the Great Miami, down the Great Miami to the Ohio and from there to the Licking on which they ascended to Ruddle's Station.[27]

BRITISH AND CANADIANS IN BIRD'S EXPEDITION TO KENTUCKY

The names of the British and Canadians who participated in the expedition of Captain Bird against Ruddle's and Martin's Forts are listed in an old ledger in the Burton Collection at Detroit.[28] The list of those who served from March 24 to May 24, 1780 contains eighty-six names and a payroll of 1165 pounds, 10 shillings and 8½ pence. The list of those who served from May 25 to August 4, a term of seventy-two days, contains the names of fifty-eight and a payroll of 1079 pounds, 12 shillings and 3¼ pence. The payrolls did not include all the cost of provisions and equipment. At the head of the militia muster were Captain Louis Jonclaire Chabert, Lieutenant Jonathan Scheiffeling,[29] Sergeants Francis Babault, Antoine Charon, William Gregg and James McAlphie, and Corporals Joseph Carrier, Joseph Touillier and Joseph Rough.

Captain Bird in his letter to Major DePeyster adds the names of Monsieur LeDuc who made himself useful "mending shafts and repairing carriages," Mr. Reynolds, "an excellent woodsman," and Duperon Baby who was one of the most influential of the French residents in Detroit.[30]

The Tories of the expedition included Matthew Elliott,[31] Alexander McKee[32] whose lands were escheated by Virginia for the benefit of Transylvania Seminary in 1783 and the two hated renegades, Simon and George Girty,[33] who frequently led the Indians in attacks on Kentucky settlers.

Finding it difficult to secure enough pack animals to transport his supplies, Captain Bird ordered Captain Alexander McKee, the Loyalist, to gather them for him. His letters indicate that the Indians were willing to do their part but were slow and inclined to act according to their own custom rather than according to his orders. He expressed anxiety lest certain persons who had escaped might carry a warning to the Falls and spoil the surprise he was planning for the Kentuckians. In his letter to DePeyster, dated May 21, 1789, he says:[34]

I have the pleasure to inform you that everything is six leagues below the portage, where the perrogues are making, they are not yet finished, therefore nothing on our part retards.

At the portage for some unaccountable reason, Bird took two weeks to transport his army and supplies from the Auglaise River to the Big Miami, a distance not exceeding twenty miles. His plans were set forth in a letter to Major DePeyster, dated June 3, 1780, the principal portion of which is shown below:[35]

The Prisoners who were sent off by the Hurons, or rather by Zeans with their silent consent, arrived some time ago at the Falls, with Intelligence of our approach, they went off to Col. Clarke to return immediately. He will not be able to join the Rebels assembling at the Falls—before the 15th of this month—He has certainly 200 Soldiers with him.

By what we can learn they are gathering as many as possible at the Falls to meet us—but there is much division amongst them.

I went to Capt. McKee and told him, I could wish he would attempt to biass the Indians as far as proper to proceed immediately to the Falls—I stated my reasons as follows—

It is possible before Col. Clark's arrival, they may raise 800 men, probably they may raise 600 certain they can raise 400.

Col. Clarke's arrival will add considerably to their numbers, and to their confidence. Therefore the Rebels should he attacked before the arrival, now it is possible he may return by the 14h probable by the 22nd certain by the 1st of July.

Tho possible for us to get to the Falls by the 10h of this month, certain by the 14h. The Indians have their full spirits, the ammunition and every thing plenty, and in the state we could wish it. After taking the Falls the Country on our return, will be submissive & in a manner subdued, but if we attack the nearer Forts first, as we advance we shall have continual desertion of Indians, the ammunition wasted, or expended, and our People far from fresh, our Difficulties will increase as we advance & Col. Clarke will be at the Falls with all his People collected to fight us at the close.

I have another reason for attacking the Falls, should he succeed, we can ambuscade Mr. Clarke as he returns.

Captain McKee thinks my reasons just, if this plan is not followed, it will be owing to the Indians who may adopt theirs.

THE ATTACK AS DESCRIBED IN BRADFORD'S NOTES

John Bradford's Notes 8 and 9, published in the Kentucky Gazette October 13 and October 20, 1826, presents a thrilling account of the attack based on contemporary pioneer statements.[36]

BRADFORD'S NOTES No. 8

Kentucky Gazette, Oct. 13, 1826

After Clark had established Fort Jefferson, he went to Coho and to St. Louis—the latter place attacked by an invading army from Michilimackimack; while at Coho French deserters came in and gave him the information of the intended expedition against Kentucky under the command of Colonel Byrd from Detroit. He sent three or four hundred men up the Illinois and to Rock River, who destroyed several towns.

Soon after receiving intelligence of Byrd's intentions General Clark, Major

Harlan and Captain Consola, with a few others, set out from St. Louis for Fort Jefferson and sent fifty men up to Louisville with ammunition for the purpose of carrying an expedition into the enemy's country and if possible, intercept Byrd on his march for Kentucky.

From Fort Jefferson, Clark, Harlan and Consola set off on foot for Harrodsburg in Kentucky. It was a remarkably wet season, all the rivers were very full, so that they were obliged to make rafts to cross both the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, the smaller rivers, they swam. A short distance from the Tennessee River they were discovered by a party of Indians and pursued and very narrowly escaped, the Indians having crossed the Tennessee above them and waited to meet them on their landing; but fortunately they discovered the Indians in time to make their landing below the mouth of a wide deep creek, and immediately on landing were out of sight; not long after leaving the Tennessee they came across a bear, and being almost out of provisions, they killed it, but did not wait to skin it, but cut off each a piece with the skin on and pushed on until night, when they found a sinkhole in which they made a fire and cooked and slept until morning. They crossed the Cumberland River not far below Nashville, and fell into the path from there to Kentucky, and arrived at Wilson's Station near Harrodsburg about one hour before the express, which brought the news that Ruddle's and Martin's Stations were taken. The plan of this expedition was laid by the British at Detroit, and with the aid of the northern tribes of Indians calculated on breaking up the settlements in Kentucky and bringing the whole country under their control to effect this project, the whole Indian force under the influence of the British were collected with Simon Girty and McKee, and joined by Colonel Byrd with some British regulars and Canadian volunteers; and besides small arms were provided with six pieces of artillery.

The original design of this expedition was first to have gone to Louisville and taken that, and establish their headquarters at that place, but on their approach to the Ohio, received information that the waters of Licking River, were sufficiently high to admit their boats to ascend that river, and from the unwillingness of the Indians to come in contact with a place where there was cannon,[37] the project was changed.

The first intimation the people of Kentucky received of this meditated attack was from Major A. Chapline[38] who was taken prisoner by the Indians when Captain Rogers was killed in an attempt to ascend the Ohio the preceding fall, as has been noticed. Upon receiving information of the meditated attack on Kentucky, Major Chapline determined to appraise his country of their danger or perish in the attempt; he therefore made his escape and safely arrived at Harrodsburg early in the month of May, and gave the information.

Immediately on the arrival of Major Chapline, the information he gave was sent to every station in the country and consultations were held to devise the best mode to defeat them. From the best calculations that could be made, it was considered impossible that they could arrive with such an army earlier than the last of July or first of August, and all arrangements for defense were made according to that calculation; nor was that opinion changed until about the first of June, when a party of twenty-five men attempted to cross the Kentucky River at the ford below Frankfort on their way from Bryan's Station to Louisville, to purchase corn. As this party descended the bank, they were fired on by a party of Indians with muskets charged with ball and buckshot. These were arms not generally used by Indians; it was therefore immediately conjectured that it was an advance party of the army that was expected.

CHIEFTAIN'S MEDAL

This silver medal was later found near the site of Ruddle's Fort. It shows the effigy of the British lion on one side, and on the other, King George III[39]


This Map of KENTUCKE,
John Filson
Scale of 10 Miles to an Inch
EXPLANATION
FAYETTE
COUNTY
JEFFERSON
LINCOLN
COUNTY
COUNTY
OHIO
RIVER
GREEN RIVER
Natural Meadow

FILSON'S MAP

BRADFORD'S NOTES No. 9

Kentucky Gazette, Oct. 20, 1826

It has already been noticed that the summer of 1780 was exceedingly wet, and that all the water courses were full. This circumstance induced Colonel Byrd to change his original purpose of attacking Louisville first. He therefore decided to ascend Licking River into the heart of the country, by which means he would be enabled to take with him his artillery to Ruddle's Station, and would easily take it by land from Ruddle's to Martin's and Bryan's and Lexington, the ground being level and the roads easily made passable. Colonel Byrd landed his artillery, stores and baggage on the point at the forks of Licking, where he put up some huts to shelter them from the weather; and from there marched at the head of 1,000 men. In consequence of the extreme wetness of the weather which had continued for many days, the men at Ruddle's and Martin's Stations who were accustomed to be in the woods, had all come in, and therefore Byrd taking advantage of that circumstance, arrived within gunshot of the fort, undiscovered, and the first information the people received of the approach of an enemy was the report from a discharge of one of the field pieces. Byrd sent in a flag and demanded surrender at discretion, to which demand Captain Ruddle answered that he could not consent to surrender, but on certain conditions, one of which was that the prisoners should be under the protection of the British and not suffered to be prisoners of the Indians; to these terms Colonel Byrd consented, and immediately the gates were opened to him. No sooner were the gates opened than the Indians rushed into the station and each seized the first person they could lay their hands on and claimed them as their own prisoner. In this way the members of every family were separated from each other, the husband from the wife, and the parents from their children. The piercing screams of the children, when torn from their mothers, the distracted throes of the mothers when forced from their tender offspring, are indescribable. Ruddle remonstrated with Colonel Byrd against this barbarous conduct of the Indians, but to no effect. He confessed that it was out of his power to restrain them, their numbers being so much greater than that of the troops over which he had control; that he himself was completely in their power.

After the people were entirely stripped of all their property and the prisoners divided among the captors, the Indians proposed to Colonel Byrd to march to and take Martin's Station which was about five miles from Ruddle's; but Colonel Byrd was so affected by the conduct of the Indians to the prisoners taken, that he peremptorily refused unless the chiefs would pledge themselves on behalf of the Indians that all the prisoners taken should be entirely under his control, and that the Indians should only be entitled to the plunder. Upon these propositions being agreed to by the chiefs, the army marched to Martin's Station and took it without opposition. The Indians divided the spoil among themselves, and Colonel Byrd took charge of the prisoners.

The ease with which these two stations were taken so animated the Indians that they pressed Colonel Byrd to go forward and assist them to take Bryan's Station and Lexington. Byrd declined going and urged as a reason the improbability of success; and besides the impossibility of procuring provisions to support the prisoners they already had, also the impracticability of transporting their artillery by land to any part of the Ohio River, therefore the necessity of descending Licking before the waters fell, which might be expected to take place in a few days.

Immediately after it was decided not to go forward to Bryan's Station, the army commenced their retreat to the forks of Licking, where they had left their boats, and

with all possible dispatch got their artillery and military stores on board and moved off. At this place the Indians separated from Byrd and took with them the whole of the prisoners taken at Ruddle's Station.

The Indians not only collected all the horses belonging to Ruddle's and Martin's Station, but a great many from Bryan's and Lexington, and with their booty crossed the Ohio River near the mouth of Licking, and there dispersed. The British descended Licking River to the Ohio, down the Ohio to the mouth of Big Miami, and up the Miami as far as it was navigable for their boats, where they hid their artillery and marched by land to Detroit. The rains fell so low that they were able to ascend the Miami but a short distance by water.

The route of Bird's march from the mouth of Licking to Ruddle's and Martin's Forts is clearly outlined on Filson's Map of Kentucky.

THE ATTACK ON RUDDLE'S FORT AS DESCRIBED BY CONTEMPORARIES

Alexander McKee, the noted Tory, in a letter to Major DePeyster, dated July 8, 1780,[40] says that he advanced with 200 Indians to surround the fort before daylight, but remained concealed until the main body arrived with cannon. The firing continued from daybreak until noon. Captain Bird came up with a small gun and had two charges fired at the fort. At the same time a six pounder was summoned. This determined the majority in Ruddle's Fort to capitulate.

Governor Jere Morrow of Ohio later said that "the picketts were cut down like cornstalks," and "twenty persons were tomahawked in cold blood."[41]

The articles of capitulation were written by James Trabue, Deputy Surveyor under John May, who had arrived at the fort the night before the disaster. His brother, Daniel Trabue, in an interview with Lyman Draper,[42] said that Bird sent in a flag demanding surrender, and that the cannon was only fired twice, knocking a log in about six inches. James Trabue and Captain Hinkson, according to Trabue, wanted to defend the fort, but Ruddle and the majority were for capitulation. The flag was sent back and forth several times.

By the terms of surrender Bird agreed that the women and children should be protected and taken to the nearest station and there safely delivered. The men were to be prisoners with the privilege of taking their rifles and such articles as they pleased.

CLARK'S RETALIATION AS SEEN IN SECTIONS 8 & 9 OF BRADFORD'S NOTES[43]

The information of the taking of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations entirely changed the project that had been conceived of intercepting the army on its way to Louisville, where Major Chapline informed, was the place on which they designed to make their first attack. General Clark therefore recommended that the whole force that could possibly be raised should pursue the Indians to their towns and destroy all their pro-

visions at least. This proposition was unanimously agreed to by all the officers of the Militia, and as there were a considerable number of men on a visit to the country, immediate orders were given to enroll every man and to prevent any from leaving the country. An officer with a sufficient force was stationed at Crab Orchard, the only outlet from the settled parts, with orders to stop all who attempted to leave the Country, and if they refused to return and join the expedition, to take from them their arms and ammunition.

The great panic occasioned throughout Kentucky by the taking of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations caused the people to look up to General Clark as their only hope. His counsel and advice was received as coming from an oracle. He advised that a levy of four-fifths should be made of all the men in the country capable of bearing arms, whether inhabitants or strangers, and to meet at the mouth of Licking on the 20th July. Those from Lincoln and Fayette, under the command of Colonel Logan, were to march down Licking—those from Jefferson under General Clark were to march up the Ohio.

As soon as it was decided that an expedition should be carried on against the Indians, General Clark gave orders to have a number of small skiffs built at Louisville capable of taking fifteen or twenty men, which together with batteaux, the provisions and military stores, were taken by water from Louisville to the mouth of the Licking. The vessels were under the direction of Colonel George Slaughter, who commanded about 150 troops raised by him in Virginia for Western Service.

In ascending the river, it was necessary to keep the vessels close to the shore, some of which were on one side and some on the other; it happened whilst one of these skiffs was near the north side of the river a party of Indians ran down to the water's edge and fired into it and killed and wounded several before assistance could be obtained from the other boats.

That party of the army commanded by Colonel Logan assembled at Bryan's Spring, about eight miles from Lexington, and on the following night a man by the name of Clarke stole a valuable horse and went off. It was generally believed that he intended to go to North Carolina. When the army arrived at the mouth of Licking, the horse was found there, when the conjecture was that he had been taken prisoner by the Indians; but it was afterwards discovered that he had gone to the Indians voluntarily in order to give them notice of the approach of an army from Kentucky.

The army rendezvoused and encamped on the ground where Cincinnati now stands, and the next day built two blockhouses, in which was deposited a quantity of corn, and where several men who were sick were left with a small guard, until the return of the army.

The division of the army commanded by Colonel Logan took with them generally provisions, only sufficient to last them to the mouth of Licking, as it was understood a sufficient quantity for the campaign would be brought up from Louisville to that place; but when the army was about to march, the provisions were distributed among the men, and was only six quarts of Indian corn, measured in a quart pot for each man, most of whom were obliged to carry it on their backs, not having a sufficiency of pack horses to convey the whole, together with the military stores and the baggage of the army.

THE JOURNEY TO DETROIT

While General Clark was destroying the Indian towns and their provisions in retaliation, the captives from Ruddle's and Martin's Stations were

wearily marching northward. Involuntarily we ask: Who were they? Where did they go? How were they treated?

The details of the route they took are given in a statement by Captain John Dunkin,[44] who says:

> June 26, 1780, I was taken from Licking Creek in Kentucky County by Captain Henry Bird of the 8th Regiment of his Majestie's forces in conjunction with about eight hundred Indians of different Nations—Viz. Mingoes; Delawares, Shawnees, Hurons, Ottaways, 'Taways and Chippeways. We marched from our village the 27th, being in number 129 men, women and children. We marched down Licking about 50 miles to the Ohio and from thence up ye Big Miami River about 170 miles to the Standing Stone, and from thence up said river to Larramie's [Lorimer's] Store 14 miles on the head of the Miami; and from thence across by land 18 miles to the Landing on the River Glaise—and from thence down said river passing a Taway village and to the mouth of said river about 80 miles at a small village of Miami Indians on the River Miami; from thence down said river about 40 miles to an Indian village called Rose de Boo—and from thence down said river about 18 miles to Lake Erie, where we went on board the Hope, mounted six pounders, Captain Graves commander; and so across the said lake to the mouth of Detroit River, and 18 miles up to the same to the fort and town of Detroit, which place we arrived at the 4th of August, 1780—where we were kept until the 24th when 33 of us were put on board the Gage, Captain Burnit commander, mounted 8 guns, and from thence to Fort Erie—and thence in battoes 18 miles down the River Niagara to Fort Slusher, at the head of the great fall—and from thence in wagons, 9 miles, where we again went in battoes down said river to Fort Niagara at the mouth of said river on the 29th; and on the 5th of September we were again put on board the Ontario, Captain Cowan commander, and so across the Lake Ontario to Carlton Island on the 8th, and on the 10th we sent off down the long Sac and into Sandijest Lake, and so down Rapids into Grand River and through a small lake and so the Lasheen. From thence by land 9 miles to Montreal on the 14th of September, 1780, and on the 17th we were sent into Grant's Island and remained there until the 25th of October, when we were again taken back into Montreal and billetted in St. Lawrence suburbs. I was put in confinement in the Long Gaol September 1st, and remained in close confinement until the 17th day of October, when I was permitted to go and live with my family with the privilege of walking the town and suburbs.

Over that narrow trail, the largest body of people ever gathered together in the Wilderness of Kentucky, wended their way into the Indian country, about 1,200 of these consisting of the invading force, and about 470 miserable prisoners, loaded down with household plunder from their own cabin homes. Captain Bird himself reported the miserable northward trek in a letter to Major DePeyster, written July 1, 1780:[45]

> I marched the poor women & children 20 miles in one day over very high mountains, frightening them with frequent alarms to push them forward, in short, Sir, by water & land we came with all our cannon &c., 40 miles in 4 days . . . rowing fifty miles the last day—we have no meat and must subsist on flour if there is nothing for us at Lorimiers [Lorimers].

A kettle on the head of a gentlewoman so injured her scalp that the hair never grew on her head again, and she wore a cap the rest of her days.[46]

Joseph Conway, who had been scalped by the Indians two weeks before, was claimed by an old Indian whose daughter was allowed to travel with him to dress his bandaged head.[47]

Milo M. Quaife, in his monograph entitled, "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky,"[48] tells the story of Leonard Kratz, who had guided the Munger family ito Kentucky and married their daughter Mary. Kratz was forced by his captors to carry a huge copper kettle strapped to his back, causing him to be unable to lie down for the soreness. He was rescued from starvation by a kindly squaw. He and his young wife and baby were separated on the march.

Patrick Mahan, a Pennsylvanian, came with his large family of three sons, John, Thomas and William and son-in-law, James Morrow. With Morrow were his wife and three single daughters, Isabella, Margaret and Jane, the latter of which who later married James Breckinridge. They emigrated to Kentucky from Bottetourt County, Virginia, with twenty pack animals besides the horses they rode, stopping at Bryan's Station on their way to Martin's Station.

James Breckinridge and his wife (Jane Mahan Breckinridge) in their interview with Rev. John D. Shane,[49] said that Bird was "an inhuman wretch" who gave them for rations only a pint of musty flour which sometimes turned green, though he had ample supply. When George Girty killed some deer and brought it in, Bird purchased it for himself and his officers, but gave none to the prisoners. According to the Breckinridges, thereupon, Girty cursed Bird "as being meaner than any Indian, having plenty of rations and carrying his prisoners back to starve without them." They declared that the British officer at Detroit was very much displeased and talked of breaking Bird's commission.[50] Jane Morrow later told Draper that Bird was court-martialed for his conduct at Ruddle's, but was acquitted.[51]

James Morrow was captured while hunting and was forced to run the gauntlet which he did successfully. A little later, however, the Indians decided to burn him at the stake and had made all their ghastly preparations when a hard rain set in. He was finally saved by an Indian who bought him for twenty buckskins. The Indian took him to the house where the British bought both prisoners and scalps and sold him for five pounds, a neat profit since a buckskin usually sold for a dollar and the price of twenty buckskins in the parlance of the woods was "twenty bucks." While Morrow was in that house he beheld the scalps of the prisoners taken, a large number of which were those of little children and heard an old Indian tearfully declare that the Great Spirit would be angry because they had scalped so many little infants.

To Mrs. Wilson, another daughter of Patrick Mahan, who lived to a ripe old age in Woodford County, we are indebted for many details of that sad journey.[52] She says that Bird gave the men a cup of flour and the women and children only half a cup. She saw an Indian comfortably riding one of her

father's best horses "and her saddle," while she was compelled to walk during that journey of six weeks and four days and carry a heavy pack. She says when they were taken to an island, the men had to work or go to prison. A Captain Grant was building a mill and made the men haul rock like horses, paying them a York shilling a day for their labors. While at Montreal, she says:

> We had a very good house to stay in. After we were taken first, they wanted us, the single ladies, to go into the gentlemen's kitchens and cook for them. We single ladies and Captain Dunkin's lady and Mrs. Lapost and Mrs. Mahan, my mother and Mrs. Agnes Mahan, my brother's wife, sent a petition to Major Halderman [Haldimand], telling him we had never been accustomed to work in the kitchen and we wanted houses to live in. We considered it was too low, we never had been used to such business. General Halderman [Haldimand] granted the petition. The second petition also, to let our men be out with us, and if that couldn't be, to let us have some one to wait upon us. They made them give oath that they wouldn't leave, and sent them out on parole . . . .

An old adage says, it takes three generations of ladies to make a needlewoman, and these were ladies. Mrs. Wilson continues:

> The women of us were generally pretty good at our needles, and we had pretty good employment at that. Got a dollar and a half for every fine ruffled shirt we made. They were in the habit of putting lace edging on their ruffles. We worked an open edge on them, and they took a great fancy to that, and we charged them another dollar and a half for that, making three dollars. Our needles were very well capable of supporting us decently. When we came to leave we had seven pieces of Irish linen in the house that we had to return. The people that we sewed for were mighty sorry. They always advanced the money, or were ready to pay when we brought the work.
>
> A loyalist lady came to the prisoners' house to get washing. Miss Judy Lapost and her brother were just going to town. They said they were going to town to get a washerwoman. One day their mother was in a store in town and a town lady came and wanted to know if she wasn't one of the Virginia prisoners [Kentucky being part of Virginia]. Said the report was through the town that the Virginia prisoners were the proudest people in town. She said—Why shouldn't we be? We all had good homes and always had a-plenty.
>
> Major Dupaster [DePeyster] was a great friend to the prisoners. We had no want of food after we got to Montreal.
>
> Captain Hare was very kind. Would stay behind out of Byrd's sight to give Mahan, the old man, an opportunity of riding his horse.

Mrs. Honn and her daughter, Katherine, were among the captives from Ruddle's. Katherine, a fleet-footed girl of eighteen, was chased by the Indians a half a mile while running the gauntlet and was knocked down by an Indian club. She married first, Charles Munger, then Joseph Fenis. The mother, Mrs. Honn, was placed in Blue Jacket's family where she kept the cows and made the butter, esteeming herself fortunate to be so well placed.[53]

While the Indians were attacking Ruddle's Fort, one Indian succeeded in getting under the puncheon floor of Mrs. McFall's cabin.[54] She poured boiling water through the cracks routing him in a hurry. She remained in

captivity many years, but her husband soon escaped during an attack by Clark upon the Indians.

The Indians killed and scalped a number of children because they could not keep up on the march. They seemed, however, to have taken a fancy to little Johnnie Lail, two years old, and decided to see if he would make a "good Indian," rolling him rapidly down the river bank. He didn't cry, thus securing his own adoption and that of his brother George, three years older. Johnnie came back to Kentucky after Wayne's Treaty and lived to be an old and useful citizen of Harrison County. George married an Indian and lived among the Indians many years. Finally, however, he came back to the home of his childhood, but his Indian wife deserted him and went back to her people.

One of the most important prisoners taken from Ruddle's was Captain John Hinkson, who had built the original fort. The second night after leaving the forks of the Licking, the Indians encamped near the river. They had difficulty in lighting a fire as everything was wet. There was a guard placed over the prisoners, but his attention was attracted by the efforts to start the fire. Hinkson saw this and realizing that the night was dark he sprang from his captors and dashed out of sight, lying down by the side of a log where it was quite dark until the excitement occasioned by his escape had subsided. Then he started toward Lexington, but it was too dark to see the moss on the sides of the trees, and there were no stars to guide him. In this dilemma, he dipped his hand in water and holding it above his head noted that one side of his hand immediately became cold. That he knew must be the side from which the wind came, and so for the rest of the night he followed the cold side of his hand which he knew to be toward the west, the course best suited to his purpose. He finally arrived safely at Lexington bearing the first news of the tragedy that had taken place at Ruddle's and Martin's Forts.[55]

THE CANNON

Bombardier Homan, who had charge of artillery, referred to his battery as "the gun" and "smaller ordnance," presumbaly swivels.[56] Captian Bird in his report to DePeyster, says:[57]

> The three pounder was not sufficient, our People raised a Battery of Rails and earth within eighty yards of the fort, taking advantage of a very violent storm of rain, which prevented their being seen clearly. They stood two discharges of the little gun, which only cut down a spar, and stuck the shot in the side of a house. When they saw the Six Pounder moving across the field, they immediately surrendered. They thought the Three Pounder a swivel.

One of Bird's cannon is probably lying today on the bottom of the Licking, just below Boyd Station at Bird's Crossing. After the two forts had been taken, the Indians mounted the horses of the Kentuckians to ride in comfort and drove

the livestock and the prisoners along the trail, crossing the Licking at the Buffalo Ford just beyond Ruddle's Fort, crossing Gray's Run at Cynthiana, then Mill Creek and Raven Creek and the Licking again at a sweeping curve in the river still known as Bird's Crossing. At that point Bird built a temporary bridge by throwing rocks into the river and then laying logs first crosswise then lengthwise the stream allowing passage for his cannon and other equipment and supplies. In his rapid retreat, one artillery piece slipped off the hastily constructed bridge and was mired in the river where it remained an object of interest to small boys of the neighborhood for fifty years afterward who went swimming there. It was their ambition to dive into the river and "touch the cannon."[58]

From Bird's Crossing they marched up the dry bed of Snake Lick, then across the country to the forks of the Licking where Falmouth is now and from thence to the Ohio where the Indians scattered to their villages taking their captives with them. Captain Bird proceeded to Detroit with so many prisoners that DePeyster was filled with consternation, having difficulty in distributing them among various sections of the surrounding countryside. Finally he divided them among Detroit, Niagara and Michillimackinac. Those who remained at Detroit lived on Hog Island; some were sent to Carlton Island and as many as possible were distributed among the farmers to help with the harvest.

WAYNE'S TREATY

And so the years passed. After the Ordinance of 1787 Ohio was opened up for settlement and "the men who wore hats" began to build homes in the Indian country. Cincinnati and Marietta were laid out as towns, and the Ohio Company of Associates led by Israel Putman and Manasseh Cutler began a colonization scheme which was retarded by Indian atrocities. Notwithstanding the surrender at Yorktown and the end of the Revolution, England still held fast to Niagara and Detroit and continued to incite the Indians against the whites forcing the government to take measures to protect the infant settlements. General Harmer and General St. Clair suffered defeat, but Mad Anthony Wayne with his well-trained army and his careful plans won so decisive a victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers that the Indians sued for peace. The final treaty was signed on August 3, 1795, at Greenville, Ohio. A general exchange of all prisoners still held by the British and the Indians took place. Wives and husbands were united who had been separated for years, and Kentucky parents welcomed to their hearthstones little children who had grown up among savages.

THE RUDDLE FAMILY

The fate of the Ruddle family was the most tragic of all. When the gates of Ruddle's Fort were opened the three-year-old baby of Mrs. Ruddle was

snatched from her arms and thrown into the fire. Mrs. Ruddle had a bad cut across her forehead and one day while toiling along toward the Indian Country, she sent her little son, Stephen, into the woods to hunt some ginseng root to apply to it. The child was caught by an Indian and whipped, and when Stephen heard the report of a gun he supposed his mother had been killed. On the way an Indian forced Mrs. Ruddle to lie down across three roots threatening to beat her if she were caught trying to get into an easier position. After reaching Canada, however, she and her husband were treated so kindly it aroused some jealousy, but this kindness may have been due to the fact that Captain Ruddle was a Mason.[59]

Their two small sons, Stephen, age twelve, and Abraham, age six, were handed over to Shawnee Indians. Stephen entered the family of Blackfish as a foster brother of the great Tecumseh.[60] Both boys became more like Indians than white men siding with the former against the latter. On one occasion Stephen came into Kentucky with a party of Indians to steal horses. His father owned a stud horse which he decided to take. When he reached his home and saw Isaac Ruddle kneeling in prayer, the boy raised his gun to shoot him, later saying that something, he knew not what, prevented this from happening. It did not, however, keep him from taking the horse.[61] Stephen served as interpreter for the Shawnees, and both he and Abraham married Indian women. Stephen Shelton, a friend of the family, was sent to find Stephen and Abraham Ruddle and bring them to Greenville for the Treaty. He found Abraham at a little town near Mackinaw and Stephen at the Lake of the Woods. Abraham came cheerfully, but Stephen refused to come unless he could bring his squaw. At the Treaty of Greenville the kind father, Isaac Ruddle, was waiting for his sons with a nice new suit of clothes for each, but a few hours later they were both in Indian dress again.[62]

Another reason for Stephen returning was that he learned that his mother was living. This determined him to go back to Kentucky. When he returned he found that Kentucky had become a state and that a few forts which were still standing were used to shelter the stock of peaceful farmers. Old landmarks were obliterated, buffalo traces were being worked into roads, wheeled vehicles had succeeded Indian drags and pioneer pack trains, hewn log houses were going out of fashion while colonial mansions were being built of stone and brick. New neighbors had come from Culpepper and Fauquier and Bottecourt Counties in Virginia, from Scott's Plains in Jersey State, from Frederickstown, Maryland, and a few from Georgia, all of whom extended him a cordial welcome.[63]

The Ruddle family returned to their settlement at Ruddle's Mills in Bourbon County, Kentucky, where they operated a log mill on Hinkson Creek.

Captain Isaac Ruddle's daughter, Elizabeth, married an Irishman named Mulharen who became a partner of his father-in-law.

WILL OF CAPTAIN ISAAC RUDDLE

Captain Isaac Ruddle's will, located in the Bourbon County Court House, dated March 1, 1806, and probated February 1812, shows, in addition to familiar names, those of other members of the family. It names sons, Stephen, Abraham, George, Isaac, Jr. (deceased), Cornelius (deceased), daughter Elizabeth Mulharen and daughter Margaret Dewit, and her sons, Isaac and John and Cornelius' two daughters, Polly and Nancy.

Abraham went west. He is said to have married Mary Culp in 1797. Isaac, Jr., probably married Mary Foster and died in 1794. George, Cornelius, James and John took pre-emtions. George and his wife Theodosia of New Madrid conveyed Bourbon County property. This may be the George of the Rockingham County Virginia Militia. One George Ruddle is said to have married Clorinda Gore and had a son, Ambrose Gore Ruddle. Mary Lair, sister of Lieutenant Andrew Lair of Logans Fort, Captain Matthias Lair of the Cedars and John Lair of Boscobel; and her husband, Ambrose Ruddle, are said to have been in Ruddle's Fort. However, their names are not included in any list found thus far. Dr. William E. Connelley, the eminent Kansas historian, adds the history of another member of the Isaac Ruddle Family. He says:[64]

> A daughter of Isaac Ruddle [Sarah] was carried away captive when the station was destroyed and remained among the Shawnee Indians for a number of years. Later she married a man named Davis and settled at Fayette, Missouri. Her daughter married Rev. Thomas Johnson, a Methodist preacher, who founded the Old Shawnee Mission in what is now Johnson County, Kansas. When she came to live with her daughter she found many Shawnees she had known in Ohio when in captivity. They were much attached to her before she was rescued and they were greatly pleased to have her with them there. She knew the Shawnee language as well as she knew her own and the Shawnees spent hours and hours talking to her about old times.

WHERE MARTIN'S FORT STOOD

On the site of Martin's Fort stands Mt. Lebanon, the historic home of James Garrard, second governor of Kentucky, a Revolutionary soldier and a scholar and gentleman of the old school.[65] At his home was held the first court of Bourbon County in 1786 when that county extended from the Fayette County line to the Ohio River. There in a walled-in graveyard which is on the exact site of Martin's Fort, a marker was erected by the Jemima Suggett Johnson Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, June 24, 1921. The marker is dedicated to the memory of the brave pioneers who settled the fort and who were captured by Captain Bird in June, 1780. Only a short distance from the graveyard is Cooper's Run Meeting House.

COOPER'S RUN MEETING HOUSE

When the captives returned after the Treaty of Greenville, they found no fort where the buffalo trace had crossed Stoner Creek, but in its stead, a stone church – The Cooper's Run Meeting House. Its church book of hand-tanned leather, dated June, 1787, gives the history of the community which gathered around Martin's Fort. It was written in longhand by James Garrard who used a quill pen and home-made ink. This document describes a crude structure without heat and with many inconveniences. Absences were severely dealt with, and members careless about attending divine worship were excluded from fellowship with no exception being made regardless of color or social position until the backsliders had mended their ways.[66] It was one and the same whether the offender was Sister Conway or Brother Isaac Ruddle's Black George.

STEPHEN RUDDLE, THE FIRST LIVING LINK MISSIONARY

Cooper's Run maintained an Indian mission. Among the church records, we can read about the mission and its most prominent missionary, Stephen Ruddle. Coming back to the land of his fathers after his long captivity, Stephen lived for a while in Kentucky, welcoming Indians to his home. With true Christian fortitude, he obeyed the Scriptural injunction: "Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that despitefully use and persecute you." In 1806 he reported to the Cooper's Run Church that at their request he "had proceeded on his mission to the [Shawnee] Indians and found them collected and awaiting his arrival." He described them as having been attentive and desirous of being further instructed in the Christian religion. "They," he said, "approved the doctrines delivered to them and gave him a string of beads as a token of friendship for the Society which had sent him on a mission so desirable to them." With great formality, he then presented the beads to the church. Furthermore, Ruddle told the church, he had "attempted to remove some fears respecting the justice of the government toward them and succeeded in a very satisfactory way!" As an evidence of the entire satisfaction they felt, they sent a string of wampum also, which he likewise delivered. He said that it was his "belief that if proper and prudent measures were adopted to enlighten their minds with the blessing of God, the Gospel would become beneficial to these poor, unenlightened savages."[67]

The records of Cooper's Run Meeting House[68] show that the strings of wampum and the beads were received by the church and deposited among the church papers.

Messages were sent to the nearby churches at Indian Creek, Flat Lick, Somerset, Jacks Creek and Green Creek, asking that contributions be made to continue the work of "Brother" Ruddle. In 1810 Stephen was ordained a minister of the Gospel.

THE GRAVES OF CAPTAIN AND MRS. ISAAC RUDDLE

Captain Ruddle and his wife, Elizabeth, lived out their allotted time, passing away about 1812. They are buried at Ruddle's Mills, Bourbon County, Kentucky, in the old Presbyterian graveyard, a tract of two acres which had been donated by Ruddle as a cemetery. There they lie in oblivion, for no gravestones mark the last resting place of these pioneers.

A TENTATIVE LIST OF THOSE CAPTURED AT RUDDLE'S AND MARTIN'S FORTS

What of the rest of the captives? Who were they? What became of them after that sorrowful six-week journey to Detroit, Montreal and Mackinac?

Some of these questions can be answered because Lyman Draper became interested, followed them up and interviewed many of them. He discovered that they were often separated from their families and divided among the British and the Indians. Those held by the Indiaus either became like the Indians themselves or lived in slavery. After Wayne's Treaty of Greenville was signed, many of these captives returned to their Kentucky homes and attempted to reunite themselves with other scattered members of their families. From the Draper Papers and such materials as have been preserved for us in the form of old letters, newspapers, wills and settlements of estates, the following incomplete list has been compiled in the hope that others will take up the search and find a more complete answer to the questions we have posed. Approximately 250 names of soldiers and captives have been uncovered all total.

RUDDLE. The first and foremost family was that of Captain Isaac Ruddle, commander of the fort of the same name. With him at the time of Bird's raid was his wife, Elizabeth Bowman Ruddle, who had helped to defend the fort at a porthole; two sons, Stephen, twelve, and Abraham, six; two daughters, Elizabeth and Sarah; two men, James and Ambrose Ruddle. Elizabeth later married a man by the name of Mulharen. Sarah, after being freed by the Indians, married Thomas Davis. She and her husband lived in Pike County, Missouri. There her Shawnee friends visited her, and there she died in 1825 at the age of ninety-seven. An infant had been torn from the arms of Mrs. Ruddle and thrown into the fire that black day at Ruddles Fort, June 24, 1780. At least two children were born later to Elizabeth Ruddle in Canada, both boys, Isaac Jr. and John.

MAHAN. The family of Patrick Mahan settled in Martin's Fort. They were Patrick and his wife, John, Thomas, William, Isabella, Margaret, Jane and Agnes. The latter, Agnes, married first James Morrow, later governor of Ohio, and second, a man by the name of Wilson with whom she lived in Woodford County, Kentucky. The family returned to Kentucky and have left descendants in Bourbon, Harrison and Woodford Counties.[69]

DUNCAN. Captain John Duncan, Mrs. Duncan and one son. Captain Duncan later told that he and 129 others were taken prisoners at Ruddle's Fort. The Duncans returned to Kentucky and settled in Whitley County.[70]

LAPOST. Mrs. LaPost, one son and a daughter, Judy.[71]

GOODNIGHT. Michael Goodnight, Peter Goodnight, John Goodnight and some girl children.[72]

WHITESIDES. William Whitesides.

WHITE. David White.

HINKSON. Captain John Hinkson and his family. In Dunmore's War, he was known as Major Hinkson. In 1775 he came to Kentucky where with a company of fifteen men he erected a fort on the Licking River. In July he was forced to abandon the fort by a superior force of Indians. In 1780 when he returned to Kentucky, he found his fort occupied by the Ruddles and other families. He had scarcely settled his family there when it was captured. His small sons were taken northward, but Hinkson escaped on the third night and carried the news of the disaster to Clark at Fort Nelson. He became a prominent citizen of Bourbon County where he was elected a major of militia in 1786 and a sheriff in 1788. He died at New Madrid in 1789. Many prominent descendants of his live today in Bourbon and Harrison Counties, some of whom own his original tract of land.[73]

MCFALL. John McFall and his wife. At the time of Clark's retaliation into Indian country, John McFall escaped from Detroit. When Mrs. McFall was released, following Wayne's treaty with the Indians, the two settled in Harrison County on Mill Creek.[74]

LONG. John W. Long, his wife [formerly a Conway], and Rhoda, age six. Rhoda later married a man by the name of Ground and was living in Warren County, Kentucky, in 1844.[75]

RITTENHOUSE. Edmund Rittenhouse and family. They descended the Ohio in a flatboat and up the Licking to Ruddle's Fort. When they returned to Kentucky some time after 1793, they settled near Covington. Edmund was a cousin of the celebrated astronomer, David Rittenhouse.

MORROW. James Morrow. Married Agnes Mahan.

BROOKS. Samuel Brooks.

BERRY. Francis and wife, from Martin's Fort.[76]

HONN. Joseph Honn, his wife, Katherine, eighteen, Polly, Margaret and Joseph. The family returned to Kentucky to live in Montgomery County.[77]

MARKLE. Jacob Markle.[78]

KYLES or KELSO.[79]

MCDANIELS. Robert McDaniels.

SPEARS. Christian Spears and wife. Mrs. Spears was drowned while crossing the Licking River. In Detroit, Christian married a fellow prisoner. They made their home in Paris, Kentucky, after peace was signed.

TUFFLEMAN. Martin Tuffleman, wife and six children.[80]

CONWAY. Samuel Conway, a brother, his wife, two daughters and a son, Joseph. Joseph, born in 1763, had been wounded by Indians two weeks before his capture.[81]

GRUFF or ERUFF. Henry Gruff. He returned to Kentucky where he settled in Whitley County.[82]

PURSLEY. A man by that name from Ruddles Station.[83]

TRABUE. James Trabue, a surveyor. He wrote the terms of capitulation for Ruddle's Station. His diary says that he and one White arrived at Ruddle's the day before the siege. After the attack Trabue buried his compass at the root of a tree before surrendering to his pursuers. After two years of imprisonment, he escaped and

moved to Virginia. Prominent descendants of his now reside in Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky.[84]

BENTON. John Benton, wife and a daughter.[85]

SELLERS. A family of them were taken prisoners.

CONWAY. John Conway, wife and seven children. Among the children were Elizabeth, Sallie, six, John, twenty-two and Joseph, fifteen. Elizabeth later married W. M. Daugherty. Sallie was returned to Kentucky when she was fifteen.

RAVENSCRAFT. Known as Lieutenant Ravenscraft. He was cruelly tortured by the Indians at the stake and was made to run the gauntlet. Kinney said of him: "If this is a man; then a man is a strange looking thing." Ravenscraft returned to live and die in Harrison County, Kentucky. His sufferings have been told and retold, but his grave is still unmarked.

WISEMAN. A Mrs. Wiseman.

BURGER. John Burger.

VANHOOK. Samuel VanHook. He was the tailor in Ruddle's Fort noted there for his leather breeches. Later he was a farmer and hunter in Harrison County.

HART. Nicholas Hart. When the Indians came to Kentucky in 1782 to besiege Bryan's Station and to fight the Battle of Blue Licks, they brought Nicholas Hart and others to witness their cruel deeds.

LAIL. George and Johnnie Lail. George married an Indian. Johnnie returned to live in Harrison County.

DAVIS. Members of this family who were captured were relations of Thomas Davis, the husband of Sarah Ruddle. The Davises returned to live in Whitley County.[86]

EASTON. Mrs. Easton. She was drowned along with Mrs. Christian Spears while crossing the Licking River.

GATLIFFE. Charles Gatliffe, his wife and five children. They were from Martin's Fort. He was captured while hunting. His wife and children stayed together in captivity. Following their release, the family resettled in Whitley County where numerous descendants of theirs now live.[87]

MUNGER. He, his wife and daughter, Mary.[88]

KRATZ. Leonard Kratz, wife and baby. Leonard was called "Scratch" by the British. The baby died in captivity. When reunited with his wife, she had undergone such a physical strain that he didn't recognize her at first.[89]

LAFORCE or FORCE. Agnes La Force, her five children and thirteen slaves. The slaves were taken by the British and the Indians, but upon protest to Sir Frederick Haldimand, some of them were returned.[90]

SHELTON. Stephen Shelton. From Ruddle's Fort. Later he was sent to find Abraham and Stephen Ruddle. He found both boys, but Stephen did not want to return to his true parents, but finally consented.[91]

KAVANAUGH. Joe Kavanaugh and his father's family.

CRAYCRAFT. Major Craycraft.

ORR. Captain Orr.

BAIGE. James Baige.

CRAWFORD. Joe Crawford.

MCGUIRE FAMILY.

WILSON.

SMITH. Peter Smith and his wife, from Ruddle's Fort.[92]

KENNEDY. "Escaped."

KINNEY.

HARDEN. Serena Harden. Captured at the age of seven. She was adopted by the Wyandotts, but later escaped. She married Thomas Hutton.[93]

BERRY. Francis Berry. He later returned to Kentucky and settled in Whitley County.[94]

CARROLL. Man and wife.[95]

BRECKINRIDGE. James Breckinridge. Married Jane Mahan.

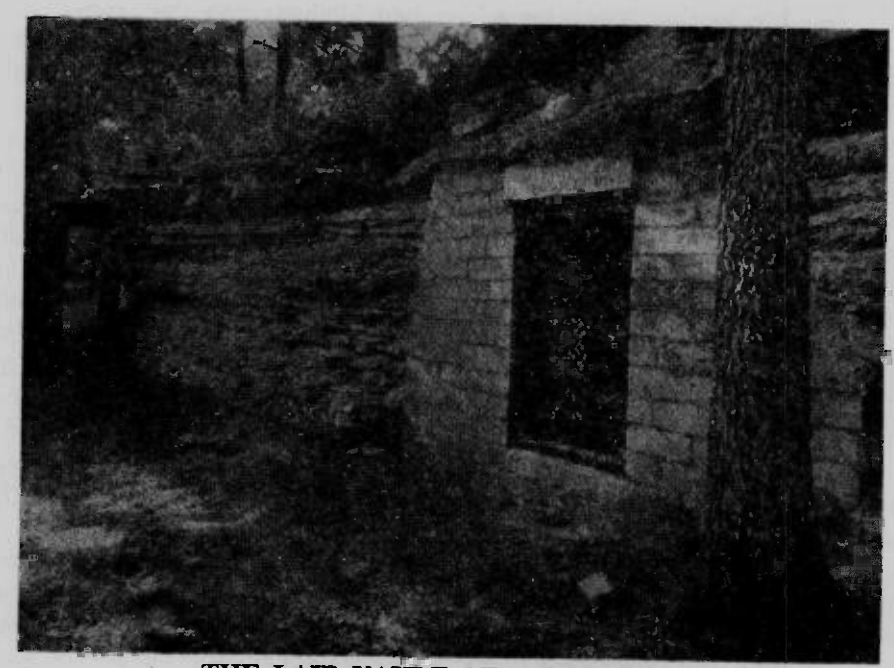
THE CEDARS

After the Revolutionary War, Captain Matthias Lair and his brother, John, settled on their 2,000 acre tract of land in the bend of the Licking on the site of Ruddle's Fort. Matthias built The Cedars, and John built Boscobel, a stone house which still stands. In 1825 Charles Lair, son of Matthias, remodelled The Cedars at a cost of $40,000, making it a showplace of the countryside. This handsome old home after more than a century of gracious living was burned in June, 1930. It was an architectural gem set in a forest of cedars on the river front. Today only the dining room, the two kitchens and the library (in a corner of the yard) remain. The remainder of the fifteen rooms are no longer existent: the drawing room with its reeded work and delicately carved mantel, the hall with its exquisite stairway and fan-lighted doors on both sides, the six bedrooms and the loom, sewing and utility rooms. Gone also are the old slave cabins. One interesting item which remains is the famous mapcase hanging from the ceiling of the library. There Charles Lair used to open a window frame and pull one of five cords, attached to five blind-like maps, thus letting down a canvas upon which were printed two maps. There he would stand by his books, recessed in nearby cabinets around the wall, and examine his ten maps. The books, some of which were printed in London, were purchased in Philadelphia. They were brought by Walters from Pittsburg to Maysville and from Maysville by pack horses to The Cedars. The beautiful furniture is cherished today by the descendants of Charles Lair.

The most interesting spot today, however, at The Cedars is the family vault. Charles Lair blasted it out of the stone cliff along the Licking River and then called together all his relations to witness the removal of the ancestral Lairs from the family graveyard, which had been in the orchard, to his vault. Iron coffins were purchased in Philadelphia. As he opened each grave he moved the body from its crumbling casket into an iron one. Some of these were covered with black cloth, some with grey, and at least one with brown. They were placed in the vault together with the stone coffins in which the bones of the twenty persons massacred at Ruddles Fort had been preserved.

When the Lairs held their first reunion in 1910, they had the vault cleaned.

IRON COFFINS IN WHICH THE LAIRS ARE BURIED



THE LAIR VAULT AT THE CEDARS

A stone coffin in this vault contains the bones of the twenty pioneers of Ruddle's Fort who were massacred there in 1780.

To the amazement of those watching, the old iron lid over the face of Charles Lair was accidentally turned around its pivot, revealing the face of that remarkable man. He had on a ruffled shirt, a white stock and a voluminous, brown-brocaded waistcoat. With oil from the lantern and a horseshoe nail, the rust was rubbed away, and two more coffin lids were opened. One was that of Sallie Anderson Lair, his wife, whose lavender gown clung tightly to her emaciated form and the other, that of Charles's brother, William, who was killed at Harmar's defeat. William was buried in black, accented in contrast by his ruffled shirt. Some of those who came to the reunion gazen reverently upon those ancestral faces, while others fled from the spot in terror.

The bodies were all replaced in the vault and carefully set in concrete. Marble footstones identify them and the years of their passing.

Near the vault is a monument erected by Eliza Lair, dedicated to the memory of Ruddle's Fort.

Appendix A[96]

LETTER OF CAPTAIN BIRD TO MAJOR ARENT S. DEPEYSTER

Ohio opposite Licking Creek
July 1st, 1780

Sir

After fatigues which only those that were present can entertain a proper idea of we arrived before Fort Liberty the 24th of June. I had before that day entreated every Indian officer that appeared to have influence among the Savages, to persuade them not to engage with the fort, untill the guns were up — fearing if any were killed it might exasperate the Indians & make them commit cruelties when the rebels surrendered.

Poor McCarty in every other respect an extreme, attentive, serviceable fellow, perished by disobeying this order. An Indian was shot through the arm. The Three Pounder was not sufficient, our people raised a battery of rails & earth within 80 yards of the fort — taking some advantage of a very violent storm of rain which prevented them being seen clearly — They stood two discharges of the little gun, which only cut down a spar and stuck the shot in the side of a house — When they saw the Six Pounder moving across the field, they immediately surrendered, they thought the Three Pounder a Swivel the Indians and their department had got with them — The conditions granted that their lives should be saved, and themselves taken to Detroit, I forewarn'd them that the Savages would adopt some of their children. The Indians gave in council the cattle for food for our people & the prisoners and were not to enter till the next day: But whilst Capt. McKee and myself were in the fort settling these matters with the poor people, they rushed in, tore the poor children from their mothers breasts, killed a wounded man and every one of

the cattle, leaving the whole to stink. We had brought no pork with us & were now reduced to great distress, & the poor prisoners in danger of being starved.

I talked hardly to them of their breach of promise – But however we marched to the next fort, which surrendered without firing a gun. The same promises were made & broke in the same manner, not one pound of meat & near 300 prisoners – Indians breaking into the forts after the treaties were concluded. The rebels ran from the next fort and the Indians burn't it – They then heard news of Col. Clark's coming against them & proposed returning – which indeed had they not proposed I must have insisted on, as I had then fasted some time & the prisoners in danger of starving – incessant rains rotted our people's feet the Indians almost all left us within a days march of the enemy. It was with difficulty I procured a guide thro' the woods – I marched the poor women & children 20 miles in one day over very high mountains, frightening them with frequent alarms to push them forward, in short, Sir, by water and land we came with all our cannon &c 90 miles in 4 days, one day out of which we lay by entirely, rowing 50 miles the last day – we have no meat and must subsist on flour if there is nothing for us at Lorimiers. I am out of hope of getting any Indians to hunt, or accompany us, however George Girty I detain to assist me – I could Sir by all accounts have gone through the whole country without any opposition, had the Indians preserved the cattle. Everything is safe, so far, but we are not yet out of reach of pursuit – As a very smart fellow escaped from me within 26 miles of the Enemy – Provisions and perougues we shall want at the glaize and the vessel at the mouth of the Miamis.

I refer you to the bearer for particulars.

[I] am Sir with respect
Your most obdt Servant
Henry Bird

Appendix B[96]

VOLUNTEERS . . . ON THE EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN BIRD WITH THEIR PAY FROM MARCH 24 TO MAY 24, 1780

Capt. Chabert	(61 Days)	10/.	Sterling	52	5	8½
Lt. Jonathan Scheiffeling		8/.	York	24	8	–
Antoine Charon	Sargent	6/.		18	6	–
Francis Baubault	"	6/.		18	6	–
Joseph Carrie	Corporal	5/.		15	5	–
Louis Somlers	Private	4/.		12	4	–
F. Trudelle		4/.		12	4	–
Antoine Truttie		4/.		12	4	–

Claude Richard	4/.		12	4	—
Bazil Moran	4/.		12	4	—
Jean Mary Plante	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Loson	4/.		12	4	—
Andrew Bertiaume	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph LaFont	4/.		12	4	—
Guillaum Mallet	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Baazau	4/.		12	4	—
John Jones	4/.		12	4	—
Jean Marie Marion	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Tesier	4/.		12	4	—
Francois Tepier	4/.		12	4	—
Antoine Martell	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Longuiel	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Laliberte	4/.		12	4	—
William Greg	4/.		12	4	—
Edward Shehe	4/.		12	4	—
John Flurry	4/.		12	4	—
John Stockwell	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Reagh	4/.		12	4	—
John Murray	4/.		12	4	—
James Tussy	4/.		12	4	—
Jean Marie Le Cerp	4/.		12	4	—
Jacques Chartier	4/.		12	4	—
Amable Jitter	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Bergeron	4/.		12	4	—
Paul Lasaline	4/.		12	4	—
Bonavanture Lariviere	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Demerk	4/.		12	4	—
Jacques Prudhomme	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Lahutte	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Labady	4/.		12	4	—
Louis Desaunier	4/.		12	4	—
Etienne Tramblay	4/.		12	4	—
Caleb Reynolds	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Tavuan	4/.		12	4	—
Jacques Loson	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Cote	4/.		12	4	—
Charles Campau	4/.		12	4	—
Amable St. Etienne	4/.		12	4	—
Benjamin Chapu	4/.		12	4	—

Pierre Misee	4/.		12	4	—
Louis Moine	4/.		12	4	—
Simon Bergeron	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Lajeunepe	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre St. Louis	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Ledaux	4/.		12	4	—
Charleboy	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Peltier	4/.		12	4	—
Francois Bylair	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Drouilliart	4/.		12	4	—
Alex'r Johnson	4/.		12	4	—
Iulien Labutte	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Tramblay	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Miney	4/.		12	4	—
Charles Roseau	4/.		12	4	—
Simon Yax	4/.		12	4	—
Michel Tramblay	4/.		12	4	—
Chrisostome St. Louis	4/.		12	4	—
Ignace Billette	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Mouinerel	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Grimard	4/.		12	4	—
Andre Viger	4/.		12	4	—
Vincent Maw	4/.		12	4	—
Etienne Lebeau	4/.		12	4	—
Jean B. Lajeunepe	4/.		12	4	—
Francois Prudhomme	4/.		12	4	—
J. P. Yax	4/.		12	4	—
J. B. Labady, Jr.	4/.		12	4	—
Jacques Chauvin	4/.		12	4	—
Joseph Blay	8/.		12	8	—
Joseph Degagne	8/.		24	8	—
Charles Leblane	8/.		24	8	—
Pierre Robert	8/.		24	8	—
James McPhee	8/.		24	8	—
J. B. Ledue	4/.		12	4	—
Pierre Clenchette	4/.		12	4	—
			L 1165	10	8½

PAY ROLL OF VOLUNTEERS WITH CAPTAIN BIRD MAY 25 TO AUGUST 4, 1780

				L	s	d
Louis Jeancaire Chabert	Captain	@ 10/.	Sterling	61	14	3¾
Jonathan Scheiffeling	Lieutenant	8/.		28	16	"
Baubault	Sergeant	6/.		21	12	"
Chanon	"	6/.		21	12	"
Wm. Gregg	"	6/.		21	12	"
James McAphie	"	6/.		21	12	—
Joseph Carrier	Corporal	5/.		18	—	—
Joseph Touillier	"	5/.		18	—	—
Joseph Rough	"	5/.		18	—	—
Francois Trudell	Private	4/.		14	8	—
Guillaume Mallet	"	4/.		14	8	—
B. Brazaw	"	4/.		14	8	—
Claud Richard	"	4/.		14	8	—
Bazil Morran	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jean Marie Plant	"	4/.		14	8	—
Antoine Truttier	"	4/.		14	8	—
John Fleury	"	4/.		14	8	—
Pierre Lazon	"	4/.		14	8	—
Andre Berthiaume	"	4/.		14	8	—
Joseph LaForest	"	4/.		14	8	—
Joseph Longile	"	4/.		14	8	—
Edward Shehe	"	4/.		14	8	—
John Stockwell	"	4/.		14	8	—
John Johnes	"	4/.		14	8	—
John Murry	"	4/.		14	8	—
James Tussy	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jean Marie Marion	"	4/.		14	8	—
Pierre Tisier	"	4/.		14	8	—
Francis Tisier	"	4/.		14	8	—
Antoine Martell	"	4/.		14	8	—
Joseph Laliberty	"	4/.		14	8	—
J. B. Labadee	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jean Marie LeCerp	"	4/.		14	8	—
Joseph Bergeron	"	4/.		14	8	—
Bonavanture Lariviere	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jacques Prudhomme	"	4/.		14	8	—
Pierre Labutte	"	4/.		14	8	—
Louis Debonier	"	4/.		14	8	—

Etienne Tramblay	"	4/.		14	8	—
J. B. Favenau	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jacques Loson	"	4/.		14	8	—
Benjamin Chapue	"	4/.		14	8	—
Pierre Mizie	"	4/.		14	8	—
Louis Morran	"	4/.		14	8	—
J. B. Laduke	"	4/.		14	8	—
Touisaint Charleboy	"	4/.		14	8	—
J. B. Peltier	"	4/.		14	8	—
Julien Labutte	"	4/.		14	8	—
Jean B. Tramblay	"	4/.		14	8	—
Alex'r Johnson	"	4/.		14	8	—
Daniel Whaler	May 25 - June 20	4/.	(27 days)	5	8	—
Joseph Guilbeaux	May 25 - July 1	4/.	(38 days)	7	12	—
Henry Aunger	May 25 - June 18	4/.	(25 days)	5	—	—
John Rix	May 25 - June 23	4/.	(30 days)	6	—	—
Roger Welsh	May 25 - June 23	4/.	(30 days)	6	—	—
Pierre Chinchett		4/.	(72 days)	14	8	—
Caleb Reynolds		4/.	(72 days)	14	8	—
Capitain Morran, 1 Lieut., 1 Sargt., and 40 men, 21 days on Survey with provisions for Captain Bird's party				199	10	—
				L 1079	12	3¼

Appendix C[96]

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER MCKEE TO MAJOR ARENT S DEPEYSTER

Shawanese Village
July 8, 1780

Sir/

The last letter I did myself the honor of writing you was dated from the Plains of the Great Miamis containing an account of every thing material to that time, and that our Force was to be collected upon the Ohio, at the mouth of that river we arrived the 13th of June & waited some days for a few chiefs of Chollicorthy [Chillicothe], who had fallen upon the river some miles above us, and upon their arrival at our camp, the number of Indians exceeded seven hundred when it was proposed and strongly urged by us, to proceed down the river against the enemies forts at the Falls of the Ohio, where we could have arrived in four days by water with the current. Besides this advantage we had previously received intelligence that Col. Clarke was gone from that place some weeks before with all the troops under his command to take post at the Iron Banks upon the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio, and that the inhabitants of the Falls, upon receiving advice of our approach (by two prisoners who escaped from the Hurons) they had dispatched an Express to recall him to their

assistance, but as he had a long distance, & against the current, it was not possible for him to return in time to interrup us in the execution of our design upon that place—but notwithstanding this favourable prospect, which would have been a fatal stroke to the enemies settlement in that country, the Indians could not be prevailed upon to come into it, and in a full council of the chiefs of their several Nations, determined to proceed to the nearest forts by way of Licking Creek giving for their reasons that it could not be prudent to leave their villages naked & defenceless in the neighborhood of those forts. Accordingly we advanced by this river [Licking] as far up as the forks, where we found it impracticable to get farther by water on account of its lowness, therefore were obliged to get out by land, and the 20th of June I accompanied about two hundred Indians and surrounded the enemys first fort [Ruddle's] before day, this was done before they were in the least apprised of us. It was then advised to remain in this situation and by no means to alarm the fort, if it could be avoided, until the arrival of the main body with the cannon, unless parties came out, in this case then to endeavour to take prisoners in order to gain intelligence of the enemies force and situation, but the eagerness of some Indians upon our left, fired upon a small party, who came out after day-break to cut grass—this commenced a firing, both from the fort and our Indians, which lasted till about 12 o'clock, when Capt. Bird came up with the small gun, and a battery being erected, after two discharges upon the enemy's fort, & the six pounder at the same time arriving in sight determined them to surrender the place.

The Indian chiefs agreed to the proposals, as well for the preservation of the prisoners as an equal distribution of the plunder amongst their several nations, to prevent jealousies or dissatisfaction, but the violence of the Lake Indians in seizing the Prisoners, contrary to agreement, threw everything into confusion, however the other nations next morning return all they had taken, back into Capt. Bird's charge.

The 27th I had dispatched some spies toward the enemies second fort [Martin's], who returned in the afternoon with a prisoner, having intercepted two men going express to alarm the other forts of our approach. The intelligence received from this prisoner determined us to set out immediately for the second fort, and reached it the next morning about 10 o'clock, being the 28th. The prisoner taken the day before was sent in to inform them of the situation—they agree'd to surrender, & being removed under a guard of the troops, the great propensity for plunder again occasioned discontent amongst them, and several parties set out toward the adjacent forts to plunder horses.

The prisoners now becoming numerous amounting to between three and four hundred, with a scarcity of provisions, added to many other insurmountable difficulties that must have attended going farther, determined the chiefs to

return from this place, and the next day we were back at the first fort: here we were overtaken by one of the small parties with a prisoner, who had left the Falls of the Ohio eight days before; he says, that Col. Clarke was daily expected there and was to command an army against the Indians, who were to leave that place the 10th of July. He also adds that an account was brought there from the inhabitants, that Charles Town South Carolina was in actual possession of the British Troops. I accompanied Capt. Bird back to the Forks of Licking Creek, from whence he was to proceed by water & having a very high flood would be able to reach the big Miamis in a very short time, the scarcity of provisions obliged the Indians to disperse.

I engaged a few of the chiefs to stay with Capt. Bird, more would be useless and troublesome to him, as there could be no apprehension of danger immediately from the enemy, however I have engaged the chiefs of the lower villages since my arrival, to send a party down upon the Ohio in his rear, and to send spies towards the Falls. The enemy abandoned two other forts, which has been set on fire by the Indians. These are the most material circumstances relative to this expedition carried on by the Indians in conjunction with the King's troops.

I am with great respect &c. &c

A. McKee

NOTES

[1]Milo Quaife, "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, I (January, 1927), 53-67.

[2]Letter, Col. Benjamin Logan to Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, August 31, 1782, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1883), III, 280-83.

[3]Draper MSS, 10S81-85. The Draper Manuscripts are owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[4]Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1909), II, 102.

[5]Sir Frederick Haldimand, a British Lieutenant General, succeeded Sir Guy Carleton as Governor of Canada in 1778, serving until 1784. His papers which have been bequeathed to the British Museum, cover 232 volumes of manuscript.

[6]Quaife, "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky," *op cit.*, I, 53. Captain Henry Bird's report to Major Arent S. DePeyster, British Commander at Detroit, reinforces the contention that the raid on Martin's and Ruddle's Stations constituted a British invasion of Kentucky. See letter, Captain Bird to Major Arent S. DePeyster, July 1, 1780, Appendix A.

[7]Robert S. Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky* (Cincinnati: Johnson & Hardin, 1917), 1-15.

[8]See Lewis and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*. . . (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1924), I, 17-20, for the increasing rate at which settlers came to Kentucky by the Ohio River route.

[9]Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the Great West* (Cincinnati: Henry Howe, 1873), 211, 217.

[10]Cotterill, *op. cit.*, 248. Howe, *op. cit.*, 215-17.

[11]Thomas D. Clark, *A History of Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky.: The John Bradford Press, 1954), 66-76; Robert Davidson, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*. . .

(New York: Robert Carter, 1847), 63-87; Daniel Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clark & Co., 1870), 41-138; William C. Watts, *Chronicles of a Kentucky Settlement* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), 458-62; John W. Wayland, *A History of Rockingham County Virginia* (Dayton, Va.; Ruebush - Elkins Company, 1912), 382-83.

[12]Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 325.

[13]At Lair, Kentucky, a station on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, between Cincinnati and Lexington, about four miles south of Cynthiana.

[14]Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 325-26.

[15]John Martin was born on the Atlantic Ocean, 1728, three days after his Quaker parents had left the shore of Ireland for America. He was one of Clark's six river spies, appointed by Colonel Logan to serve with John Conrad. Boone had appointed Simon Kenton and Thomas Brooks, and Harrod had appointed Samuel Moore and Bates Collier. It was their duty to go two by two each week and range up and down the Ohio River to watch for Indian signs and give timely warning to the forters. Collins, *op cit.*, II, 423-24; William H. Perrin and Robert Peter, *History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison and Nicholas Counties. . .* (Chicago: O. O. Baskin & Co., 1882), 36-37.

[16]John Haggin joined Colonel Bowman's Expedition in 1779 as Lieutenant Haggin with forty men from Ruddle's and Martin's Forts. As Captain Haggin he acted as one of Clark's river spies. He fell at the Battle of Blue Licks in 1782 while leading a charge. His blockhouse, built on a high bluff, was surrounded by six or seven cabins. There, in a sharp Indian attack, two men, McFall and McCombs, were killed. Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 325, 425, 445-46, 732.

[17]Situated at the Big Spring on the Buffalo Trace in Scott County where Georgetown now stands.

[18]Draper MSS, 17CC130.

[19]Also called St. Asaphs.

[20]Collins, *op cit.*, II, 327-28; Draper MSS, 11CC268; William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio* (Indianapolis & Kansas City: The Bowen - Merrill Company, 1896) I, 142-43.

[21]Collins, *op. cit.*, I, 13.

[22]Michael Stoner was one of the most courageous of the early settlers. He was in Kentucky as early as 1767, hunting on Rockcastle River with James Harrod. He planted Strode's Field on Stoner, between Paris and Winchester, Kentucky, in 1774. He lived in Boonesboro Fort in 1775 and was called by Henderson in his journal, "our hunter". He owned large bodies of land on Stoner Creek, giving fifty acres of it to James Kennedy for "stocking" a plow for him and one thousand acres to Samuel Clay for a negro woman, a horse and a gun. He was selected by Boone and appointed with him by Governor Dunmore to conduct the surveyors into the settlements when the Indians were on the warpath, preceding the Battle of Point Pleasant. They made two trips over the mountains, covering about eight hundred miles in sixty days, probably breaking all records for speed and endurance for that day.

[23]Bird's raid into Kentucky was one of four British offensive plans to recover the west. Temple Bodley, *George Rogers Clark. . .* (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1926), 160.

[24]Arent Schuyler DePeyster was born in New York City, June 27, 1736. At the age of nineteen he entered the 8th Regiment and saw service abroad and in various parts of North America. His service in the Northwest during the Revolution was particularly notable. He was Commandant of Mackinac from 1774 until after the capture of Governor Henry Hamilton by George Rogers Clark at Vincennes, when (1779) DePeyster was promoted to the command at Detroit. He continued to command at Detroit until 1784. DePeyster and Askin were staunch friends, as many letters in the Askin papers attest. DePeyster accompa-

nied his regiment to England where he died, November 2, 1832, in his 97th year. He was a man of literary tastes and a confirmed rhymster. A close friend and neighbor of DePeyster at Dumfries was Robert Burns, and what is said to have been the last poem ever composed by the latter was one addressed to DePeyster in reply to an inquiry concerning Burns health. Milo M. Quaife (ed.) *The John Askin Papers* (Detroit: The Detroit Library Commission, 1928), I, 72.

[25]Henry Hamilton, a native of Ireland, came to America as a soldier in the French and Indian War. He served under Amherst at Louisburg and under Wolfe at Quebec. From 1761-63 he was in the West Indies, and some time later his regiment was returned to England. Prior to the Revolution the civil administration of all Canada had been entrusted to a governor with headquarters at Quebec. Soon after the war began, the Earl of Dartmouth created the office of lieutenant governor at Mackinac, Detroit and Vincennes, and Hamilton received the appointment at Detroit. He reached Detroit November 9, 1775, and his vigorous and stormy administration was terminated by his departure on the Vincennes campaign in the Autumn of 1778 from which he was never to return to Detroit. Consigned to imprisonment in Virginia, on securing his release, he went to England whence he returned to Canada in 1782 bearing the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor. His administration was beset with difficulties even as the earlier one at Detroit had been. *Ibid.* I, 72-73.

[26]Quaife, "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky," *op.cit.*, I, 55-56.

[27]*Ibid.*, I, 56.

[28]See Appendix B, photostated from the ledger of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, British Fiscal Agents, *The Askin Papers*, Burton Collection, Detroit, Michigan.

[29]Both Jacob and Jonathan Schieffling were active on the British side of the Revolution. Jonathan served as lieutenant in Louis Chabert De Joncaire's company of Detroiters which went on Captain Henry Bird's invasion of Kentucky in 1780.

[30]Appendix A.

[31]Matthew Elliott was a native of Ireland who came to America as a young man in 1761. He served in Bouquet's expedition for the relief of Fort Pitt in 1763. For many years thereafter he was engaged in the Indian trade or the government service, or both with headquarters at Pittsburg. By the opening of the Revolution he was conducting rather extensive trading operations and had acquired much influence over the Indians of the Ohio Valley. Probably by reason of his government employment, Elliott remained loyal to the King, and in the autumn of 1776 set out with two or three followers and a considerable train of goods for Detroit. En route his goods and slaves were seized by the Indians, but Elliott himself reached Detroit in safety. There, however, he incurred the suspicion of disloyalty and was arrested and sent down to Quebec by Gov. Hamilton. On being released he made his way back to Pittsburg, where he associated with other loyalists and became known as a dangerous character. On March 28, 1778, Elliott again sought refuge at Detroit in company with Alexander McKee and Simon Girty. This time he won the confidence of the British authorities and was soon employed in the Indian department. Throughout the remainder of the Revolution he was an active leader of Indians in the warfare in the West, participating in almost every important expedition in the Ohio region during the war. He led 300 Indians in the defeat of Col. Crawford's expedition, aided in the slaughter of the Kentuckians at the Blue Licks and served with Hamilton on the Vincennes campaign and with Bird on his invasion of Kentucky in 1780. He effectively served his country in the operations in Western Ohio from 1790 to 1794, and July, 1796, was promoted to superintendency of Indian Affairs. When war with the United States seemed again impending, the government found that no one else could control the western Indians, and Elliott was reappointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He was as much as any man responsible for the River Raisin Massacre. Few men have known how to control the American Indian as successfully as did

Elliott, and none have been such bitter foes of the United States. He died at Burlington Heights, May 7, 1814, a fugitive from his home which had been ravaged by the victorious Americans. Elliott married Sarah Donovan, daughter of Matthew Donovan, one of Detroit's early schoolmasters. The outward shell of his home still stands on the shore of the Detroit River, a short distance below Amherstberg. *The John Askin Papers*, I, 257-58.

[32]Alexander McKee was a native of Pennsylvania who engaged in the Indian trade, and in 1772 was appointed Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs at Fort Pitt. When the Revolution came on, McKee sympathized with the British government. In 1777 he was imprisoned by General Hand. Being released on parole, he fled to Detroit in the spring of 1778, in company with Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott. In the same year he was appointed captain in the British Indian Department, and before long was given rank of deputy agent, and subsequently became Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit. In 1789 he was made a member of the Land Board of the District of Hesse. McKee was an inveterate foe of the Americans and had much to do with inciting the Indians to war against them. The Battle of Fallen Timbers in August, 1794, was fought in the immediate vicinity of his trading establishment on the Maumee River, and at its conclusion, Wayne proceeded to raze his property. The day before the battle McKee intending to participate in it, made his will. A copy of this will is now in the Burton Historical Collection. McKee removed to the River Thames upon the American occupation of Detroit, and died there of lockjaw on January 13, 1799. *Ibid.*, I, 301.

[33]Simon Girty was born in Pennsylvania in 1741. At the age of fifteen he was captured by the Senecas and lived with them as a prisoner for three years. He subsequently acted as an interpreter, and in this capacity served in Lord Dunmore's campaign. Loyalist in his sympathies, Girty in the spring of 1778 accompanied Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott on their flight from Pittsburg to Detroit. Girty, like Elliott and McKee, became a notable leader of the Indians in the Northwest in their warfare with the Americans. For some reason Simon Girty was regarded by the Americans with greater detestation than any other of their foes, and he seems to have returned their feeling in full measure. In the summer of 1784 Girty married Catherine Malott, who had been living for several years as a captive of the Delaware tribe in Ohio, and established a home a short distance below Amherstberg. For a decade longer he continued to lead, or encourage, the western Indians in their warfare with the Americans, but this phase of his career was definitely closed by Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers and the peace which followed it. Save for a considerable period of exile during the War of 1812, when the Americans were in control of Amherstberg, Girty continued to reside there until his death, February 18, 1818. *Ibid.*, I, 308-09.

[34]*Pioneer Collections Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan* (Lansing: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), IX, 584.

[35]*Ibid.*, XIX, 528.

[36]John Bradford in 1787 founded the *Kentucky Gazette*, the second newspaper west of the Alleghanies. In this newspaper, from August 25, 1826 to January 9, 1829, Bradford wrote his invaluable "Notes on Kentucky," a contemporary account of the pioneer period. The Public Library of Lexington, Kentucky, has in its possession, the most complete file of the *Kentucky Gazette*.

[37]General Clark had cannon at the fort on the Falls of the Ohio.

[38]Abraham Chapline, a native of Virginia, came to Kentucky in 1774 with James Harrod. He took part in the battle of Point Pleasant and went with Clark on his Illinois expedition. Detailed to escort Colonel Roger's party to Fort Pitt, he was captured at its defeat and taken by the Indians to the head waters of Miami River, where he was forced to run the gauntlet and was then adopted into an Indian family. He later escaped, served till the end of the war, and settled in Mercer County, Kentucky, where he practiced medicine. He also served

in the Kentucky Legislature. He died January, 1824, at Harrodsburg. Chapline Creek in Mercer County is named for him.

[39]The British, following the practice of the French, presented to the Indian Chiefs large silver medals in recognition of services and as tokens of chieftanship. A number of such medals, some with the effigy of George III, are in the Museum of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

[40]See Appendix C.

[41]Draper MSS, 29J23.

[42]*Ibid.*, 57J51-52.

[43]Lexington Public Library. Also found in Douglas S. Watson (ed.), *John Bradford's Historical, Etc. Notes on Kentucky*. . . (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1932), 79-80, 87-90.

[44]Draper MSS, 29J25.

[45]See Appendix A.

[46]Mrs. Peter Smith. William A. Galloway, *Old Chillicothe Shawnee and Pioneer History* (Xenia, Ohio: The Buckeye Press, 1934), 52.

[47]Draper MSS, 24S169-176.

[48]*Op. cit.*, 58-60.

[49]Draper MSS, 11CC28.

[50]*Ibid.*, 11CC35.

[51]*Ibid.*, 29J23.

[52]*Ibid.*, 11CC276-80.

[53]*Ibid.*, 17S200.

[54]*Ibid.*, 18S113.

[55]Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 329.

[56]Footnote, Roosevelt, *op. cit.*, II, 103.

[57]See Appendix A.

[58]Letters and affidavits of citizens, whose fathers and grandfathers had told them the story in possession of the writer.

[59]English, *op. cit.*, I, 142-43.

[60]Galloway, *op. cit.*, 122-23; Glenn Tucker, *Tecumseh, Vision of Glory* (Indianapolis & New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1956), 40-41. George W. Ruddle, a cousin of the two boys, told Lyman Draper in 1845 that both Stephen and Abraham were adopted brothers of Tecumseh and the Prophet and that both boys returned home seventeen years after their capture. Draper MSS, 20J24.

[61]Draper MSS, 13CC3.

[62]Draper MSS, 11CC267, 13CC2.

[63]Cooper's Run Church records in possession of Dr. Daugherty, Paris, Kentucky.

[64]Letter in possession of the writer.

[65]Just back of Runnymeade, famous horse farm of Colonel Zeke Clay, Bourbon County, Kentucky.

[66]The Kentucky colored people were members of the church but sat in the balcony.

[67]Cooper's Run Church records.

[68]Now in the possession of Dr. Daugherty, a descendant of James Garrard.

[69]Draper MSS, 11CC33, 11CC35, 11CC276, 11CC277, 11CC278, and 29J25.

[70]*Ibid.*, 29J25, 11CC278.

[71]*Ibid.*, 11CC578.

[72]*Ibid.*, 12CC253.

[73]Watson (ed.), *John Bradfords Notes*, *op. cit.*, 85-87; Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 325-26; Draper MSS 25, Book 7:10-13, 388.

[74]Draper MSS, 10S178.
[75]*Ibid.*, 29J18.
[76]*Ibid.*, 29J25.
[77]*Ibid.*, 17S200.
[78]*Ibid.*, 20S220.
[79]*Ibid.*, 18S114.
[80]*Ibid.*, 20S218.
[81]*Ibid.*, 24S169, 24S176.
[82]*Ibid.*
[83]*Ibid.*
[84]*Ibid.*, 57J51.
[85]*Ibid.*, 57J51, 57J52.
[86]Mattie R. Davis of Lexington, Kentucky, who is a descendant of this family.
[87]Draper MSS, 11CC137.
[88]*Ibid.*, 17S200.
[89]Quaife, "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky," *op cit.*, I, 59-60.
[90]*Ibid.*, 58-59
[91]Draper MSS, 11CC266, 267.
[92]*Ibid.*, 18S434, 18S435.
[93]Hubert Hutton, 209 York Street, Louisville, Kentucky. Jap King and other leading citizens of Cynthiana, Kentucky, are descended from Serena and Thomas Hutton.
[94]Mattie Davis of Lexington, Kentucky.
[95]Draper MSS, 13CC207.
[96]This is a copy of photostats in the possession of the author of the original in the British Museum, through the courtesy of the Ottawa Archives. It is a part of the collection of 232 volumes of manuscripts known as the Haldiman Manuscripts in England and the Ottawa Manuscripts in Canada. Sir Frederick Haldiman was Governor of Canada at the time of Bird's invasion of Kentucky.

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KENTUCKY BISHOP

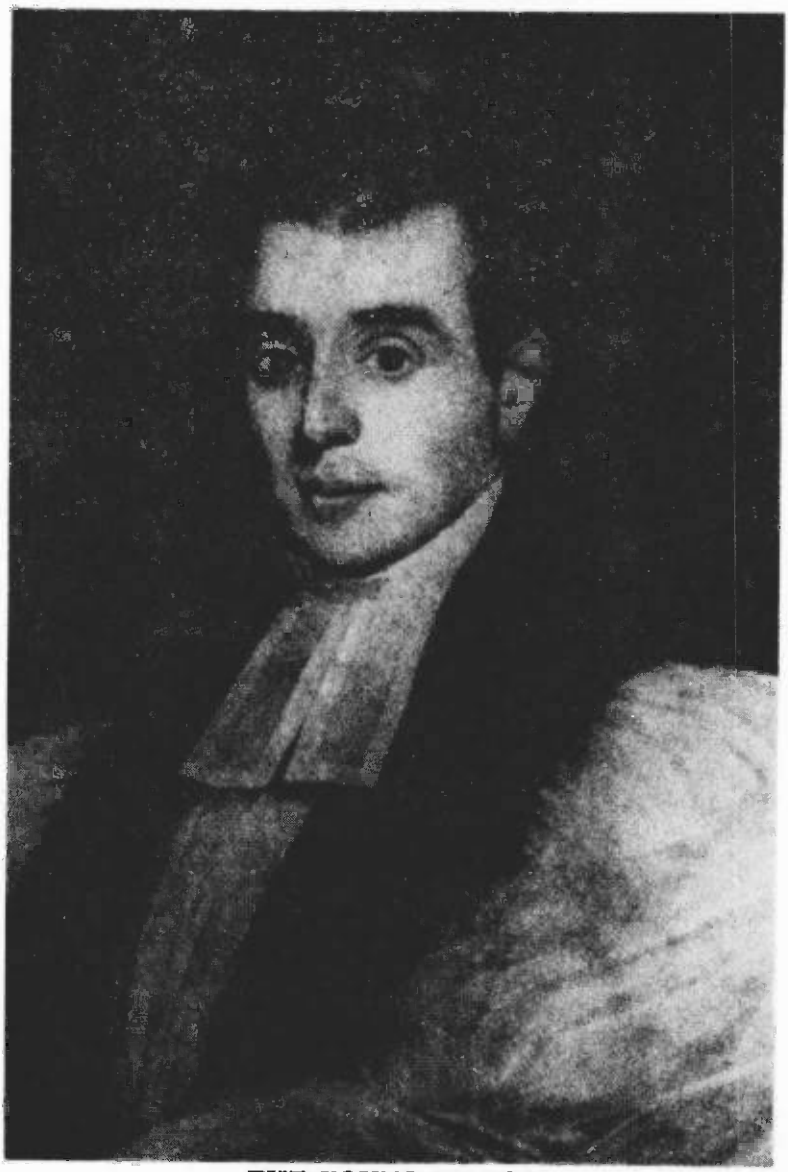
A PICTURELOG

BY

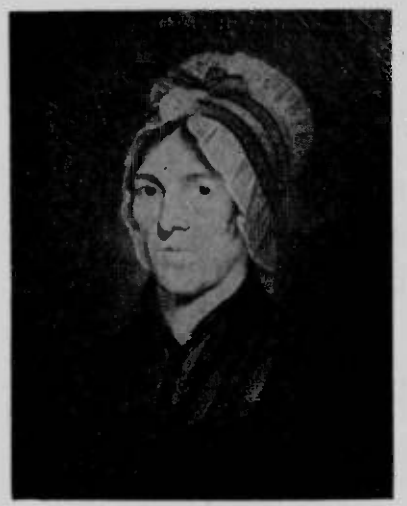
W. ROBERT INSKO

One of the earliest Episcopal clergymen to come to the Commonwealth of Kentucky was Benjamin Bosworth Smith. Born in Bristol, Rhode Island, June 13, 1794, son of Stephen Smith and Ruth Bosworth, he attended Brown University where he was a Phi Beta Kappa and received the A.B. degree in 1816. The next year he was ordained deacon, on April 23rd, in St. Michael's Church, Bristol, Rhode Island, by a great bishop of the Church under whom he had studied, the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, and was advanced to the priesthood the following year on June 24th by Bishop Griswold in St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Massachusetts. The Rev. Benjamin Bosworth Smith came to Christ Church, Lexington, Kentucky, in 1830, and two years later was elected bishop at the Diocesan Convention held at Hopkinsville. The same year, in 1832, he journeyed to New York City for his consecration by the Rt. Rev. William White and Bishops Thomas C. Brownell and Henry V. Onderdonk. Thus Benjamin Bosworth Smith became the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in Kentucky, an office he was to hold for the next fifty-two years. The year of his consecration he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Geneva College, now Hobart College. Later, in 1870, he received the degree of Doctor of Letters from Griswold College, and in 1872 the same degree from Brown University.

A lengthy sketch of the life and ministry of Bishop Smith may be found in the June, 1953, issue of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*. A less lengthy sketch may be found in the Kentucky Historical Society brochure *Kentucky Bishop* and a still less lengthy sketch in the July, 1951, issue of *The Register*. The purpose here is simply to present several rare pictures which have been located that are most pertinent to a presentation of the life and work of Benjamin Bosworth Smith. Kalorama, the Bishop's home in Kentucky, where he spent many happy hours, was located near Louisville. Lansdowne, his study, was located a short distance from the house at Kalorama. My unfeigned thanks goes to Mrs. Ewing Lloyd Hardy, great granddaughter of Bishop Smith, of Anchorage, Kentucky, and to Mr. Eugene M. Thompson, Jr., of Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, for assistance in collecting the pictures here presented.



THE YOUNG BISHOP
About 1838



RUTH BOSWORTH SMITH
The Bishop's Mother

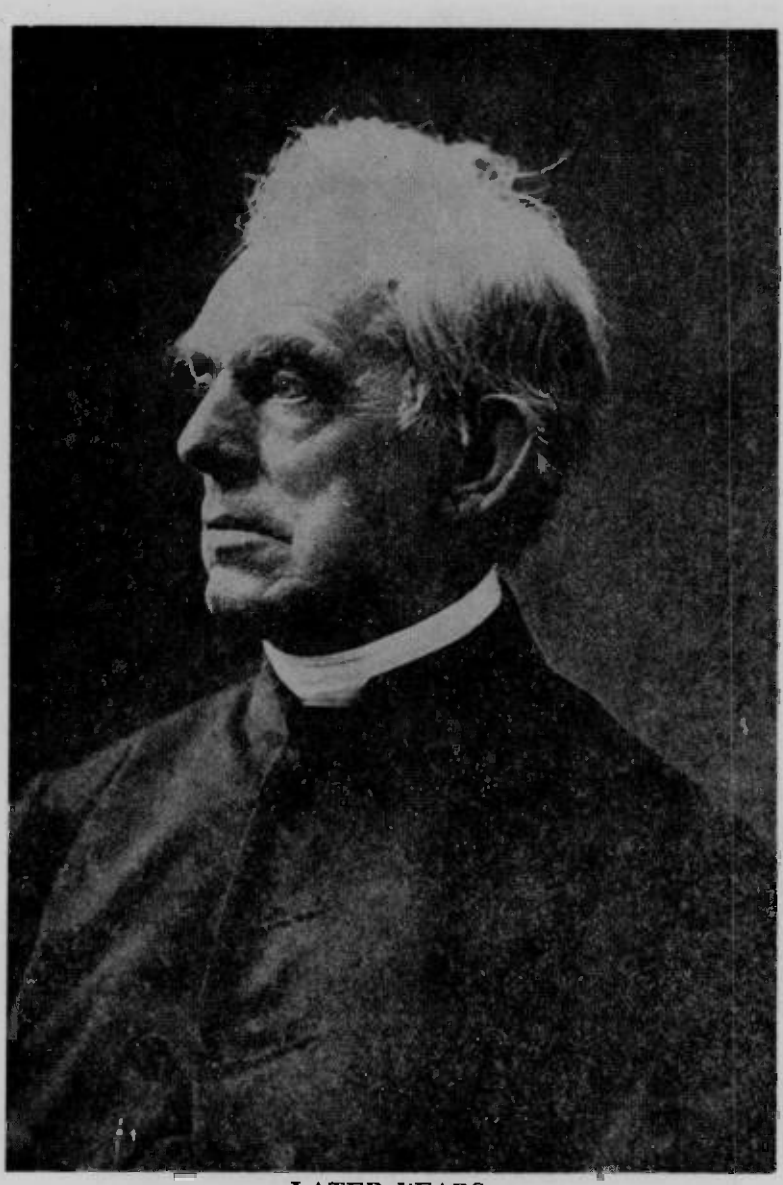
KALORAMA
The Bishop's Home

LANSDOWNE
The Bishop's Study

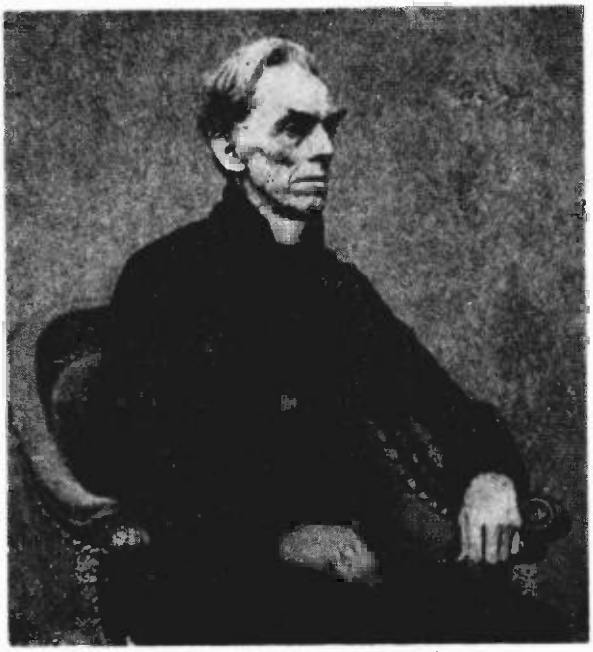
LANSDOWNE
South Side



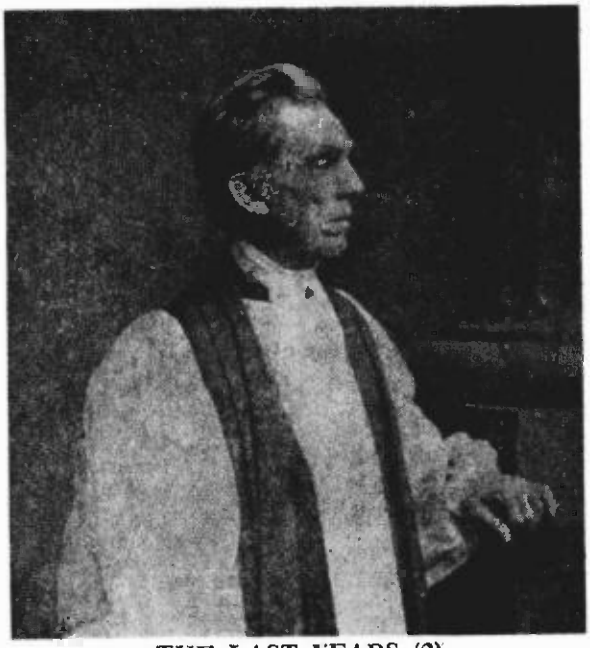

LANSDOWNE
Paintings from its Interior



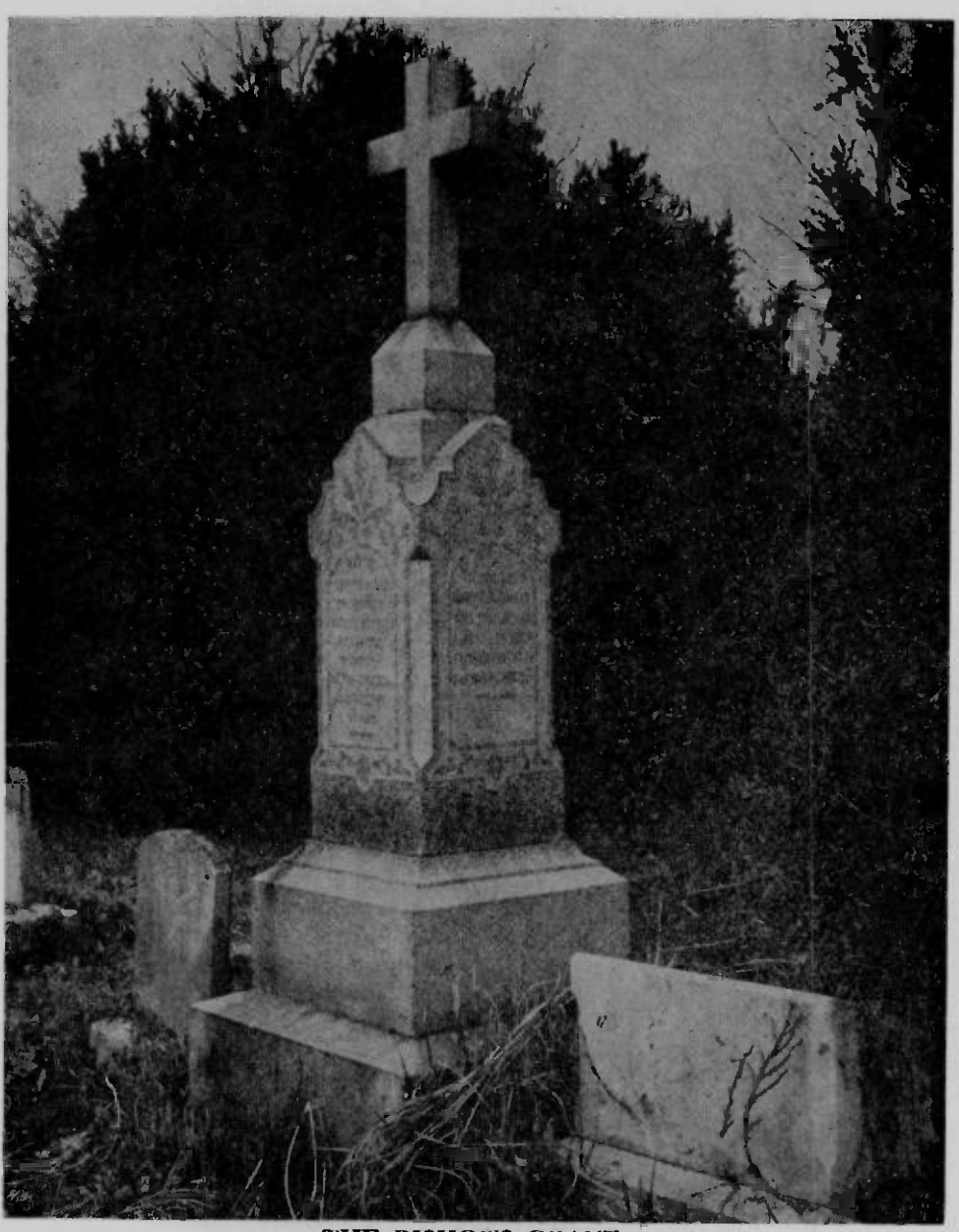
LATER YEARS
Age 81



THE LAST YEARS (1)



THE LAST YEARS (2)



THE BISHOP'S GRAVE
Overlooking the Kentucky River at the Frankfort Cemetery

In Memoriam

BENJAMIN BOSWORTH SMITH, D.D., LL.D.

BORN IN BRISTOL, RHODE ISLAND, JUNE 13, A.D. 1794.

Graduated at Brown University, 1813.
Made Deacon, 1816; Ordered Priest, 1817.
Rector of the Churches in Onancock and Charlestown, Va., 1817 to 1823.
Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Middlebury, Vt., 1823 to 1828.
Editor "Christian Expositor," 1828 to 1830.
Rector of Christ Church, Lexington, Ky., 1830 to 1832.
One of the founders and first Secretary of the Board of Missions.
Chosen First Bishop of the Church in Kentucky by the Convention assembled at Grace Church, Hagerstown, June 11, 1832.
Consecrated in St. Paul's Chapel, New York, on the 31st day of October, 1832, by Bishop William White, D.D., of Pennsylvania: Bishop Thomas Brownell, LL.D., of Connecticut: Bishop Henry Ustick Onderdonk, D.D., Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania.

+ + +

He served in the office of the Episcopate FORTY-TWO YEARS, his last public duty being [illegible] a meeting of the House of Bishops [illegible] 8th of April, 1874.

Entered into Eternal Life, "being in full possession of his mental faculties," on the 31st day of May, A.D. 1884.

+ + +

His Episcopate was one most memorable, in that it reached over so many eventful years of the growth of the Church in the United States of America.

+ + +

The Diocese of Kentucky honors her first Bishop and reverences his memory for his unwearied and self-denying labors bestowed upon it for over FORTY years.

+ + +

He was honored by the Commonwealth in being chosen the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, and faithfully fulfilled his trust.

+ + +

Ever amidst the cares and distractions of the duties of his high office the thought of Christian education was chosen in his mind.

He established the first Diocesan paper.
Created a Diocesan Theological Seminary.
Secured for it a most valuable library.
Won for Christian education Shelby College.
Established schools for the education of girls in Louisville and "Kalorama," in Jefferson County, out of which went Christian women who bless his name, and who have glorified GOD by their works.

+ + +

As a Bishop:

He was not soon angry,
Not given to wine,
Not given to filthy lucre,
But a lover of hospitality,
A lover of good men,
Just, holy, temperate.

As a Preacher:

He was possessed of rare gifts,
In language chaste,
In manner modest,
In clearness of expression almost unequaled.
His theme was largely LOVE.
He was rarely aggressive.

As Pastor and Friend:

He was unfailing in sympathy,
Ever lifting up the sorrowful and weak,

+ + +

He passed away from earth full of praise and honor as the PATRIARCH of a branch of God's Catholic Church, which, in his time, had grown from a "little one to a thousand."

The Church in Kentucky thanks GOD for the "Good Example" of this, His servant, sent down to them in the Unbroken Apostolic Line, out of the "Upper Chamber" of Jerusalem, to "Lay on Hands," after the manner of the Holy Apostles, that the People may "Receive the Holy Ghost," and "to Bless the People in HIS Name."

THE DOUGHERTYS OF KENTUCKY

BY
WILLIAM C. STEWART

(Continued from April, 1955, Register)

Part II

MARY PATTON: A THEORY

The glimpses we catch of Mary, first wife of Captain James Patton, one of the founders of Louisville, Kentucky, are tantalizing, now dim, now sharp and clear, but always just out of reach. We see her, Watts' hymn book in hand, gathering the settlers around her for Sunday services on a warm July day in 1778, safe on long-vanished Corn Island while General George Rogers Clark pursues the conquest of the Northwest country. A little later, we see her keeping house for her husband and three daughters in the trunk of a hollow sycamore tree, which formed one room of the Pattons' log cabin on Eighth Street between Main Street and the Ohio River, in Louisville. She must have watched with pride, the little girls gathered about her ample skirts, as Captain Patton and John Dougherty brought in the timbers and built Fort Nelson. In time, as danger from the Indians passed, she became the mistress of a large stone house. Atop it was a kind of cupola or balcony, somewhat like the widow's walk of a New England seaport house, from which Captain Patton delighted to watch the Falls of the Ohio. There must have been times when she stood there, watching her husband, the most skillful pilot of the town, guiding boats through the rapids.[1]

It is possible to reconstruct Mary Patton's life, as Isabel McLennan McMeekin did delightfully in "Louisville, The Gateway City," but very little is known about her, almost nothing prior to 1778. This is an attempt to explore the mystery of her origin.

Her name, according to family tradition, was Mary Dougherty.[2] She was married, it is conjectured, about 1769. When she and Captain Patton, among the twenty families accompanying General Clark and his little army down the Ohio from the Monongahela country, arrived at the site of the future Louisville on May 27, 1778, they had with them their three daughters, the elder eight years old. The three were Martha, born in Virginia in 1770; Margaret; and Mary, born in Virginia in 1773; usually the girls were called Patsy, Peggy and Polly. Mary, the mother, perhaps was born about 1750. She died in 1787 and five years later Captain Patton took a second wife, and in 1804 a third.

Captain Patton and his family were near Redstone Old Fort, (Brownsville) Fayette County, Pennsylvania, early in 1778 when he became a lieutenant to Captain Will Harrod, James Harrod's brother who was recruiting men for

General Clark's secret expedition to the Illinois. Since he had his family with him, it seems likely that Patton already was on the move from old Virginia, seeking a new home either in the Monongahela country, or perhaps with his eye already on Kentucky, when he fell in with Clark and Harrod. The other nineteen families were preparing to leave for Kentucky and were delighted to have a strong guard accompanying them from one Indian-troubled area to another; doubtless the Pattons were of the group. The Pattons were accustomed to Indian fighting in Augusta County, Virginia, and it is not strange that James Patton readily agreed to enlist with Harrod.[3]

Astonishingly little is known of the Pattons of Augusta County, Virginia, considering their prominence in the early settlements. Henry Patton of County Donegal, Province of Ulster, Ireland, was a member of an outstanding family of Scottish origin. His son, Colonel James Patton, one of the early great land-owners of the Virginia Valley, and his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of John Preston, reached America August 25, 1738.[4] Of their brother, John, it is known only that he came sometime between 1736 and 1740. John was the father of Captain James Patton of Louisville. Even the date of birth of Captain James is uncertain. His gravestone in Louisville gives the date as 1748, Colonel R. T. Durrett gives the date as 1735.[5]

Captain John Patton was the first High Sheriff of newly-formed Augusta County in 1745 and he was qualified as captain of the "County Foote" or militia in 1752. He brought with him to America his wife, Miss Rogers, who died and on March 23, 1754 he was married to Agnese _____. Captain John Patton wrote his will on January 2, 1756, and he died the following year. Of his eight children, the first six or perhaps seven are believed to have been by Miss Rogers. They were: John Jr.; Matthew, born 1730 in Ireland, died 1803 in Kentucky; Samuel; William; Captain James Patton, born October 12, 1735 or 1748, died Louisville, December 29, 1815; Margaret; Isabell and Agnese. In his will, Captain John mentioned that William, James, Margaret, Isabell and Agnese were under age, thus born 1735 or after. His other children already having been portioned off, he devised to William and James the 200 acres of land on which he then lived. On March 16, 1757, the widow Agnese Patton, with Matthew Lyle and Alexander Miller, gave bond of 300 pounds as executrix and executors of Captain John's estate.[6] John Wardlaw had been named as co-executor with Agnese. He was then a lad of nineteen and he refused to take the burden of such a responsible position upon his shoulders. Lyle was named by the court in his place.[7] Of John Wardlaw, more later. Under the terms of the will, the widow Agnese was to have the use of the property until the children came of age.

On May 20, 1777, Captain James sold to his brother, William, his interest in the land left them by their father. The land being "whereupon James

Patton formerly lived being the land willed to James by his father, John Patton, and one-half of 250 acres."[8] The deed does not describe the land. When Captain James ceased to live on the land is not known, perhaps on the date of sale as no other land stood in his name, although he was on the Rockbridge County tax list for 1778, the year that county was set off from Augusta County. So we do not know at what time between May 20, 1777 and the middle of May, 1778 that Captain James travelled to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, from where he started the journey to Kentucky. One of the soldiers with General Clark was Neal Dougherty, a single man, who remained with Captain James Patton to guard the women and children on Corn Island when General Clark embarked for the Illinois June 24, 1778.[9] Later, John Dougherty was at the Falls of the Ohio, helping obtain timbers for Captain Patton in the construction of Fort Nelson.[10] The relation of Neal and John Dougherty to Mary Dougherty Patton is conjectural. Neal was granted land in Clark's Grant across the river in Indiana,[11] and we see no more of him; several years of study of the Dougherty family has indicated that Neal was a Pennsylvanian and that his presence with Mary Patton on the journey to Kentucky was a coincidence. He is not the Cornelius Dougherty who served under Clark from Madison County, Kentucky, at a later date. Two John Doughertys served with Clark, one being for many years captain of militia in Lincoln County, the other years later was a resident of Shelby County, Kentucky, and received a pension as a veteran of Clark's Illinois Regiment. In addition there was a John Dardy (and a Baptiste Dardy) but Dardy is almost certainly a French-Canadian from the vicinity of Detroit.[12]

Work on Fort Nelson was begun in 1779 and was finished by Captain Patton in 1782. A John Doherty was on the payroll of Captain Jacob Pyatt, Company of Marines Under General George R. Clark, believed to be from June 12 to October 12, 1782.[13] " 'One carbine' was issued to John Daughty, Marine in my company," by order of Captain Pyatt on June 25, 1782.[14] Whether this John Doherty or Daughty was the same man as the better known Captain John Dougherty of Lincoln County, is not known, but it would not appear that he is. Both before and after June, 1782, Captain John of Lincoln was active at the forts and on expeditions with Colonel Benjamin Logan and General Clark. It does not appear probable that he left his duties and family in Lincoln (now Boyle) County, just below Danville, to serve as a private at the Falls of the Ohio. Captain John of Lincoln was actively engaged on August 25, 1782, while John of Fort Nelson is believed to have been still serving under Captain Pyatt, one of his comrades with Pyatt being paid for June 12 to October 12. Every document available in Louisville, Richmond and Washington has been studied without any light being shed on the possible relationship of Neal and John

Dougherty of Fort Nelson to Mary Dougherty Patton. Thus the search for her origin must be made in Virginia.

There is some evidence that Captain John Patton, father of Captain James, came to Virginia through the instrumentality of Benjamin Borden, rather than with John's brother Colonel James Patton. However that may be, Captain John lived at the time of his death in Borden's Grant, while Colonel James had taken up his residence near Staunton in Beverley's Grant.[15]

Borden sold some land to George Stevenson on February 27, 1750/51 that cornered to John Patton, Thomas McMurray and James Greenlee, and on John Stephenson's line, in Borden's Great Grant, and on the same day John Patton purchased of Borden 200 acres, cornering to Thomas McMurray.[16] McMurray sold his land to the Rev. John Brown on May 21, 1755.[17] The Reverend Mr. Brown was the first settled minister of New Providence and of Timber Ridge churches in Borden's Grant, and John Patton had signed the call for him in 1753.[18] John Patton's son William later testified that he had lived in Borden's Grant from 1750.[19]

Alexander Miller, the executor of John Patton's will, was the first blacksmith in the Borden Grant, and was a trustee of New Providence Church.[20] He lived adjoining James McDowell.[21] Borden sold to William Wardlaw, planter, 343 acres on Mill Creek, Joseph Kennedy's line, on June 17, 1752.[22] When William Wardlaw wrote his will nine years later, he named his son, John, as co-executor with his wife.[23] Both William and John Wardlaw had joined with John Patton in calling the Rev. John Brown to New Providence Church.

The area in which Captain John Patton lived is between the North River (North Fork of the James) and the South River, in the northeast part of Rockbridge County, Virginia. The Mill Creek referred to flows past Timber Ridge and into the North Fork (Maury) opposite Lexington.[24]

In 1806, William Patton deposed in a land case that he was born in 1742 (he probably was older than his brother, Captain James) and that his father, Captain John Patton, and William Wardlaw were intimate.[25] In the same case, Dominic Moren was said to have lived on the land in the area involved.[26]

In the earliest days of Augusta County, from which Rockbridge County, home of the Pattons, was set off, there were four Dougherty families, between 1737/8 and 1778, and each should be examined. All four of the families may be related; certainly the two nearest the seat of John Patton and his son, James, were.

1. William Dougherty was a blacksmith who settled on the Cowpasture River, then a part of Augusta County, but now in Bath County, on or before October 29, 1743.[27] The land was officially granted to him on November 3, 1750. Three of his children, William, Joseph and Agnes, were baptised by the Rev. John Craig in 1749.[28] The Indians were so bad in 1755 that summonses

could not be served on William, or on Charles Dougherty, over on Kerr Creek.[29] A series of forts was built the following year, but the Indians continued raids, and William's neighbor, Archibald Clendenning Jr., was killed by them in 1761.[30] William's wife, Elizabeth, proved a heroine in the terrible raid by Cornstalk in 1763. The Shawnees were seen from Fort Young on Jackson River and an express was sent to William Dougherty's. He was away from home at the time, so Elizabeth mounted a horse and raced up the valley of the Cowpasture, warning the settlers, who were able to flee to safety in the mountains before the Indians arrived. The residents of Kerr Creek were not so fortunate, and on July 17, 1763, Charles Dougherty, among others, was killed.[31] William appears to have married a second time, rather late in life, in 1786. Perhaps in a general settlement, four days before the marriage, on January 26 William divided his land and slaves between his sons William, Joseph and George and gave 40 pounds to his daughters Elizabeth and Agnes.[32] His son James at this time was in Kentucky, and he must have sent back an appreciative description of the new country, for on November 7, 1791, the land taken up by William in 1743 was transferred to neighbor Robert Sitlington. The deed had been signed by the entire family, including the second wife, Mary, and James on November 6, 1790 in Kentucky (Green County).[33] The family appears to have settled along the southern boundary of Kentucky.

2. Cornelius Dougherty, a weaver, was listed in Captain George Robinson's company in 1742.[34] He lived on Cedar Creek of the North Fork of Roanoke, and still was there in 1773 and 1779, when he deeded his land to his son, William.[35] North Fork of Roanoke is a considerable distance from the Forks of the James, where the Pattons lived.

3. Michael Dougherty, a generation older than any of the other Doughertys of record in the Augusta County area, appears to have arrived there in 1738, coming from Chester County, Pennsylvania. He had a son, Michael, who moved to what is now Wythe County, Virginia, in the 1760's. Michael may have been the father of William of Cowpasture, and he almost certainly was the father of Charles Dougherty, who lived on Kerr Creek. Michael Jr. had a son Henry born about 1740/1, son John born in 1743 and other children in that period. Michael Jr. and Charles were both of an age to have had a daughter born about 1750. No other Doughertys of that age are known to have lived within many miles of the farm where Captain James Patton was reared. Charles was about twelve miles away and Michael about fifteen miles, from the Patton home.

4. Charles Dougherty was granted eighty acres on a branch of Kerr Creek (Cunningham's Creek) between North and House Mountains, on March 10, 1756,[36] but he had been living there at least as early as 1745, as shown by his signature to other deeds.[37] As stated before, Charles was killed by the

Shawnees in 1763, on a Sunday morning when many of the inhabitants were some distance away at church. Both Waddell and Withers state that Charles' entire family was wiped out, and other writers have followed this. However, Charles' wife Rebecca survived, and it is almost certain that some if not all of his children, including his son James, escaped death. On September 20, 1763, two months after the raid, Rebecca Dougherty was named administratrix of Charles' estate, with her neighbors Edward Rutledge and Henry Campbell on her bond. She appeared in the records again on March 22, 1768 in connection with the estate.[38] The eighty acres were sold in 1765 by George Dougherty, son, or the nephew of Charles.[39]

James, son of Charles Dougherty, was baptised by the Rev. John Craig on May 3, 1747. There is considerable evidence that Charles was a son of Michael Dougherty, and that Charles and Rebecca had children, James, Catherine, Thomas and Daniel, perhaps George, William, Anthony and others. Catherine was married to David Harbison, June 25, 1773, with consent of Rebecca and James as her bondsman.[40]

The first tax list for Rockbridge County, in 1778, showed James, William and George Dougherty; the 1782 list includes James, Anthony, William and Thomas. James at that time lived on the Mill Creek of North Fork of the James River, the Mill Creek near the Patton farm (and not, incidentally, the Mill Creek branch of Poague's Run, where Michael Dougherty lived until he moved to now Wythe County). On September 8, 1780, James purchased some nearby land from Dominick McMourn (or Moran)[41] although he may have been occupying or using the land prior to that.[42] It will be remembered that Dominick Moren—the same man as McMourn—was mentioned in the suit in which William Patton testified as occupying land adjacent to Patton and Wardlaw. Thus, James Dougherty was a near neighbor of the Pattons at about the time Captain James Patton left Virginia. (The Augusta County records prior to the formation of Rockbridge County in 1778 are inadequate to show how long James Dougherty had been residing on Mill Creek.) James Dougherty in time moved to Wythe County, purchased an iron works, and died there in 1799. In 1779, Daniel Dougherty, probably his brother, operated an iron works on Irish Creek of South River, not far from James Dougherty's Mill Creek farm. Extensive records show that James also had a brother, Thomas, and children named Mary, Julie Ann, Daniel, Thomas, David, John and perhaps William and George. Anthony Dougherty had children Rebecca and Jacob, and at his death in 1792, James acted as his executor.

West of the North Fork of the James, at the headwaters of Mill Creek of Paogue's Run and of Cedar and Broad Creeks, the Doughertys had been living since about 1738. First there was Michael Dougherty (I) who died in 1763, and then his son, Michael, who moved to now Wythe County, Virginia, during

the 1760's. Some members of the family probably continued to live there because the land was not sold until 1782, when Michael (II) died, and his son, Henry, returned from Kentucky long enough to settle the estate. If Mary Patton came from this branch of the family, she would have been a daughter of Michael (II) the only Dougherty known, besides Charles, of an age to have a daughter about 1750.

Michael (II) had a daughter who married Robert Dennison, and perhaps one who married an Allen of Rockbridge County. There was a Doherty Allen in that period, which indicates an Allen-Dougherty marriage. And, when James Allen, father of Colonel John Allen, moved to Kentucky in the fall of 1780, he and his family lived at Dougherty's Station one and one-half miles below Danville until he and Joseph Daviess built a station for themselves. Dougherty Station was the seat of Captain John Dougherty, son of Michael Dougherty (II). John's wife was named Isabelle, and it has been conjectured that she was Isabelle Allen, daughter of James Allen, who was baptised by the Rev. John Craig in 1746 in the Rockbridge County area. Or, she may have been Isabelle, the daughter of John Patton, mentioned in his will of 1756, and who also probably was born around 1750/4.

Since the exact date of Mary's marriage to Captain James Patton, about 1768/9, and the exact date of the removal of Michael (II) from Rockbridge to Wythe County, between 1764 and 1769, are not known, it cannot be said whether Michael was living near the Pattons at the time of the marriage. However, there must have been an opportunity for the two young people to become acquainted. Patton's father, Captain John Patton, surveyed 245 acres on a branch of Reed Creek above Andrew Evans, in now Wythe County, on March 9, 1750/1[43] but it is not known whether any of the Pattons ever lived on this land. The tract was within a short distance of the Dougherty farm on Reed Creek.

In 1751 and probably before, one Mary Doughort lived near Michael Dougherty on the headwaters of Broad, Cedar and Mill Creeks in the forks of the James.[44] Her name has been rendered as Dougherty by some genealogists, apparently incorrectly. Mary could not write and her mark appears on various documents. The name is never spelled except as Doughort, and there is evidence the name actually was the French Jocert.

The Michael Dougherty family and the Pattons certainly were acquainted, having official duties in common. One of the closest friends of Michael (I) was George Wilson[45] from Chester County, Pennsylvania, who married Rebecca Vicers or Viers, niece to Colonel James Patton's wife.

The number of settlers in Augusta County in the period 1748 to 1770 who did not hold land in their own names was so small as to be negligible. For this reason, it does not seem to be a radical assumption that of the Doughertys

in the area, only Michael (II) and Charles Dougherty both lived in reasonable proximity and were of an age to have a daughter born about 1750. There may have been other sons of Michael (I) it is true, but if so no trace of them is found in the records.

Somewhere in dusty files, there may be further light on the antecedents of Mary Patton, but from what is now known, the probabilities would seem to favor the theory that she was the daughter either of Charles or of Michael Dougherty (II), and the granddaughter of Michael Dougherty (I).

Part III

DOUGHERTY, CALDWELL AND RODGERS FAMILIES OF KENTUCKY

On the day that King George II was proclaimed in New Castle, Delaware, December 10, 1727, there arrived from the Province of Ulster, Ireland, a group of emigrants who were to furnish many of the early settlers of Kentucky. In that year began the heavier stream of emigration from Northern Ireland that was to dot Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky with family names and place names reminiscent of Donegal, Londonderry and Antrim. The Dochartachs had been seated in Inishowen, County Donegal, for centuries and the Caldwell name had been familiar in Presbyterian annals of Ulster in the seventeenth century. Setting foot on American soil that December day were John Caldwell, his wife Margaret Phillips; Thomas Dougherty and his wife, Margaret's sister, probably Anne; and three of Caldwell's brothers-in-law who had married sisters, Moor, Ritchey and Dudgeon.[1] With them, or soon after came at least one brother of Caldwell and perhaps one or more brothers of Dougherty.

The group became established at Chestnut Level, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which until 1729 was a part of Chester County. The first mention of a Caldwell in Lancaster County records was on May 7, 1734, when William, believed to be brother to John Caldwell, was on a jury with John Cunningham and others.[2] John Caldwell was one of the viewers of a road to James Buckley's mill from Chestnut Level on February 3, 1736.[3] On February 7, 1738, Thomas Dougherty was involved in a dispute with George Middleton, John Finley and several others. The case was continued that day and, oddly enough, still is on the books of Lancaster County, there never having been any disposition of the affair. It seems a fair assumption that this marks the approximate date of Thomas Dougherty's departure for Albemarle County, Virginia, where he next is found with John Caldwell, prior to their moving to what is now Charlotte County, Virginia, to establish the famous Cub Creek Presbyterian settlement. The jury list for that day, February 7, is interesting to students of the movement of emigration up the Valley of Virginia and into Kentucky. It included John Caldwell, John Stewart, Thomas Harris, James Patton, John Patton—probably not Colonel James Patton of Augusta County—Thomas Paxton, Robert Jackson.

James Robeson, Joseph and Samuel Crockett and Robert and Hugh Boyd.[4] In the same period may be found Alexander Miller, the McConnells soon to move toward the Ohio River, the Stephensons, Logans and Morgan Morgan. James Dougherty is mentioned in 1748 in connection with the McConnells; whether this is a brother of Thomas Dougherty is not certain, although James does not appear as early in Southern Virginia as does Thomas, and Alexander McConnell did not enter land there until some time after Thomas Dougherty and John Caldwell were established on Cub Creek.

One of the most important single incidents in the settlement of the back parts of Virginia took place on April 11, 1738, when the Donegal Presbytery meeting in Lancaster County, heard John Caldwell present a petition looking toward the obtaining of "favor and encouragement" from Governor Gooch of Virginia for settlement of the dissenters on the Virginia frontier.[5] Governor Gooch in time approved the petition, feeling that to have a group of sturdy Scotch Irish between the Tidewater settlements and the Indians would be of great value. "Caldwell and all his kin" first stopped in what is now Albemarle County, before going on to Cub Creek.[6]

Many of the early records of Albemarle County were destroyed by the British so that gaps exist in the chronology of the movements of the Caldwells and Doughertys between 1738 and 1741, the approximate date of the establishment of Cub Creek settlement. Thomas Dougherty was granted land on Moreman's River, adjoining Major Henry, in 1743, but since patents generally were issued years after land had been entered and occupied, it is reasonable to suppose that he was in Albemarle County about 1738.[7] Dougherty's first land patent on Turnip Creek, adjoining Cub Creek, is dated November 12, 1753,[8] but other records indicate he was there much earlier, as was Caldwell and his other kin.

Perhaps a relative, Hugh Dougherty was granted land in Albemarle on August 5, 1737; after the death of his son Michael in 1766, Hugh moved to Bedford County, Virginia.[9]

On December 18, 1740, John Caldwell was living at Buck Hill. William Caldwell's son, John, and William, son of Thomas Dougherty, were baptised on that day in Caldwell's house by the Rev. John Craig, the first resident Presbyterian minister in the area of Augusta and now Albemarle Counties, Virginia.[10] Caldwell and Craig had been friends in Chestnut Level, Pennsylvania. Now Craig was living in Augusta County, and Caldwell and Dougherty were some 25 or 30 miles away, east of the Blue Ridge Mountains and northeast of Woods Gap. Sometime between December 18, 1740 and 1742, the Caldwells and Doughertys moved to the part of Brunswick County that is now Charlotte County, Virginia, and in 1748 was Lunenburg County.[11] The 1748 tithable list included Thomas Dougherty with three tithables, the other two probably being his sons or brothers. Both Thomas and James were listed in 1752.[12]

On January 1, 1745, Richard Kennon of Charles City County, Virginia, and William Kennon Jr. of Henrico County, Virginia, sold to Thomas Dougherty, 360 acres near "Cubb Creek, cornering to John Caldwell."[13] This is the first of several dozen deeds bearing Thomas Dougherty's name in Brunswick, Lunenburg, Charlotte, Bedford and Halifax Counties. Later that year, Thomas Dougherty and James Hunt were witnesses to the will of Thomas Cunningham, son of James Cunningham, which was probated on April 7, 1752.[14] The Cunninghams, too, had come from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Members of the early Cub Creek settlement included Richard Dudgeon, William Logan, William Rodgers, David Logan, James Walkup, James Logan and others whose descendants in time emigrated to Kentucky.[15] Thomas Dougherty, William Rodgers, William, David and Thomas Caldwell, and Thomas and Richard Dudgeon are mentioned in the Halifax County records from 1747. The McConnells had land in now Charlotte County by 1750. the Moormans moved over from Nansemond County, and in 1759 land was granted to Stephen Goggin Sr., all of whom will figure later in this narrative. William Rodgers married Margaret Ann, only daughter of John Caldwell. William was dead by April 3, 1751,[16] the same year that John Caldwell's will was probated. John Rodgers, son of William, writing some years later to Elias Caldwell, said his father died in October, 1750 and Caldwell died within fourteen days of Rodgers death.[17]

The date of the death of Thomas Dougherty Sr. is not known; land grants and deeds continuing in the name of his son Thomas and other kin of the same name, do not reveal his passing. However, a Thomas Dougherty died intestate in Lancaster County, by September 8, 1761, and this may be the Charlotte County man back on a visit, as his son Thomas is known to have made several trips to Pennsylvania between 1750 and 1769, as will appear.

The bond filed in connection with the death of Thomas Dougherty in Pennsylvania shows the administrator as Robert Clinch, an innkeeper, and bondsmen as Robert Thompson, surgeon, and Roger Conner, merchant. The circumstances indicate the possibility of a man dying in an inn far from home.[18]

The will of David Logan, probated April 14, 1763, mentions his daughter Mary Caldwell. Robert Caldwell, who later lived near Danville, Kentucky, was executor of the Logan will. They were the parents of Phillips Caldwell, of Kentucky, named for Margaret Phillips, wife of John Caldwell.[19]

About 1760, the Dougherty family moved to Bedford County, Virginia, and "Jared Dorety, planter" appears in the records in 1764. His name is variously spelled in Virginia and in Kentucky as Jared, Jarrett and Garrard. The 1764 deed was witnessed by Stephen Goggin Sr., his wife and daughter.[20]

John, son of William Rodgers, was married to Margaret Ann, daughter of Thomas, son of Thomas Dougherty, before July 30, 1768, as a deed of that date shows.[21] William Rodgers was the son of the Rev. John Rodgers, fifth

president of Harvard College and son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rodgers from England. William's son John was born January 25, 1747. John Rodgers and Maragaret Ann Dougherty moved to Kentucky in 1781,[22] and he died August 30, 1836 in Franklin, Tennessee. Their daughter, Ann Philips Rogers, married Felix Grundy of Kentucky, later United States Senator from Tennessee; and their daughter Sarah Dougherty Rodgers, married Randal McGavock, later mayor of Nashville, Tennessee.

Whether the Thomas Dougherty who died in Pennsylvania in 1761 was he of Charlotte County is not known, but Thomas of Charlotte appears to have been dead by 1764. In the meantime, two tracts of 100 acres each had been warranted to his son, Thomas Jr. in the part of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, that later was set off as Franklin County, on January 20, 1753. These tracts were in Hamilton Township. In nearby Peters (now Montgomery) Township lived a John Dougherty who had moved there from Lancaster County several years before, and whose son Moses later lived in Jessamine and Fayette Counties, Kentucky. Whether John was related to Thomas Jr. is not known. In 1768, Thomas Jr., who had continued to live in Virginia, began to sell his land, and the following year he and all of his family except the daughter who had married John Rodgers, moved to the tracts he had owned in Pennsylvania since 1753. On December 2, 1771, Thomas appointed Robert Caldwell and his son-in-law John Rodgers, his attorneys to sell all the extensive lands he still held in Virginia,[23] which included the land his father had purchased in 1745. The 1778-1780 tax lists of Hamilton Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, showed Thomas' neighbors to include Alexander McConnell, David Caldwell, Andrew Phillips and several of the Swan family, as well as George Matthews and Joseph, William and James Thorne, Robert McAfee and Hugh Caldwell.[24] Thomas, James and John Dougherty served numerous tours of duty in the militia during the Revolutionary War.

Thomas Dougherty (II) died shortly after his will was written on May 22, 1789. He mentioned his beloved wife, Mary; his daughter Agnes, wife of James Thorne; daughter Margaret (Ann), wife of John Rodgers; daughter Sarah, wife of James Matthews; daughter Eleanor, wife of Hugh Caldwell; and children: James, Alexander, Martha, Robert, Thomas and Jean (Jane). Witnesses to the will were Alexander McConnell, and George and James Matthews.[25] Robert, Thomas and Jane Dougherty were over fourteen years of age. The estate was rather large for that period. Between the death of Thomas and the taking of the 1790 census, several of the sons went to Kentucky. The census showed the widow, Mary, with a son under sixteen and two daughters, and the son James also is enumerated, as were James Matthews and Hugh Caldwell.

The Doughertys disappear from the 1791 tax list and so it may be assumed

that all of them had moved to Kentucky, where the family began appearing in Mason County, in 1790. A James Dougherty was married to Mary Moore on March 25, 1788, by the Rev. Robert Cooper of Middle Spring Church, near Shippenburg, Pennsylvania. Mary was of that congregation and James was of the Rocky Springs church, not far from Thomas Dougherty's home. James very likely was the son of Thomas.

Of the other children, Martha was born in Virginia in 1767 and was married about 1789 to Robert Andrews, son of John and Hannah (Dixon) Andrews of Franklin County, Pennsylvania.[26] Robert and Martha moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, about 1792 and to Fleming County two years later. In 1803 he built a brickhouse on the Lexington road about 2½ miles from Flemingsburg. Grandson Seth Botts Andrews lived on the site of this house in 1954. The family Bible shows that Martha died in 1816 after bearing ten children. Andrews married again and had four more children. Thomas Dougherty's daughter Jane probably is she who married Joseph Yeates in Mason County, March 24, 1797.

Thomas' son Alexander quite possibly was named for the former's friend, Alexander McConnell, since this is the first appearance of that name in the Dougherty family. Alexander Dougherty and his brothers Thomas and Robert are mentioned as acquiring land in 1792 on the waters of Shannon and North Fork of Licking in an interminable McConnell deed from Elizabeth, executrix of William McConnell.[27] Alexander Dougherty was married to Susan Scott, who apparently also was known as Sarah. She was born May 14, 1778, married October 17, 1794 and died March 24, 1821,[28] and is mentioned in the will of her brother, Samuel Scott of Mason County.[29] Alexander died between January and March, 1827.[30] He perhaps is buried in the same family graveyard in Fleming County where his wife rests; some of the stones are overturned and scattered. The children of Alexander were: Ann, married Marcus D. Richardson of Lexington January 29, 1818; Thomas M., married Susan O. Harmon, February 23, 1827; Milton, married Susan Drake, April 18, 1834; John L.; James E.; Alexander C., Mason S. and Alfred. Thomas M. Dougherty was living in St. Louis by early 1830 and he perhaps was the Judge Thomas M. Dougherty who was murdered there years later.[31] Alexander C., Mason S. and Alfred had joined Thomas M. in St. Louis by 1842.

Robert, son of Thomas Dougherty (II), was living in Mason County in 1796 and in Jefferson County in 1804. He perhaps is the Robert Dougherty who was married to Margaret Abel in Jefferson County on August 31, 1803. By 1812, he was living in Fleming County.[32]

Thomas, son of Thomas (II) became the best known of the family. He purchased land in Flemingsburg in April 1799 and on May 20, he was married in Fayette County, to Nancy Scott, sister of the wife of Thomas' brother, Alexander Dougherty. Thomas was admitted to practice as an attorney at the March

term of court, 1801, and on June 4, 1810, he became clerk of the Fleming County Circuit Court.[33] In 1815, Thomas was appointed to be clerk of the United States House of Representatives and during the autumn of that year he was busily engaged in selling his property preparatory to going to Washington. The only known child of Thomas and Nancy Dougherty was Mary Ann, who was married to Robert Tilford of Lexington, October 12, 1819. The Tilfords probably were from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, also, as a man of that name, possibly the father of this Robert, served in the Cumberland militia with the Doughertys during the Revolution. Thomas Dougherty died in Lexington August 9, 1822 and his widow Nancy died September 24 the following year.[34] Thomas still is remembered in stories handed down in Fleming County, particularly his clothing and his smart equipages. His estate included a four-wheeled carriage worth $250, which he kept at Lexington while he lived in Washington.[35]

The story of Thomas Dougherty's other son, James, who is believed to have married Mary Moore in 1788 and to have left Pennsylvania in 1790/91, must rest on conjecture. In the tax lists of 1800, gathered by Mr. G. Glenn Clift, James Doughertys are reported in eight counties of Kentucky. Some of these are known and may be eliminated. The historian of Woodford County says that a Revolutionary war veteran, James Dougherty, was living there in 1810. In 1805 he was the guardian of the children of James and Jane Risk. Mary, widow of James Dougherty, died in 1834, according to the records of Bethel Church, seven and one-half miles northwest of Lexington and just inside the Fayette County line where Scott and Woodford Counties meet. Amanda Dougherty, daughter of Mrs. Ann Rush or Rusk, was baptised at Bethel in 1831. The names of Thomas, James, Robert and Alexander Dougherty occur frequently in the records of Scott County, which have not been fully searched by the author. The Scott County family appears to be involved with the descendants of Thomas Dougherty who entered land in Shelby County in 1776, for which he received a certificate in 1779. Further search perhaps would show that James of Scott/Woodford/Fayette Counties was the son of Thomas (II).

When Michael Dougherty of Albemarle County, Virginia, wrote his will on August 24, 1766, he mentioned his wife Elizabeth, and his children Hannah, Margaret, Sarah and Mary, as well as an unborn child. This child was a boy, and was named John. Michael was dead by November 13, 1766, and in 1769 and 1770, Michael's father, Hugh Dougherty, sold his land and moved to Bedford County, where the Thomas Dougherty family now was living. Michael's daughter Sarah perhaps was the Sarah Dougherty who was married to Richard Timberlake in Bedford on February 20, 1775, or she may have been the daughter of one of the other kin of Thomas Dougherty in Bedford, perhaps his son, William. The Timberlakes moved to Madison County, Kentucky, and Richard died there in 1795.

A James Dougherty who appears in the records of Charlotte County, Virginia, on August 11, 1769, when he purchased land on Turnip Creek, site of the first recorded purchase of land by Thomas Dougherty (I), perhaps was a son of the James Dougherty who appeared in the records as early as 1752. The circumstances suggest that James Jr. was born about 1750. On the same day February 5, 1770, that the Turnip Creek deed was recorded, James Dougherty, Margaret Harwood and John Sneed and wife Mary sold land on Louse Creek, which also is near Cub Creek. It is suggested that Margaret and Mary were sisters of James and that they were disposing of the land of James Sr. On September 12, 1770, Andrew McConnell of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, appointed his "trusty friend, James Dougherty of Charlotte County" (Virginia) to convey title to land owned by McConnell and to receive the money therefor. On September 2, 1771, William Cunningham deeded some land to his son-in-law, James Dougherty, wheelright.[36] James had married Rebecca Cunningham.[37] He served as executor of Cunningham's estate in 1780 and sometime between then and 1785 the family moved to the part of Lincoln County that was set off as Mercer County. Rebecca appears to have died before 1810, and James was dead by December 24, 1812.[38] Their children were: Martha, married January 21, 1785, Thomas Gash, from Bedford County, Virginia; Sarah, married February 12, 1787, John Waughup or Walkup, whose family had been in Charlotte County, Virginia among the first settlers; Peggy, was married December 30, 1794 to Hugh Magill or McGill; Samuel, was married September 29, 1795 to Chloe Latimer; Polly, was married February 3, 1802 to Samuel Latimer; Rebecca was married April 10, 1809, to Archibald Gray, but her father's will indicates she had been married previously to a Caldwell, perhaps George, since she had a son John Caldwell in 1812; perhaps a daughter who married Ames Spencer; and William. William was dead by November 30, 1821, leaving to his widow Sally the "mansion house" on land at the headwaters of Salt River which James Dougherty, his father, had owned. William and Sally appear to have had children: Polly, (Mary T.) married John Purcell 1821; Sally married Edward Baker 1823; Catherine; Julianna H.; Nelson, who was living in Washington County in 1833; and there was a Finlay in Washington County in 1850, grandson of James and Rebecca.

William, the son of Thomas Dougherty (I), appears to have had sons Thomas and William. Thomas was married to Sarah Goggin, Stephen Goggin Sr. being bondsman on June 15, 1778. The latter's granddaughter, Pamela, was the paternal grandmother of Mark Twain. Stephen Goggin's daughter, Lettice, was married to William Dougherty on March 28, 1786.[39] William may have been in Kentucky as early as 1780. There were two William Doughertys in the Kentucky militia at Estill's Station in early 1781, one of them very likely the man from Bedford County, Virginia. Both William and Thomas entered

considerable land in what is now Madison County during the 1780's. A long dispute ensued between William Dougherty and Richard Allen over an entry made for Allen by Daniel Boone on June 30, 1780. One of Boone's depositions in this case, missing from the Fayette County Circuit Court, may be found in the Huntington Library in San Marino, California.[40] Neither Thomas nor William appear to have lived in Kentucky for any length of time, although numerous descendants did. Thomas was dead by April 5, 1802,[41] leaving his widow, Sarah Goggin Dougherty, and his children: Elizabeth, who married William Miles in 1802; Polly, who married Stephen Goggin in 1811; Nancy, who died single in Madison county in 1825; and Lettice. She may be the Lettice who married Charles Brooking in Madison County in 1828. Thomas' brother William had a son, Stephen Dougherty, who was married to Jane Smith in 1818 in Adair County, Kentucky, where several members of the Goggin and Clemens families went from Bedford County, Virginia. William also appears to have had children: Sarah, married John Robinson in Virginia, 1810; William, married Sally Dalton in Madison County, 1822; James, married Judith Roads in Virginia, 1808; John, married Dicey Sandifer in Virginia, 1819; and perhaps Thomas, married Betsy Cissell in Kentucky, 1811.

Several other Dougherty families were early settlers in Kentucky. John Dougherty, who formerly had lived in Rathmuller Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,[42] was living in Peters Township, Cumberland (now Franklin) County, Pennsylvania, when the first tax list was taken in 1750/51. The area in which John had his farm now is Montgomery Township, having been set off from Peters. John Dougherty's will, probated in 1777,[43] mentioned his wife, Lilly, his son Moses; daughter Sarah, wife of David Maughlan; and daughter Mary, wife of John Kerr. His son John had died in 1764 (and the latter's son John died in 1785 without issue.) His son Samuel had died in 1772, leaving children James, Samuel and Mary. There is some evidence these two boys later lived in Kentucky. Moses, the surviving son, married Sidney McConnell, sister of James and William McConnell and Elizabeth McConnell, who married David Morgan.[44] Moses sold the Pennsylvania farm in 1785 and moved to Kentucky by 1787, when he was on the Fayette County tax list; on December 2, 1789, he purchased land on Hickman Creek in Jessamine County, Kentucky, from Major John Shelby. He also had land in Fayette County he obtained from the heirs of Francis McConnell. The Hickman Creek land was divided between his son John, and his daughter, Margaret, wife of Samuel Wilson, in 1813; and the Fayette County land was in time left to his son James, who lived in Fayette County as late as 1816. The Samuel Dougherty who arrived in Jessamine County by 1799 appears to have been Moses' nephew, the son of his brother Samuel. Moses' son John was married to Elizabeth Miles in Jessamine County in 1801. They had thirteen children, Paris, James, Eliza,

wife of Eli Crow, Margaret, wife of John Grapes, Robert, George, Martha Jane, Ellis, John Thomas, William, Franklin, Sydeneann and Joseph, when John's land was divided in 1837. He was dead by September 19, 1838. John's son Joseph moved to Missouri, and perhaps others of the family did likewise.

Cornelius Dougherty is said to have come from Ireland to Virginia in 1760, where he married Mary Hill.[45] He was at Estill's Station in Kentucky sometime between 1776 and 1781. He or more likely his son Cornelius served under General George R. Clark in the fall of 1782. His son Alexander served with Colonel Benjamin Logan that year. One of the two William Doughertys with Logan at Estill's Station in 1781 probably was Cornelius' son. His son or brother David signed a petition to divide Lincoln County in 1783. His daughter Ann married Jeremiah Perry in Madison County in 1787. He and his daughter Isabel didn't get along and she went to live in the home of Michael McNeely that year. Alexander married Margaret Rogers in Madison County in 1791. Noble married Jane Vancleve, with his brothers John and Christopher as witnesses. By 1800, Noble, John and William were living in Washington County and Christopher and his wife Martha moved to Hardin County, where he died between 1812 and 1819. Cornelius appears to have had sons George and David and perhaps Abraham. His son James Hill was married in 1819 to Mary Foster in Cumberland County, Kentucky, where several other members of the family moved. James Hill Dougherty moved to Illinois in 1824 and eventually to Tennessee, where he died. The Joseph Dougherty who died in Cumberland County in 1819 and his neighbor, William, appear to be not connected with the family of Cornelius, but to have been the sons of William Dougherty who moved from the Cowpasture in now Bath County, Virginia, to Green County, Kentucky, about 1790.

Dr. Michael Dougherty and John Dougherty appeared in Mason County, Kentucky, in 1790. They may have been the men of the same name who left Green County, Pennsylvania, about that time. John died in 1794 but Dr. Michael lived on for many years and left a large family. On December 28, 1790, he was given a tax rebate, having been charged by mistake as a practicing physician.[46] In 1801, he went to the Kentucky House of Representatives as Mason County's representative, and he served in the same capacity again in 1805 and 1806 and as State Senator from 1811 to 1815. The family lived near Washington, Mason County. Michael's son David Armstrong Dougherty, who married Susan Moss in 1807, was a constable from 1807 until his death in 1814. He had children William, James and David A. Jr. Michael's daughter Sally married Basil Lamb in 1811, and his son Charles married Delilah Calvert. Charles moved to Platte County, Missouri, in 1842 and was drowned the following year. He had children: Mary, who married Samuel C. Bowers and later John Bryant; Ann, who married Anderson Hord, a native of Mason County, in 1858; and William Henry Harrison Dougherty.[47] A number of members

of the Calvert family from Scott County, Kentucky, lived in the same part of Platte County. Michael's son William moved to Franklin County about 1839, and his son James H. died in Mason County in 1842. His daughter Mary Ann was married to Bernard Dougherty, apparently no relation, in Mason County in 1838, moved to Franklin County. Bernard died in 1856 and Mary Ann in Woodford County in 1869. They had children Margaret, Resean, John, Mary, Sarah and Albert. Dr. Michael may also have had children M. Augustus and Mary. Michael died by November, 1825 and his widow, Mary, by September, 1836.

The origins of a few other Doughertys who arrived in Kentucky prior to 1800 have not been completely studied. A John Dougherty of Bourbon County was from Monongalia County, West Virginia, and there is some evidence that he came originally from Rockbridge County, Virginia. From the same Forks of the James community came William Dougherty, veteran of the Revolutionary War, who lived in Lincoln County during the early decades of the nineteenth century. A James Dougherty was admitted to practice law in Madison, Hardin and Logan Counties in 1790/92; he probably was the same man. It is not known whether he was the same James who arrived in now Hardin County in the early 1780's and died there. One of the Jameses quite likely was the son of Michael Dougherty (II) of Reed Creek, Wythe County, Virginia, whose brother John came to Kentucky in 1775.

NOTES: PART II

[1]For the general background see *The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 227; Isabel McLennan McMeekin, *Louisville the Gateway City* (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1946).

[2]The spelling Dougherty or Doherty, as well as other variants, derive from Dochartach of Ulster, Ireland, and I have adopted Dougherty, the spelling most favored by the family in Virginia and Kentucky.

[3]Kathryn Harrod Mason, *James Harrod of Kentucky* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pp. 131-139.

[4]Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom, a Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952* (Fishersville, Va.: Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Presbyterian Churches, 1954), p. 20.

[5]*The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 231.

[6]*Ibid.*, XXXV, No. 111 (April, 1937), 137; XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 228.

[7]Augusta County, Va., Will Book 2, p. 183. [Lyman Chalkley in his *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia; extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Rosslyn, Va.: The Commonwealth Printing Co., 1912-1913), III, 44, by error says Miller refused to execute. He meant Wardlaw.]

[8]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 21, p. 512; Chalkley, *op. cit.*, III, 550.

[9]William H. English, *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio, 1778-1783 and Life of George Rogers Clark . . .* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1896), I, 145.

[10]*The Register*, XLII, No. 140 (July, 1944), 229.

[11]English, *op.cit.*, II, 839.

[12]*Ibid.*, II, 1060; Clark Papers (MSS in Thruston Collection, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Series E, II, 506; Illinois Document (MSS in Virginia State Library, Rich-

mond, Va.), Document 127; Pension S-35898; Virginia Military Certificate Book (MS in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Book 2, p. 234, Warrant No. 7658; Illinois Document (MSS in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Document 20.

[131]Illinois Document (MSS in Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Document 190.

[14]Clark Papers (MSS in Thruston Collection, Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.), Series E, II. Photostat in author's possession.

[15]Wilson, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-25.

[16]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 3, pp. 175, 179, 183.

[17]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 7, p. 85.

[18]Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 138.

[19]Lewis Collins and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky. . .* (Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton and Co., 1924), II, 272.

[20]F. B. Kegley, *Kegley's Virginia Frontier the Beginning of the Southwest, The Roanoke of Colonial Days 1740-1783* (Roanoke, Va.: The Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 43; Chalkley, *op.cit.*, III, 327.

[21]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 223; Chalkley, *op.cit.*, III, 399.

[22]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 4, p. 342.

[23]Augusta County, Va., Will Book 3, p. 131.

[24]Lexington Quadrangle, U. S. Geological Survey map is the best available for study of this area.

[25]Chalkley, *op.cit.*, II, 272.

[26]*Ibid.*, II, 273.

[27]Botetourt County, Va., Deed Book 1, p. 38; Virginia Land Grants, Patent Book 30, p. 384.

[28]Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 473.

[29]Augusta County, Va., "File 397."

[30]Chalkley, *op.cit.*, II, 182.

[31]Oren Morton, *A History of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, Va.: The McClure Co., 1920), p. 84.

[32]Botetourt County, Va., Deed Book 3, p. 384.

[33]Bath County, Va., Deed Book 1, p. 38.

[34]Kegley, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

[35]Lewis Preston Summers, *Annals of Southwest Virginia 1769-1800* (Abingdon, Va.: Lewis Preston Summers), pp. 551, 560.

[36]Virginia Land Grants, Patent Book 34, p. 46.

[37]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 5, p. 391.

[38]Chalkley, *op.cit.*, III, 80; I, 148.

[39]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 11, p. 807.

[40]Botetourt County, Va., Marriage and Bond Book 1, p. 3.

[41]Rockbridge County, Va., Deed Book A, p. 307; Deed Book C, p. 374.

[42]Chalkley, *op.cit.*, II, 192.

[43]Augusta County, Va., Surveyor's Book 1, p. 47.

[44]Augusta County, Va., Deed Book 6, p. 123; Deed Book 4, p. 84.

[45]Augusta County, Va., File 373, Court Judgments.

NOTES: PART III

[1]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[2]Lancaster County, Pa., Road Docket Book, p. 93.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 146.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 220.

[5]Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom, a Study of the Church and Her People, 1732-1952.* (Fishersville, Va.: Tinkling Spring and Hermitage

Presbyterian Churches, 1954), p. 42.

[6]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[7]Virginia Land Grants (MSS in Land Office, Richmond, Va.), Patent Book 21, p. 513.

[8]*Ibid.*, Patent Book 32, p. 291.

[9]*Ibid.*, Patent Book 17, p. 393; Patent Book 34, p. 375; Albemarle County, Va., Will Book, August 24, 1766.

[10]Wilson, *op.cit.*, p. 474 [The Reverend John Craig's dairy.]

[11]*Ibid.*, p. 82.

[12]Landon C. Bell, *Sunlight on the Southside; List of Tithes, Lunenburg County, Va., 1748-1783* . . . (Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Co., 1931), pp. 76, 79, 86, 91, 124, 183, 212.

[13]Brunswick County, Va., Deed Book 4, p. 4.

[14]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 59.

[15]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII (1910), 41.

[16]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 1, p. 35.

[17]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[18]Research of John Newcomer in Lancaster County, Pa., records.

[19]Lunenburg County, Va., Will Book 2, p. 157.

[20]Bedford County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 452.

[21]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 56.

[22]*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIX (1911), 92.

[23]Deed Book 3, pp. 17, 208.

[24]*Pennsylvania Archives* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897), Series Three, XX, 54, 177, 313, 439.

[25]Franklin County, Pa., Will Book A, p. 167; Orphans Court Docket A, p. 21, February 4, 1791.

[26]Disposal of the Dougherty land in Pennsylvania is described in Franklin County, Pa., Survey Docket 1, p. 225; Deed Book 2, p. 386; Deed Book 7, p. 181; Deed Book 6, p. 9; Deed Book 5, p. 372.

[27]Fayette County [Kentucky] Circuit Court, Deed Book B, p. 104.

[28]Graves in Andrews graveyard, Fleming County, Ky.

[29]Mason County, Ky., Will Book H, p. 270.

[30]Mason County, Ky., Will Book G, p. 55.

[31]Mason County, Ky., Deed Book 56, p. 60, and personal recollections of John F. Darby, issued in published form in St. Louis.

[32]Fleming County, Ky., Deed Book M, p. 352.

[33]Kentucky Court of Appeals, Frankfort, Ky., Deed Book N, p. 327.

[34]*The Register*, XXXIX, No. 116 (April, 1941), 124.

[35]Fayette County, Ky., Will Book F, p. 113.

[36]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 2, p. 493.

[37]Charlotte County, Va., Deed Book 3, p. 407.

[38]Mercer County, Ky., Will Book 4, p. 298.

[39]Bedford and Campbell Counties, Virginia, records.

[40]See also *The Register*, XXIII, No. 68 (May, 1925), 149.

[41]Madison County, Ky., Deed Book E, p. 706.

[42]Franklin County, Pa., Deed Book 4, p. 72.

[43]Cumberland County, Pa., Will Book C, p. 68.

[44]Jefferson County, Ky., Will Book 1, p. 127.

[45]John Carroll Power and Mrs. S. A. Power, *History of the Early Settlers of Sangamon*

County, Illinois. (Springfield, Ill.: Edwin A. Wilson and Co., 1876), p. 257.

[46]Mason County, Ky., Deed Book A, p. 144.

[47]W. M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri.* . . (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Co., 1897), pp. 220, 262, 347, 633, 850, 987.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

Edited by G. Glenn Clift

THE DISTRICT OF KENTUCKY, 1783-1787

As Pictured by Harry Innes in a Letter to John Brown

Harry Innes [1752 o.s. - 1816] crossed the mountains to settle in what is now the Commonwealth of Kentucky during the spring following his election in October, 1784, as attorney-general for the western district of Virginia. Born in Virginia and classmate of Virginians James Madison, Edmund Pendleton and others his background well prepared him for the role of political observer and critic of the western country. During the American Revolution he had served under the Virginia Committee of Safety, as escheator for his own county of Caroline, commissioner of the specific tax for Bedford County and by appointment by Benjamin Harrison as superintendent over the commissioners of six counties. Behind him as well was his successful law practice in Virginia, admirably qualifying him for his new post in the west and ultimately for the office of United States district judge for Kentucky which he held from 1789 until his death.

John Brown [1757-1837] had preceded Innes to Kentucky in 1782, settling first at Danville, political seat of the new country, but shortly after removing to Frankfort where he made his permanent home. As had Innes, Brown served during the American Revolution, leaving his classes at Princeton College to join the retreating Americans as they moved through New Jersey. After the war he resumed his studies at William and Mary College and studied law under the supervision of Thomas Jefferson. Shortly before the date of Innes's letter Brown represented Kentucky in the Virginia legislature and was appointed by that body a representative in the Confederation Congress.

Both Innes and Brown were leaders in Kentucky's long struggle for statehood and both, for reasons readily available elsewhere, oftimes were implicated openly or by suspicion with Spanish intrigues in the west before and following Kentucky's admission into the Union.

Danville Decr. 7th, 1787

Dr Sir,

I have taken up the Penn to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 26th of October & 5th of November & cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction for the information contained therein & particularly at your appointment to go to Congress, an Event which I am confident will not only be productive of great good to our Country but of singular Service in the end to yourself, as you will thereby convince all your Countrymen that you have sacrificed your private Interests to the public good, a circumstance that must merit the approbation of every liberal man in the District believe me when I assure you that I have not heard a person in the District who hath been informed of your Election, but have expressed their approbation & gratitude to the Assembly therefore.

I do not think your business will suffer much - i. e., the business now in Court, except the delay in consequence of your absence, you may rely upon every exertion of mine to do you & your Clients Justice & I shall upon any occasion where I may hear a murmur use my little influence to quiet it. I am induced to think the Court will give you every indulgence - I have publickly

offered my assistance to any of your Clients who will apply to me when I am not on the opposite side & *e contra*, have assured others that I will take no advantage of your absence. If we make any attempts to procede on the Docket at the March Term we will not meddle with your (causes?) except in the prosecution & defending of your suits on Bonds, in that case your Clients Creditors will be benefited & those that are Debtors will have had as long indulgence as their hopes could have suggested when they employed you. The Idea of your absence, hath caused the Litigants to desist suing in the Supreme Court & the business to increase in the County Courts.

I wrote two letters preceding this before the receipt of yours - which if you did not get before your departure from Richmond I suppose will follow you, in the first I gave a general account of the proceedings of the Convention but it is probable that you may now want a Copy of the Principal Resolutions which I shall inclose you together with my Notes on the Subject of the Separation which you requested;[1] if they should be of any service to you I shall think myself amply compensated for the labour spent in making them out, but I trust you can be at no loss upon a Subject which you have so long favored & which you have so thoroughly digested. You will discover a Sentiment in the Address - which plainly leads to this point that if our application is rejected we shall scarcely trouble Congress with a second deliberation on the Subject; perhaps Congress will think this Idea is held out *In Terrorem*; I assure you it is not the case, but the decided opinion of 5/7 of the Convention. I think therefore it will be well done to deliver your Sentiments very freely upon the Subject, that if we should be compelled to adopt other measures we shall stand justified as Congress could not then plead her Ignorance of our intention.

[1]These resolutions and Mr. Innes's notes not with this letter, which is No. 473 in *Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society.*

Next to that of our Local situation, & the excessive Revenue Tax of Virginia, our defenceless State ought to be pressed upon Congress - The Troops on the Banks of the Ohio between Fort Pitt & the Rapids are of no Consequence to us, our Militia Law & the several orders of the Executive serve only to tie up our hands & the last Ordinance of Congress which we have heard of on this Subject serve but to convince us that Congress doth not mean to give us that protection which as a part of the Federal Union we are entitled to, least you may have forgot this Ordinance it passed on the 25th day of July, 1787. I have lately been endeavouring to make some estimation of the Persons killed & taken & the Horses which have been stolen from this District since September 1783 to the present period, & I think without exageration the following Statement would bear the Test - Killed 300 - Prisoners 50 - Horses Stole 20,000 say of the value of £ 10 each £ 20,000 - in my last Letter I think I informed you particularly of the ravages of the Indians for about 3 weeks - 4 Persons killed & 65 Horses taken, and this happened since you left us.

Should the Commercial Treaty with Spain come before Congress whilst you are there, I hope you will be able to refute the suggestion of Mr. Jay - "that the Western People had nothing yet to export, & therefore the Cession of the Mississippi would be no injury to them" - My Ideas on that Subject are these, 1st That the God of Nature having made that River the only outlett to this Western World, we are entitled to a free navigation thereof upon this principle that it was intended for a Common from the Creation, & that no Government ought to monopolize it solely. 2d. That Great Britain holding one bank of the River at the time of the signing the Preliminary Articles ceeding to the United States the right of Navigating the River, and never after be repealed by the Definitive Treaty with Spain, being a subsequent act without the concurrence of the United States, and the Idea of Spain having conquered absolutely West Florida before the signing of the Preliminary Articles & thereby acquiring an absolute right to the River is fallacious, upon this principle, that if the right to West Florida was considered absolute by the reduction of two or three Forts, why was it necessary in the definitive Treaty between Great Britain & Spain for Britain to relinquish her right of Soverignty. 3d. That as the right of Navigating the River was secured to the U. S. by the Treaty with Britain, the Cession of it by Congress would be illegal & unjust, it would be giving away what is our right without any compensation. I say our Right because the Eastern part of the States make no use of it; it would be unjust, because it would be sacrificing one part of the Community to the mere Ideal Project of another & depriving of the Western Country of that inestimable Right equal Liberty, which we hoped was secured to us by the Revolution, it would be depriving us - nay Robing us - of one of the greatest blessings which the bountiful hand of Nature hath bestowed upon us. Congress hath as great a right to shut up the Chesepeak. 4th. It will discourage Agriculture, because the consumption is not now 1/2 of the annual produce, & which would rapidly increase if there was a market. 5th. It will prevent our Inhabitants from improving in Arts & Sciences as it will deprive us of all foreign intercourse, & we shall become mere barbarians. 6th. It will prevent our Country from populating, for no man will come to a Country when he hath not the prospect of enjoying the benefits of his Labour. The prevention of this effect I conceive to be one of the leading principles in Congress upon this Subject - Jealousy least the Eastern States should be depopulated by Emigration. 7th. It will deprive us of the power of Erecting any considerable Manufactories, because we shall have no means of procuring the materials to Erect & carry on the different branches, which can only be procured from abroad. 8th. It will prevent us from being able to Erect comfortable Habitations, because we shall not have the resources by which the European materials are to be procured. 9th. It will render us totally unable to pay either our public or private Debts, as we shall have no resources by which we can bring Money into our Country,

nor can any Commutable be fixed on, which would give us a temporary respite. 10th. It is a doubt with me whether Congress hath the right of ceeding away the Navigation of the River; I conceive that there is such an Interest vested in the Inhabitants of the Western Country in the River by the Treaty with Britain, that no power on Earth can legally deprive them of it; if Congress takes upon herself this Power, she may with the same propriety deprive us of the Navigation of the Ohio or any of its branches - She may stretch her arbitrary hand to Private Property, & upon the same principle of reasoning from one Usurpation to another reduce us to a state of Vassalage - We have no security to Barr her Tyrinnical hand, or prevent lawless (?) thirst of Domination.

I have in this letter thrown out a few desultory thoughts on the Separation & the Cession of the Mississippi. I have been much interupted during the time of writing by people passing & repassing, therefore you will excuse any incorrectness you may discover herein. This Letter being sufficiently long I shall defer my sentiments on the Federal Constitution until the next opportunity. I have only yet given it a Cursory reading, having been moving a good deal about for some weeks.

You informed me in your last that you would endeavour to send me a Copy of George Mason's objections to the Constitution - they will be very acceptable together with your own observations thereon, & any other information which consistent with your Delegation, you may be at Liberty to Communicate. Do you think it material our sending a Delegation to the May Convention - I scarcely think it.

The Election for the Convention to form the Constitution for Kentucky is to commence on the ensuing April Court days. I shall take the Liberty of nominating you as a Candidate, which I hope will meet with your approbation. The Indians have killed a man about the 1st Instant on Beargrass, between the Spring Station & Mr. Sebastain's - the man lived at the Station - also a man about 20 miles north of Lexington & wounded his companion thro' the Belly - Killed two & wounded a third on Cumberland lately.

The Emigrations have been great this Fall - to the 1st of this inst. 10,000 Souls have been counted to cross Clinch - about 2000 came down the River - say 3000 of the 12,000 were Citizens of this District returning home which is a large calculation, & the increase is 9,000 including those gone to Cumberland, who are but few - I hear of no murmurs on account of the determination of the [Conv]ention & I trust that if our Legislature acts wise [words missing] with respect to Taxation we shall be a hap[py people].

Before I conclude my letter I beg leave to remind you that Congress cant be ignorant of the Hostilities of the Indians. Governor Henry's representation

in Spring 86 - Gov. Randolph's Letter in Feb. 1787 in consequence of our representation about the seizures at the Opost - the three letters of Bullit, Logan & Todd in April or May last - which were communicated to Congress by the Lieut. Govr.

Wishing you a happy Issue of your Journey, health & an agreeable Winter

I am Dr. Sir your friend & Servt.

Harry Innes

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GRADUATE THESES ACCEPTED BY KENTUCKY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES 1949-1953

(Continued from July Register)

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BOOK REVIEWS

Wilderness for Sale. By Walter Havighurst. (New York: Hastings House, 1956. Pp. xii, 372. Bibliography, index. $4.50.)

This is the fourth volume of the American Procession Series edited by Mr. Henry G. Alsberg. The catchy title is amplified and in part explained by the sub-title, "The Story of the First Western Land Rush." This volume is one of marked writing skill, obvious research and general attractiveness. Historians and scholars will find it useful, informative and valuable for both the lecture and the seminar; the interested reading public will find it entertaining, illuminating, yet pleasant reading.

Wilderness for Sale is the story of the disposition of land in the Northwest Territory under the ordinance of 1787. Principally it covers the expansion and settlement of the three states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, with side excursions into others. Havighurst recreates for the reader the atmosphere of the period: The charm and magic of the word "Ohio," the majestic figures of the Indian leaders, the ever-greasy frontier scouts, the sullen squatters, the lonely surveyors, the river as an avenue of trade and travel, and many other aspects of settlement. Here in Ohio the American Nationality was reshaped and retempered. Land hunger was the key to the westward migration and the lonely settler with tomahawk rights share this with the disciplined Rappites and Owenites. After reading this well-written story one is inclined to believe that hope and faith were more important in the conquest of the west than the axe and the rifle.

Herein one finds interesting personalities compounded with fantastic stories and simple tales. Havigurst has, whether intentionally or not, used a connecting thread other than the land office for his story—William Henry Harrison—and much of the early history of the Northwest revolved around that central figure. The story of Harrison involves also the story of Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, Tecumseh, The Prophet, The War of 1812, Land Law Change, The American System of Henry Clay, Indian land treaties, defeat, disappointment, and the first presidency from the Northwest. Harrison, like so many westerners, did not find Eden in the West. But he did find the satisfaction of a job well done in the building of the American empire. This portion of *Wilderness for Sale* is done so cleverly that one is unaware of the fact that Harrison and land are the twin unifying forces of the story.

There is much material here of interest to Kentuckians, and it points up a fact long known to scholars who research and write on Kentucky—that is, the great story of early Kentucky has yet to be told. When told the scholars like Havighurst in this volume will turn to the toll gate records, to the county

court house, and other little used sources. It is to be hoped that such a volume as *Wilderness for Sale* will stimulate researchers in that respect.

Bennett H. Wall

Kentucky Ante-Bellum Portraiture; Illustrated by Photographs from the Collection of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in the Commonwealth of Kentucky. By Edna Talbott Whitley. ([Richmond, Virginia: Whittet and Shepperson, 1956.] Pp. xii, 848. Portraits. $17.50)

This substantial work will be treasured especially by those whose interest in old Kentucky portraits begins with the fact that they are human documents of a proud history. There are 300 portraits of Kentuckians here, each one allotted a full page for reproduction. Opposite each portrait are notes, biographical for the most part but sometimes indicating the history of the painting. These are followed by the essential catalogue data: name of artist and year of painting when these facts are known, then the name of the present owner, and the source for the photograph. And the photographs now form part of an invaluable collection in the Colonial Dames' Library in Louisville.

It is appropriate that such a comprehensive project should be sponsored by the Society of Colonial Dames in Kentucky and they, in turn, are fortunate in having so careful and persistent a researcher as Mrs. Whitley to bring the project to completion. For, in addition to her notes accompanying each portrait, she has compiled extensive notes on the many artists who, in one way or another, were or may have been associated with this region. There are 169 pages of these notes with 565 artists listed. The several pages on Jouett, best known of Kentucky's early painters, are excellent.

In the long run it will be these "Notes on Artists" that the future researchers will turn to. Already, indeed, they have had a part in reviving the forgotten name of Aaron Corwine (1802-30), a fine portraitist whose work has been "discovered" and authenticated only recently. Again, it is of interest that the notes reveal the fact that Chester Harding had two brothers who were painting portraits in this region. There can be no doubting the importance of these notes.

This is a source book, not a history. It does not attempt to trace the rise and decline of portraiture in Kentucky. It merely lists the portraits, arranging them by counties and in alphabetical order according to the names of the sitters. The "Notes on Artists" appear alphabetically, too. Thus there is no chronological pattern. But there is a good index and an extensive bibliography.

The author does not undertake any evaluation of the portraits as works of art nor express an opinion on the correctness of certain traditional attributions. This, she says, should be left to art experts. But she is fully aware of the historical and aesthetic problems posed by her material. In her preface she takes note of the decline in the number and quality of portraits following the invention of the daguerreotype and the early camera. That this is so anyone can see for himself by comparing the "painterly" style of the 1820's and 30's

with the "photographic" manner of the 1850's. Again, in her references to attributions she shows that she recognizes this as a continuing problem. It is unlikely, for example, that Jouett could have painted *all* the portraits which have been attributed to him.

In this connection one or two examples may be noted. A fine portrait of the Hon. John Brown (p. 255) is attributed to Jouett, but the actual style of the *painting* seems later. Investigation may yet prove this to be an enhanced copy of an earlier Jouett, perhaps done by Neagle when he visited Frankfort in 1843. And the portrait of George Howard (p. 25) attributed to Sully and dated 1835 is so noticeably "photographic" in character that one has to question the date.

Such problems will remain. The important thing is that so much fundamental material has been brought together and made available here. This work has laid a solid foundation.

Edward W. Rannells

Kentucky Pride. By Gene Markey. (New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. 305. $3.95.)

A fast moving novel of Lexington, Kentucky immediately following the War Between the States, *Kentucky Pride* is complete with horseraces thoroughbreds, duels, fights, outlaws, murder and mayhem. Aidan Kensal, a Major under the command of General John Hunt Morgan during the War, returns to Lexington and all kinds of trouble. But the villain is killed, the lovers united and all problems solved in less than two weeks. The author leans over back-wards to find unusual names for all his characters: Desha Bardrom, Davona, Crinee and Veach Doucain. An outsider would believe that no one in Kentucky was named anything as common as John or Henry. Historical details are followed closely, but these details are incidental to the plot. On the whole, a nice novel for a few hours of complete relaxation.

Clover Frances Coleman

John Filson of Kentucke. By John Walton. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1956. Pp. xiv, 130. Illustrations, folding map. $4.00.)

"John Filson, born in Pennsylvania in the 1740's or 1750's, Kentucky's first historian, missing in the wilderness near Cincinnati in 1788." This might well have remained the essentials of our knowledge of John Filson if Col. Reuben T. Durrett had not laid the solid groundwork of Filson's life and had the above biographer not written this definitive biography.

The chief disagreement between Durrett and Walton on the facts of the case has to do with the year in which Filson was born. Whereas Durrett could only hazard a guess of 1747 for want of substantial evidence, Walton uncovered the marriage record of the historian's parents who were married in 1752 and a family tradition that Filson was born December 10, 1753. In the other essentials, the two historians are in agreement.

John Filson probably spent the war years of the American Revolution in the quiet occupations of school teacher and surveyor. Sometime in the fall or early winter of 1783, he left his native county of Chester for Kentucky, where he quickly began to speculate in land. In five years time, his land holdings grew to 13,000 acres, not a small figure for a former school teacher and surveyor. In the meantime, by the fall of 1784, he had assembled and published his *History of Kentucke,* with a map, based primarily on conversations with such leading pioneers and early settlers as Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, and James Harrod. He spent the eight months subsequent to the issue of his history both in Kentucky and in Delaware attempting to bring out a second edition, as the sales of the first edition exceeded his highest expectations. In June of 1785, he moved to Louisville, Kentucky, which he made a base for his interest in the Illinois country along the Wabash; but following a harrying escape from Indian pursuers in 1786, he returned to Pennsylvania in the fall to sell a piece of property which he had inherited. In January of 1788, back in Kentucky, Filson advertised in the *Kentucke Gazette* that he planned to found an academy in Lexington. The three lures, however, of land, medicine, and, perhaps, of lady love, prevented its establishment. On August 25, 1788, a contract was drawn up between Robert Patterson, Matthias Denman, and John Filson, making them equal partners in the promotion of a settlement at the present site of Cincinnati. Before the agreement could be carried out however, John Filson disappeared in October under mysterious circumstances, probably the victim of an Indian attack.

Filson's writings and his famous map of Kentucky, as one might expect, received special attention from both Durrett and Walton. Among the unpublished writings are a love poem written in Louisville, two journals based on trips into the Illinois country, and two accounts of his visits there. All except the poem are in the Draper Collection at Wisconsin. Filson's *Kentucke* is characterized as promotional literature, having been written obviously for the purpose of encouraging immigration into Kentucky. No evidence is needed further than the nature of the history itself. The first forty-eight pages are devoted to the location of Kentucky, its boundaries, rivers, soil, air, climate, wild life, natural curiosities, land laws, and a page and a half on its inhabitants. The balance of the history, seventy pages in length, forms the appendix, which includes the myth-producing biography of Daniel Boone, the minutes of the Piankashaw Council, an account of the Indians living east of the Mississippi, and tables showing the stages and distances of points between Philadelphia and the mouth of the Mississippi River. The map, which was sold with the book and separately, was the first map drawn of the state of Kentucky. It is an excellent piece of technical work, but is reasonably accurate only in its representation of Central Kentucky.

The chief contributions of Walton to the life of John Filson lie in his

thoroughly-digested, interpretative style. The exhaustive familiarity of the biographer with his subject matter can be best illustrated in his closing remarks on the significance of John Filson:

> As an entrepreneur Filson was a failure. As a person he was uncongenial. And as an intellectual he was undistinguished. But because he undertook some tedious and petty tasks, he made a substantial contribution to American history and letters: his book and map sped the settlement of the West; in his tale of the adventures of Daniel Boone he created the prototype of our national hero; and as a wandering schoolmaster he carried the perennial aspirations of his kind for the spread of learning and enlightenment to the frontier.

Few will want to quarrel with this reasoned judgment of Filson as a man and as a historian.

Charles F. Hinds

A Glimpse of Old Bridgeport and Its Environs. By Willard Rouse Jillson. (Frankfort: The Kentucky Historical Society, 1956. Pp. 108. Illustrations, map. $4.00.)

Here is another book on local history, by one of Kentucky's leading historians, which records the development of the religious, social and economic life of an important community situated in the western part of Franklin County, for a century and a quarter, from 1774 to 1899.

The first step toward land acquisition in the vicinity of Bridgeport was taken by William Armstrong who on March 6th, 1781, made an entry for three hundred acres of land on the Kentucky River. Three years later, he secured an additional 300 acres on South Benson Creek, and with his family occupied the strong block-house which he built. This was the first fortified station in the mid-South Valley.

Bridgeport, located on Boone's Trace (1774), and later on the Shelbyville-Frankfort turnpike soon grew into a thriving and prosperous community. It became an important trading and over-night stopping place for travellers on the "big road" to Shelbyville and Louisville and contained several large taverns, those of Shelah Bailey, John Butler, Wheeler Wiggs, Morris Fox and Thomas Smart being the best known and most patronized.

In 1847, a bill was presented to the Kentucky General Assembly incorporating the village of Bridgeport - so named for the two wooden covered bridges, one over Armstrong's branch and the other over South Benson Creek. John Jennings, Wheeler Wiggs, R. Belt, Frederick Robb and W. Edwards were chosen the first trustees and it was stipulated that the bounds of the village should never exceed fifty acres.

In spite of numerous set-backs and calamities, such as the robbing of the village by Rud Taylor and his guerilla gang in 1865, the large fire of May, 1880, and the disastrous cyclone of May 12, 1889, Bridgeport has continued to survive with a steady movement toward community development and improvement.

Dr. Jillson has done an excellent job in identifying many of the long-neg-

lected landmarks and reviving half-forgotten stories and bits of local lore and history. A number of specially-drawn illustrations of the old buildings and taverns add to the attractiveness of the volume which should be a welcomed addition to any Kentuckiana library.

J. Winston Coleman, Jr.

Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky. By William H. Townsend. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1955. Pp. xiv, 392. Illustrations. $6.50.)

Here is a new, vibrant and expanded version of an old theme—slavery and civil war in Kentucky. It is depicted as a high, tumultuous tide, swirling in conflicting currents of hatred and devotion about the immortal Abraham Lincoln, who beside those inherent from birth and boyhood, had many close and exacting ties with his native State. The author, Dr. William Henry Townsend, long established as a competent writer on Lincoln and a leading authority on the life of the great mid-nineteenth century President of the United States, particularly as his affairs and responsibilities touched upon Kentucky and its famous Bluegrass Region, has done a monumental piece of writing in this volume. But the subject, either in general or in detail, was not new to him. Some twenty-five years ago he wrote within this proscribed field in charming, anecdotal vein under the title, *Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town.*

The undersigned has an autographed copy of the first edition of this extraordinarily interesting piece of Kentuckiana which he values highly, quite in line with the concensus of bibliophilic opinion over the country. Notwithstanding this marked attachment for the previous work of the gifted Lexington writer, he who pens these lines inclines to the view that the present book—*Lincoln and the Bluegrass*—, unquestionably more thorough, more comprehensive, more frequently documented is much the better of the two. For those who, in the love of American history and its heroes, hold Abraham Lincoln to have been the recognizable instrument of Providence, chosen from the common people to give leadership to a young and virile nation during a very great civil crisis, this book will provide eminent satisfaction. Readable, dependable, interesting, its courthouse-yard narrative style is pleasing while its boundless store of ante-bellum and war-time lore involving family and political affairs in the Bluegrass country in and surrounding Lexington is utterly fascinating. For his long-continued labor of love in producing so fine a contribution to national biography and state history, the author deserves and no doubt will receive proper recognition and appropriate acclaim!

Willard Rouse Jillson

Geology of Marion County, Kentucky. By Willard Rouse Jillson. (Frankfort, Ky.: Roberts Printing Co., 1956. Pp. 119. Illustrations, maps, charts. $4.75.)

This book is one of a series of publications by the author dealing with the geology of Kentucky in areas that have received comparatively little atten-

tion from other field geologists. It represents a great deal of research and field investigations.

The location and discussion of the fault pattern is important as it is in an area where there is a noticeable gap in the Rough Creek fault system which crosses the State in a general east-west direction and will be a real contribution to the revision of the next geologic map of Kentucky now being compiled and adapted to the new topographic base.

The discussion of the paleontology, areal geology, and mineral resources provides good reference material to direct future development.

Finally, the excellent discussion of the history of oil and gas development in the county from 1887 to the present is valuable. While few well logs are available, the location and generalized results of this drilling is on record. It may encourage future development and we hope the accurate recording of results.

It is to be hoped that the author will make further contributions to the geology of our State.

Daniel J. Jones

OBITUARY

MILTON H. SMITH
1921 - 1956

As *The Register* goes to press it becomes our painful duty to record the sudden death of another staff member of the Society. Milton H. Smith, Museum Guide, Motion Picture Projectionist and Microfilm Machine Operator since February, 1951, was killed instantly August 28, 1956, when his car went out of control and collided headon with another vehicle. A native of Woodford County, he was the son of the late Walter G. Smith and Mrs. Mattie Owens Smith. He was a veteran of World War II, having served 27 months with the Marine Corps in the Pacific Theatre and having been twice wounded in action. "Smitty" brought great industry, many friends and a gift of camaraderie not only to his immediate associates but to the thousands of visitors with whom he worked during his almost six years of service in the Museum. His passing is a great loss to the Society and his position will be hard to fill. His death followed by a few days more than four months that of Bayless E. Hardin, Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, who met his death April 15 when his car swerved out of control and crashed into a utilities pole.

MILTON H. SMITH

NOTES AND QUERIES

Effective January 1, 1957, Life Membership dues will be increased to $50. The new rate was approved by the Executive Committee at a meeting held Sptember 13, 1956. Annual membership dues were increased from $3.00 to $5.00 on July 1, 1956.

Query: McGOODWIN-KARR. Daniel McGoodwin, b. 1763, Co. Derry, Ireland. Mig. to N.C., 1769, with gr. mother and uncle, Wm. Hunter. Served Continental Army, 1778-1782 under uncle, Humphrey Hunter; m. 1790, Eliz. Karr (1767-1832) of Rowan Co., N.C., came to Logan Co., Ky. same year. Pension gives James Karr as brother-in-law. Was Eliz. sister of James or of his cousin and wife Mary, dau. of David Karr? Dan. McGoodwin exec. of estate of James Karr, 1823, Logan Co., Ky. Nancy, dau. of James and Mary Karr, m. 1806, Logan Co., Ky., William Hunter. His brother James m., 1812, Logan Co., Ky., Sarah, dau. of James and Mary Karr. Were these brothers related to Rowan Co., N.C. Hunters? James and Mary Karr (par. of Nancy and Sarah) m. Rowan Co., N.C. 1776. James Karr had a brother John. Dan. McGoodwin m. 2nd time, Todd Co., Ky., 7-4-1833, Jane Kennedy. His will, recorded Logan Co., Ky., 10-19-1838, prob. 11-25-39, names sons, James, John, David; dau. Jane Allison; "present wife Jane McGoodwin." Wants data on all these names, will exchange information.

Mrs. Wm. L. Ainsworth
8457 Rock Road
R. R. 2
Derby, Kansas

Query: KINSLER, JAMES. b. Harrison Co., Ky., 12-17-1819, son of Thomas and Constance Kinsler. Eliz. Ramia Vice Kinsler, b. Bath Co., Ky., 2-1822, dau. of Robert and Lindsey Vice. Wanted, information on James and Eliz. Ramia Vice Kinsler.

Mrs. G. A. Stokesberry
903 W. Walnut
Bloomsfield, Iowa

Query: BARTLETT-McMURTRY. Solomon Bartlett m. Eliz. McMurtry, Green Co., 1795. Consent of John Summers. Eliz. McMurtry was dau. of John McMurtry, dec'd before 1792 when heirs rec'd grant of land in Davidson Co., Tenn., for services to Tenn. Solomon Bartlett thought to be son of John Bartlett who died Green Co., 1802. His widow m. Peter Wooley, Sr. Solomon had brother Joshua and possibly Nathan. Wants to hear from persons knowing of, or interested in these people.

Mrs. Ruth P. Burdette
Columbia
Kentucky

Query: SIMPSON - MONTGOMERY - BOONE - BROWN - HEARD - BEAN - CISSEL - JARBOE - WORLAND - EDELEN - JENKINS - Etc. Would like to hear from desc. of, or persons who know about, the 60 Catholic families comprising the "Md. League to Ky." in the late 1700's; primarily from St. Marys, Chas., Pr. Geo. Co's., Md. and mig. to Bardstown, Ky. area.

Mrs. Earl J. Huggins
The Pines
R. 1
Holt's Summit, Missouri

CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. Maude Ward Lafferty, Lexington, Kentucky, club woman and historian, has been State Chairman, Kentucky History in Kentucky Federation Women's Clubs, Secretary, George Rogers Clark Commission, member State Executive Committee for marking historic sites along Kentucky highways, Director of Sesquicentennial Pagents at Harrodsburg, 1924, and Lexington, 1925, and now a member of the Society's Executive Committee. In addition to *Ruddle's Station* and other articles published in *The Register* and elsewhere she is author of *The Lure of Kentucky*, 1939 and *Sesquicentennial Stories*, 1942.

William C. Stewart, 270 Oceano Drive, Los Angeles 29, California, is a public relations specialist, former magazine editor and newspaper publisher. Part One of his "*The Doughertys of Kentucky*" was published in the April, 1955, issue of *The Register*.

The Reverend W. Robert Insko, Chaplain to Episcopal Students, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, also authored "Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Early Kentucky Clergyman," published in the July, 1951, issue of *The Register*. This article, revised, expanded and containing a more complete bibliography, was issued in pamphlet form by the Society in 1952, under title *Kentucky Bishop, An Introduction to the Life and Work of Benjamin Bosworth Smith*.