

Historical Notes on Native Vegetation in the Bluegrass



Historical Notes on Native Vegetation in the Bluegrass and Some Adjacent Regions

Reassembled by Julian Campbell in 2015; at bluegrasswoodland.com

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Cover: Daniel Boone (a descendant of Daniel Boone) in the largest known patch of running buffalo clover (*Trifolium stoloniferum*), mowed along the trail at Shawnee Lookout, Hamilton County, Ohio; this remarkable species—the only clover known not to fix nitrogen—used to be common in the original Bluegrass Woodland, when promoted by browsing (not burning).

Introduction

The original quotations below include some accounts from hills around the Bluegrass, the upper Ohio valley, and further afield, in order to provide a better comparative context for interpretations of the vegetation within the Bluegrass region, and for diverse semantic interests. This material is being used to develop an appendix or chapter for “The Land of Cane of Clover” (my notes originally presented in 1985)—a set of materials for planning conservation and restoration, associated teaching and other academic purposes. This work will evolve into a website and eventually a text-book for woodland ecology in the Central Ohio Valley. I am circulating this provisional draft to other interested people, who are welcome to join forces in this endeavor and combine information. There are undoubtedly many sources that I have missed, and I will be very grateful to get any further leads.

“For the tru history of Cantuckey, this Editor has faithfully shewed the original words, including those inbued with verry Butyfull spelings;—but, confessedly, he has practised changes to the stinted Writ of some lowry travellers, or to the loft varyfied Efulgence imbossomed in Prose with more Pretention, for to make an eequal Style.”

Capital letters are generally avoided in cases where they are against modern conventions. Where sentences are disjointed or lack punctuation, a few additional commas, semicolons or long dashes (—) are sometimes inserted for clarification. Some paragraph breaks are inserted or combined. Square brackets are used by this editor to insert clarification of spelling or meaning, and to suggest missing words or illegible words; in some cases, he has copied previous editors in such insertions. Italics in brackets are used to indicate latin binomial names for plants, as interpreted by this editor. Also, longer interpretative notes are appended to some of the quotes.

Sources are listed chronologically, based on the date when the original observations were first written down. There have been many revisions and reprintings of various sources, so the bibliography gets complicated. The primary phase of this work is focused on original eye-witness accounts from 1750-1805, plus reminiscences from those times that were written down as late as 1840-1860 or assembled by descendants as late as ca. 1900. Subsequent phases focus on observations of the changed landscape from 1805 until 1860, and then the more academic, scientific or historical interpretations after that. Based on this material, revised texts from my 1985-1990 writings will be developed during 2010-20, in order to draw what conclusions we can about the original vegetation. This is a work in progress, with many loose ends.

Other material appended to “The Land of Cane and Clover” will provide a completely different set of historical observations from the same period: collecting, summarizing and analyzing data from the witness-trees in early surveys of the region, especially those associated with land grants from Virginia and the earliest records in each county of Kentucky. These data will allow a full quantitative analysis, though still subject to potential biases that will be addressed. Further material will also deal with floristic records and modern remnants of native vegetation, together with an analysis of current ecological gradients and experimental observations. It may also be possible, with partners, to undertake a more intensive geographic analysis of historical data about activities of larger game animals and human beings, during the contacts with Virginian settlement. Also, some new review of selected old place names may be useful. Together, these studies will lead to a considerable improvement in our understanding of the structure and function of native woodland in this region.

Kentucky's First Fort Boonesborough, Ky. Erected in 1775 by Daniel Boone.



Postcard from about 1890-1900 [http://kdl.kyvl.org/catalog/xt7x696zwx82_1_833]

Part One: Eye-witness Accounts Written during 1750-1805

John Peter Salley. 1741-45. A Brief Account of the Travels of John Peter Salley, a German Who Lives in the County of Augusta in Virginia. Printed in: Harrison, F. 1922. The Virginians on the Ohio and the Mississippi in 1742. The Louisiana Historical Quarterly 5: 316-332. This was also an Appendix (p. 253-260) in Darlington (1893), referenced below under Gist (1751). The original journal was based on travels during 1741 to 1745. It was transcribed by Joshua Fry and appended in 1751 to his “An Account of the Bounds of the Colony of Virginia & of its back settlements, & of the lands towards the Mountains & Lakes”, which was transmitted with the MS. map to the British Lords of Trade by President Lewis Burwell, then acting lieutenant governor of Virginia. Fry’s full report is housed at the Public Record Office in London, England; no other original copies of Salley’s journal are known.

p. 325-326 [in Harrison]: during April-June, 1742. “From the mouth of Coal River [into Kanawha River], to the River Alleghany [Ohio River] we [Salley and John Howard] computed to be ninety two miles, and on the sixth day of May we came to Allegany which we supposed to be three Quarters of a mile [wide], and from here to the great Falls on this River is reckoned four hundred and forty Miles, there being a large Spacious open Country on each side of the River, and is well watered abounding with plenty of Fountains, small streams and large Rivers; and is very high and fertile soil. At this Time we found the Clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] to be as high as the middle of a man's leg. In general all the Woods over the Land is Ridgey, but plain, well timbered and hath plenty of all kind of Wood, that grows in common with us in this Colony (excepting pine).” [This was the first description of the future Bluegrass region, albeit quite brief; it is remarkable that the only species mentioned was the clover!]

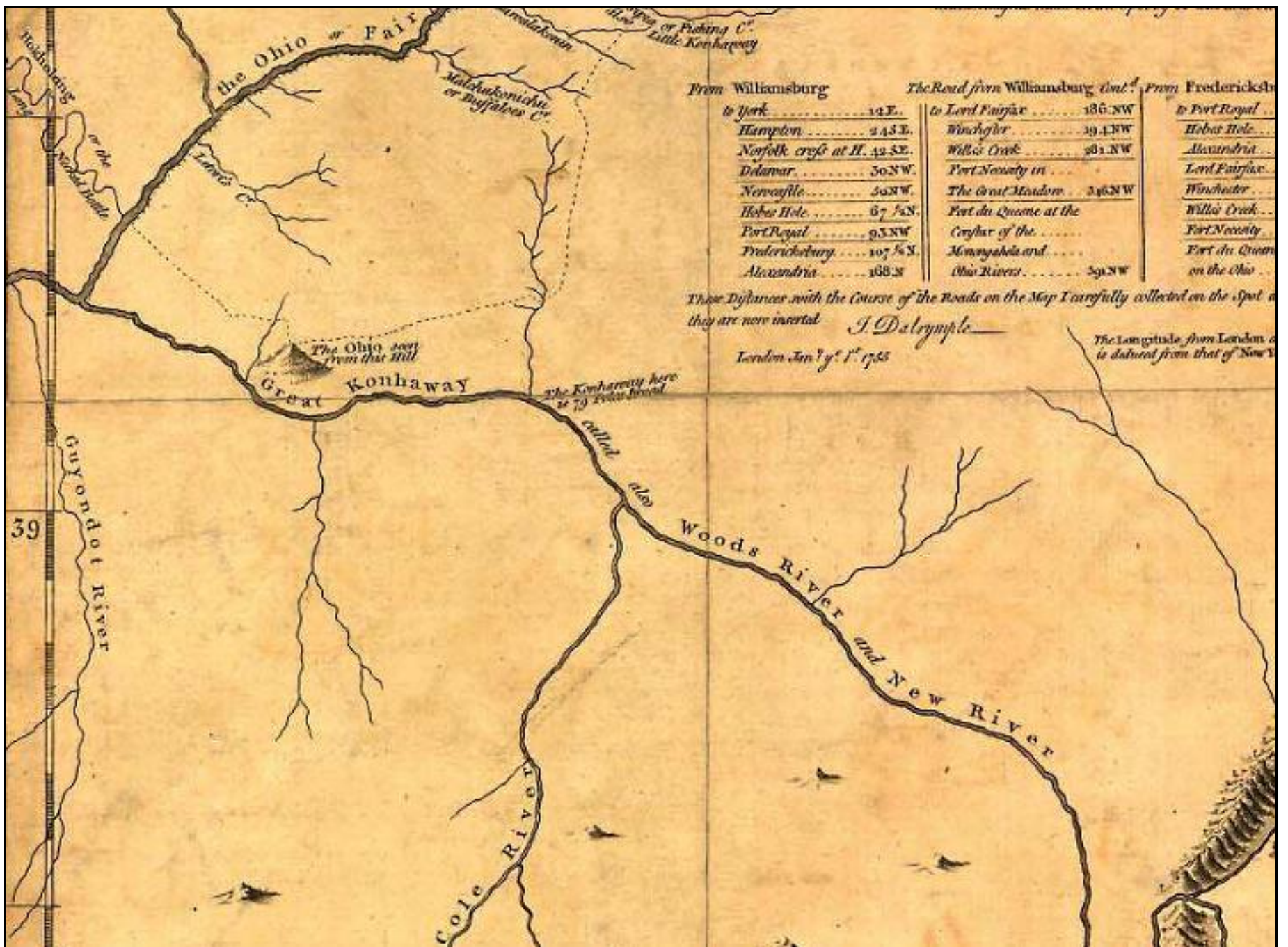
“The Falls mentioned above are three miles long in which is a small Island, the body of the Stream running on the North side, through which is no passing by reason of great Rocks and large Whirlpools, by which we went down on the south side of said Island without much Danger or Difficulty and in time of a Fresh in the River, men may pass either up or down, they being active or careful.” [This was the first description of the Falls, apart from LaSalle’s notes.]

“About twenty Miles below the Falls the Land appeared to be somewhat Hilly the Ridges being higher, and continued so for the Space of fifty Miles down the River, but neither Rocky nor Stony, but a rich Soil as is above mentioned. Joyning this high Land be low is a very level flat Country on both sides of the River, and is so for an Hundred and fifty Miles, abounding with all the advantages mentioned above, and a much richer Soil; We then met with a kind of Ridge that seemed to Extend across the Country as far as we could view and bore North and South, (as mentioned before), but not having such plenty of running Streams, yet a richer Soil. On the seventh day of June we entered into the River Mississippi, which we computed to be five miles wide, and yet in some places it is not above One mile over, having in most places very high Banks, and in other places it overflows.” [This was the first description of the lower Ohio Rv.]

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Next two pages. Sections from: Joshua Fry & Peter Jefferson 1751. A Map of the most Inhabited Part of Virginia containing the whole Province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina. Printed by the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Note: Salley & Howard went down “Wood River” [New River] past the mouth of “Cole River” [Coal River] to join the “Alleghany River” [Ohio River]. About 15 miles SE from the confluence is marked: “The Ohio seen from this hill” [on Steele Ridge 2 miles NE of Midway].



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Dr. Thomas Walker. 1749-50. Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker. Transcribed in J. Stoddard Johnston (ed). 1898. First Explorations of Kentucky. Filson Club Publication No. 13. J.P. Morton & Co., Louisville. Although Walker did not get into the Bluegrass region, some of his notes have botanical interest, especially with regard to common names and ecological contexts. In addition to his frequent notes about buffalo trails, not repeated here, he made a few comments indicating elk (see 2nd and 4th of June).

p. 46: 2 Apr 1750, near Holston River, Virginia. “We left Holston and travelled through Small Hills till about Noon, when one of our horses being choaked by eating Reeds [*Arundinaria gigantea*] too greedily, we stopped having traveled 7 miles.”

p. 46: 5 Apr 1750, near Clinch Mountain, Virginia.

“We went down Holly Creek. There is much Holly in the Low Grounds and some Laurel [*Rhododendron maximum*] and Ivy [*Kalmia latifolia*]. About three in the afternoon, the Ridge appeared less stony and we passed it, and camped on a small Branch about a mile from the top. my riding Horse choaked himself this evening and I drenched him with water to wash down the Reeds, and it answered the End.”

p. 47-48: 12 Apr 1750, on the banks of the Powell River in what is now Lee Co., Virginia; he called this river “Beargrass.”

“Small Cedar Trees [*Juniperus virginiana* or perhaps *Thuja occidentalis*] are very plenty on the flat ground nigh the River, and some Barberry trees [*Berberis canadensis*] on the East side of the River, on the Banks is some Bear-Grass.”

Interpretation. Beargrass may have been *Camassia scilloides*; see notes below under McBride (1869). Other eastern plants that have been called beargrass include *Tradescantia subaspera* (e.g., David Cozzo. 2004. “Ethnobotanical Classification System and Medical Ethnobotany of the Eastern Band of the Cherokee. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Georgia, Athens), and *Yucca flaccida* (e.g., Flora of North America Vol. 26). *Yucca* would be supported by common modern usage but it seems less reasonable, since that plant is generally native to drier woods, barrens and dunes in warmer regions.

p. 50: 14-15 Apr 1750, descending “Flat Creek” [now called Yellow Creek] to the Cumberland River and “Clover Creek” [now called Clear Creek]; this route ran in what is now Bell County near Ky. Route 516 (on east side of Rocky Face Mountain) then to the area around Wasioto at the junction of US 25 and US 119.

“April 14th. We kept down the Creek 5 miles Chiefly along the Indian Road.”

“15th. Easter Sunday. Being in bad ground for our horses we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road, to Clover Creek. Clover [perhaps *Trifolium stoloniferum*] and Hop Vines [probably *Humulus lupulus*] are plenty here.”

p. 54-55: 27 Apr 1750, near Cumberland River in what is now southeastern Whitley Co. (between the communities of Gadsdale and Loudon, including broad bottoms of Boyd Bend, Lawson Bend and Smith Bend).

“We crossed Indian Creek and went down Meadow Creek to the River. There comes in another from the Southward as big as this we are on [probably Poplar Creek]. Below the mouth of this Creek [Poplar or Meadow], and above the mouth are the remains of Several Indian Cabbins and amongst them a round Hill made by Art about 20 feet high and 60 over the Top. We went up

the River and Camped on the Bank.”

Interpretation. Johnston: “A mound, corresponding to the one here described, but reduced in size, is still in existence near the bank of the river west of Meadow Creek on the Evans farm.”

p. 60: 17 May 1750: “The woods have been burnt some years past and are now very thick, the timber almost kill’d”.

Interpretation. Perhaps (a) between Rockcastle River and South Fork Kentucky River, probably along the ancient trail that became US 421 in eastern Jackson County; or perhaps (b) around the head of Sturgeon Creek (Granny Dismal Creek) near what became Route 587 in southwest Lee County.

p. 65: 30 May 1750, on the North Fork of Red River, probably in what is now eastern Wolfe Co. (perhaps near Hazel Green). “We went to the head of the Branch we lay on 12 miles. A shower of Rain fell this day. The Woods are burnt fresh about here and are the only fresh burnt Woods we have seen these Six Weeks.”

Interpretation. These two notes (on 17 and 30 May) are the only direct references to fire in the woods of eastern or central Kentucky within the pioneer literature; see also notes below under Transylvania Company (1775) and Clinkenbeard (in Draper 1842-51).

p. 65: 2 Jun 1750, along the Licking River, probably in what is now southeast Morgan Co. (perhaps near US 460 in the area of Grassy Creek, Caney Creek, etc.).

“We went down the Branch to a River 70 yards wide, which I called Fredericks River. we kept up it a half mile to a Ford, where we crossed and proceeded up on the North Side 3 miles. It rained most of the afternoon. Elks are very Plenty on this River.”

p. 66: 4 Jun 1750, further up the Licking River, probably in what is now central Magoffin Co. (perhaps near Salyersville).

“I blazed several trees four ways on the outside of the low Grounds by a Buffaloe Road, and marked my Name on Several Beech Trees. Also I marked some by the River side just below a ‘mossing’ place with an Island in it.”

Interpretation. Johnston notes: “A mossing-place is one selected for wintering by a band of elk (*Cervus Americanus*) or other species of that genus. It is generally in a wooded valley, where they feed on the moss, lichens, and buds of the shrubs and young trees.”

Christopher Gist. 1751. Journal. Transcribed in J. Stoddard Johnston (ed). 1898. First Explorations of Kentucky. Filson Club Publication No. 13. J.P. Morton & Co., Louisville. Another transcription was in W.M. Darlington (ed.). 1893. Christopher Gist’s Journals... J.R. Weldin & Co., Pittsburgh. The latter has minor difference in punctuation and spelling, but few changes in words [except one preferred here as “sic”]. Yet another is by Lewis P. Summers, 1929, in “Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800” (Abingdon, Virginia); represented in 2000 by Donald Chestnut (at <http://donchesnut.com/genealogy/pages/gistjournal.pdf>).

p. 123: 20 Jan 1751, in southeast Ohio, along the Scioto River valley or nearby.

“All the way from Licking Creek [Salt Creek of Scioto River] to this place [Lower Shawnee Town near the Ohio River] is fine rich level land, with large meadows, clover bottoms and spacious [sic] plains covered with wild rye; the wood chiefly large walnuts and hickories, here and there mixed with poplars, cherry trees and sugar trees.”

p. 135: 17 Feb, in Ohio, between Lower Shawnee Town—the Indian settlement at mouth of Scioto River—and upper sections of the Little Miami River, about 30 miles northeast of

modern Cincinnati.

“All the way from the Shannoah Town to this place (except the first 20 miles which is broken) is fine, rich level land, well timbered with large walnut, ash, sugar trees, cherry trees, &c, it is well watered with a great number of little streams or rivulets, and full of beautiful natural meadows covered with wild rye, blue grass and clover, and abounds with turkeys, deer, elk and most sorts of game particularly buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one meadow; in short it wants nothing but cultivation to make it a most delightful country.”

Interpretation. Johnston notes: “earliest mention of bluegrass (*Poa pratensis*) in the west of which I have any knowledge...”

p. 146: 1 Mar, along Great Miami River, near “Twigtree Town” at the mouth of Laramie’s Creek, about 60 miles north of Cincinnati.

“The grass here grows to a great height in the clear fields, of which there are a great number, & the bottoms are full of white clover, wild rye, and blue grass.”

p. 146: 3 Mar, down the Little Miami River, about 30-50 miles north of Cincinnati.

“I left the path, and went to the south westward down the little Miami River or Creek, where I had fine traveling thro rich land and beautiful meadows, in which I could [sic] sometimes see forty or fifty buffaloes feeding at once—the little Miami River or Creek continued to run the middle of a fine meadow, about a mile wide very clear like an old field, and not a bush in it, I could see the buffaloes in it above two miles off.”

p. 147: 4 Mar, southeast from Little Miami River towards the mouth of Scioto River.

“This day I heard several guns, but was afraid to examine who fired them, lest they might be

some of the French Indians, so I travelled thro the woods about 30 M[iles]; just at night I killed a fine barren cow-buffaloe and took out her tongue and a little of her best meat: the land still level rich and well timbered with oak, walnut, ash, locust, and sugar trees.

p. 150-151: 18 Mar, probably near Pilot Knob, in northern Powell Co., or some other knobs between “Salt Lick Creek” [Licking River] and “Cuttaway River” [Kentucky River].

“After I had determined not to go to the Falls We turned from Salt Lick Creek to a Ridge of Mountains that made towards the Cuttaway River, and from the Top of that Mountains we saw a fine level Country S W as far as Our Eyes coud behold and it was a very clear day; We then went down the mountain and set out S 20 W about 5 M[iles], thro rich level land covered with small walnut, sugar trees, red-buds &c.”

p. 152-153: 19 Mar, from the Pilot Knob area to the Red River valley, probably near what became Stanton in central Powell Co.

“We set out S and crossed several creeks running to the S W, at about 12 M[iles], came to the little Cuttaway River [perhaps the Red River]: we were obliged to go up it about 1 M to an island, which was the shoalest [shallowest] place we could find to cross at, we then continued our course in all about 30 M through level rich land except about 2 M which was broken and indifferent.”

Major William Trent. 1753 [and later]. Letters. [To be investigated further; deserving a search for letters to Trent from Croghan (see below); see also references in Booth (1994) on Tuscarawas Valley in northeast Ohio, with details in next item.]

As well as supposed letters from “Mr. Croghan” to Trent, Trent’s letter of 10 Apr 1753 to Governor Hamilton at Detroit is quoted by Beckner (1927; see below).

“I have received a letter just now from Mr. Croghan, wherein he acquaints me that fifty-odd Ottawas, Conewagos, one Dutchman, and one of the Six Nations, who was their captain, met with some of our people at a place called Kentucky, on this side [of] Allegheny River [Ohio River], about one hundred and fifty miles from the Lower Shawnee Town [at mouth of Scioto River]. They took eight prisoners, five belonging to Mr. Croghan and me, the others to Lowry; they took three or four hundred pounds worth of [fur] goods from us; one of them made his escape after he had been a prisoner three days. Three of John Findley’s men are killed by the little Pict Town [Eskippakithiki], and no account of himself...”

Interpretation. See Beckner (1932) below regarding origin of the name “Kentucky” for this place.

Charles Stuart. 1755-57. The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755-57. Printed in: B.W. Bond (ed). 1926. The Mississippi Valley Historical Review. 13: 58-81. An extract was also printed in: R.H. Booth. 1994. The Tuscarawas Valley in Indian Days, 1750-1757. Gomer House Press, Cambridge, Ohio. This account comes from well outside the Bluegrass region, in landscape with some glacial influence. It is referred to here since it includes remarkable notes on open land in eastern Ohio, showing what was possible along western Appalachian valleys after millenia of use by humans and large animals. The “Muskingum” River in this account generally refers to the upper section now known as the Tuscarawas River. The modern road in this valley is US 36.

p. 69: about 18 Nov 1755, along Tuscarawas River between Newcomerstown and Coshocton.

“We continued travelling near the river for about 10 miles through land covered with the ground oaks of barrens [perhaps some *Quercus marilandica* and *Q. stellata*], but yet the soil seemed pretty good—the said barrens seemed about 1½ miles broad at the broadest part and ended at the house where an English trader had formerly lived...”

p. 69-70: about 19 Nov, travelling along Mohican River between Coshocton and Walhonding.

“After we had left the Traders House on Muskingum where I parted with my son, we travelled about 5 or 6 miles through hasel bushes and small plumb bushes or shrubs, to the edge of a long savannah—we travelled along the edge of it about 12 miles, leaving it on our left hand, afterwards we went slanting across it where it was about 4 miles broad; we still continued up the savannah about 7 miles, leaving it on the right hand till we came to a great Buffaloe Lick where we met a Wondot Indian who had killed a buffaloe there the day before... From what I saw of the savannah, and what informations the Indians gave about it, I judged it to be about 50 miles in length and in general about 4 or 5 miles in breadth—In this savannah there are some small islands or riseing grounds, though not many & perhaps not above one in 5 miles; these islands contain from about 3 acres to about 5 or 6 acres of land and are generally well timbered with red & white oak &c., and appeared very rich ground and were chiefly covered over with pidgeon dung, and a great many large limbs of trees had been broken down by the great quantitys of pidgeons that roosted on them—The greatest part by far of the savannah land appeared very fit for Indian Corn or Hemp and required no other clearing than burning the grass and weeds—the other parts of said savannah had hassocks in it but did not appear wet and swampy.”

Lewis Evans. 1755 [reprinted in 1766 & 1776]. General Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America. Engraved by James Turner, Philadelphia. Other editions include:

Lewis Evans and Thomas Pownall. 1776. Map of the Middle British Colonies in North America, with Pownall's 1776 Addition. Printed by Act of Parliament for J. Almon, London, England. Reproduced [at least 1766 version] in: L.A. Brown. 1958. Early Maps of the Ohio Valley [check details]. The 1776 revision added several features. It overlaid, confusingly, an alternative course for the Ohio River (marked with double "pecked" lines) from Big Bone Lick, curving south into the central Bluegrass, where it touches a stream labeled "Little Salt Lick" [now in Lewis Co.], then curving northeast and east to join the previously mapped Ohio near the mouth of the Great Kanawha River.

A. Trails: the basic 1755 map shows the following trails.

- (1) A "War Path" running from the Big Bone Lick ("Elephant Bones found here"), across "A Chain of Small Broken Hills", through the central Bluegrass, to between "Eskipakithiki" and "Warrior's Branch" of Kentucky River, then joining with the following north-south trail.
- (2) A north-south route from the mouth of the Scioto River ("Lo. Shawane T.") to "An Important Pass" through the "Ouasioto Mountains." This north-south route is labeled: "The common path to the Cuttawa Country."
- (3) The map also shows an unlabeled trail from the Falls of the Ohio, to Big Bone Lick ("Elephant Bones"), then more or less east to Lower Blue Licks ("G. Buffalo Lick"), then to the mouth of the Scioto River ("Lo. Shawane T.").

Interpretation.

- (1) The "War Path" from Big Bone Lick to the "common path" was perhaps distinct from other early mappings of trails from north-northwest to southeast, into or out of the central Bluegrass (Filson 1784, Barker 1795); see also discussion under Myer (1925). Ky. Route 1292 connects

Big Bone Lick with US 25 (at Walton in southeast Boone Co.), and US 25 forms a largely ridge road to the south. In the central Bluegrass, from the Georgetown area, direct routes to Eskipakkithiki and beyond would perhaps have run close to modern Ky. Routes 1962 (Lemons Mill Road) or 1973 (Ironworks Pike); see discussion under Myer (1925). The “Warrior’s Branch” of Kentucky River appears to be the main stem of the river, upstream of the unnamed southern fork that is probably Dix River.

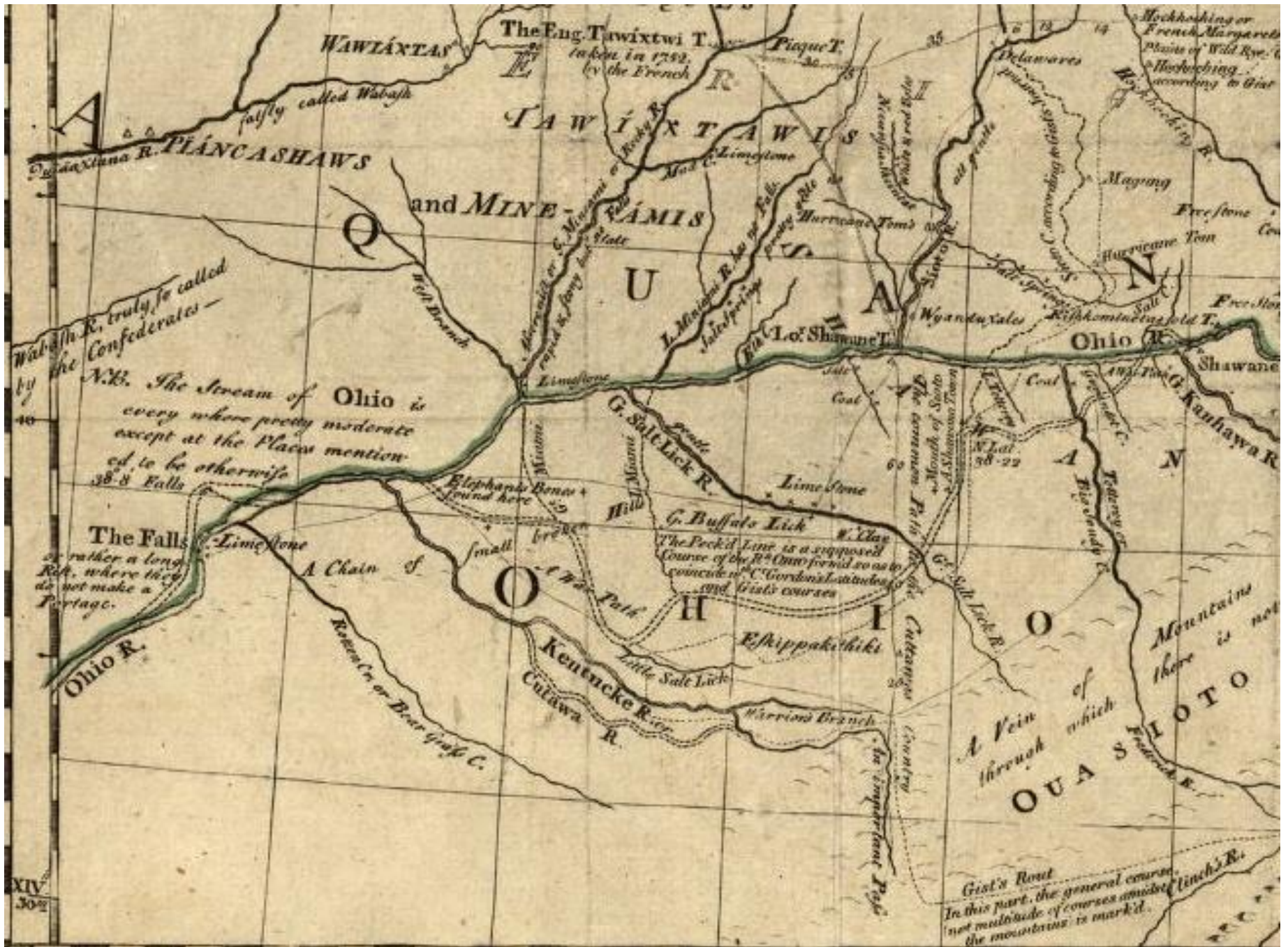
(2) The T-junction between the “War Path” from Big Bone Lick and the “common path to the Cuttawa Country” is located near the mouth of a southern tributary that could be Station Camp Creek, along which the “common path” runs. Note that Filson’s (1784) also shows the “Warrior’s Pass” running up Station Camp Creek then across hills to “Flat Lick” where it joined with the main Wilderness Road from Cumberland Gap. This “common path” has little continuity in the modern road system. Roads that more or less connect Station Camp to Flat Lick could be Ky. Route 1209, then Ky. 587, then US 421, then Ky. 578, Ky. 3435, Ky. 687, Ky. 1803, Ky. 1304.

(3) Trails from the Falls to Big Bone Lick, then Lower Blue Licks, then Lower Shawnee Town are not emphasized in other early maps, and have rather little continuity in modern roads. Filson (1784) marks only “General Clark’s War Road”, from “Drenon’s Lick” to the “Salt Springs” at Big Bone Creek then to the mouth of Licking River. Modern roads that may run close to the Falls-Drennon’s Lick trail are Ky. Routes 146 then 202.

B. Other features.

The 1755 edition shows an exaggerated “Rotten Cr. or Bear Grass C.” for what is now called Beargrass Creek, just above the Falls of the Ohio River. See below under Rothert (1927).

Next Page: southwest portion of Evans' (1755) map. Caption along alternative course of the Ohio River states: "The Peck'd Line is a supposed Course of the Rr. Ohio form'd so as to coincide wth. Cl. Gordon's Latitudes and Gist's courses." Under "OHIO" is noted: (above) "Hochhoching or French Margarets. Plains of Wild Rye"; then (below) "Hochoching according to Gist".



Colonel George Croghan. 1765. Journal. First printed in the Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science, December 1831. G.W. Featherstonhaugh, Philadelphia.

This was also included in M. Butler. 1834. A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. J.A. James, Cincinnati [?]. Also included in R.G. Thwaites (ed.). 1904. Early Western Travels 1748-1846. Vol. 1. Arthur C. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio. The following pages refer to Thwaites (1904).

p. 133: 31 May 1765 at what is now called Big Bone Lick, now Boone County.

“Early in the morning we went to the great Lick, where those bones are only found, about four miles from the river, on the south-east side. In our way we passed through a fine timbered clear wood; we came into a large road which the Buffaloes have beaten, spacious enough for two waggons to go abreast, and leading straight into the Lick.”

p. 137: 6 Jun at the mouth of the Wabash River on the Ohio.

“The mouth of this river is about two hundred yards wide, and in its course runs through one of the finest countries in the world, the lands being exceedingly rich, and well watered; here hemp might be raised in immense quantities. All the bottoms, and almost the whole country abounds with great plenty of the white and red mulberry tree. These trees are to be found in great plenty in all places between the mouth of the Scioto and the Ouabache; the soil of the latter affords this tree in plenty as far as Ouicatoon, and some few on the Miame River.”

p. 141: 18-19 Jun along the Wabash River in western Indiana.

“We traveled through a prodigious large meadow, called the Pyankeshaw’s Hunting Ground:

here is no wood to be seen, and the country appears like an ocean: the ground is exceedingly rich, and partly overgrown with wild hemp; the land, well watered, and full of buffalo, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild game.”

p. 142: 23 Jun along the Wabash River in western Indiana.

“On the south side of the Ouabache runs a big bank, in which are several coal mines, and behind this bank, is a very large meadow, clear for several miles. It is surprising what false information we have had respecting this country: some mention these spacious and beautiful meadows as large and barren savannahs. I apprehend it has been the artifice of the French to keep us ignorant of the country. These meadows bear fine wild grass, and wild hemp ten or twelve feet high, which if properly manufactured, would prove as good, and answer all the purposes of the hemp we cultivate.”

Interpretation. Croghan mentions “wild hemp” in “meadows” at several other places in the Wabash area: including “a prodigious rich bottom, overgrown with reeds and wild hemp” (June 12th). The “wild grass” could have been big-bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*). The “reed” could have been reed-grass (*Phalaris arundinacea*)—or possibly cane towards the south (*Arundinaria gigantea*). The “wild hemp” could well have been the giant ragweed (*Ambrosia trifida*)—or perhaps the tall nettle (*Urtica gracilis*). Both species were used for fibre on the frontier, but the name “wild hemp” was used for *A. trifida* in several early botanical accounts from the Ohio Valley, from C.S. Rafinesque in 1830 (Medical Botany 2: 190. Atkinson & Alexander, Philadelphia.) to N.L. Britton and A. Brown in 1898 (Illustrated Flora of the Northern United States, Canada and the British Possessions. Scribners, New York).



“Daniel Boone looks out upon Kentucky and a great herd of buffalo” [from Z.F. Smith’s 1895 History of Kentucky; see also Belue (1996)]. This narrative is dated to about 1769 and the implied location is probably at Pilot Knob in Powell County.

Captain Harry Gordon. 1766. Journal. Printed in N.D. Mereness (ed.). 1916. Travels in the American Colonies. MacMillan, New York.

p. 466: 8 Jul 1766 at what is now called Big Bone Lick.

“We encamped opposite the great Lick, and next day I went with a party of Indians and batteau-men to view this much talked of place. The beaten roads from all quarters to it easily conducted us. They resemble those to an inland village where cattle go to and fro from a large common. The pasturage near it seems to be of the finest kind, mixed with grass and herbage, and well watered. On our arrival at the lick, which is 5 miles distance south of the river, we discovered laying about many large bones, some of which [were] the exact patterns of elephants tusks, and others of different parts of a large animal. The extent of the muddy part of the lick is 3/4 of an acre. This mud being of a salt quality is greedily lick’d by buffaloe, elk, and deer, who come from distant parts, in great numbers for this purpose. We picked up several of the bones, some out of the mud, others off the firm ground...”

George Washington. 1770. Journal. Quoted in: H. Cleland. 1955. George Washington in the Ohio Valley. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pennsylvania. As referred to by Belue (1996, p. 99, footnote 8).

p. 261: 2 Nov 1770: in the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia, George Washington and his men “went a hunting: killed 5 buffaloes and wounded some others”...

David McClure. 1772. Journal. Printed in: F.B. Dexter (ed). 1899. Diary of David McClure. The Knickerbocker Press, New York. An extract is included in Booth (1994; see

above under Charles Stuart, 1755). This account comes from Appalachian regions to the northeast, but it is included here because of its relevance to fire and maintenance of open land in the whole Ohio Valley; there are no accounts of such burning from the Bluegrass region itself.

p. 46-103 [to detail]: 17 Sep 1772, traveling between Pittsburgh (on the Ohio River) to Newcomerstown (on the upper Muskingum River), partly along smaller valleys inbetween (along what became US 22, US 250 and US 36); general comments on woods are as follows “The woods were clear from underbrush, & the oaks & black walnut & other timber do not grow very compact, & there is scarcely anything to incommode a traveler in riding, almost in any direction, in the woods of the Ohio. The Indians have been in the practice of burning over the ground, that they may have the advantage of seeing game at a distance among the trees. We saw this day several deer & flocks of turkies.”

19 Sep, apparently with more summary of the whole trip.

“Our path had led us along the north bank of the pleasant river Ohio, almost the whole way from Pittsburgh, & frequently within sight of the river. The soil is luxuriant, the growth principally white & black oak, chesnut, black walnut, hickory &c. The sweetest red plums grow in great abundance in this country, & were then in great perfection. Grapes grow spontaneous here & wind around the trees.”

Fincastle Survey Book. 1773-74. [Earliest surveys in Kentucky, as recorded for “Fincastle County” of Virginia.] Virginia Court House, Washington County, Virginia. Official copies are filed with the Land Office of Kentucky; see also bound photocopies at the Museum of

Kentucky History, Frankfort. Only a few selected quotations are provided here; complete analysis will eventually be undertaken in a separate project.

p. 167 [in original book; see also printing in *Filson Quarterly*, Jan 1973, p. 17]: 1773 survey of 2000 acres for John Connolly above the Falls of the Ohio River; thanks to Neal Hammon (pers. comm.) for this reference, who notes that six years later this land was escheated by Virginia and used to form the newly chartered town of Louisville.

“...on the south side of the Ohio River opposite to the Falls, Beginning at a Box Elder & Hickory on the River Bank & runnith thence down the River S 83 W 35 poles to the mouth of Bear Grass Creek...”

p. 58 [in *Filson Quarterly*]: survey of John Floyd, 7 Jun 1774 [to check details; thanks for Neal Hammon for reference]. Two 1000 acre tracts on Middle or Sinking fork of Beargrass Creek with one corner “on a hillside near the creek by a Buffalo Ford.”

James and Robert McAfee. 1773. Journals. Printed in Neander M. Woods. 1905. The Woods-McAfee Memorial. Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, Louisville.

See also R.B. McAfee (1845) below; further checking into versions of the originals is needed.

p. 433-437 [in 1905 printing]: extracted here are their notes related to vegetation as they traveled down the Ohio River, up the Kentucky River to Drennon’s Lick, then south to the Harrodsburg area, then southeast to the Richmond area.

5 Jul 1773, at Big Bone Lick in what became Boone Co.

Robert: “The lick is about 200 yard long & as wide, & the water & mud are of a sulphur smell. There are several other licks on the same creek, & the same taste & smell; & there is very fine land on the same creek which was surveyed that day.”

8 Jul, from the Ohio River to 18 miles up the Kentucky River.

Robert: “The lands seemed to be full of beech...”

9 Jul, at Drennon’s Lick in what became Henry Co.

Robert: “The Lick is about one mile in length & one hundred yards in breadth, & the roads that came to that lick no man would believe till he saw the place; & the woods round that place are trod for many miles that there is not as much food as would feed one sheep...”

James: “We travelled round the Lick, 10 or 12 miles upland, very good, mostly oak timber.”

9-14 Jul.

James: “We travelled about six miles up the river above the Lick; there are some high ridges on the river all rich and well timbered, in other places a little off the fine upland well timbered with oak & hickory,”

15 Jul, heading further south, probably on or near what became Ky. Route 389 in southeast Henry Co., then US 421 in northwest Franklin Co. to the river-crossing at Leestown.

James [?]: “[took] a small buffaloe path about the size of the road leading out of Williamsburgh (the Capitol of Va).”

Robert: “...took a small buffalo path which was about 50 and a hundred yards wide in common about 30 miles across low flat ridges, middling good land & timber, but no water.”

16 Jul, in the area near what became Frankfort, in central Franklin Co., probably crossing the river near what became Leestown and finding “meadow” on bottomland further south near the river (perhaps Trumbo Bottom on Vaughn Branch just south of Frankfort).

James: “...we crossed the Cantucky river to the east side along the path; five miles in a piece of black oak timber land; we stopped and surveyed one track of land for Robert McAfee containing 600 acres about 100 of that meadow land.”

Robert: “The land on the river seemed to be very full of beech; & from that bend I made two surveys near joining to the river, with about 50 acres meadow now ready made, & there can be made 50 more with a little trouble...”

17 Jul, in the area near what became Lawrenceburg, in central Anderson Co.

James: “...crossed the river at high hills and cedar banks—no bottom in that part of the river [about 3-6 air-miles south of Frankfort]. We left the river and travelled that evening across the woods 12 miles. The land well timbered—we camped that night.”

18 Jul, probably on Gilbert Creek in what became southeast Lawrence Co.

James: “We camped on a small creek about 5 miles on the west side of the river, that creek about 15 miles [presumably air-miles] above Robert McAfee’s survey at the great meadow on the river.”

20 Jul, near the Kentucky River probably between what became Tyrone (the US 62 crossing) and Oregon (then known as Harrod’s Landing)

Robert: “We looked for more land across the river, but saw none that would suit us. There is not any good land for five or six miles on either side of the river, for the river is bounded with very

high cedar hills, that it is hard to get into the river or out of it. But there seems to be a great deal of fish in the river.”

23 Jul, in headwaters of “Crooked Creek” [Salt River], in northern Mercer Co. near what became the community of McAfee.

James: “...in a brushy fork on the east side of Crooked Creek full of swamps, black oak timber and hazel bush...”

31 Jul, from the area that became Harrodsburg, in central Mercer Co., to the Dix River, probably on or near Ky. Route 152.

James: “We came about 7 miles, part of it through cane breaks, to a large creek; camped that night under a rock at the foot of a high cedar hill.”

1 Aug, from the Dix River, across Garrard Co. towards what became central Madison Co.; there is no modern road along this general course, but further south is Ky. Route 52.

James: “We left Rock Camp, travelled mostly an eastern course about 16 miles amongst broken ridges covered with cane and clover...”

Robert: “...we travelled over high ridges, full of cain, & very rich; so that we had a hard getting along.”

2 Aug, arriving in what became central Madison Co., perhaps Irvine’s Lick at the head of Tates Creek on the east side of what became Richmond.

James: “We travelled an east course about 20 miles through rich woods and mostly cane—a great many branches mostly dry—we camped at a Lick.”

Robert: “...we came from morning till about the middle of the day through high rich cane woods, across several creeks, & in the after part of the day we came to where the woods grew flatter & more fit for farming—where we lay all night at a Lick...”

3 Aug, in what became southeastern Madison Co. and northern Estill Co., along or near Ky Route 52, crossing the river at Irvine, then continuing on or near this road into the hills.

James: “We left that Lick and travelled a south east course mostly through black oak timber woods and bold [probably “bald” in original] hills, about 20 miles and crossed Cantucky river within 8 miles of pine hills and broken mountains. We left the river that [then] 8 miles amongst the pine Knobs—a great many small licks—and east of these licks near a little pine mountain 16 miles into the level woods; we camped amongst these licks; came 28 miles that day.”

Robert: “...we [saw] several creeks of good land, but the ridges were but middling; & about the middle of the day we crossed some high bold [bald] hills, & we came in sight of the mountains, about 8 miles distances where we found the river, & we came about 5 miles further to where there were a great many mud licks, where we lay all night.”

Interpretation. The references to “bald hills” probably referred to the native grassland that occurred on dolomitic foothills in transitions from the Bluegrass to the Knobs. The “mud licks” and “level woods” were probably near what became the community of Mt. Olive in central Lee Co.

Thomas Hanson. 1774. Journal, April 7-August 9. Copied in 1855 for Lyman C. Draper's manuscripts: 24CC. Printed as pages 110-133 in: R.G. Thwaites & L.P. Kellogg. 1905. Documentary History of Dunmore's War. Wisconsin Historical Society. Democrat Printing Co., Madison, Wisconsin.

p. 118 [in 1905 printing]: 3 May 1774, near the mouth of Salt Lick Creek on the Ohio River, in what became the area of Vanceburg, Lewis Co.

“We proceeded 4 miles lower to Salt Lick Creek, and made a survey of 200 acres, the bottoms narrow & beachey [with beech trees]. We had a hard frost this night, which killed almost every thing that was green.”

p. 121: 12 May, in the area of Big Bone Lick, Boone Co.

“We proceeded down to a creek 8 miles which lies within 3 miles of the big Bone Lick. There was 1000 acres surveyed for William Christian, about the Lick. The land is not so good as the other bottoms, likewise a little broken. There is a number of large teeth to [be] seen about this lick, which the people imagined to be elephants. There is one seven feet & three inches long. It is nine inches in diameter at one end and five inches at the other.”

p. 122: 16 May, in the area near the mouth of the Kentucky River, along the Ohio River.

“Mr. Floyd and Mr. [Hancock] Taylor surveyed eight miles & a quarter up the side of the Ohio, but the land is not so good as the other bottoms we passed, for it is beachy [with beech trees] & of a more sour [acid] nature.”

p. 122: 17 May, in the area around Drennon's Lick, in what became northeast Henry Co.

“Mr. Floyd and Mr. Hite & 5 men with them went 20 miles up Kentucky to a salt spring, where we saw about 300 buffaloes collected together. The bottoms were broken & beachy all the way we went up. Mr. Floyd landed several times to look at the land, but found none to please him.”

p. 122: 19 May, further away from the Lick, probably to the west.

“Went into the country for 8 or 10 miles & find it something better than at the springs; but seemed rather of a sour nature.”

p. 123: 24 May, along the Ohio River two days below the Kentucky River, probably in what became Oldham Co.

“Mr. Floyd went to the top of the hill from the River & surveyed a tract of land which is good and well timbered & watered.”

p. 126: 12 Jun, towards Bullitt’s Lick, near what became Shepherdsville, from the northeast, perhaps starting near what became Fern Creek (on US 31E), in southern Jefferson and northern Bullitt Cos.

“We packd up our alls & marched for Salt Lick near Salt River, 12 miles bearing to the south west. We passed a large body of good land well watered & well timbered.”

p. 127: 16 Jun, along the north fork of Salt River, probably in what became western or central Spencer Co.

“We travelled 25 miles, the land good for nothing.”

p. 128: 22 Jun, in the northern part of the Salt River drainage, probably in what became

southern Shelby Co.

“The land is good & well watered & timbered.”

p. 129: 1 Jul, in the area between lower Elkhorn Creek and the Kentucky River, at least 8 miles up from the mouth of Elkhorn, in what became southeast Franklin Co.

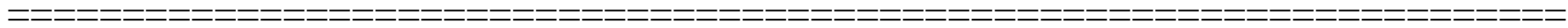
“Mr. Floyd & Nash went in search of Taylor & Co., whom they found in a short time, & who took us to their camp about 8 miles up the river at a large spring [perhaps at what became Leestown]. All the land that we passed over today is like a Paradise it is so good & beautiful.”

p. 130: describing surveys along Elkhorn Creek, in what is now western Scott Co., in the general areas of Stamping Ground, Great Crossing and Royal Spring.

7 Jul: “Our survey began on the North Branches of Elkhorn Creek, about seven or eight miles from the fork.”

8 Jul: “We continued our surveys, the lines running parallel to each other, running in length N. 20E., in breadth, S. 70E. The land is so good that I cannot give it its due praise. Its undergrowth is clover pea vine cane & nettles.—intermixed with richweed. Its timber is honey locust, black walnut, sugar tree, hickory, iron wood, hoop wood [hackberry], mulberry, ash, & elm, & some oak.”

9 Jul: “We surveyed part of the day & then Mr. Floyd & Nash went in search of a spring, which they found, & hereabouts we continued our surveying til the 18th day of the month, one plot joining another, & all of eaqual goodness, well watered. Then we returned to Floyd’s Spring [later called Royal Spring on the west side of Georgetown].”



Abraham Haptonstall. 1774. Informations of Taylor & Haptonstalls Business. Archived at Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort. Quoted in: N.O. Hammon. 1971. Historic lawsuits of the Eighteenth Century locating the Stamping Ground. The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 69: 197-215. As referred to by Belue (1996, p. 100 footnote 12).

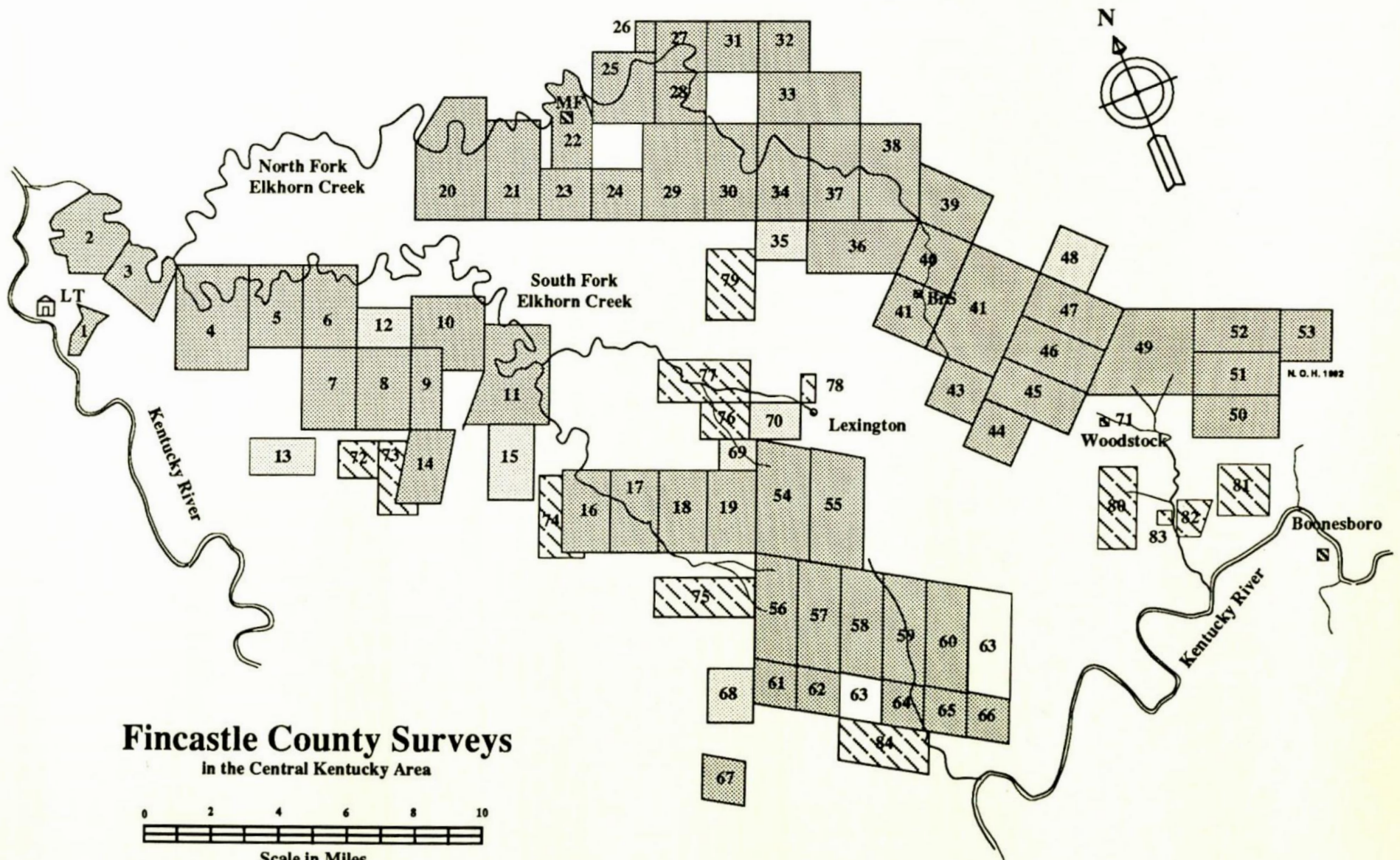
Jun 1774: “I know of a place of great resort of buffaloes on the side of a hill about two miles above Lee’s Town... It had the appearance of a stamping ground...” [near US 60 and US 460].

William Preston. 1774. [Land survey]. VA 0004 in archives of Kentucky Secretary of State: Virginia and Old Kentucky Patent Series. This was one of the first land surveys within the Inner Bluegrass region; part of this land became the Alexanders’ Woodburn Farm.

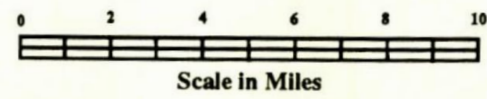
[Available at: <http://apps.sos.ky.gov/land/nonmilitary/patentseries/vaandokpatents/>]




28th Jun 1774: “Surveyed for Hugh Mercer... 2000 acres of land in Fincastle County on the Kentucky Levels on the waters of Elk Horn Creek [on] the waters of Ohio. Beginning at [A] three sugar trees corner to Charles Lewis; thence with his line S20 W6 45 Poles to [B] black Walnut Hoopwood & Buckeye Corner to Charles Lewis; N70 W4 96 [poles] to [C] two honey locusts & a hiccory; N40 E6 45 [poles] to [D] a black Walnut & Buckeye; N70 E4 96 [poles] to the Beginning.”

Next page. Land surveys in 1774 and 1775 for Fincastle County, Virginia. Copied from: Hammon, N.O. 1992. Early Kentucky Land Records 1773-1780. The Filson Club, Louisville. Line between 5, 6 and 12 versus 7, 8 and 9 runs close to Spring Station Road.
1 = Zachary Taylor; 2 = Bartholomew Dandridge; 3 = Adam Sephen; 4 = Andrew Lewis;
5 = John Lewis; 6 = Griffin Pearl; 7 = Hugh Mercer; 8 = Charles Lewis; 9 = Hancock Taylor;
10 = Gabriel Jones; 11 = Edmund Taylor; 12 = Abraham Hamptonstall.



Fincastle County Surveys
 In the Central Kentucky Area



-  1774 Military Surveys
-  1774 Miscellaneous Surveys
-  1775 Military Surveys

Nicholas Cresswell. 1774-77 [1775 in Kentucky]. Journal. Printed with foreword by Samuel Thornely. 1924 (American edition). Journal of Nicholas Cresswell. 1774-1777. Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, New York. See also 1925 English edition of same, by Jonathan Cape Ltd., London, England. This journal should be read alongside the diary of James Nourse, with whom Cresswell traveled; see quotations from Nourse below.

p. 68: 30 Apr 1775, near what became Pittsburgh.

“The land from the foot of the Laurel Mountain to Fort Pitt is rich beyond comparison. Walnut and cherry trees grow to an amazing size. I have seen several three foot diameter and 40 foot before they come to a limb. Great plenty of wild plum trees [probably *Prunus americana*] and a species of the pimento [possibly *Lindera benzoin* or *Dirca palustris*], these are small bushes. The soil in general is black and of a fat loamy nature. Coal and limestone in the same quarry.”

p. 76: 17 May: “shot first buffalo”, near the Scioto.

p. 76-87: 19 May-14 Jun, down the Ohio and up the Kentucky River then back.

19 May, down the Ohio River to the Cincinnati area, then into what became Boone Co. but probably not far from the river.

“Got to the mouth of the Great Miamme River... Stopped to cook and take a view of the land on the S.E. side of the Ohio River. It is a little hilly but rich beyond conception. Wild clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*], what they here call wild oats [perhaps *Chasmanthium latifolium*] and wild rye [*Elymus macgregorii*] in such plenty it might be mown and would turn out a good crop. The great quantity of grass makes it disagreeable walking. The land is thin of timber and little underwood.”

Interpretation. On this date, the only species of *Elymus* flowering would be *macgregorii*.

21-26 May, up the Kentucky River to the mouth of Elkhorn Creek.

21 May: “camped in a beechey bottom... the weeds as high as my head...”

22 May: “saw several Buffalo tracks and a flock of Paroquets... Camped on a hill in a beech thicket...”

23 May: “Saw several roads that crossed the River... Camped on a hill near a Buffalo Lick [probably near Drennon’s Lick]... Large beech bottoms but our scouts inform me the land is better a distance from the river.”

24 May: “Surrounded 30 buffaloes as they were crossing the River... Land in general covered with beech... Camped at a place where the buffaloes cross the river. In the night were alarmed with a plunging in the river. In a little time Mr. Johnston (who slept on board) called out for help. We ran to his assistance with our arms and to our great mortification and surprise found one of our canoes that had all our flour on board sunk, and would have been inevitably lost, had it not been fixed to the other. We immediately hauled our shattered vessel to the shore and landed our things, tho’ greatly damaged. It was done by the buffaloes crossing the river from that side where the vessel was moored. Fortunately for Mr. Johnston he slept in that canoe next to the shore. The buffaloes jumped over him into the other, and split it about fourteen foot. Mr. Nourse and Mr. Taylor’s servant usually slept on board, but had by mistake brought their blankets on shore that evening and were too lazy to go on board again or probably they would have been killed.”

25 May: “Repairing our vessel by putting in knees and calking her with the bark of the white elm pounded to a paste, which is tough and glutinous, something like bird-lime and answers the purpose very well... Some of the company shot a buffalo bull, saw several cross the river while

we were at work...”

26 May: “beechey bottoms...”

27 May-6 Jun: from the mouth of the Elkhorn to “Harwood’s Landing” north of Harrodsburg [later known as Warwick then Oregon].

27 May: “Some high rocks and cedar hills...”

28 May: “Saw a great many Buffaloes cross the River above us... Beech bottoms and cedar hills with few rivulets...”

29 May: “Proceeded a little way up the river to a great buffalo crossing, where we intend to kill some meat...” [Probably near what became US 62.]

30 May: “Mr. Johnston and I took a walk about 3 miles from the River, find the land pretty level, a blackish sandy soil. Timber chiefly Beech...”

31 May: “In the evening Mr Nourse and company returned and say the land a distance from the River, is the levelest, richest and finest they ever saw, but badly watered.”

1 Jun: “Saw a gang of Buffaloes cross the river... Rocks, cedar hills and beech bottoms...”

2 Jun: “Land good, weeds as high as a man...Shot at some Buffaloes, but killed none.”

3 Jun: “Rocks, cedar hills and beech bottoms...”

4 Jun: “Rocky and cedar hills, along the banks of the river...”

6 Jun: “Mr Nourse... gives good account of the richness of the land, but says it appears to be badly watered and light timbered.”

9-17 Jun: returning down the Kentucky and up the Ohio River; less description is provided from the overall landscape but some features are noted in greater depth.

11 Jun [check sequence]: “This morning killed a Buffalo Cow crossing the River...”
“I believe the land is good in general, through the whole track [of central Kentucky], with several salt springs as I am informed. An immense number of buffaloes frequent them... They are fond of salt or brackish water. Springs of this sort have large roads made to them, as large as most public roads in a populous place. They eat great quantities of a sort of reddish clay found near brackish springs. I have seen amazing large holes dug or rather cut by them in this sort of earth, whether it is impregnated with saline particles or not, I cannot determine...”

13 Jun: “Fell down the river to a great lick where we intend to kill some meat...”

14 Jun: “Went to the lick in the morning but found no buffaloes there, determined to go to Grinin’s Lick [Drennon’s Lick]. Fell down to Grinin’s Lick, shot at some buffaloes but killed none, tho’ I am certain we must have wounded a great number. Five of us fired at a herd of two hundred odd not more than twenty yards. This is the largest lick I ever saw. I suppose here is 50 acres of land trodden by buffaloes, but there is not a blade of grass upon it. Incredible numbers come here to the salt springs. Here is a number of salt and brackish springs in a small compass, some of them so strong of the brine that the sun forms the salt round the edge of the spring...”

16 Jun: “Killed another Buffalo on the Banks of the River.”

17 Jun: “This morning set out for Elephant Bone Lick [Big Bone Lick], which is only three miles S.E. of the river... Where the bones are found is a large muddy pond, a little more than knee deep with a salt spring in it which I suppose preserves the bones sound... Saw some buffaloes but killed none. Several Indian paintings on the trees. Got plenty of mulberries, very sweet and pleasant fruit but bad for the teeth...”

Cresswell’s later notes in the upper Ohio watershed have much interest, but mostly not dealing with vegetation except the following.

23-26 Aug: between Fort Pitt [Pittsburgh] and the Moravian towns on the Monongahela River, in western Pennsylvania [?].

25 Aug: “Here are wild plums in great abundance, about the size of our common white plums in England, some red, others white and very well flavoured. The cherries are small and black, very sweet, and grow in bunches like currents...”

26 Aug: “...we passed through the largest plum thicket I ever saw. I believe it was a mile long, nothing but plum and cherry trees. Killed a rattlesnake. Just as the sun went down we stopped to get our supper on some dewberries (a small berry something like a gooseberry)...”

Interpretation. This plum was probably *Prunus americana* but the species remains somewhat uncertain; *P. allegheniensis* occurs on drier uplands in Pennsylvania, but Cresswell was generally on lowlands; *P. munsoniana* is probably not native in Pennsylvania, but might have been spread through human activities. The cherries were probably *Prunus serotina*. See also his curious Sep. 25th notes near Fort Pitt or below: “a small grape on low vines on the gravelly beeches and islands in the river [“Allegheny River”—an early name for the Ohio]. But the most delicious grape I ever eat.”—was this *Vitis rupestris*?

James Nourse. 1775. Diary. Printed in 1925. Journey to Kentucky in 1775. The Journal of American History Vol. 14, Nos. 2-4, pages 251-364. [To check details of pages.]

p. 251-260; along the Kentucky River and elsewhere in the central Bluegrass; see also the account of Nicholas Cresswell, who traveled with Nourse.

22 May 1775: starting up the Kentucky River; “Greening Creek” is now known as Mill Creek, and the lick was generally known as Drennon’s Lick.

“Set off about 5 o’clock, rowed thro’ the rain past a pretty creek about 7 miles on the north side—another about 2 miles farther on the lower or south side—(believe Greening Creek) that comes from Greening famous buffaloe lick) then 2 mile farther up a considerable creek that looks like a fork of the river (Eagle Creek I since learned) about 20 mile up the river, landed on a high shore...”

28 May: two and a half hours in canoes along the river above Elkhorn Creek mouth.

“saw a great quantity of Buffaloes, all sizes, went on to a small island that the lowness of the water had made a bed of stones—cut down a kind of Pea Vine, blue blossoms, no smell [perhaps *Baptisia australis*]—I made a bed under my tent.”

Interpretation. River indigo (*B. australis*) is known from upstream on the river (Anderson and Mercer Cos.), but it has virtually disappeared from the watershed due to locking-and-damming. An alternative might be *Wisteria macrostachya*, but there are no confirmed native records within the Kentucky River drainage; wisterias do smell, musky in the native species; and they tend to flower earlier, in late April or early May, before the leaves are fully expanded. *Apios americana* (groundnut) also occurs rarely in the region but it has red flowers in Jul-Aug.

29 May: “got to the buffalo crossing...” [presumably the Leestown area].

30 May: along or near the Kentucky River, upstream from Leestown, then perhaps north and then east onto the uplands.

“...set off on foot... walked 3 miles and came to the River—Struck off again by the paved landing along a buffalo path, which soon led to good Buffaloes, all sizes... they have killed three, a cow a yearling and a calf... Went on to a small island... land a good bottom and high land tolerable—came to the foot of a steep hill or mountain over which the path led—steep and rocky but not so bad but a horse might now go up and is capable of being made a wagon road—it is about two miles from the river on top of the hill, the land is level and well timbered with oak [around intersections with US 60]. Afterwards it is light with timber—little oak—mostly sugar tree, walnut, ash, and buckeye (horse chestnut) but the tops of the trees mostly scraggy, the surface of the ground covered with grass along the path, which was as well trod as a market-town path [along US 421 or Ky. Route 1681 in southeast Franklin Co.]”

“About twelve mile the further we went the richer the land, better though of the same sort of timber, the ash very large and high, and large locusts of both sorts—some cherry—the growth of grass under amazing—blue grass [perhaps *Poa pratensis*], white clover [probably *Trifolium stoloniferum*], buffalo grass [perhaps *Dichanthelium clandestinum*] and seed knee and waist high: what would be called a fine swarth of Grass in cultivated meadows, and such was its appearance without end—in little dells in this [along US 421 or Ky. Route 1681 in northern Woodford Co.]. We passed several dry branches but no running water our course S.E. At about twelve miles came to a small run and soon after I discovered a pretty spring that joined its

waters—here we resolved to dine, being both hungry and thirsty [perhaps Lees Branch]. We had in our walk seen about 5 herd of buffaloes.”

Interpretation. Their route remains uncertain. From the river, it may have led from near Vaughn Branch (Trumbo Bottom) then perhaps northward up the hill [Ky. Rt. 1659?] “and came to the River”; then east [US 421?] to the ridge with what became the intersections for US 421 (Leestown Road), US 60 (Versailles Road) and Ky. Rt. 1681 (Old Frankfort Pike). Did their southeasterly course then follow: (A) what became US 421 to the Midway area; or (B) Ky. Rt. 1681 to Nugent Crossroads and Lees Branch (perhaps close to T junction with Ky. Rt. 1967). Neal Hammon (1971, Register Ky. Hist. Soc. 69: 198) favored the second interpretation (B): “The main buffalo trail was located near the old Frankfort Road... It can be assumed that the party traveled along the Buffalo Path shown in the survey later described. Edmund Taylor’s land, which they intended to view, was located on the upper reaches of the South Fork of the Elkhorn, near the Scott-Woodford-Fayette County line intersection, according to a survey in the case of Martin Hall vs. Samuel Johnson, Franklin District Court Case 56, dated 1794.” However, Filson’s (1784) suggest only the northern route (Leestown Road), not the southern (Old Frankfort Pike); Barker’s (1795) suggests only the southern; Munsell’s (1818) clearly shows both as roads.

1 Jun: upstream along the river from the Frankfort area.

“went on shore to a spring—examined the Virginia [?] Spider Wort—3 foot high—beautiful stem and leaf and fragrant smell [perhaps *Tradescantia subaspera*].”

Interpretation. *T. virginiana* only reaches 1-2 feet in height, and occurs on drier uplands rather than low areas near springs. However, the flowers of spider-worts do not have nectaries and do

not produce notable smells.

2 Jun: along the river probably near what became US 62.

“walk with Cresswell thro’ the woods about 3 miles, saw nothing, returned and eat venison steaks.”

5 Jun: from “Harwood’s Landing” [later known as Warwick then Oregon] to Harrodsburg.
“walked along 15 miles to Hardwoodstown... the land most part of the way rich—weeds as high as you head—the path but badly trod and continual logs and sticks that I fell twice...”

14 Jun: feasted on “boiled beef and buffalo, bacon and young cabbage plants, Fritters and hominy, and wheat bread.”

18 Jun: near Harrodsburg.

“Stopt about half an hour to eat mulberries—by which means got wet before we got to Harrod’s between 5 and 6 oClock, got excellent stew of buffalo and as much lettuce and young endive as could eat but no bread...”

19 Jun: from Harrodsburg to Boonesborough, via a southern circuit, probably along or near the modern Ky. Route 52 for most of the journey after Knob Lick [now near Junction City].

“rode about 15 south to the NobLick, fine level land all the way the lick an extraordinary place, 100 acres without a stick or grass, large knoll licked by the cattle to caves, appears to be trod as much as any public road...”

20 Jun: between Harrodsburg and Boonesborough, probably near Irvine's Lick in central Madison Co.

"Set off early having eat a little first, and got some mulberries and arrived at the old fort a cabbin—where 3 men were killed in March..." [See also Felix Walker's account of 1824.]

22 Jun: between Clays Ferry and what became Lexington.

"set off over Kentucke—rode thro' a fine country, but little water—saw a buffalo—camped..."

23 Jun: probably in the area of what became Lexington.

"rode through a fine land and fine timber and with running creek, considerable in wett seasons—several near dry. Col. Harrod missed a little the tract he wanted but soon recovered—saw some buffaloes, the Col. soon shot one down. I made the fire and to cooking we went—a finer country can not be conceived. Springs are the only thing that it can be said to be deficient in."

25 Jun: "Killed a fatt buffalo and bro't the best of it to Boonsburg." [check other details...]

28 Jun: following via Belue (1996, p.112)

They took a trace to Boone's Blue Lick, shoved through a canebrake, hunkering, rifles ready "to kill to barbecue on our journey. Disappointed—found no buffalo there." Near the Rockcastle they shot a wild cow, slit her udders to drink her milk, then roasted her. "Very good Barbacued the Beef..."

William Calk. 1775. Diary. Printed in: Lewis H. Kilpatrick (ed). 1921. The Journal of William Calk, Kentucky Pioneer. The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 7: 363-377. This account covers travel to the Boonesboro area.

18 Apr 1775: “Just on the Beginning of the Good land near the Blue lick they kill 2 Bofelos this Eavening...” [in Madison Co. more or less]

19 Apr: “Smart frost this morning they kill 3 Bofelos...”

20 Apr: “this morning is Clear & cool We Start Early & git Down to Caintuck to Boons foart about 12 oclock wheare we stop they Come out to meet us & welcom us in with a voley of guns...”

1 May: “monday May ye first I go out to look for my mair and Saw 4 Bofelos the Being the first Ever I Saw & I shot one of them but did not git him...”

Richard Henderson. 1775. Journal: An Expedition to Cantuckey in 1775. Printed in G.W. Ranck (ed.) 1901. Boonesborough. Filson Club Publication No. 16. John P. Morton & Co., Louisville. See also the account of Felix Walker in the 1820s.

p. 169: 9 May 1775: with notes on hunting.

“We found it very difficult at first and indeed yet, to stop the great waste in killing meat. Many men were ignorant of the woods, and not skilled in hunting... would shoot, cripple and scare the game without being able to get much... Others of wicked and wanton disposition, would kill three, four, five or ½ dozen buffaloes, and not take half a horse load from them all.”

p. 170: 14 May: describing the site at Boonesborough where meetings occurred, on the terrace near the Kentucky River, under a large elm tree with special symbolic importance.

“The [elm] tree is placed in a beautiful plain surrounded by a turf of white clover forming a green to its very stock, to which there is scarcely any to be likened. The trunk is about 4 feet through to the first branches, which are about 9 feet from the ground. From thence it regularly extends its large branches on every side, at such equal distances as to form the most beautiful tree the imagination can suggest. The diameter of the branches from the extreme end is 100 foot, and every fair day it describes a semicircle in the heavenly green around it upwards of 400 feet in circumference. At any time between the hours of 10 and 2, 100 persons may commodiously seat themselves under the branches.”

Interpretation. Based on this and other sources (or perhaps just traditions and stories), Ranck (1901) noted on p. 18: “The rich soil, thanks to generations of animals that had haunted the lick, was open, firm, and almost free from undergrowth, and except about the trampled lick and in the broad buffalo path, was adorned, early as it was, with great patches of fine white clover and thickly carpeted with a natural grass incomparable for richness and beauty, now so widely known as “Kentucky Bluegrass”.” In footnote, he adds: “The familiar tradition that blue grass was growing at Boonesborough in 1775 is fully accepted by the writer, but not the story that “it grew from seeds planted by an English woman who settled there when Boone came...” The possibility of a native bluegrass race remains controversial today.

p. 170: 2-5 Jul: near Harrodsburg.

“Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, were bogging in the woods, seeking the way. Went too near the river, and was much plagued with the hills, cane and bad ways.

p. 170: 7 Jul (Friday): from Harrodsburg to St. Asaph [later Stanford], then to Boonesborough.

“On our way, saw the Knob and Flat licks, the former of which is a great curiosity, containing

within the lick and stamp near 100 acres of land. Saturday, Sunday, Monday and part of Tuesday, on our way home [8-11 Jul]. 'Twas our intention to have hit Boone's Trace about twenty miles south-west of Boonesborough, but crossed it inadvertently, and got out of our way. We suffered in this journey a little for want of provisions. The weather very dry and the springs being scarce, water was rarely to be gotten,—Buffaloe had abandoned this range and were gone to other parts..."

p. 171: 11 Jul: "a great scarcity of meat..."

Interpretation. The seasonal patterns in bison notes need to be investigated further (see also Nathan Boone's comments); it seems likely that bison were more common in the Bluegrass during winter and spring, migrating north of the Ohio River in summer.

Transylvania Company (Squire Boone, Richard Henderson, et al.) 1775. Journal of proceedings from the meeting at Boonesborough. Printed in G.W. Ranck (ed.) 1901. Boonesborough. Filson Club Publication No. 16. John P. Morton & Co., Louisville.

The Appendix to this book includes: "JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES OR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COLONY OF TRANSYLVANIA, Begun on Tuesday the 23D of May, in the Year of Our Lord Christ 1775, and in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty, King of Great Britain. This journal includes the following material.

p. 211-212 [in Ranck]: 27 May 1775; list of accepted items recorded by Matthew Jewitt, clerk
"1. An act for establishing courts of jurisdiction and regulating the practice therein.

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

Interpretation. This record appears to have been extrapolated unreasonably by some people, beginning with Theodore Roosevelt in 1889 (The Winning of the West, Vol. I., G.P. Putnam's Sons, "The Knickerbocker Press"), Roosevelt wrote (p. 265): "Squire Boon was the author of a law "to protect the range"; for the preservation of the range or natural pasture over which the branded horses and cattle of the pioneers ranged at will, was as necessary to the welfare of the stock as the preservation of the game was to the welfare of the men. In Kentucky the range was excellent, abounding not only in fine grass, but in cane and wild peas, and the animals grazed on it throughout the year. Fires sometimes utterly destroyed immense tracts of this pasture, causing heavy loss to the settlers; and one of the first cares of pioneer legislative bodies was to guard against such accidents." But there is no evidence to support this statement of Roosevelt about fire—some political conservationists are still getting it wrong today!. He may have confused the records of burning in the "barrens" of western Kentucky with the Bluegrass region, where there is no evidence of frequent fires in the woods before, during or after settlement. Moreover, fires generally promote good pasture in native woodland that does burn; it seems Roosevelt had little understanding of the ecology of fire. Instead, the intended

protection was presumably needed against overgrazing and overhunting, which are well documented in the historical record.

Thomas Hutchins. 1778a. A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North-Carolina. Reprinted in Imlay (1797); see below. Also reprinted by F.C. Hicks (ed). 1904. Burrows Bros., Cleveland, Ohio.

These are general statements about lands in the upper Ohio River watershed, outside the Bluegrass region, but of peripheral interest to understanding of “meadows” along rivers and streams in central and lower sections of the watershed. Notes on his map of 1778 are added below under 1778b.

p. 487-488 in Imlay (1797): “Such parts of the country which lie on some of the branches of the Monongahela, and across the heads of several rivers that run into the Ohio, though in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. The timber is walnut, chestnut, ash, oak, sugar-trees, &c.; and the interval, or meadow lands, are from 250 yards to a quarter of a mile wide. The lands lying in a north-westerly direction from the great Kanhaway river to the Ohio, and also upon Le Tort’s creek, little Kanhaway river, Buffalo, Fishing, Weeling, and the two upper, and two lower, and several other very considerable creeks (or what in Europe would be called large rivers), and thence east and south-east to the river Monongahela, are in places of quality, as follows. The borders, or meadow lands, are a mile, and in some places near two miles wide; and the uplands are in common of a most fertile soil, capable of abundantly producing wheat, hemp, flax, &c. The lands which lie upon the Ohio, at the mouths of, and between the above creeks, also consist of rich intervals, and very fine farming grounds. The whole country abounds in bears, elks, buffalo, deer, turkies, &c.—an unquestionable proof of the

extraordinary goodness of its soil.”

p. 492 in Imlay (1797): “On the north-west and south-east sides of the Ohio, below the great Kanhaway river, at a little distance from it, are extensive natural meadows, or savannas. These meadows are from 20 to 50 miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interspersed as if by art in them, and which serve as shelter for the innumerable herds of buffalo, deer, &c. with which they abound.”

Interpretation. These notes seem to refer to the grasslands on lowlands that were also noted by Gist.

Hutchins also provided many notes on lower tributaries of the Ohio River and upstream along the Mississippi; some of these are of peripheral ecological and nomenclatural interest.

p. 494-496 in Imlay (1797): “Tottery [Great Sandy River] lies upon the south-eastern side of the Ohio, and is navigable with batteaux to the Ouasioto mountains [Cumberland Mountains]. It is a long river, has few branches and interlocks with Red creek, or Clinch’s river (a branch of the Cherokee [Tennessee River]), and has below the mountains, especially for 15 miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of climate between the upper and this part of the Ohio. Here the large reed or Carolina cane grows in plenty, even upon the upland, and the winter is so moderate as not to destroy it.”

“Great Salt lick-creek [Licking River] is remarkable for fine land, plenty of buffalo, salt-springs, white clay, and limestone. Small boats may go to the crossing of the war-path without any impediment. The salt-springs render the water unfit for drinking, but the plenty of fresh

springs in their vicinity make sufficient amends for this inconvenience.”

“Kentucky [River] is larger than the preceding creek; it is surrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands, and large salt-springs. Its navigation is interrupted by shoals, but passable with small boats to the gap, where the war-path goes through the Ouasioto mountains [one of the gaps in the Cumberland Mountains].”

“Scioto [River], is a large gentle river bordered with rich flats, or meadows. It overflows in the spring, and then spread about half a mile, tho’ when confined within its banks it is scarce a furlong wide...”

“Buffalo river [Green River]...”

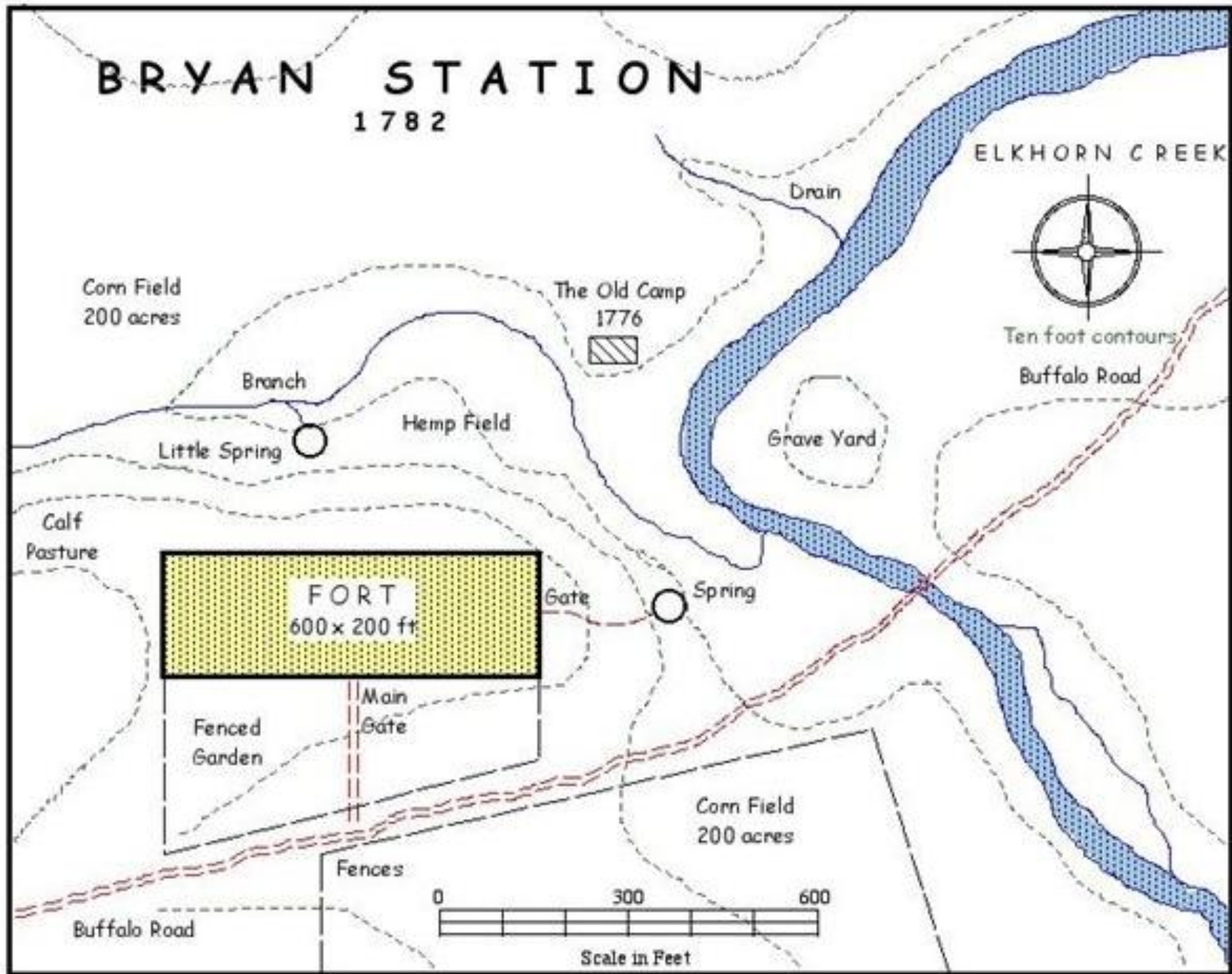
“Shawanoë river [Cumberland River]...”

“Cherokee river [Tennessee River]...”

Thomas Hutchins. 1778b. A New Map of the Western Parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina. London [government publication].

This map shows “Fine Cane Land” on the uplands between the central “Kentucke or Cuttawa River” and “Great Salt Spring River”; this is only a general location, because the map was inaccurate in several major features. The “Cane” appears to be in the central and eastern Bluegrass regions, as currently defined.

Next page: map of Bryan’s Station from Neal Hammon (2005). Daniel Boone and the Defeat at Blue Licks. Boone Society, Minneapolis. See also “Hammon Series” at Ky. Secretary of State: <http://www.sos.ky.gov/admin/land/resources/PublishingImages/BryanStation.jpg>



James Nourse, Jr. 1779-1780. Journal. Edited by Neal O. Hammon (Louisville, Kentucky). 1973. Filson Club History Quarterly 47 (3).

This brief journal was kept by James Nourse, Jr. of Berkley, Virginia when he and his brothers traveled to Kentucky in the winter of 1779 and 1780. The purpose of this trip was to acquire land in the new country, so it was no coincidence that the journey began just after the Virginia Land Commissioners began hearing the settlers' claims at the frontier stations. Four years earlier, James Nourse, Sr. had traveled to Harrodsburg and Boonesboro, and with the assistance of James Harrod, had staked out a large tract on the waters of the Licking River which he intended to secure with a military warrant. In all, he surveyed 3000 acres on this warrant plus 700 acres for "head rights."

17 Feb 1780 (Thursday). "Set off with Capt. Swearingen for Harrodsburg by way of Bryan's [31*] and Lexington stations. Strouds station lies near a due north course from Boonsburg about 10 miles, [while] Bryans [is] about N.W. from Boons [at a] distance [of] 16 m[iles.] On my journey to these two stations, [I] was obliged to avoid a very thick cane break and keep near a south course from Strouds, then [proceed] to the west till we got upon the ridge which divides the Elkhorn from the Licking Creek waters. Along this ridge where there are vast cane breaks, there has been during the winter a great resort of buffalo, as we judged from the quantities of dung, but the snows now wetted off the ground, they have now left it. The lands along this ridge is very good and in many places we came across sink holes, where I do not doubt in the least but water would be easily got at. As we came upon Elkhorn waters, [we] got upon lands which seem to me to be of the very best quality, and I believe it is The soil [is] very dark, and by the roots of the trees which were blown down, I could discover no variation. The ground

even in this season of the year [is] green with clover and wild rye; the growth [of trees consist of] black walnut, wild cherry, locust, Ash of different sorts, [and] shell bark hickory. I thought I has got into a garden spot, but found the lands continued nearly the same all the way to Bryan's. This [station] is in a very pretty situation of the Elkhorn waters. [We] found the station so full of inhabitants there was no chance of my getting in."

Notes. *Hammon's footnote 31: "Bryan's Station was located about 8 miles northeast of the center of Lexington, and at that time was one of the largest forts in Kentucky. In August, 1782, 44 riflemen defended this fort against an attack of 400 or so Indians." Hammon's (2005) map shows that Bryan Station Road (Ky. Rt. 57 tp Ky. Rt. 1970) was a "buffalo road" based on the earliest surveys. This road may have been an alternative parallel to what became US 68.

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Fayette County Court Records. 1779-80. Commisioners certificates and other materials filed with the Fayette County Court. Selected material transcribed and printed in: Samuel M. Wilson. 1923. The First Land Court of Kentucky, 1779-1780. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Kentucky State Bar Association. Reprinted in the Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort. Vol. 21, 164 pages.

These include many references to features of tracts surveyed during about 1774-1779; they should be searched more thoroughly in further work. See especially, Wilson's (1923) transcriptions, notes on place names and other matters. Some of Wilson's notes on selected place names (his p. 69-86) have special interest, and are repeated here with his numbers and parenthetic cross-references. Those included here provide some insight to vegetation, if it is presumed that these place names represented unusual features on the landscape. They do seem

to emphasize features of more open or younger woodland. Note the virtual absence of many common trees in place names of the central Bluegrass: ash, elm, hickory, oak, sugar-tree.

“13. “The Locust Thicket,” on the waters of Dick’s River. (Pp. 54 and 133.) (Property of John Dougherty.)”. Interpretation. Need more information to locate.

“16. “An Old Indian Town,” on Slate Creek, a branch of Licking. (P. 57.) (Property of James Patton.)”.

Interpretation. This may have been in the general area of the Knob Lick on Barker’s (1795) map, Indian Creek (of Licking), Prickly Ash Creek (of Slate Creek), Peasticks, Polkville and the old Bourbon Furnace. Several rare sun-loving plants have been found here, suggesting a grassy open history before settlement (Campbell et al. 1992, Morehead District Inventory for Daniel Boone National Forest). Mud Lick (Olympia Springs) is about 5 miles south of the area indicated here on Slate Creek.

“17. “An Indian Town,” on the north side of Kentucky River, between Lulbegrud Creek and Howard’s Creek. (P. 16) (Property of Cuthbert Combs.)”

Interpretation. This was Eskipakkithicki, later Indian Old Fields.

“18. “The Walnut Meadow,” on the waters of Paint Lick. (P. 60.) (Property of Joseph Davis.)”

Interpretation. See 31 below.

“29. “An Old Indian Town,” on a large Buffalo Road, near a large Mud Lick, on a branch of Licking. (Same as No. 16, supra.) (P. 81.)”

“30. “The Locust Bend (or Bent), on both sides of Silver Creek. (Pp. 85 and 312.) (Property of John Kennedy, Senior.) Interpretation. See No. 124.

“31. “An Old Indian Town House,” on the head of an Eastern branch of Paint Lick Creek, near a Sink Hole Spring. (P. 86.) (Property of John Tate.)”

Interpretation. This might have been on Walnut Meadow Branch (see 18 above), just west of Berea in Madison Co. Evidently, there were grassy walnut woods (probably with wild ryes) here before Virginian settlement. The “Old Indian Town” on Silver Creek (see No. 57) might have been a few miles away to the north, perhaps near Elk Garden Branch. “Best’s Cane Brake” (see 33 below) was apparently near here, or to the west on White Lick Creek (in southern Garrard Co.); “White Lick” was mapped by Barker (1795) on the east side of the upper forks in White Lick Creek (between Paint Lick and Cartersville). Cane remains locally abundant in this area, and there are also some records of conservative grassland plants in the adjacent dolomitic foothills of the Knobs; see also my notes on Blue Grass Army Depot.

“33. “Best’s Cane Brake,” on the head of Paint Lick Creek, near the Knobs. (P. 86.) (Property of Joseph Benning.) Interpretation. See 31 above.

“38. Poplar Ridge,” on Huston’s Fork of Licking Creek, about four miles below a Buffalo Road. (P.91.)”

Interpretation. This might have been on what is now called Houston Creek, which runs into Stoner Creek (or South Fork of Licking River) near Paris. However, it might instead refer to that section of Stoner Creek below the old buffalo road that became US 68; or another trace

near here. Tulip poplar is rare here today, but there might have been unusual stands on low outliers of the Clays Ferry Formation (Eden Shale Hills). See also records of the “remarkable beech ridge” on Garrard Siltstone southeast of Lexington (reference in Campbell 1980, etc.).

“40. “The War Road.” on Camp Creek, a branch of Kentucky River. (P. 93.)”

Interpretation. This was probably on Station Camp Creek; no other Camp Creek is known in the watershed. A well known “war road” ran up Station Camp Creek; see notes under Filson (1784), Myer (1925).

“43. “The Locust Thicket,” on the waters of Muddy Creek and Otter Creek, within one mile of the “Little Fort.” (P. 95.) (Apparently not the same as No. 13, supra.) (Property of James Estill.)”

Interpretation. This may have been on the southeast side of Richmond, where perhaps “Little Fort” was located. If this thicket was a notable feature, extending into both watersheds, it probably covered more than 100 acres.

“44. “The Sycamore Forest,” on the Trace from Boonesborough to the Lower Salt Spring, on Licking Creek. (Pp. 96, 128, 425.) (Property of Samuel Henderson.)”

Interpretation. See appended notes directly after these Fayette County entries..

“46. “The Vineyard,” on one of the South Forks of Brashears Creek, the waters of Salt River. (P. 98.) (Property of the heirs of Daniel Goodman.)”

Interpretation. This was west of Taylorsville (Spencer Co.).

“47. “The Walnut Bottom,” on Tate’s Creek, about three miles from its mouth. (P. 99.) (Property of John Peter Bondurant, heir of David Bondurant.)”

Interpretation. This would have been near Stringtown, about two miles below Buffalo Creek. Presumably the river was relatively easy to cross at Valley View, except when flooded.

“49. “The Indian Camp,” on the North Fork of Howard’s Creek, near the Crossing of Salt Spring Trace. (P. 100.)”

Interpretation. This location has been determined by Harry Enoch (pers. comm.) to be on the west side of Lower Howard’s Creek, opposite the mouth of the North Fork.. (It was not Eskippakithiki or nearby, as previously misinterpreted here.)

“58. “A Large Hickory Bottom,” on the north side of Kentucky River, about five miles from its mouth. (P. 69.) (Property of Jesse Pendergrass, heir of Garrett Pendergrass.)”

Interpretation. This is the bottom to the southeast of General Butler State Park and Indian Hills. The nearest fordable crossing on the Ohio was probably 7-8 miles upstream at Ghent (Ky.) and Vevay (Ind.). It is likely that buffalo and Indians often crossed the river here. A remarkable outlying stand of cane occurs along Indian Creek north of Vevay (on State Route 56).

“54. “The Clover Bottom,” on the Left Hand Fork of Otter Creek, about one mile from its mouth at a Lick in the Creek. (Pp. 106, 111 and 115.) (Property of John South, the younger.)”

Interpretation. Apparently, this was on East Fork of Otter Creek, between Peacock Road and East Prong (back roads labeled in current atlas). Remnants of “clover bottoms” occur on the Blue Grass Army Depot at the head of Otter Creek and other streams, about 10 miles to the south. Boonesborough is 3 miles to the north.

“56. “An Old Indian Town,” on Lulbegrud Creek, a tributary of Red River. (Pp. 109 and 134). (The same as No. 17, supra.)”

“57. “An Old Indian Town,” on the waters of Silver Creek, about two miles from the Stone Lick. (P. 113.) (Property of Samuel Brooks.)”

Interpretation. A “Stone Lick” does not appear on known maps of this area; perhaps it was the same as Paint Lick (as in the modern place name), or some other lick. Two to four miles north (?) of Paint Lick, there is a small tributary of Silver Creek curiously named Elk Garden Branch (in modern atlases).

“61. “Price’s Settlement,” on Cumberland River, on the south side. (P. 119.)”

Interpretation. See No.126.

“75. “About 3 or 4 Acres of Clear and Open Land,” about seven or eight miles northeast of the Lower Blue Licks, on Licking, on a Large Buffalo Road. (P. 142.) (Property of James Peake.)”

Interpretation. This would have been near the transition between Eden Shale Hills and the Northwestern Bluegrass, about five miles south of Mays Lick, on US 68. Further investigation of surveys is needed to search for evidence of a pre-existing opening or one made by settlers.

“78. A Large Cane Brake,” about one mile from the head of Cooper’s Run. (P. 145.)”

Interpretation. See also No. 108; this place was probably northeast of the crossroads at Centerville (US 460 and Ky. Route 353). About a mile further north is the old Thomas horse-farm that has the large blue ashes (owned by Heinline in 2010).

“80. “An Indian Ditch,” on the north side of the North Fork of Elkhorn, about six miles North of Bryan’s Station. (P. 148.) (Property of Wilson Hunt.)”

Interpretation. Check with Archaeology; was this an Adena site or more recent?

“86. “The White Oak Woods,” four or five miles northwest from the North Fork of Elkhorn Creek. (P. 168.)”

Interpretation. This was probably on the outlying Clays Ferry Formation (Eden Shale Hills) between Frankfort and Georgetown, north of US 460 and near “White Oak Road” of modern usage.

“99. “The Spice Woods,” on the north side of Elkhorn Creek, adjoining lands claimed by Ezekiel Field. (P. 195.) (Property of Lawrence Slaughter, assignee of Thomas Slaughter.)”

Interpretation. Location to be determined; presumably a more mature woodland with spicebush and probably much sugar maple.

“107. “A Large Encampment, supposed to have been made by the Indians,” on the East Fork of Licking, about three or four miles below the Upper Fork of said branch. (P. 211.) (Property of William Philip Pendleton, assignee of William McClay.)

Interpretation. More information is needed to interpret “East Fork” and “Upper Fork” or to find these surveys; perhaps in Fleming County.

“108. “A Large Cane Brake,” on the last fork of Cooper’s Run. (P. 213.) (Probably the same as No. 78, supra.)”

Interpretation. See No. 78.

“115. “An Old Indian Town,” about six miles from a large Sinking Deer Lick, on a west branch of the east side of Licking Creek. (P. 248.) (Possibly the same as No. 16 and No. 29, supra.)”

Interpretation. Need more information; perhaps on a west branch of Triplett Creek; not clearly associated with Nos. 16 and 29. The Triplett Creek watershed seems to have been relatively unexplored and unsettled at this time; Indians may still have moved freely in this section of the state.

“116. “The Linn Spring,” on the waters of Dolan’s Run, which empties into Glen’s Creek. (P. 248.) (Property of Andrew Miller.)”

Interpretation. This may have been an unusual place with lin (basswood, *Tilia*), to be researched further. Two miles northwest of Versailles, near the head of Camden Creek, there is indeed an unusual spring below a small outcrop behind the mansion of Pin Oak Farm (where Governor Louie Nunn recently lived); JC has data from here in the 1970s, including basswood trees. However, NH notes that such names could also refer to an early surveyor whose name was Linn; to be checked.

“117. “A Large Meadow,” about six or seven miles, near a southwest course, from the Falls of Ohio. (P. 248.) (Property of Benjamin Roberts, Junior.)”

Interpretation. Presumably, this was the large bottom west of US 60 & 31W, between Shively and Valley Station; much further investigation into the botanical history here is needed. Was this meadow maintained by flooding, beaver, browsing or burning or all of the above? Was it similar to the “meadows” further up the Ohio River, noted by several people (Ohio, West

Virginia and Pennsylvania)?

“124. “A Honey Locust Flat,” on a branch of Silver Creek, about 27 miles south from the Locust *Bent* (or Bend). (P. 312.) (Property of Hugh McGary, assignee of Jos. Robertson.)”
Interpretation. The “27 miles” may be a misprint; most likely this was on Silver Creek in southwest Madison Co.

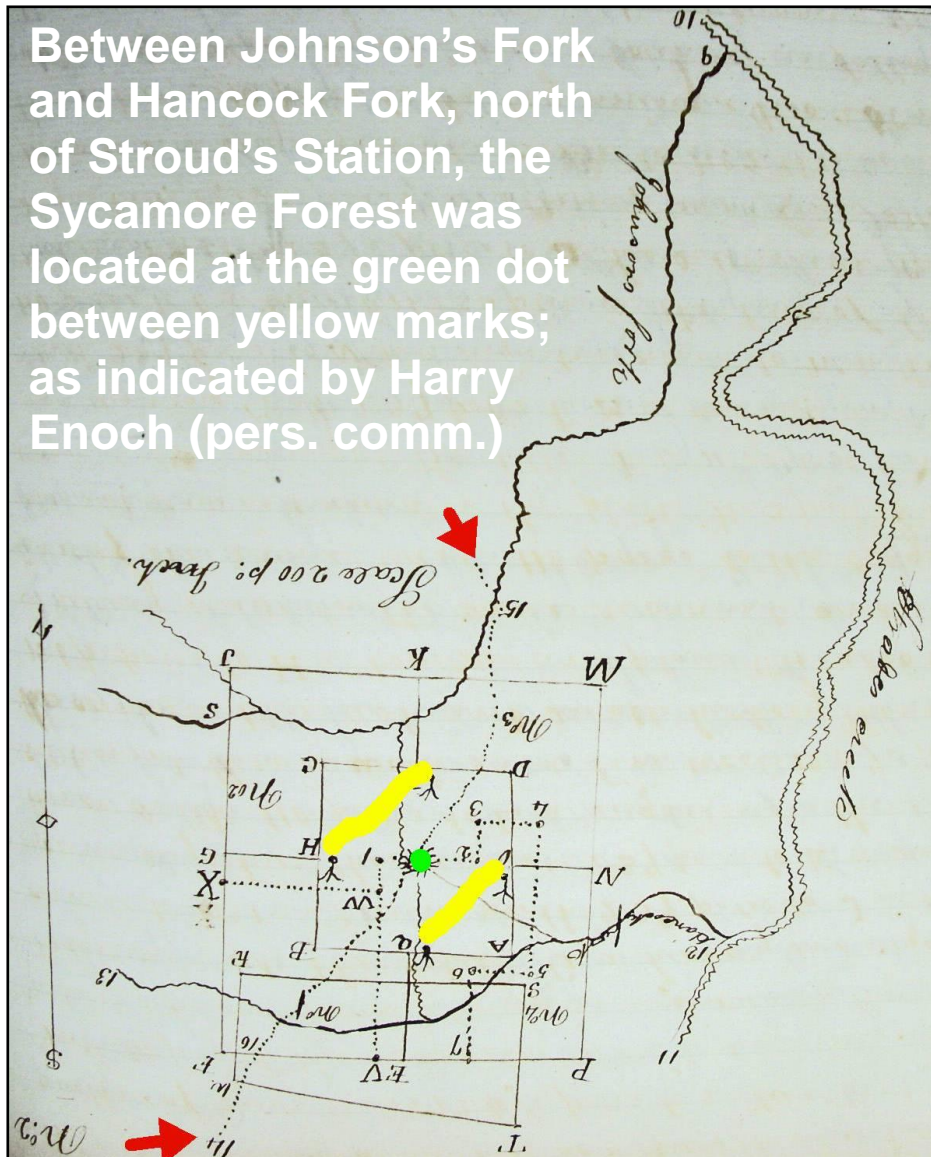
“126. “The Big Meadow,” on the south side of Cumberland River. (Pp. 320 and 321.) (“Price’s Settlement” was here. See No. 61, supra.) (Claimed by Abraham Price.)

“129. “A Large Cane Bottom.” on the south side of the Rolling Fork of Salt River, about five miles below the mouth of Pottenger’s Creek. (P. 324.) (Property of the heirs of Eli Garrard.)”
Interpretation. Pottinger’s Creek joins the river at New Haven (on US 31E). One of the largest bottoms anywhere along the river lies about 5-10 air miles northwest of New Haven. Alternatively, this bottom was the smaller one to the northeast of Lyon (on Ky. Route 52), about 2-3 air miles or 4-5 river miles from New Haven.

“139. “A Large Pond,” on the Ohio River, about four miles above a Large Rock and about 10 miles below the mouth of the Big Miami. (P. 370.)”
Interpretation. This was probably at or near the mouth of Woolper Creek; check location of “large rock” with geological features.

Further interpretation of “Sycamore Forest”; see item 44 above. Harry Enoch (pers. comm.) has kindly supplied the following notes that he has distributed from Clark County. For more details, see below under Clark County Court, 1795-1814.

“Sycamore Forest—on the ridge between Johnson Creek and Hancock Creek, near present-day Renick on Van Meter Road (KY 2888). Old depositions in Clark County state that the forest was a grove of sycamores about 200 yards wide and about half a mile long. The grove ran along the ridge top and did not extend down to the creek on either side. The Sycamore Forest was a notable place name in pioneer times, because it was on one of the most important trails in Kentucky—the Salt Spring Trace—which was in use by 1776. The Salt Spring Trace ran from Boonesborough to Lower Blue Licks, passing many landmarks along the way that are little known today. The trail went up Lower Howard Creek. According to an early resident “after passing the Indian Camp, the said Trace crossed the North fork of Howards Creek within one hundred Yards of the now dwelling house of Mr. William McMillan.” The trail then ran north until reaching the ridge between Johnson Creek and Hancock Creek (about where Van Meter Road is today). There it turned east and passed through the Sycamore Forest, before crossing Strodes Creek, near the Bourbon County line. The trail forded Strodes Creek ten more times, in what were known as the “Many Crossings.” The last crossing of Strodes was called the “Rocky Ford.” The trail crossed Stoner Creek near the mouth of Strodes, turned east and passed by Harrod’s Lick and Flat Lick, crossed Hinkston Creek above the mouth of Flat Lick Creek, then veered northeast to Lower Blue Licks. Sources: Flanders Calloway deposition, Clark County Depositions, p. 217; Kentucky Land Trials D:210 (David Williams), D:211 (Patrick Jordan), D:215 (Jesse Copher); D:220 (Oswald Townsend), D:223 (Stephen Hancock); D:285 (William Bush)”.



Between Johnson's Fork and Hancock Fork, north of Stroud's Station, the Sycamore Forest was located at the green dot between yellow marks; as indicated by Harry Enoch (pers. comm.)

Left: from Filson's (1784) map, centered on Stroud's Station, which became Winchester. The "Salt Spring Trace" noted by Harry Enoch (see above) was west of Filson's trace. Right: map from Clark County Circuit Court, 1795-1814; see details under that name and date.



○ Sycamore Forest
(approximate location)

Extract from Munsell's (1818) map, showing the route located by Harry Enoch (see above), and his approximate location of "Sycamore Forest", in an area dominated by typical upland soils.

George Rogers Clark. 1779-83. [Records to be detailed.] In: F.G. Roe. 1970. The North American Bison: a Critical Study of the Species in its Wild State. 2nd edition. University of Toronto Press, Ontario. This material was also quoted by Belue (1996, see above under Charles Stuart). During 1779-82, Clark bought the following supplies of buffalo meat:

May, 1779: 29 lb, 405 lb [Estimated 100 lb per week??]

Dec 8 – Jun 24, 1780: Sterling 5-7&2 pence for 643 lbs Buff. beef [Estimated 25 lb per week?]

Apr 20 – May 12, 1782: Sterling 12-10&4 pence for buffalo and bear [Estimated 200 lb per week?]

Oct 23 – Nov 23, 1782: Sterling 1-2&11 pence for buffalo beef [Estimated 25 lb per week??]; also 6-11&8 and 18-12&6 [Estimated together 75 lb per week for all three dates].

Mar, 1783: 300 lb Buffalo Beef [Estimated 75 lb per week??]

Colonel William Fleming. 1779-83. Journals. In N.D. Mereness (ed). 1916. Travels in the American Colonies. The MacMillan Co., New York.

p. 618-655: Journal in Kentucky from Nov. 10, 1779, to May 27th, 1780.

10 Nov 1779: from Harrodsburg to Brashear's Station [Shepherdsville]

“We kild the buffaloes... we marked [marched] about three miles over short broken hills and then fell into a buffalos path that run on a ridge dividing the waters of the Town [fork] from Chaplains fork [West Fork of Salt River]—we went through some very good upland with water but too beachy [with beech trees]. Our march this day [was] 10 miles.”

11 Nov: “set out early [and] in 4 miles fell on the Town Fork [East Fork of Salt River]—went through beach bottoms, on the river each side, kild a buffalo, crossed by the mouth of Bucheers Creek [Brashears Creek or perhaps 12 miles lower]—shot an elk a three year old 4 feet high, so poor we could not use any of it. Kild a buffalo cow very fat, but so old her horns wrinkled from the top down. Our march about 8 miles went along a buffalo path crossed the river several times—went through some rich bottoms... we came on to Bullet’s Creek 4 miles further [from Brashear’s Station] over very flat oak land—our march 16 miles...”

13 Nov: from “Flat Lick” [also known as Bullitt’s Lick] to Falls of the Ohio.
“was several flocks of Parrots flying about... on the road to the Flat Lick we went up some rising hills that had earth rich in saltpeter. Pine trees grew on the top of them—the first pine I met with in this country—we went through some fine level oak land but scarce of water met with—none but at the Fish Pool 8 miles from the Lick...”

14 Nov: at Louisville or nearby.

“the land round the town is not near so rich as about Harrodsburg and upwards, there is little cane and that small about this place...”

25-29 Nov: returning from Brashear’s Station to Harrodsburg.

“we went up the Salt River for two miles on a buffalo path... fell on a creek that emptied into Chaplains Fork of Salt River over bad beach [beech] knobs... We lost three of our company. One went after a buffalo... Our journey after we left Chaplains Fork was over steep short bush hills and short knobs and very brushy... we kild numbers of deer, buffalo, raccoons and turkeys on our way from Falls and saw bears...”

17 Dec: travelling from St. Asaphs [or Logans Fort, later named Stanford] in what became Lincoln Co. to Boonesborough.

“came up Tates Creek, the road verry bad, the cane laped over with the snow and rain and made it almost impassible—there is good land on the head of Tates Creek, got to Booneburg in the evening...”

31 Dec: from “Boonesburg” [Boonesborough in northern Madison Co.] to “Bryant’s Station” [Bryan’s Station in northeast Fayette Co.].

“...there is plenty of small cane as we came from Boonesburg and about this place [Bryant’s Station]. The cane is a long time before it runs to seed—some say 7 years after which it dies and spring[s] up from the seed—it bears grain larger than rye—the time the seed lyes in the earth is uncertain—it grows in rich moist earth, sometimes large spots of a hundred acres will run to seed at once, sometimes you will meet with stalks that seed in spots when the other stalks of a younger growth do not, the roots of cane will continue years in the earth without being destroyed if in a favourable earth neither wet nor to [too] dry.”

3 Mar 1780: from Harrodsburg to Cane Run [flows into Dix River beyond Burgin] and perhaps further [to Bowman’s Bend of the Kentucky River].

“I rode out to Col. Bowmans eight miles from Harrodsburg on Cane run... the people were mostly employed in making sugar by boiling up the juice of the sugar tree which is a species of the maple tree—there is too sorts of sugar trees cald black and white, from the colours of the bark, and it is thought the black yields the strongest water... the sugar with a little careful management may be made equal if not superior to that extracted from the cane [sugar cane, *Saccharum*, not river cane, *Arundinaria*]... I have been informed that sugar has been made from

the walnut tree in the same manner.”

7 Mar: from Bowmans [probably Bowmans Bend] to St. Asaphs [Stanford].

“Rode up to St. Asaphs from Col. Bowmans... met with a tall tree 60 or 70 feet in the body and two or three in diameter, which I did not observe before, the bark something like a cherry, the wood when cut a crimson red and cald by some mahogany—the grains of the wood resemble the mahogany some thing but vastly coarser, when dry the red colour vanishes and it appears a glistening white, the leaf I do not know but am informed it bears a pod a foot long containing beans of a flat round form in a sweet acrimonious visid juice [Footnote in MS as follows.]

Coffee tree—*Gymnocladus canadensis*.”

20 Mar: at Harrodsburg.

“Last night it was cold and froze hard, the effects of the severe winter was now sensibly felt, the earth for so long a time covered with snow and the water entirely froze, the cane almost all kiled [sic], the hogs that were in the country suffered greatly, being frozen to death, in their beds, the deer likewise not being able to get either water or food, were found dead in great numbers, tirkies dropt dead of [off] their roosts and even the buffalos died starved to death... The people every where were busied in pulling nettles which had been rotted like hemp by the frost and snow and yields a good strong bark, the nettles growing very tall and strong, when broke and spun makes a strong thread when wove makes a strong coarse cloth, but harsher [?] than hemp.”

20 Mar: presumably at Harrodsburg but describing the country in general, apparently including some rockier land or sandy terraces near the river.

“There is generally a rich soil on the top under which a greasy clay of different colours and sometimes mixed sand frequently impregnated with nitrous vitriole, sulphurous or saline particles. [Footnote in MS is included as follows.] The soil every where in this country is surprisingly shallow as appears from the trees every where blown up by the roots. The roots of each tree is matted like hazel with scarce earth enough to cover it and as they cannot penetrate in depth they spread in distance insinuating betwixt the loose rock and when overturned always bringing up flags of the rock with it. The richest soil is reckoned the black, the timber black walnut, cherry, honey locust etc. I have observed the richest soil to bear the shortest timber and to be the shallowest in the mold. I would therefore prefer a good timbered tract tho not quite so rich, to a richer tho worse timbered tract as there is a great probability of the ground being lasting [perhaps meaning ‘holding water’] not so subject to drought and where springs of their [sic, perhaps meaning ‘springs of these tracts’] being constant [end of footnote]. ...this loose layer of rock gives free passage top water betwixt the strata... for this reason too we may account for the large quantity of corn which delights in a moist soil growing so plentifully here on dry uplands as it appears to be, as well as the beach [beech], sycamore and other growth delighting in a moist soil, and for the sudden rise and fall of the water courses.”

11 Apr: at Harrodsburg.

“I observed the sugar tree in blossom... Nettles grow every where so plentifully in this country that I look upon them to be the cause of why horses seldom will stay here in the spring in the finest food they generally go off in May when the nettles have acquired sufficient strength to sting their noses and lips are so severely stung by nettles that it perfectly distracts them and forces them to range in pasture that is free of nettles.”

Interpretation. In more mesic woods, especially near streams, nettles certainly included

Laportea canadensis. The small annual *Urtica chamaedryoides* is also widespread in this region, but was it abundant? It is possible that the large perennial *Urtica gracilis* was also present.

27 May: surveying on Beargrass Creek near Louisville.

(1) “Warrant for 1000 acres on the waters of Goose, Beargrass Creeks beginning at a sugar tree, ash, elm and buckeye on the side of a hill corner to Wm Christians land, thence N. 53° E. 400 poles crossing the creek to a sugar tree, thence So. 37° E. 400 poles crossing the creek to two sugar trees on Col. Christians land, and along the same crossing the creek twice N. 37° W. 400 poles to the beginning.”

(2) “Settlement and preemption Assigt of Jas. Ross on the head waters of a smaller branch that empties into the Ohio near the upper end of the 3 Iland [perhaps Three-mile Island], thence with Griffins East line to the branches of Harrods Creek for quantity.”

“The buffalo lick in No 2 is a water lick on the So. side of the lick...” [This reference is unclear; other surveys are noted in the journal here.]

The following extract is also quoted in Belue (1996, p. 123) and H. Tapp (1941, Filson Club Historical Quarterly 15: 1-24).

16 Apr 1781: “Our dependance to support our families is upon getting wild meat and this is procured with great difficulty and danger... went to Lee’s Cabin [Ohio*]... killed and saved 54 buffaloes, 4 elk, 2 wild hogs.”... floated down to Beargrass Creek.

* Reference to Lee's Cabin at <http://www.union-county.lib.in.us/GenwebVA4mile/Page2.htm>:

“The Ohio was crossed just below the old battlefield. The town of Gallipolis grew up acrossed the River. General Lewis crossed there with his army when invading the Shawnee country and the settlers followed his route northwest. General Lewis stopped before he arrived at the Shawnee town of Chillicothe on the Scioto River. The settlers crossed the river below the town and went up the west bank of the Scioto to Paint Creek, which swung its broad valley west before it angled northward. The Zane Trace came into Chillicothe from Ft. Henry (Wheeling) via Zanesville on the Muskegon. It too followed the Paint Creek west, but in Highland County where Paint Creek swung northward, the Trace followed a valley route southward into Adams County and on to Maysville on the Ohio River in Kentucky. The Four Mile settlers and the North Carolina Quakers followed the Paint Creek, past the ancient Indian hilltop forts and the mounds, to Lee's Cabin, where they struck on north of westward. They went through Wilmington, crossed the Little Miami River at Waynesboro and the Great Miami River at Franklin just above Middletown, then through Germantown and Gratis on the Twin Creek, to Eaton and Richmond. Along this route are Quaker churches and records of Dunker churches and communities. Early Census Records give similar family names here as those of the Four Mile community. Most of this route is now Ohio State Highways: US 35 from Gallipolis to Jackson to Chillicothe. US 50 west to OH 753, to OH 771 in Highland County. It seems to follow country roads from Leesburg to Wilmington, then takes OH 73 through Waynesboro to Franklin; OH 123 to Germantown; OH 725 to Gratis and for the Four Mile settlers west to Camden and to the State Line. For the Quakers to Richmond and the Dunkers of Preble County, OH 122 goes on to Eaton and US 35 on to Richmond, IN.”

“We don't have statements why these families moved west. There are several well known reasons, some or all of them probably played their part. We know the Toney's went into the

mountains after Ginseng soon after the Revolution ended. A summer's dig of 'sang would buy a farm in settled Virginia, but families were large and land was about taken, after the rich Aristocracy and their huge grants, the remaining land was mostly filled by settlers coming up the rivers from the Piedmont, or settlers coming down the Valley, down the Carolina Road. Settlement had already begun in the west. Even the famous Daniel Boone was living on the Kanawha, having lost his Kentucky lands. The Ohio River was becoming a major highway to the Kaintuck and the Kanawha was one feeder to it. People weren't just staying in Kentucky. The armies against the Indians told of wonderful lands north, along the Scioto and Miami Rivers. Settlers were going that direction.”

p. 661-674: Journal in Kentucky from 4 Jan to 22 Apr, 1783.

8 Jan 1783: at Louisville.

“...we found the place almost deserted of inhabitants, the few left depending chiefly on the garrison, neither being provided with corn or forriage or other necessities, nor cane near the place.”

16 Jan: at Louisville.

“We rode down to the lower end of the Falls, rode into Rock Island and several others, where we picked up many petrified substances. Walnut in different degrees of petrefaction, buffalo dung turned to a perfect stone, goose dung turned to stone, some partly petrified whilst some of the same remaining in its natural state, petrified roots of trees and a petrified buffalo horn which unfortunately broke in three pieces seperating it from the rock [with further details supplied, some of these items were probably true Devonian fossils not recent deposits]... I was

informed the Oionn [pecan] or Illinois nut grows near the Falls and above Beargrass—it is a species of the hickory [or] the cotton tree [cottonwood], neither of which I saw...

17 Jan: at Louisville.

“The inhabitants tan leather with beach [beech], they likewise find sugar tree bark will answer.—Blue ash, a species of the white ash and called so from the bark tinging water of that colour, grows to be a large tree as does the prickly ash [probably *Zanthoxylum americanum*], the white ash and the cotton tree [cottonwood].—The soil after crossing Salt River alters much from what is in Lincoln and Fayette, in general being mixed with sand and of a lighter colour, and more inclined to beach [beech]...”

John Floyd. 1780. Letters. Included in Draper Manuscripts (see below under Draper, 1843-1851): 17CC, p. 120-187 [?].

p. 120 [in Draper 17CC]: written from Beargrass Creek, in what became eastern Jefferson Co. “19th Jan 1780... it is certainly an uncommon winter as the cane seems to be all dead by the hard frosts.”

Anonymous. 1780. Letter from “Harrardsburgh, January ye 30th, 1780” [sources to be checked]. Printed in *The Filson Club History Quarterly* 50: 370-371.

Describing settlement on Bear Grass Creek near Louisville at that time.

“I have made considerable purchases of land which I am induced to do from the grate value those lands must shortly be. I am now owner of 2800 acres of land on Bear Grass with in four miles of the Falls of Ohio which is as rich land can be & perfectly level on which I have several never failing springs & the most butyfull places to build on, with the gratest quantity of fine timber, the greater part of which is popular, which grow there in grate plenty & to a most innormous size. The other groath is chiefly buck eye with walnut & cherry. I think it is rich enough & I am confident will be worth more money than any lands in this countrey. (Colo. Todd offered me two acres of the best Elk Horn land for one on Bear Grass.) I have another tract on Mulbury which was my choice of all the land within 20 miles of the Falls (some fue excepted.) This contains 1400 As. levell & rich situate 8 miles from good navigation on Salt River & Twelve from near the mouth of Kentuckey.—This is extremely valuable. I have now Sir discribed you the lands—shall proceede to inform you of the prises I have given for them—Beargrass cost me 6200£ pounds 3800£ pounds to be payd next Ocr. & 1400 in Ocr. 1781.—& Mulbury I am to give a negro wench & child & a warrant for 400 acres...”

Interpretation. The Bear Grass lands may have been around the northwest end of Poplar Level Road (Ky. Route 864), which leads to Beargrass Creek State Nature Preserve and the Louisville Zoo. Mulberry Creek is in Shelby Co., on the northeast side of Shelbyville. Neal Hammon (pers. comm.) suggests that the author of this letter may have been Culbertson Bullitt, son of Col. Bullitt, or an associate of his.

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William Peyton. 1781. Surveys for Boone family transcribed in: W.R. Jillson. 1942. Squire Boone, 1744-1815. The Filson Club History Quarterly Vol. 16 (p. 159 etc.). Details will be checked in relation to general assembly and mapping of original surveys by Neal Hammon.

8 Mar 1781: witness-trees extracted from surveys on Clear Creek, about 2.5 miles northeast of Shelbyville.

(1) large white oak, buckeye and hickory—honey locust, small walnut, wht. thorn, ironwood and small hickory—two sugar-trees, mulberry and hickory—two small sugartrees and a mulberry.

(2) large white oak, buckeye and hickory—elm, ironwood, hickory and white oak—hickory, elm and ironwood—white oak and buckeye—sugartree and ash and white oak.

(3) honey locust, small walnut and white thorn, ironwood and small hickory—hoopwood and sugar tree growing from one root and two buckeye—honey locust, walnut and buckeye—hickory, elm and ironwood—elm, ironwood, hickory and white oak—large white oak, buckeye and hickory.

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Colonel Levi Todd. 1782. Letter to his brother Captain Robert Todd, August 26th. Printed in: Samuel M. Wilson. 1927. Battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1782. The Filson Club History Quarterly 2(1). The original document was not preserved but a copy was sent to the Governor of Virginia by Colonel William Christian on September 28th, 1782.

p. 44 [in Wilson 1927]: “We got sight of them forming on a ridge in a loop of the river about three quarters of a mile north of the lower Blue Lick and over Licking... The ground was equally favourable to both parties, and the timber good... Our men suffered much in the retreat, many Indians having mounted our men’s horses, having open woods to pass through to the river; and several were killed in the river.”

Interpretation. Based on this and other fragmentary sources and stories, Marshall (1812, citation below) recounted the battle’s scene as follows: “The party, therefore, pressed on toward the end of the ridge where it was covered by a forest of oak trees of middling size, and the ravines with small saplings of brush-wood; while the whole extent of the ellipsis had been stripped of all herbage by the herds of buffalo, which were in the habit of resorting to the licks. Some scattering [of] trees here and there appeared, on a pavement of rock, as rude as it was singular, throughout the whole extent of the field...”



CAPT. PATERSON'S ESCAPE FROM THE BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS.—[See page 73.]

From John A. M'Clung's (1839) "Sketches of Western Adventure: containing an account of the most interesting incidents connected with the settlement of the West, from 1755 to 1794." Published by U.P. James, Cincinnati. [Thanks to John White for this reference.] While not particularly accurate (with pines not cedars), this woodcut is unusually detailed for its time.

Nicholas Meriwether's surveyors. 1783-85. [Surveys for N.M. on Bear Grass Creek.] Papers in the Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. Filed under MSS C M.

Two original surveys are for land on "Beargrass Creek" with notes on trees extracted as follows.

(1) 19 Dec 1783: "on the head of the South fork of Beargrass... honey locust, buckeye & sugartree... dogwood, poplar & elm... ash & two beeches... three beeches..."

(2) 29 Aug 1785: "on South Fork of Bear Grass Creek... large forked ash... beech, elm & ash... walnut and beeches... two poplars and cherry tree and elm..."

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John Filson. 1784a. The adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon, formerly a hunter: containing a narrative of the wars of Kentucky. In: The Discovery, Settlement and Present Site of Kentucke. James Adams, Printer, Wilmington, Delaware. p. 2-3 in the appendix [339-340 in Imlay, 1792 & 1797; see below].

The following words were attributed by John Filson to Daniel Boone, based on the experience of Boone, John Finley, John Stewart and others during 1769 in the vicinity of modern Powell County, probably including the famous Pilot Knob in Powell County.

"...on the seventh day of June following we found ourselves on Red river, where John Findlay had formerly been trading with the Indians [presumably at Eskipakithiki], and from the top of an eminence [presumably Pilot Knob], saw with pleasure the most beautiful level of Kentucky... We found everywhere abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the

leaves on the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundred in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practised hunting with great success, until the 22^d day of December following.”

“This day John Stewart and I had a pleasing ramble, but fortune changed the scene in the close of it. We had passed through a great forest, on which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossom, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders, and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her ingenuity and industry in a variety of flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with innumerable animals presenting themselves perpetually to our view.—In the decline of the day, near Kentucky river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane-brake upon us, and made us prisoner.”

John Filson. 1784b. The Discovery, Settlement and Present Site of Kentucke. James Adams, Printer, Wilmington, Delaware. Reprinted in Imlay (1792 & 1797), p. 306-387; see full citation and Imlay’s material below.

Notes in brackets include alternative wordings in some printings; originals need to be checked in these cases. Also, suggested binomial names for plant species are *in italics*. Filson’s material has been repeated in many other sources, often without attribution (as in W. Winterbottom’s 1795 “View of the American United States”). This repetition has sometimes led to confusion about original locations, as in: W.T. Hornaday’s 1889 “The Extermination of the American Bison” (Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.); see also Belue (1996, 1998).

p. 9-10 [314-315 in Imlay]: under the heading “Nature of the Soil”.

“The southern branch of Licking, and all its other arms, spread through a great body of first, and some second rate land, where there is abundance of cane, and some salt licks and springs... The Elkhorn lands are much esteemed, being situated in a bend of the Kentucky river of great extent, in which this little river, or rather large creek, rises. Here we find mostly first rate land, and near the Kentucky river second and third rate. The great tract is beautifully situated, covered with cane, wild rye, and clover; and many of the streams afford fine mill seats... Dicks river runs through a great body of first rate land, abounding everywhere with cane, and affords many excellent mill seats... The several streams and branches of the Salt river afford excellent mill seats... For a considerable distance from the head of this river, the land is of the first quality, well situated, and abounds with fine cane. Upon this and Dick’s river, the inhabitants are chiefly settled, it being the safest part of the country from the incursions of the Indians.”

p. 12-14 [317-321 in Imlay]: under the heading “Soil and Produce”; describing land in what became known as the Bluegrass region, clearly with special emphasis on the more fertile soils in central and eastern sections, plus the Bardstown area, as indicated by his attached map.

“The soil of Kentucke is of a loose, deep, black mould, without sand, in the first rate lands about 2 or 3 feet deep, and exceeding luxurious in all its productions. In some places the mould inclines to brown. In some the wood, as the natural consequence of too rich a soil, is of little value, appearing like dead timber and large stumps in a field lately cleared. These parts are not considerable. The country in general may be considered as well timbered, producing large trees of many kinds, and to be exceeded by no country in variety. Those which are peculiar to Kentucke are the sugar-tree, which grows in all parts in great abundance, and furnishes every family with plenty of excellent sugar. The honey-locust is curiously surrounded with large

thorny spikes bearing broad and long pods in form of peas, has a sweet taste, and makes excellent beer.”

“The coffee-tree greatly resembles the black oak, grows large, and also bears a pod, in which is enclosed coffee. The pawpaw-tree does not grow to a great size, is a soft wood, bears a fine fruit, much like a cucumber in shape and size, and tastes sweet. The cucumber-tree is small and soft, with remarkable leaves, and bears a fruit much resembling that from which it is named. Black mulberry trees are in abundance. The wild-cherry is here frequent, of large size, and supplies the inhabitants with boards for all their buildings. Here also is the buck-eye, an exceeding soft wood, bearing a remarkable black fruit, and some other kinds of trees not common elsewhere.”

“Here is [a] great plenty of fine cane, on which cattle feed and grow fat. The plant in general grows from 3 to 12 feet high, of a hard substance, with joints at 8 or 10 inches distance along the stalk, from which proceed leaves resembling those of the willow. There are many cane breaks [so] thick and tall, that it is difficult to pass through them. Where no cane grows, there is [an] abundance of wild-rye [*Elymus* spp.], clover [probably *Trifolium stoloniferum*], and buffalo-grass [perhaps *Panicum clandestinum*], covering vast tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle. The fields are covered with abundance of wild herbage not common to other countries—the shawanese sallad [perhaps *Campanula americana* according to local usage passed down to Ron Houp’s mother, in Wilmore], wild lettuce [perhaps *Lactuca canadensis*], and pepper-grass [probably *Lepidium virginicum*], and many more, as yet unknown to the inhabitants, but which, no doubt, have excellent virtues. Here are seen the finest crown-imperials [perhaps *Lilium michiganense*] in the world, the cardinal flower [*Lobelia cardinalis*],

so much extolled for its scarlet colour; and all the year, excepting the winter months, the plains and valleys are adorned with variety of flowers of the most admirable beauty. Here is also found the tulip-bearing laurel-tree, or magnolia [*Liriodendron tulipifera*], which has an exquisite smell, and continues to blossom and seed for several months together.”

“This country is richest on the highest lands, exceeding the finest low grounds in the settled parts of the continent. When cultivated it produces in common 50 and 60 bushels per acre; and I have heard it affirmed by credible persons, that above 100 bushels of good corn were produced from an acre in one season. The first rate land is too rich for wheat till it have been reduced by 4 or 5 years cultivation. Col. Harrod, a gentleman of veracity in Kentucky, has lately experienced the production of small grain, and affirms, that he had 35 bushels of wheat, and 50 bushels of rye per acre. I think, in common, the land will produce about 30 bushels of wheat and rye, upon a moderate computation, per acre; and this is the general opinion of the inhabitants. We may suppose that barley and oats will increase abundantly; as yet they have not been sufficiently tried. The soil is very favorable to flax and hemp, turnips, potatoes, and cotton, which grow in abundance; and the second, third, and fourth rate lands are as proper for small grain. These accounts of amazing fertility may, to some, appear incredible, but are certainly true. Every husbandman may have a good garden or meadow, without water or manure, where he pleases. The soil, which is not of a thirsty nature, is commonly well supplied with plentiful showers.”

p. 15-16 [320-321 in Imlay]: under “Quadrupeds”; regarding Blue Licks..

“I have heard a hunter assert, he saw 1000 buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once; so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives. There still remains a

great number in the exterior parts of the settlement. They feed upon cane and grass, as other cattle, and are innocent harmless creatures. There are still to be found many deer, elks, and bears, within the settlement, and many more on the borders of it. There are also panthers, wild cats, and wolves... Most of the species of the domestic quadrupeds have been introduced since the settlement, such as horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, which are prodigiously multiplied, suffered to run in the woods without a keeper, and only brought home when wanted.”

p. 17 [322 in Imlay]: under “Curiosities”, describing the Kentucky River.

“It is only at particular places that this river can be crossed, one of which is worthy of admiration; a great road large enough for waggons made by the buffalo, sloping with an easy descent from the top to the bottom of a very large steep hill, at or near the river above Lees-town.”

p. 18-19 [323-324 in Imlay]: under “Curiosities”, describing the salt springs and licks.

“The Nob lick, and many others, do not produce water, but consist of clay mixed with salt particles; to these the cattle repair, and reduce high hills to vallies than plains. The amazing herds of buffalo which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near those springs is chiefly hilly.”



Close-up of Filson's (1784) map of Kentucky showing "Capt. Johnston" at head of Gray's Run.

John Filson. 1784c. This Map of Kentucke, drawn from actual observations, is inscribed with the most perfect respect to the honorable the Congress of the United States of America; and to his Excellency George Washington, late Commander in Chief of the Army.

This famous map in Filson's (1784a) book shows the following entries related to cane.

(1) "Fine Cane Land". This is written between "Johnson's Fork" and "Main Licking" [River], north of "the Blue Licks" and the "Upper Blue Licks", in what is now mostly western and central Fleming County, between near Piqua (eastern Robertson Co.) to the area around Flemingsburg (Fleming Co.). This upland is about 10-20 miles long; exact interpretation is difficult.

(2) "Abundance of Cane". This is written between "Hingston Fork" and "Stoner's Fork", centered on the upland that is known still as "Cane Ridge" in eastern Bourbon Co. Along with "Cane Ridge Road" (Ky. Route 537), this upland extends from about 2-3 miles northeast of Paris (Bourbon Co.) to about 5 miles north of Mount Sterling (Montgomery Co.), a distance of 15-20 miles.

(3) "Fine Cane". This is written across the uplands on the northeast side of the lower "Elkhorn" [Creek] and north of the forks in this creek, from what is now northeast Franklin Co., near Head of Cedar, to western Scott Co., north of Stamping Ground near the head of Locust Fork or McConnell Run. Exact interpretation is difficult but the indicated distance would be about 5-10 miles. Note that Stamping Ground was famous as a gathering place for bison in pioneer times, and there is a distinct concentration of Fort Ancient sites and earlier archaeological sites in the area around Stamping Ground.

(4) "Fine Cane". This is written northeast of "Bard's Town" across the uplands between "Town

Fork” and “Chaplain’s Fork” of Salt River, in what is now northeast Nelson Co., north of Chaplin, to western Anderson Co., around Pleasant Hills Ridge.

There are two other entries on this map that are indicative of vegetation around the Bluegrass region, in “Indian Territory” that later became Ohio, north of the Ohio River.

(5) “Natural Meadow” is written across the land between “Buffaloe Cr.” [now known as Eagle Creek] and the area around lower Ohio Brush Creek [unnamed on his map], in what is now southeast Brown Co. and southwest Adams Co.

(6) “Natural Meadow” is written also near the edge of the map across the area east of the Scioto River, opposite “Paint Cr.” to the west; further interpretation is needed.

See McDowell (1956) for notes on the “Pond Creek” area mapped by Filson south of Louisville.

Some of the trails mapped by Filson have considerable interest; see discussion below under Myer (1925) and elsewhere. The map combined some of the older regional features of Evans (1755) with more local routes obviously emphasized by the settlers between their stations and towns. From the central Bluegrass, major routes clearly included:

- (a) roads west to the Falls of Ohio (more or less modern Interstate 64);
- (b) north down the west side of the Kentucky River to Drenon’s Lick (rather obscure in modern highways);
- (c) northeast to the Blue Licks and then Limestone Creek at the Ohio River (now US 68);
- (d) northeast to the Upper Blue Licks and then Cabbin Creek at the Ohio River (rather obscure but perhaps starting on Ky. Route 57 north of Winchester);

- (e) southeast via “Boonesburg” [Boonesborough] to Cumberland Gap (Ky. Route 338 to US 25);
- (f) south to “Logan’s” [later Stanford] and beyond (starting close to US 27 then to southwest between Green and Cumberland Rivers);
- (g) and southwest from “Harrod’s Town” [Harrodsburg] to Knob Lick and beyond (starting on US 127 then southwest to join the road from “Logan’s” on the “Path to Cumberland Settlement”).
- (h) “Byrd’s War Road”; see below.

Interpretation of “Byrd’s War Road”. This is mapped from the mouth of Licking River, then along its western side, then between the forks (above the later town of Falmouth), then crossing the South Fork above Raven Creek, then across Mill Creek and Gray’s Run, then curving to the east at the South Fork by “Riddle’s Stn.” [Ruddle’s Station]. Though the overall map is distorted considerably, this mapping of the road does detail the crossings of Mill Creek and Gray’s Run in relation to their branches. At face value, this map indicates that the southern part of this road left the South Fork near Hells Halfacre, then, with some back roads, ran close to pieces of Ky. Routes 1054, 1842 and 3018, then across where US 62 now runs close to Broadwell—perhaps close to parts of Mt. Vernon Road (an old road to Cincinnati according to local reports), Gray’s Run Road and Edgewater Pike to the river. It is possible that this “war road” ran across or near the Griffith Farm, but alternatives could have run to Wornall Lane, Edgewater Pike or South Edgewater Road.

Further examination of old surveys and legal documents may help. Court records from 1779-80 include mention of: “A Buffalo Path on Hinkston’s Mill Seat Creek, about three miles from

Riddle's Station" (No. 49 in Wilson, 1923, cited above under Court Records). See also notes below under: Nathan and Olive Boone (1842-51; p. 30-32 in the cited printing); there may have been a connection from the general route of Byrd's War Road, crossing Stoner Creek near the mouth of Townsend Creek then along the north side of Hinkston Creek to the hills at Hooktown and Headquarters. In Bourbon County records for "Court Case 121" a map shows the buffalo road from Ruddle's Station to Lower Blue Licks along this route. This map also indicates other ways that buffalo traces led from the south to the Licks.

Footnote. A mystery to be solved is the exact identity and location of the "Captn. Johnston" that Filson labeled, with a two-story house graphic-symbol, on the west side of the head of Gray's Run, upstream from the crossing of "Byrd's War Road." The map indicates that this site might lie on Hicks Pike or Gray's Run Pike between Broadwell and Lees Lick. Further references to such a person or building have not yet been found in local or regional history. However, it is likely that further research into early surveys will shed some light. In 1785, there was a survey of 1220 acres on "Greys Run" made for Samuel Haws; this survey adjoined land of Thomas Johnson (on the N and NW sides), James Haggin, Benjamin Harrison, and "Alline & Smith." Witness-trees in the Haws survey were: sugar tree (5), ash (3), hickory (3), hoopwood [probably hackberry] (2), buckeye (1) and a "double white thorn" [*Crataegus mollis* or *crus-galli*]. However, that Johnson tract may have been on the east side of Gray's Run, near the intersections US 62, US 27 and Ky. Route 32, based on initial mapping of Nancy O'Malley (1987) for her book on early stations.

There was a Captain or Major or Colonel Robert Johnson (1745-1815), sometimes spelled Johnston, who featured prominently in some pioneer history: "Robert Johnson moved from

Beargrass to Bryant's Station, I think, in the fall of 1780. There he built some cabins, making part of the fort..." [Some reminiscences from the life of Co. Cave Johnson, written in 1849; published in Ky. Register, May 1922, Vol. 20, No. 59; and elsewhere.] During 1781-82, he played a key role in the fighting with Indians: "Daniel Wilcoxson... served also as Lieut. under Capt. William Hogan and Capt. Robert Johnston" [Report from the Bureau of Pensions, Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D.C., Nov. 21st, 1919; cited on p. 106 in "A biographical sketch of Daniel Boone, the pioneer" by Jesse Procter Crump, one of his descendants," as edited by E.H.A. Spraker in 1974, Genealogical Publishing Company, New York.] Johnson and Hogan commanded Bryan's Station during its attack in 1782. It is possible that this enterprising pioneer, often pushing into lands contested with the Indians, did establish an outpost in about 1781-82 north of Bryan's Station; Filson's (1784) mapping may have been a little dated. A cabin at the head of Gray's Run would have been a dangerous outpost, and the closest forts would have been Bryan's Station [5 miles north of Lexington] or Martin's Station [now in Paris]. In 1783-84, he established a mill and other businesses at Great Crossing (near Georgetown), raided by Indians in 1788 (Kentucky Gazette 1788; see below). But Filson (1784) did not indicate any settlement or trail at the Great Crossing or Georgetown area.

This Robert Johnson was married to Jemima Suggett Johnson (1753-1814). The historic marker (no. 1283) for the old brick building known as "Johnston's Inn", near the junction of US 460 (formerly Ky. Route 627) and Ky. Route 1876, provides the following statement (in moulded metal): "Robert Johnston, a Revolutionary War captain, was born in Virginia in 1749. He and his wife operated a tavern in their house here from 1796-1812. Located on what was then the main road between Maysville and Lexington, this inn served stage and horseback passengers in its 30-foot tavern room with sleeping accommodations overhead. This house appears on first

Ky. map of 1784.” However, this site is in the headwaters of Cooper’s Run, clearly distinct from the location mapped by Filson. Moreover, although there does appear to have been considerable use of this route from Maysville [then “Limestone”] to Lower Blue Licks to Ruddles Mills (and former station) to Lexington (via Ky. Route 1876), the modern US 68 way was probably the main one, as mapped by Filson, Barker and others.

Their fifth child was Richard Mentor Johnson (1780-1850), who fought famously in the war of 1812 and became Vice President of the United States in 1837-1841. RMJ campaigned with the slogan “Rumpsey Dumpsey, [repeat,] Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh” but was not re-elected (with Martin Van Buren), partly because of his scandalous relationship with a mulatto slave called Julia Chinn, whom he regarded as wife under common law. She died in 1833, and he then took up with another slave of the family, but when this second “wife” ran off with a different man, Johnson had her captured and sold at auction, and then began a relationship with her sister [as cited by Wikipedia from: Kyle McQueen in Keven McQueen (ed), 2001, “Richard Menter Johnson: Vice President,” *Offbeat Kentuckians: Legends to Lunatics, III*, McClanahan Publishing House, Kuttawa, Kentucky]. Was RMJ born at Filson’s (1784) “Captn. Johnston”?

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J.F.D. Smyth. 1784. A Tour in the United States of America: Containing an Account of the Present Situation of the Country; the Population, Agriculture, Commerce, Customs, and Manners of the Inhabitants . With a Description of the Indian Nations. 2 volumes [400 & 456 pages]. G. Robinson, J. Robinson and J. Sewell, London.

Vol. 1, p. 338: includes general description of the “western” country at that time; Smyth was at Boonesboro in 1775 (see also Ranck’s history).

“Game of all kinds is also exceedingly plenty, a man may kill six or eight deer every day... Elk are also very plenty, as well as racoons, oppossums, foxes and wolves. All these are found in the lofty woods, while in the savannahs or meadows buffaloes abound.”

Anonymous. 1786. Letter from Maysville, Feb 21, Draper Manuscripts 3U, p. 207.

This was cited in Belue (1996, p. 127) but details have yet to be determined: “the buffalo are very plenty about this place”

Kentucky Gazette. 1787-1800. [Selected material from its earliest years.] Published by John Bradford, Lexington, Kentucky. Material of historical interest was also reworked into: Bradford (1826-29); see below.

This was the first newspaper in Kentucky. Although virtually no information about timber, vegetation or other associated subjects is presented, the following selection of notices provides some picture of the decreasing interactions with Indians as settlement became solidified. Evidently, these were among the last of the raids by Shawnee or others in the central Bluegrass; in other regions, raids by the Cherokee, especially, may have continued some for some years longer. The continuing mystery of Captain, Major or Colonel Johns[t]on may be followed here; see notes under Filson (1784b).

9 Feb 1788: “*A remarkable instance of the intrepidity of savages.*”

“About the 28th ult. [= *ultimo*; i.e. January] a party of Indians came into the neighborhood of Col. Johnsons on N. Elkhorn, and stole about 25 horses; some hunters who were at that time out fell on their trail a few days after, and supposed it to be other hunters, going out [to hunt

further north], and consequently paid no farther attention than that of expressing a surprise at so great a number [of them] going together at so safe a season, especially as they could not conceive there was the smallest danger of Indians, when the ground was covered with snow at least six or seven inches deep, and the season so extreme cold. About the 5th inst. [day of February] two or three of the horses, escaping from the savage[s], came in with raw hide halters tied to them, which alarmed the inhabitants, as that was sufficient circumstance that the Indians had visited the neighbourhood; the men turned out to make what discoveries they could, and presently found where they had caught the horses, at which place the Indians had left a knife belt and several other tokens to shew who had taken them; they followed them until it was plainly discovered that the hunters abovementioned had seen that trail 8 days before. They then returned with a determination to follow them the next day, and either overtake them or know to what nation they belonged. What are we to expect from them when the season becomes mild, and the earth bare, if they are so daring and intrepid at this season.”

23 Feb 1788: “LEXINGTON. On Saturday last, an Indian was seen near the mouth of Cain run (a branch of N. Elkhorn) just below Maj. Johnsons mill. On Sunday, a party of Indians (supposed to be the same that was seen the preceding day) came to Mr. Elijah Craigs on Elkhorn, and took off with them about fifteen head of horses; they were immediately discovered and pursued them the same evening; we have no doubt but they will be overtaken, as the men were exceeding anxious for the chace; one, whole saddle happening to be out of place, mounted on a womans saddle and without the loss of time pursued the enemy;—A remarkable instance of Heroism. We hourly expect to hear they have returned laden with the spoil.”

15 Mar 1788: “As the Indians whenever they make incursions into our settlements call at the evacuated houses of Mr. Coppage on Dry run [north of Georgetown] and Mr. Wilson on McCrackins run [nearby to the west] about four miles from Col. Johnsons mill, and supply themselves with wheat, corn and potatoes, &c. [and] as there is every probability that if ther[e] were articles impregnated with Arsenic or any other Subtil poison we might trap them.—We therofore request all persons not to touch or in any manner molest any article left there, as we man [mean] to make the experiment. [Signed] JOHN PAYNE [and] ARCH. CAMPBELL.”

29 Mar 1788: “LEXINGTON. *March 27.* On Saturday evening the 21st. instant some time after night [fall], a party of about seven Indians knocked at the door of the widow Shanks (living on Townsend a branch of Licking) and demanded entrance which was denied them; they then set fire to the house, and by that means forced the family out, four of which fell a sacrifice to their savage fury, one taken prisoner, the rest escaped; the snow falling that night, enabled the inhabitants to follow them; they came up with them the next day, killed one and wounded another; the rest escaped, leaving all their baggage; the prisoner which they had taken they Tomahock’d, just before the white people came up with them; one other Indian was found dead near where they committed the murder, supposed to be killed by a young man whom they killed the evening before.”

“On the evening of the 25th the Indians took a negroe belonging to Mr. William Henry on Elkhorn creek about 11 or 12 miles from this place; a party of men pursued them the next morning but could not overtake them.”

“*March 28.* Yesterday evening the Indians caught hold of a young mans bridle, as he was riding

along a small path of Elkhorn near where they had taken the negro a few days ago; it being dark, he slipt off his horse and made his escape.”

6 Apr 1793: short reports about Indians attacking near Hazel Patch (probably Laurel Co.), Slate Creek (probably Montgomery Co.), Beech Fork (probably Nelson Co.), Man’s Lick (Bullitt Co.), and Eastin’s mill (Jefferson Co.); to be transcribed...

13 Apr 1793: short reports about Indians attacking on the Wilderness Road (location not given), Ohio River (location not given), and Russell’s creek (probably Russell Co.); to be transcribed...

20 Apr 1793: reports of fighting with Indians on the waters of Paint Creek (tributary of Scioto River in southeast Ohio), Rolling Fork (probably Nelson Co.), Hardin’s Settlement (Hardin Co.), and the Ohio River between Louisville and Salt River; to be transcribed...

23 Oct 1793: “A large company will meet at the Crab Orchard on Saturday the 2d of November next, to make an early start through the wilderness the next morning. It is supposed that every person will try and arm for that dangerous road. October 18...

30 Oct 1793 [?]: “A large company will meet at the Crab Orchard, on Monday the 11th of November next, in order to make an early start through the wilderness the next morning...”

8 Mar 1794: report of Indians stealing horses in Hardin Co.; to be transcribed.

7 May 1819: letter from J.L. Edwards to Hon. R.M. Johnson at Great Crossings [near

Georgetown]; to check.

Jedidiah Morse. 1789. The American Geography. Shepherd Kollock, Printer, Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

p. 404: an early description of the Elkhorn Creek area for general publication, based partly on Filson (1784).

“Elkhorn River, a branch of the Kentucky from the southeast, waters a country fine beyond description. Indeed, the country east and south of this, including the headwaters of Licking River, Hickman’s and Jessamine Creeks, and the remarkable bend in Kentucky River, may be called an extensive garden. The soil is deep and black, and the natural growth, large walnuts, honey and black locust, poplar, elm, oak, hickory, sugar tree, etc. Grape vines, running to the tops of the trees, and the surface covered with clover, blue grass and wild rye. On this fertile tract, and on the Licking River, and the head waters of Salt River, are the bulk of settlements in this country.”

Abraham Steiner. 1789. Journal. Printed in: P.A. Wallace. 1958. Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder. University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh. Extract included in Booth (1994; see above under Charles Stuart, 1755). This is from well outside the Bluegrass, but provides contrasting details of the vegetation.

p. 244-246: 12th April, apparently referring to low ridges between what became Salineville and Bolivar; but this is a somewhat generalizing account.

“In the afternoon, we came to Tuscarawi Creek [perhaps = modern Sandy Creek], 20 miles this

side of Tuscarawi [= junction of Sandy with T. River]. 15 miles this side of Tuscarawi are the two Tuscarawi Plains, the soil of which is a mixture of sand, brown gravel, & lime, & grows centaury [*Liatris?*], honeysuckle [*Lonicera sempervirens?*], & other herbs, upland willows [*Salix humilis*], & small oaks [perhaps *Quercus velutina*] which are different from the “ground oaks” of other plains.”

Joel Watkins. 1789. Journal. Printed in: Virginia Speed Herold (ed.). 1936. Joel Watkins' Diary of 1789. Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society 34: 215-250.

[Only entries related to Jessamine Co. are included below; more to come.]

24 Jun 1789: "Wednesday—After breakfasting I set out from the fork of Dickes River for Mr. Watkins's in Woodford County on the north side of Kentucky River—the Land Broken to the River and the groth Oak etc. forded the River at the Mouth of Hickman after Le[a]ving the river the Land & groth nearly the same as have mentioned above [—] after traveling seven or Eight miles on the rode that Leads from the River to lexington I turn'd to the left of sd. rode and cross'd a Water Course that's Call'd East-Jessiman after [—] after Leaving the said Creek the Land is very Level and of a very Pretty Mulatto soil and the groth is Black & White oak [,] hickory and some Walnut and Sugar Tree and the undergroth Hazelnut and red Bud—'till I arrived to West Jessiman [—] I proseeded up the sd. Run to Head—the Land altering as Proseed up said Creek sometimes Better and then Worse—untill I came near the head springs The Land there appearing very rich 'till I struck the Waters of South Elk Horn—& Broken—but Here I began to Travel in Land that Lay Well and to appearance the richest that have seen in the destrict [—] The groth being Walnut and Cherry not tall and dead topped and but thin [—] the Land Continued n[e]arly the same to the last mentioned Creek which I struck Just below Lewis

Craigs Mill on sd. Creek from thence proseeded down the said Run to a Certain Bowmans—got dinner and got directions for Mr. Watkin's—after Leaving the sd. Creek saw no Material alteration in the Land 'till cross'd Shannons Run (near this Run saw a Jack ass and heard him Bray which is a hideous noise.) The groth began to get much Taller etc. 'till I arrived at Mr. Watkins's which was narly dark being very kindly received by sd. Gentn. This days Journey I performed by myself as have done many others in this Country—NB The Kentucky River at the Mouth of Hickman is upward of a hundred yards Wide—This day I pass'd several very good farmes and Especially Mr. Jno. Craigs [,] Badly Watered between the two Jassimans so much so that people Settle only along the said Creek."

15 Jul: "After taking breakfast in Town [Lexington] myself & Mr. Bon Set out for the South Side of Kentucky River with an intention of going to Cumberland Settlement but of this scam [scheme] more anon. The Land Lies very well and appears very rich from Lexington to East Jesiman and then Both the groth and Land begin to alter the Land becoming more Broken as we came nigher the river [—] and the groth Chiefly Oak [—] we ferried the said River at the Mouth of Hickman and Preseeded as far as Capt. Ballenger this evening and Put up."

Isaac Monison. 1789 [January]. A brief account of Kentucke, extracted from a letter of Issac Monison, esquire, to the rev. Jordan Dodge, at Sturbridge: dated at Nelson county, Kentucke, January 11, 1788. The American Museum: or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, &c. Prose and Poetical. Volume 5. Pages 57-59. Mathew Carey, Philadelphia.

“THE soil of Kentucke, like all other countries, is varied, but what we here distinguish by the terms first and second rate lands, are, from one to several feel deep, of a chocolate, and, in some places, of a deep mulatto colour, exempted from stones, gravel, or sand on the surface; and where these are the qualities, it pretty generally lies on a flat limestone quarry, from three to six feet below the soil. Lands of an inferior quality, of which (notwithstanding the accounts given of this country) there are large quantities, pretty generally referable those of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but are not so stony.”

“It is chiefly a well, but heavy timbered country; the chief kinds of timber are, black walnut, locust, wild cherry, various kinds of ash, mulberry, butternut, hickory, beech, white wood [*Liriodendron*], oaks, and sugar trees in abundance. Lands of the first and second quality, and, at present, we do not improve any other, are very little troubled with underbrush; what there is, is chiefly spice wood [*Lindera*], and what the Indians call papaw [*Asimina*].” ...

“Travellers observe, that countries generally abound in grass and other articles of forage, in proportion to their necessity, which though perhaps true, is by no means the soil in this country: the soil, from its nature and richness, is extremely well calculated for grass and other articles of herbage, the chief of which are, buffalo grass, buffalo clover, which nearly resembles our English clover, but is larger, and a kind, which, from its similarity to it, is called rye grass: and where these do not prevail, the country abounds with cane, which, continuing green during the winter, affords an excellent food for stock, insomuch that our cattle in most parts of the country, will be excellent beef every day in the year, without any care or labour of the owner.”

William Brown. 1790. Journal. Printed in: Thomas Speed (ed). 1886. The Wilderness Road. Filson Club Publication 2. John P. Morton and Co., Louisville. [See also William Brown's 1782 journal included in this book; and notes on "miry road" of Laurel River. Also in Hulbert's (1903) "Wilderness Road": see receipts for sicknesses at beginning; check dates, printings.]

p. 63: general observations on Kentucky appended to the journal; about traveling from Limestone [Maysville] to the south.

"You cross three branches of the Licking and the forks of Elk horn. The country thus far appears to be generally poorly timbered and badly watered, tho exceedingly rich, except about the Blue Lick [where] the land is poor and stoney, and also it is poor as you draw near the Kentucky river. A little below Curds ferry across the Kentuck at the mo[outh] of Dicks riv. the banks of the So. side appears to be largely upwards of 300 feet and some places perpendicular of rock and has a very wild appearance. From this to Harrodsburg the road is pretty good.—The land generally is but middling and not very well timbered. Thence to Wilsons [presumably a settlement on Rolling Fork]—crossing several branches of the Salt river.—The land is generally good and some exceeding fine and well timbered and pretty well watered; the road is pretty good. From thence to the waters of Nolin the land is generally pretty good..."

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Levi Todd. 1791. Journal [including general historical reflections]. Draper Manuscripts 15CC, p. 157-162. This was originally written in 1791; Draper's Life of Boone (Belue 1998) cites "Levi Todd's Narrative, in MS Clark Papers."

p. 157... [in Draper 15CC]: his account of Boonesborough in 1775.

“Boonesboro’... the southside, where there is a remarkable sulphur lick, and strongly impregnated with salt... delightfully set... and clover...[illegible—check original] The dews were very heavy, the nights in the heart of summer cool, and the land [!]—appeared more land than at present, as the thickness of the growth prevented one from discovery [of] the diversities as they travelled. We expected our country would always furnish us with iron, sugar from the trees and salt. We then thought springs of water scarce and that the country would be thinly inhabited...”

p. 160... [in Draper 15CC]: his account of McClelland’s Fort [later Georgetown] in 1776. “The Indians marched to McClelland’s Fort and early on the 29th after several attempts to draw our people into the woods [in] which they partly succeeded, discovered themselves to be a larger party, about 40-50, and that fighting was their business.”

p. 160... [in Draper 15CC]: his account of land around Lexington in 1776. “Here I will take time to digress from a regular details of facts by observing that the face of the country was, at the times I have been speaking, delightful beyond conception, nearly one-half of it covered with cane, but between the brakes, spaces of open ground as if intended by nature for fields. The ground appeared fertile, and producing amazing quantities of various kinds, some wild grass, wild rye and clover.”

Interpretation. “Open ground” probably referred to the ground vegetation not the associated trees—other descriptions indicate that this was generally a wooded region, with or without cane; see especially Samuel Matthew’s interview under Draper (1842-51: 11CC, p. 158).

Anonymous. 1791. “Some particulars relative to the soil, situation, production, &c. of Kentucky; extracted from the Manuscript journal of a gentlemen not long since returned from those parts.” First printed in National Gazette [Number] 1 (November 1791), p. 1-3, and New York Magazine [Volume] 2 (1791), p. 702-706. Reprinted in: E.L. Schwaab (ed). 1973. Travels in the Old South. University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.

p. 53-60 [in the 1973 printing]: apparently based on travels between Limestone [Maysville] and Lexington in 1791.

“After you got fairly into Kentucky the soil assumes a black appearance, rich and light in substance, and should you visit the country in spring, you would be surprised at finding no leaves under the trees. The reason, is the ground is so rich and damp, that they always rot and disappear with the winter, except where the soil is evidently poor, for that country. It then bears the appearance of the better sort of land in Pennsylvania and Jersey, tho’ differing widely in substance, there being no sand to be met with in the soil of Kentucky.”

“There is a species of flat, or split limestone that pervades all the country, laying at unequal depths. In the rich and black-looking soil, it lays near the surface, and in general the nearer the stone lays to the surface the richer the land is found to be. At the same time the stone does not, as I expected, impede the growth of the trees, as they grow everywhere to an amazing height, except near the salt licks, where the influence of the saline particles seems to check their growth.”

“Among the many accounts that have been given of Kentucky, none of them have justice to the timber. Oaks and locusts on the flat lands are common at five feet diameter. Poplars growing on

the beach lands [perhaps meaning with beech trees] are so common at five and six feet through, as hardly to be noticed—The beech grows to the thickness of four and five feet, and both the last mentioned to the height of one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty feet. These, and the advantage of pasture in the woods, constitute the great excellence of Kentucky; they disadvantages [geographic and social] will, I fear, nearly counter-balance the luxuriance of the soil.”

“The stories told of the abundance of grass in the woods are in many instances true. You frequently find beds of clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] to the horse's knees, sometimes a species of rush-grass commonly called wild rye [*Elymus macgregorii*, etc.], from the similarity of it's [sic] stalk to the rye so called among us; in other places we meet with tracts of wild cane [*Arundinaria gigantea*], very much esteemed by the wild and tame cattle, it continuing in verdure all the winter. There is also a species of vine called the pea vine [*Amphicarpea bracteata*], from which its producing a small pod, resembling that of the garden pea, of which both horses and cattle are extremely fond. These are scattered generally through the country, according to the different soils, but are not to be met with universally. The woods, however, afford abundance of food for cattle, and in consequence of this abundance the people pay very little attention to making and improving pasture lands. The milk from this food is thin, and both that and the butter retain a strong taste of weeds...”

“The buffaloes have entirely quitted the cultivated parts of Kentucky, and the deer have become scarce; of wild turkies, however, there are an abundance nearly as tame as those bred in the yard...”

Interpretation. In other sources (e.g. Cresswell 1775), beech trees are often spelled “beach”; the combination of both spellings here is curious—or did “beach” sometimes mean terraces along streams, where tulip poplar often does very well. The “strong taste of weeds” in free-ranged cattle could have been caused by wild onions (*Allium canadense*), perhaps white-snakeroot (*Eupatorium rugosum*) or other species. [But does milk from *E. rugosum* smell distinct?]

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Gilbert Imlay. 1792 (1st edition); 1797 (3rd edition). A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America. Debrett, London, England. The third edition (1797), which is quoted here, was reprinted in 1969 by Augustus M. Kelley, New York.

Imlay’s own text consists mostly of a series of letters describing the early settlements in Kentucky and other regions during 1782-1792. The lands and plants he noted generally indicate the fertile part of the central Ohio Valley now known as the Bluegrass, but in several cases he included notes on peripheral soils, regions or states, usually with clear distinction. He also appended various reports and maps from other sources, including the original text of Filson (1784), and the map of Barker (1795).

p. 29-30: in “Letter II”, from Kentucky; describing land along what is now US 68 in Mason Co. “From Limestone [now Maysville] to Johnson’s Fork [Johnson Creek] of Licking creek, the land is immensely rich, and covered with cane, rye-grass, and the native clover. The cane is a reed that grows to the height frequently of fifteen or sixteen feet, but more generally about ten to twelve feet, and is in thickness from the size of a goose-quill to that of two inches diameter; sometimes, yet seldom, it is larger. When it is slender, it never grows higher than four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an

evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavour and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn, provided care is taken to give them once in three or four days a handful of salt; otherwise this food is liable to heat, and bind their bowels.”

“The rye-grass [*Elymus* spp.], or more properly speaking, wild rye, when it arrives to maturity, is from two feet and a half to three and a half, and the head and beard resemble the real rye, and sometimes produce a small grain, long and slender, not unlike the rye. Whether cultivation would bring it to the same perfection, I can form no idea; it is however certain that it is a very good and valuable grass. The clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] is in no respect different from the clover in Europe, but as it is more coarse and luxuriant. There is a variety of other kinds of grass, which are found in different places; but I have only mentioned the two former, they being esteemed the most valuable.”

Footnote in Imlay: “From Johnson’s Fork, passing the Lower Blue Licks, and main Licking river, till you approach within 5 miles of Hingston Fork, the land is very thin, stony, and broken; but thence to Bourbon Court-house and Lexington as rich and as well-conditioned land as any in nature...”

“After passing the Blue Lick, the soil, if possible, increases in richness. From thence to Danville is about fifty miles. Lexington lies about midway, and is nearly central of the finest and most luxuriant country, perhaps, on earth.”

“A salt spring is called a Lick, from the earth about them being furrowed out, in a most curious manner, by the buffalo and deer, which lick the earth on account of the saline particles with which it is impregnated.”

p. 135: in “Letter VI”, from Kentucky.

“Salt springs have been found in every part of the western country; which has been explored, and I have no doubt that time will prove every part of it is well furnished with them. The manner in which they are mostly found in uninhabited parts, is by the large buffalo roads which lead to them. Whenever the ramification of those roads begins to concentrate, it is almost an infallible sign that a salt lick is near. Those animals resorting to them throughout the temperate part of the year for the benefit of the salt, make large roads, which leading from the Lick, branch different ways into the country.”

p. 144: quoting from “Dr. Benjamin Ruth, in a letter to the American Philosophical Society” on the sugar maple in general, within east-central North America.

“The wood of the sugar maple-tree is of an inflammable nature, and is preferred upon that account by hunters and surveyors for fire-wood. Its small branches are so much impregnated with sugar, as to afford support to the cattle, horses, and sheep of the first settlers during the winter, before they are able to cultivate forage for that purpose. Its ashes afford a great quantity of pot-ash, exceeded by few, or perhaps by none of the trees that grow in the woods of the United States.”

p. 233-235: in “Letter X”, probably from Kentucky.

“We have a variety of spontaneous kinds of grass, for many of which we have no name. I have

spoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may consider as a grass, since it will answer every purpose of grass to him. I have also mentioned our clover and rye-grass. Besides which, we have, of the grass kind, the pea-vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], which in a small degree resembles your pea-vine. It has the same kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, shrubs and rye-grass, which frequently grows interspersed with it. Its blossoms are of a reddish hue, and it produces a small and imperfect pea. In very rich soil, it grows from 3 to 5 feet high; but in general it does not exceed 18 inches or 2 feet, and is not so luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but it has a much nearer resemblance to grass.”

“Our other principal sorts of natural grass are, the buffalo [perhaps *Panicum clandestinum*], orchard [*Dactylis glomerata*], spear [probably *Poa pratensis*], blue [probably *Poa compressa* or *P. trivialis*], and crab grasses [*Digitaria* spp.]. The buffalo grass is rather coarse, grows from 9 to 18 inches high, and is generally found most plentiful in a middling soil. It has a broad leaf, and seems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally spring up after the land has been cultivated, and form excellent pastures; and are also capable of being made into hay, particularly the spear and blue grass.”

“Every part of the country abounds in a variety of natural flowers. The crocus [*C. vernus* or perhaps *Erythronium*], and a profusion of daisies [perhaps *Erigeron philadelphicus*], appear on the approach of spring, which are succeeded by the daffodil [*Narcissus pseudonarcissus*], jonquil [probably *N. poeticus*], hyacinth [*Hyacinthus orientalis* or perhaps *Camassia scilloides*], tulip [*Tulipa gesneriana*], and a multitude of other flowers, such as heart’s ease [*Viola*], lilies, red [perhaps *Lilium michiganense*] and white, hollyhocks [perhaps *Alcea* of gardens], pinks [*Silene*], golden rod [at least *Solidago altissima*], cowslips [perhaps

Oenothera], may-flowers [perhaps *Podophyllum*], jessamine [perhaps *Bignonia*], columbine [*Aquilegia canadensis*], honeysuckles [*Lonicera*], rock honeysuckles [perhaps *L. reticulata*], tuberose [perhaps *Manfreda*], ranunculas [*Ranunculus*], marsh-mallows [perhaps *Hibiscus*], violets [*Viola*], roses [*Rosa*] of different sorts, &c.”

“Of herbs, &c., we have of the wild sort, marjoram, sundew, sage, thyme, indian-leaf, rosemary, angelica, cat’s-mint [*Nepeta*], pennyroyal [at least *Hedeoma*], rue [*Thalictrum*], mint [*Mentha*], yarrow [*Achillea*], burnet [perhaps *Agrimonia*], nettle [Urticaceae], sanicle [*Sanicula*], rupture-wort, cudweed [*Gnaphalium*], white and black maiden-hair [perhaps *Adiantum*], colewort, ground-pine [*Lycopodium*], tooth-wort [*Dentaria*], ground-ivy [*Glechoma hederacea*], lung-wort, mountain-polly, winter-green [*Chimaphila*], horehound, ladies-mantle, celandine [*Stylophorum*], jew’s-ear, horse-mint, liver-wort [*Hepatica*], water-cresses [*Nasturtium*], scurvy-grass, hyssop, tansy, dock [*Rumex* spp.], asmart, glasswort, hellebore [perhaps *Veratrum*], wolf’s-bane, spikenard [perhaps *Aralia racemosa*], &c.”

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

Interpretation. Suggestions for Latin names in brackets above are tentative in several cases; it appears that Imlay combined some horticultural plants with generally native species.

p. 235-262: “Letter X” also notes several additional plants that were cultivated or otherwise

used for economic purposes, but only those that are native or naturalized in Kentucky are included here; suggested binomial names from recent usage (1950-2000) are provided in brackets.

Under “FARINACEOUS, LEGUMINOUS PLANTS, &c.”

p. 240: “Jerusalem artichoke; helianthus tuberosus.” [*Helianthus tuberosus*]

p. 242: “Purslain; portulacca oleracea.” [*Portulacca oleracea*]

Under “FIBROUS PLANTS, &c.”

p. 242: “Wild hemp: acnida cannabina.” [perhaps *Amaranthus tuberculatus* or related]

p. 242: “Wild flax: linum virginianum.” [perhaps *Linum virginianum*]

p. 244: “Hops; humulus cupulus. Hops grow spontaneously through all this country.” [*Humulus lupulus*; native plants would be var. *lupuloides*]

Under “ROOTS, &c.”

p. 254: “Sarsaparilla grows naturally in these parts, and is not inferior in its qualities to that of Mexico. It is so well known, that it would be needless to enlarge upon it.” [perhaps *Smilax glauca* or other species of this genus; see Webster’s Dictionary, etc.]

p. 255: “Indian physic; spiraea trifoliata.” [*Gillenia trifoliata*]

p. 255: “Ipecacuanha; phycotria emetica; is found in almost every spot of oak-land in this country: it may deserve to be manufactured from the farinaceous root, if not to be cultivated.” [perhaps *Gillenia stipulata*]

p. 255: “Pleurisy root; asclepias decumbens.” [*Asclepias tuberosa*]

p. 255: “Virginia snake root; aristolochia serpentaria.” [*Aristolochia serpentaria*]

p. 255: “Black snake root; actaea racemosa.” [*Cimicifuga racemosa*]

p. 255: “Senega rattlesnake root; polygala senega. A bulbous root, like that of the tuberose, but twice as large. The leaves of both have the same shape and same colour, and on the under side have some flame-coloured spots; but those of the rattlesnake plant are twice as large as the others, end in a very firm point, and are armed with hard prickles on both sides. Its stalk grows to the height of about 3 feet, and from the head rise 5 or 6 sprigs in different directions, each bearing a purple flower an inch broad, with 5 leaves in the form of a cup. After these leaves are shed there remains a head about the bigness of a small nut, but shaped like the head of a poppy. This head is separated into 4 divisions, each containing 4 black seeds, equally thick throughout, and about the size of a large lentil. When the head is ripe, it will, when shaken, give the same sound as the tail of a rattlesnake, as if to indicate the property of the plant; for it is the specific remedy against the bite of that dangerous reptile. The person who has been bit should immediately take a root, bite off part of it, chew it for some time, and apply it to the wound; in 5 or 6 hours it will extract the poison, and no bad consequences need be apprehended.”

[perhaps *Datura stramonium*; see natural remedies in various herbals & websites]

p. 255: “Valerian; valeriana locusta radiata.” [? *Valeriana radiata*; ? *Valerianella radiata*]

p. 255: “Ginseng; phanax quinquefolium.” [*Panax quinquefolium*]

p. 255: “Granadillas: passiflora incarnata.” [*Passiflora incarnata*]

p. 255: “Flat root receives its name from the form of its root, which is thin, flat, pretty often indented, and sometimes even pierced through: it is a line, or at times 2 lines in thickness; and its breadth is commonly a foot and a half. From this large root hang several other small straight roots which draw the nourishment from the earth. This plant, which grows in meadows that are not very rich, sends up from the same root several straight stalks about 18 inches high, that are as hard as wood; and on top of the stalks it bears small purplish flowers, in their figure greatly

resembling those of heath; its seed is contained in a deep cup closed at the head, and in a manner crowned. Its leaves are about an inch broad, and about 2 long, without any indentions, of a dark green inclining to brown. It is so strong a sudorific, that the natives never use any other for promoting perspiration, although they are perfectly well acquainted with sassafras, sarsaparilla, the esquine, and others.” [*Asclepias syriaca*; see various herbals and websites]

p. 256: “Esquine. The esquine resembles partly a creeper and partly a bramble. It is furnished with hard spikes like prickles, and its oblong leaves resemble those of the common creeper. Its stalk is straight, long, shining, and hard; and it runs up among the reeds. Its root is spongy, and sometimes as large as one’s head, but more long than round. Besides the sudorific virtue which the esquine possesses in common with sarsaparilla, it has the property of making the hair to grow, and the women among the natives use it successfully with this view. They cut the roots into small bits, boil them in water, and wash their heads with the decoction. Several of them are seen with their hair reaching below their knees, and even down to their ankles.” [*Smilax hispida* or perhaps *S. bona-nox*]

p. 256: “Madder; rubia tinctorium.” ... The ground in which madder thrives best seems to be a deep black mould, in something of a low situation, which should not have a clay foundation, but rather sand or gravel...” [probably *Galium tinctorium*; but check also *G. obtusum*]

p. 262-267: under “FRUITS, &c.”

p. 262-263: “Mulberry; morus... All the species of mulberry-trees grow kindly in these latitudes, and some people pretend the white kind to be the best; but on strict inquiry it cannot be ascertained in what manner this affects the worms...”

p. 264: “Green river plum.” [perhaps *Prunus munsoniana* or *P. hortulana*?]

p. 264: “Barren, or red plum.” [perhaps *Prunus munsoniana* since it does not bear good fruit]

crops without cross-pollination]

p. 264: “Cherokee plum; *prunus sylvestris fructu minori*.” [perhaps *Prunus angustifolia*]

p. 264: “Wild cherry; *prunus virginiana*.” [*Prunus serotina*]

p. 264: “Wild crab-apple; *pyrus coronaria*.” [*Malus coronaria*]

p. 265: “Persimmon; *diospyros virginiana*.” [*Diospyros virginiana*]

p. 265: “There are various kinds of grapes...”

p. 265: “Scarlet strawberries; *fragaria virginiana*; of an excellent flavour, and so plentiful, that from the beginning of April the savannahs appear quite red with them.” [*Fragaria virginiana*; elsewhere Imlay used the word savanna[h] only as a synonym for “natural meadows” in Ohio, northeast of the Bluegrass region.]

p. 267: “Whortleberries; *vaccinium uliginosum*... It loves a poor gravelly soil.” [*Vaccinium corymbosum* or *V. pallidum*]

p. 267: “Wild gooseberries; *ribes grossularia*.” [perhaps *Ribes cynosbati*]

p. 267: “Cranberries; *vaccinium oxycoccus*.” [perhaps *Gaylussacia baccata*]

p. 267: “Black raspberries; *rubus occidentalis*.” [*Rubus occidentalis*]

p. 267: “May-apple.” [*Podophyllum peltatum*]

p. 267: “Acimene. This fruit grows upon a shrub, and is from 4 to 5 inches in length, and from 1 to 1½ diameter. The pulp is sweet and tender. It ripens in July.” [perhaps confusion with *Asimina triloba*; see below]

p. 267: “Peakimine; a species of plum, nearly the size of the mogul-plum, but more delicious.” [perhaps *Prunus munsoniana*]

p. 267: “Papaw. This fruit grows upon a tree from 12 to 26 feet high. It is in shape more like a seed cucumber than any thing else. It is ripe about midsummer. Its pulp is yellow, and somewhat of the consistence of an indifferent melon, and its flavour very much like a custard;

but it is too luscious to be agreeable; though, when boiled green, it is good eating: but the rind, which is easily stripped off, leaves on the fingers so sharp an acid, that if you touch your eye with them before you wash them, it will be immediately inflamed, and itch insupportably for 24 hours after.” [*Asimina triloba*]

p. 267-277: under “NUT-TREES, &c.” Most of these notes are quite general, often with reference to other regions of eastern North America, and with some geographic confusion.

p. 278: “The best soil produces little timber but the locust, cherry, walnut, buck eye, sugar-tree, elm, beech, ash, satin wood [*Gymnocladus dioica*], and pawpaw: the middle rate land oaks, hiccory, dogwood, some sugar trees, and beech. What we call indifferent land affords mostly black and red oaks, some hiccory, gum, &c. and the more broken and hilly country (I mean the worst land), black-jack oak, fir [perhaps conifers in general], &c... There is a variety of shrubs in every part of the country... and a number of different kinds of grass, &c. that I am unable to describe; for they have not all obtained common names: and I am too ignorant of botany, as I have confided, to attempt to class them; which, perhaps, is the finest field now open to a man of genius, in [?is] the science of botany, upon the face of the globe.”

p. 283: under notes attributed to “governor Pownall” (of New Jersey, etc.); this appears to be a general statement about “the middle british colonies” but perhaps relevant to Kentucky; see also notes elsewhere about “meadows” along the Scioto River area in Ohio.

“There are also in many, I might say most, places, between the banks of the rivers and the hills or mountains, through which these rivers run, margins of rich meadow land clear of trees: this particular state is owing to the annual inundations that these meadows are covered with, and to

the constant accretion of soil which is left on the surface after the waters retire; these the settlers call by a very expressive name, *interval lands*. In some parts, as on the Mohawk and Connecticut river, these interval lands are of so rich a soil, that they may be tilled; some have been tilled incessantly for a century or more, and yet continue as rich as the vale of Egypt itself.”

p. 301: another general statement about “meadows” with thoughts about origins.

“The natural meadows cannot be accounted for: some of them have, doubtless, emerged from the waters of the Mississippi; which I presume was an arm of the sea, some distance above the mouth of the Ohio. Other of these meadows appear to have been lakes, the waters of which, in process of time, finding some outlet, have become dry lands. But some of these meadows are high lands, surrounded by an extensive timbered country, in many places lower than the clear lands.”

p. 368-369: under “Of the Indians.”

“In the neighborhood of Lexington, the remains of two ancient fortifications are to be seen, furnished with ditches and bastions. One of these contains about six acres of land, and the other nearly three. They are now overgrown with trees, which, by the number of circles in the wood, appear to be not less than 160 years old. Pieces of earthen vessels have also been plowed up near Lexington, a manufacture with which the Indians were never acquainted.”

p. 383: under “Postscript”, comparing land in Indiana [check location] with Kentucky.

“Between the Maumic trace and our west line of march toward Kenapacomaqua, there are as number of beech swamps, which will require draining before they will admit of settlements

being formed—there are however delightfully pleasant and fertile situations on the Calemud and Salamine rivers, which are only inferior to the woody plains of Kentucky in extent and climate.”

Harry Toulmin. 1792. A Description of Kentucky [check details]. Reprinted in: T.D. Clark (ed). 1945. University of Kentucky [check details].

Toulmin combined material from several sources, including Morse (1789), Anonymous (1791) and Imlay (1792); these are not requoted here. He did not appear to add new observations on the vegetation.

Harry Toulmin. 1793a. Information Respecting the County of Mason, and Washington, the County Town (Stated from Communications made by Captain Thomas Marshall, Clerk of the County Court). In: Marion Tuling & Godfrey Davies (eds.). 1948. The Western Country in 1793. Reports on Kentucky and Virginia. San Marino, California; printed by Grant Dahlstrom at The Castle Press, Pasadena.

p. 64 (in Tuling & Davies): “The buildings in this country are commonly of logs... The covering is walnut shingles. The flooring, blue ash.”

p. 67: under the heading “Natural Circumstances”: “...A most excellent plum grows in the woods, and likewise wild cherries, hickory nuts, walnuts, puccoon nuts (a very fine fruit) [presumably pecans but perhaps referring to areas downstream on the Ohio Rv.], raspberries, pawpaws, and grapes, but not palatable ones, and strawberries on the poorer lands... The soil is

too rich for strawberries, till it has been impoverished. The vine of the strawberry grows so luxuriantly that it affords a continual succession of blossoms, without allowing time to the fruit to come to maturity. Raspberries flourish finely. Amongst the medical roots, plants, etc., are the senna, the puccoon root [*Sanguinaria canadensis*], the snakeroot, ginseng, and various others...”

p. 71-74: under the heading “Agricultural Practices”: “The land in this country is, in general, broken [including hills on Eden Shale]. Much of it, however, is what I should term *waving*, neither a dead flat nor hilly. But the most broken parts are more level than the country on the Monongahela, and the topes of the hills are highly fertile and capable of being converted into the most valuable meadows...”

“The soil is in general rich loam. In the first-rate land (of which there are one million of acres in this country) it is black. The richest and blackest mold continues to about the depth of five or six inches. Then succeeds a lighter-colored, friable mold which extends about fifteen inches farther. When dry it will blow away with the wind, but it is perfectly free from sand or gravel or any kind of grit. Next comes stratum of friable earth which is sometimes a kind of marl, and sometimes clay, and at the distance of three feet from the surface is often combined with marine petrifications. The clay is either blue or white and bakes without cracking. It is of a soft, greasy nature, and when mixed with oil, very well answers the end of putty. You may dig several feet without coming to the limestone. In the first- and second-rate lands [intermixed], the mold is of a lighter color, and the second stratum is mixed with a little gravel. The first- and second-rate lands are generally intermixed. The south side of the hills are generally poor, the north side rich and *luxuriant*.”

“There is in this country a considerable proportion of third-rate land, the soil of which is a paler mold, and it lies in bodies distant from the first- and second-rate. It will not admit of being thickly settled, but it will probably become a considerable grazing country.”

“The predominant stratum in all these different kinds of land is limestone, which runs in a horizontal direction, and is to be perceived on the sides of hills and at the bottoms of the watercourses.”

“In the first-rate land, in the very black and light soil, are black and white walnut; hackberry, bearing a sweet nut, not unlike a cherry; honey locust; black locust; buckeye (so called on account of its bearing a nut somewhat resembling the eye of a deer); mahogany, which bears a nut which when prepared by drying resembles coffee in its taste; burr oak (which bears an acorn with a long fringe round its shell); cherry tree; scaly-barked [*Carya laciniosa*, *C. ovata*] and white hickory [*C. cordiformis*]; sugar tree; mulberry; elder; elm, red and white (N.B. The red elm bark is valuable for bruises and wounds and is also nutritive food; the white elm bark is used for dyeing red); grape vine; poplar; white gum [presumably *Liquidambar*]; sycamore; and puccoon [perhaps pecan, *Carya illinoensis*, which appears to be native near mouth of Licking Rv.] on the banks of the river; sassafras and lyn [linden] (the inner bark of which is good for burns).”

“Another kind of first-rate land, when the soil is somewhat stiffer, produces, besides the timber above enumerated, the blue ash (so called from the property which the wood has of dyeing blue), the roots of which render this kind of land more difficult to be cultivated.”

“The *undergrowth* found on first-rate land is spice wood, pawpaw, white thorn [perhaps *Crataegus mollis*], plums, wild apples, black thorn [perhaps *Crataegus crus-gallii*], cancerweed [= *Salvia lyrata* in some sources but probably another plant here], and the saplings of the timber. At a distance from the settlements where the ground has not been trodden, herbs and grass grow luxuriantly in the woods, that you may trace even the footsteps of a turkey with the same ease as if the earth were covered with snow. The sorts of grass are white clover, of a kind peculiar to this country [*Trifolium stoloniferum*]; rye grass [*Elymus macgregorii* etc.]; a sort of blue grass, or greensward [perhaps *Poa sylvestis*, or in open land, *P. angustifolia*]; fern [*Cystopteris protrusa* etc.]; the gall of the earth (containing in the stalks and leaves a juice which is esteemed a valuable application for the bite of a snake) [perhaps a species of *Prenanthes*, based on Fernald 1950]; wild ginger [*Asarum canadense*]; a vegetable called the Shawnee cabbage [perhaps *Hydrophyllum appendiculatum*; see also, notes of Braun 1950]; and another called the Shawnee lettuce [perhaps *Campanula americana*; see also, notes under Filson 1784]. After a settlement has been established and stock has been turned into the woods, a high, white-blossomed weed puts up in a few years [probably *Eupatorium rugosum*], which keeps down the pasture and consequently destroys the summer range.”

“In the second-rate land, all the timber of the first-rate land, except the buckeye and the box elder, [grows], but the rich growth is scarce. The prevailing timber is white oak, red oak, Spanish oak (different, however, from the Spanish oak of the eastern country) [probably *Q. shumardii*], dogwood, dogwood (the bark of which has some of the properties of Peruvian bark). The undergrowth is spicewood, pawpaw, briars, raspberries.”

“The timber of the third-rate land is the same as that of the second; but white oak prevails most [*Quercus alba*, *Q. muhlenbergii* or *Q. stellata*], whereas red oak [*Q. rubra*, *Q. shumardii*, *Q. velutina*] prevails most in the second-rate [perhaps reflecting more history of disturbance]. The third-rate has no spicewood or pawpaw...”

“In the good lands of Kentucky, the vegetation is astonishingly rapid... Mahogany sprouts, from the side of the tree near the earth, frequently grow in three or four months to the length of seven feet, and will measure four or five inches in circumference... As to the size of the timber, it is not uncommon to see the burr oak, in the best lands, five to seven feet through; the sycamore much larger, but generally hollow; the poplar ten feet; and the hickory, which in the eastern country seldom exceeds one foot, often three feet through. The first-rate lands, however, have no great proportion of large timber... Both the woods and the meadows are covered an infinite variety of the most beautiful flowers...”

“The caterpillar has done considerable injury to the sugar tree and to fruit trees. In the latter it is kept off by sulphur, but nothing has yet been found to arrest its depredations on the sugar tree.”

“...The cultivated grasses are clover, timothy, and blue grass of a different kind from that which is natural to the soil... To prepare the land for the Indian corn, they grub the small trees, belt the large ones, and such as are not immediately killed by belting, viz. hackberry, white elm, sugar tree, beech, they grub, burning the brush and timber which is cut down. They then plow without harrowing, though some have contented themselves with hoeing... Everyone makes sugar from the natural sugar tree and some are beginning to leave the tree standing when they

clear the ground, and they are of they opinion that the detriment which the crops receive from the shade, is in some measure compensated for in the advantage it is of to the stock... The winter support of cattle is hay, fodder, the bark of the lin, hackberry, beech and mulberry.”

Harry Toulmin. 1793b. Some Account of Kentucky. In: Marion Tinling & Godfrey Davies (eds.). 1948. The Western Country in 1793. Reports on Kentucky and Virginia. San Marino, California; printed by Grant Dahlstrom at The Castle Press, Pasadena.

Note: this are general notes on the state at that time, but with a clear focus on the Bluegrass region.

p. 97 (in Tinling & Davies): “...There are five or six fulling mills on the north side of Kentucky River, which are employed in finishing goods made of the wood, the growth of the country [from sheep]; whereas the few inhabitants who were there fifteen years ago were obliged to make their cloth out of the hair of the buffalo and their linen from the thread of nettles.”

p. 106: “The manufacture of SUGAR has long been established in Kentucky; and at one time it promised to become an object of some importance to the country. Two years ago, however, a most wonderful number of caterpillars made their appearance and committed such merciless depradations upon the leaves of the sugar trees as to leave scarcely a single one standing in some parts of the country. This evil was principally experienced on the southern side of the Kentucky River; and the country people still make a considerable quality of brown sugar in the northern part of the state...”

Harry Toulmin. 1794. Copy of a Letter from Reverend H. Toulmin to Mr. James Leigh, Winchester, Virginia, May 19, 1794. Printed in: Marion Tinling & Godfrey Davies (eds.). 1948. The Western Country in 1793. Reports on Kentucky and Virginia. San Marino, California; printed by Grant Dahlstrom at The Castle Press, Pasadena.

p. 135 (in Tinling & Davies): “Seventhly, another considerable objection to Kentucky is the want of water. This objection is partly founded upon an imperfect knowledge of the country. Those who visited it, through the thickness of the herbage and the impenetrability of the canebrakes, were not aware of the many springs which water the country. Experience has, however, in a great part removed the objection. It is found that springs which are always dry a month or two have in consequence of clearing the timber and the cultivation of the land become permanent and that the number of springs is amazingly increased. And even when the springs are still irregular, it is found that wells may be sunk at a small expense to springs which never fail.”

André Michaux. 1793. Journal. Translated from French and printed in: R.G. Thwaites (ed). 1904. Early Western Travels 1748-1846. Vol. III. The Arthur C. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

For clarity, the original italics for plant species, printed in 1904, are excluded here; italics displayed here are only in brackets, and indicate my own interpretation (J.C.); “sic” indicates that the original name is now accepted. See also notes from the 1802 journal of his son, Francois, who quoted from the father’s notes and provides more regional context. Further

comparison and investigation is still needed. Collections of *Les Michaux* are housed at the Paris Herbarium, but details have never been cataloged and linked with these journals.

p. 36 [in the 1904 printing]: August, at Washington (Mason Co.).

“The 30th and 31st herborised while waiting until horses could be procured for the journey to Lexington. *Guilandina dioica* [*Gymnocladus dioica*]; *Fraxinus* (*quadrangularis*) [*F. quadrangulata*]; *Gleditsia triacanthos* [*sic*]; *Serrulata praealta* [*Vernonia gigantea*]; *Eupatorium aromaticum* [probably *E. rugosum*], *Crepis Sibirica*? [perhaps *Pyrrhopappus caroliniana*] etc.”

p. 38: September, at Lexington (Fayette Co.).

“The 7th herborised... The 9th left Lexington, went through portions of forest lands with very scattered Plantations. Crossed the Kentucky river... Several shrubs and plants, natives of Carolina, grow on the cliff with a southern exposure being secured and protected from cold by the favorable situation offered by the great depth of the bed of the river. The 10th arrived in Danville... The 13th visited (his Excellency) the Governor of the State of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby; visited the hills called Knob Licks [Boyle Co.]; saw several plants especially in the salt lands enclosed in the interior of Kentucky. *Andromeda arborea* [*Oxydendrum arboreum*]...”

“Sunday 15th of September 1793, 22 miles from Danville found a sort of *Tragia* [*Tragia cordata*], a monoecian plant, fructification in the manner of the Euphorbias. Shortly before reach Beardstown [Bardstown] recognized the rocks and stones of the Madrepores. The tops of the mountains [hills] one has to cross, 3 or 4 miles before reaching Beardstown, consist entirely of these petrified madrepores. Recognized many plants not found elsewhere: *Fagara*

[*Zanthoxylum americanum*] of the State of New York; Rhamnus (Carolinian) [*R. caroliniana*] and Rhamnus [perhaps *R. lanceolata*]... etc. etc. The neighborhood would be very interesting for a botanist to visit... The country between Beardstown and Louisville possesses no interest for a botanist... The 21st passed by Beardstown—*Evonymus ramulis quadrangularis capsulis muricatis* [*Euonymus americanus*]. Sunday September 22nd arrived once more at Danville...”

“The 24th started for Lexington and slept at the Kentucky River crossing [below mouth of Dix River]. The 25th found that my horse had wandered away. I slept at an inn where there was no stable; my horse jumped over the fence and I spent the whole day looking for him. While so engaged I saw on the sandy beaches: *Iresine celosioides* [*Iresine rhizomatosa*]; *Mollugo verticillata* [*sic*]. On the rocks: *Heuchera americana* [*sic*]; *Asplenium rhyzophorum* [*A. rhizophyllum*]; *Pteris novae*; *Parietaria* [*P. pennsylvanica*]...; *Hydrangea arborescense* [*H. arborescens*]. On the limestone mountains: *Serratula* 2 unknown species [perhaps *Vernonia* or *Cacalia*]; *Cuphea viscosa* [*C. viscosissima*]; *Didynamia gymnosperma novum genus*; *Didynamia angiosperma novum genus*. On the bank of the Dickson river: *Dirca palustris* [*sic*]; *Sophora floribus coeruleis* [*Baptisia australis*]. In the shady forests etc.: *Acer foliis argenteis an rubrum?* [*A. saccharinum*] *Acer saccharum* [*sic*]; *Fraxinus foliolis subintegris* [*F. pennsylvaniuca* var. *subintegerrima*], *Fraxinus foliolis serratis ramis quadrangularis* [*F. quadrangulata*]; *Gleditsia triacanthos* [*sic*]; *Guilandina dioica* [*Gymnocladus dioica*]; *Robinia pseudo-acacia* [*sic*]; *Evonymus ramulis subrotundis, capsulis laevibus* [*Euonymus obovatus*]...”

Needham Parry. 1794. Diary of trip westward in 1794. Copied by John D. Shane. Filed under 14CC (p. 1-9) with the Draper Manuscripts at the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Printed in: L. Beckner (ed). 1948. John D. Shane's copy of

Needham Parry's Diary of Trip Westward in 1794. The Filson Club History Quarterly 22: 227-247.

p. 229 [in the 1948 printing]: May/Jun 1794, about bottomland above Wheeling, on the Ohio River: "The timber on these fine bottoms is chiefly beech, with some few walnuts, ash, shellbark hickory, and some sugar trees."

p. 232: 6 Jun: from Limestone to Lexington, crossing Hinkston Creek [on US 68].
"The land here being excellent, and timbered with walnut, honey locust, buckeye, and cherry trees..."

p. 233: 7 Jun: at Lexington.
"Lexington is a fine stirring town, containing about 350 houses, throngly inhabited, and is the greatest place for dealing I ever saw."

p. 233: 12 Jun: at Georgetown.
"Georgetown stands in a pretty situation, within 4 miles of the extreme [farthest] settlement, on the road from Lexington to Head Quarters at Cincinnati, or mouth of Licking. This is a thriving little town, though but small yet."

p. 234: 13 Jun: from Georgetown to Frankfort, perhaps through a northern circuit.
"This day rode chiefly through second rate land timbered with fine oak, part of which was in Scott County... In the afternoon I crossed the ferry over Kentucky River into Messers County [Mercer Co., now split into Anderson Co. at this north end] and rode through an uninhabited

country for about 12 miles of a dangerous piece of road, and thinner land. Crossed the north and south forks of Big Benson Creek into Shelby County; and before night came came to Tick Creek [east of Shelbyville], part of the waters of Salt River. On this stream there was good land timbered with beach, poplar, walnut, ash and sugar tree. This night I lodged at one Duncan's, a frontier settlement; where, a few days ago, two men were shot in the field, at their work, by the Indians; and last week there was one killed and one wounded, about 6 miles along the settlement."

p. 235: 14 Jun: at Benjamin Hewes [Hughes] station, between Shelbyville and Beargrass Creek. "At this place I called to feed my horse, and was informed that on this place, about one-fourth of a mile of his house, there was a family murdered by the Indians just before sun-down, the 23rd day of the 5th month 1794. And this man where I now am, has militia draughted to guard him."

p. 245 [footnote]: 15 Jun: at Shelbyville.

"...I was dissuaded very much from going this trip, [as] it was counted very dangerous. I met some bacon lying in the road—2 pieces—just as if it might have been dropped there. I made a sort of halt, but when I thought of what I had heard of the Indian [de]coys, I turned and went on..."

p. 235: 15 Jun: at Beargrass Creek, west of Louisville in Jefferson Co.

"The land here is very fine on this Creek, and the water good, but on some of the most pleasant situations the timber is chiefly beech with scarcely as much of other timber as will fence it. Yet six poplars, growing among the beach, have been known to make 2400 rails."

p. 235, 16 Jun: from the Shelbyville area to Bardstown and beyond.

“Started early, and crossed Floyd’s fork lower down than I did before, and then crossed Salt River into Nelson County, and rode 8 miles to Coxes Creek [now US 31E & 150]. The land for some distance about Floyd’s fork is not more than third rate, and a good deal hilly, and continued so for a number of miles. Then came to rather better land, timbered with oak and poplar [still on US 31E]. Came to Bardstown, County town for Nelson County, and after I passed Bardstown, I came to the heaviest timbered land I had seen in Kentucky, which last[ed] almost to the Beach-fork [low knobs along US 150]. The timber on this land was poplar, oak, and hickory, and very large chestnut; which was the whole chestnut I saw in Kentucky, except for a little on the knobs [perhaps later near Bourbon Furnace].”

p. 236: 17 Jun: from Springfield (Washington Co.) to Danville (now Boyle Co.).

“About 5 miles from this town [Springfield], I crossed the waters of the Beach-fork of Salt River again, and then crossed a ridge of excellent land, and was told that all along the waters of this stream, the land was good [now southeast Washington Co. and northeast Marion Co.]. The timber is beach, mixed with poplars, ash, walnut, and cherry tree. And then I went through some second rate land, again, for a few miles, then came to excellent land, which lasted to Danville.”

p. 237-238: 21-22 Jun: from the big bend of Hinkston Creek (now near Millersburg in Bourbon Co.) to the Cane Ridge and then Mount Sterling (Montgomery Co.).

“I crossed Stoner again [now in the Paris area, Bourbon Co.], and rode about 15 miles through the country [now Ky. Route 627], and came to John Coulson’s [perhaps at the intersection with

Ky. Route 57, southern Bourbon Co.]. The land I rode through today was also of the first quality, being timbered like the rest, with walnut, cherry, blue-ash, buckeye, locust, and hackberry; and the water good. At Coulson's I staid all night and on 22nd, being the 1st day [of the week], I set out for Mt. Sterling, which is nearly a frontier on the northeast end of the Kentucky Settlement. Crossed Stoner Creek again below Bourbon, and went by the Cane-Ridge Meeting-house [now on Ky. Route 537]... and so came to Mt. Sterling, or the Little Mountain Town, and as the road was but narrow, hemmed in with cane, the most of the way, and the weather wet, caused the road to be exceeding muddy, and a good deal of it very hilly, that it made a tiresome days journey [probably Ky. Route 537 to US 460]. The land all the way was very good; the timber in some places was chiefly honey-locust, but in others varyfied with walnut, buckeye, hackberry and sugar-tree.”

p. 238: 23 Jun: at “Bourbon furnace” which was about 2 miles southeast of where Owingsville now stands, on US 62 in Bath Co.

“I went up to Slate River, being part of the waters of Licking River and so down it to the furnace called Bourbon furnace, it being the only furnace in Kentucky. And so much of a frontier, that they have to keep a guard over the men while they dig the ore, and cut the wood. This ore-bank I went to see; and was informed that a few days ago, the Indians got between the guard and 2 men that were digging ore and shot them both; after laying almost the whole day undiscovered, waiting for the opportunity. And likewise about the same time as some negroes were going home near the furnace, the Indians jumped out of a white oak sap [a grove of young sappy trees] and caught one negro in the midst of them, some being before him and some behind him, and took him off; but he made his escape a few days after, by killing one of them, and returned, for which act his master freed him.”

Interpretation. According to much local history, the furnace operated during 1791-1839; ore was dug from banks nearby, especially on Ore Mines Road (south of US 60, 2 miles southwest of Polkville). Previously, natural licks appeared to have occurred here; Barker's (1795) map shows "Knob Lick" at the head of Cow Creek, which is perhaps the best remnant of a lick in the state (Campbell et al. 1992; Morehead District Inventory for USFS).

p. 245: commentary by Beckner (1948) [more of Parry's material and contemporary accounts could be incorporated here; to be followed up].

"It is often stated that the capture of Ralph Morgan's Station in Montgomery County on April 1, 1793, was the last major raid of the Indians in Kentucky, but Parry dates a later one near Mothrel's Station on the Wilderness Road on May 15, 1794, in which 48 armed and mounted whites were routed with four killed and one wounded; and the raid on Sturgeon's in Shelby on May 23, 1794, in which a whole family was murdered. These are major affairs subsequent to Morgan's Station. Parry also tells of the killing of two men at the Bourbon (Slate Creek) Furnace "a few days ago," and a serious raid in Southwest Virginia in the spring just past."

Elihu Barker. 1795. A Map of the State of Kentucky from Actual Survey. J. Debrett, Picadilly, London, England. Also printed in the 1797 edition of Imlay's "Topographical Description"; see above.

This map shows a trail from the mouth of Licking River, south along largely along the divides between watersheds to the west, to Georgetown, then to Lexington. This route is more or less similar to US 25 today. But further south, the old wilderness trail, through the Clay's Ferry and Boonesborough, ends at "Red Lick" which is located at or near Big Hill, on US 25 at the T-

junction with Ky. Route 21. Instead, there are continuous trails from Lexington south to the mouth of Hickman Creek, at the Kentucky River, then close to the Dix River (more or less US 27 to US 150) or to the ridge east of the river (more or less Ky. Routes 1355 to 39), then to the Rockcastle River, joining the old wilderness road to Cumberland Gap.

Just east of Lexington, Barker's map shows an interesting intersection between the original trail from the Lexington area towards the Upper Blue Licks (now more or less Ky. Route 57) and another probably ancient trail from the north (head of Mill Creek, now in Harrison Co.) to this point then east and south via the Eskippakithiki area. For further notes on this north-southeast trail, see interpretation below of the "Licking Route" mapped by Myer (1925, p. 58). This intersection is in the relatively flat lands between Licking and Kentucky River drainages, now including the Avon army base of northeast Fayette County. Modern names for smaller creeks have changed from Barker's map in several cases, but it appears that the upper section of North Elkhorn today (with one branch through the Avon area and another to the southwest) was called "Lick Fork" on his map. Was there a locally important lick in this area? Virtually no native vegetation survives in this section of the county, but a relatively good remnant of swamp green ash-swamp white oak woodland occurs about 5 miles to the south at the head of Boone Creek, and there are several other green ash groves in this area. "Sobby beech flats" were later noted in this section of Fayette County by Owen (1857) and others.

The map does not show a trail all the way to the Upper Blue Licks (now Ky. Route 57), but instead there is a trail from Lexington to "Bourbon Furnace" that ran on or near the first part of Ky. Route 57, then US 460, then back roads (via Sideview, Judy, Stoops) to US 60. This "Iron Works Road" was evidently a new emphasis on the landscape. With connections to "Mud Lick"

(later Olympia Springs) and Salt Lick, the road then continued up Triplett Creek on or near US 60, then across the hills, on or near Ky. Route 32, to the forks of Big Sandy River at “Baldutha” (now Fort Gay and Louisa in Lawrence Co.).

In the upper section of the Licking River drainage is written “Cane on all these branches” to the east of “Elkhorn Fork” [apparently now Johnson Creek]. This area lies in what has become southern Magoffin Co., upstream of Salyersville. See also: Munsell’s (1818) map, with “Indian Valley”; notes below under Joshua McQueen (Draper 1842-1851, 13CC, p. 121); and Jillson’s (1934) notes on Mud Lick in Johnson County, regarding an “Indian village.”

Several other features of this map are referred in various interpretations appended to the historical material cited here. See notes under Myer (1925) for discussion of Barker’s trail south from Mill Creek in Harrison Co. to Howards Upper Creek in Clark Co.

Rev. David Barrow. 1795. Diary. A copy is filed with the Draper Manuscripts at the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. A photocopy of a typewritten transcription has been placed in the Special Collections, University of Kentucky. Titles have included: “Diary of David Barrow of his Travel Thru Kentucky in 1795” (perhaps the earliest); and “Diary of David Barrow, Pioneer Baptist Minister, Va-Ky.”

David Barrow (1753-1819) has been written about in several works, including Judge Charles Kerr’s 1922 “History of Kentucky” (5 vols., American Historical Society, Chicago) and several recent websites. He died in Mount Sterling (Montgomery Co., Ky.), a descendant, Mr. A.C. Barrow, was living in a rural district of that town during 1922. In 1938, the original diary was

in the possession of Thomas Marshall Barrow in St. Louis, formerly of Owensboro, Kentucky, and is has now been “stored in a vault by one of his descendants” (NokTree.com).

p. 20-21[of copy at Univ. of Ky.]: notes of travels during 14-20 Jun 1795 from Georgetown to “Hulings Station” to “Campbell Station” to “Read Station” to the Ohio River and Cincinnati [check details of dates, page numbers, etc.].

“...this day passed the vast bodies of uninhabited land of an ordinary quality lying on the dividing lines of waters of Eagle Creek and the Licking River. However, in the course of the day we crossed a good deal of middling and some of the finest class of land... [At Read’s Station] finding the Station crowd[ed] we camped in the woods.”

p. 21: 28 Jun: notes on the area around Cincinnati, in Ohio.

“The lands are confessedly as good as in Kentucky, and said generally to be better watered; but they do not lie in so large bodies together. There is an abundance of game here at present, such as deer, bear, turkey etc. The range for all kinds of animals is very good at this time and consists of wild pea-vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*] etc., but no cane as I saw or could hear of on this side of the Ohio until one falls low down the said river.”

p. 22-25: 30 Jul: written after returning into Virginia; summarizing the settled parts of Kentucky, that is, the north-central areas now referred to as the Bluegrass region.

p. 23: “As to the soil, I think sincerely that the great Creator has imbued it with every rich property in the greatest proportion that is to be found in the whole of North America, if not in the whole world. And this is not only to be said of Kentucky in particular but with great

propriety may be said of the western countries in general, as far as I had opportunity of exploring or the privilege of getting my authentic account; nay a modest traveler can hardly have face to represent it to any person who has never seen the like. I do not say that all the lands in those countries are so good but I think in conscience what is represented above will generally apply.”

“The growth in these parts is black walnut in great abundance; vastly large and tall sugar tree, black lin [*Tilia* or perhaps *Magnolia acuminata*], hackberry, white ash, white walnut, wild cherry, coffee nut tree and buckeye with a mixture of others too tedious to mention. These are in the first quality of land. The middling [land there is] a mixture of all these with abundance of white beach [*Fagus grandifolia* var. *caroliniana*], white [*Quercus alba*] and red oak [perhaps mostly *Q. rubra*, *Q. velutina*], the largest and finest that I ever behold, popular [*Liriodendron tulipifera*] in great abundance, without doubt as large and fine as ever grew in the universe, and scaly barked hickory [*Carya ovata*]. In the lowest class of land [there is an] abundance of beach and white oak, excellent for masts. Indeed what they call the lowest class of land is abundantly better than our best [in Virginia].”

“The growth of trees in those countries is so luxurious that they form a shade so universal and add thereto the darkness of the soil, that it may be called as it is rendered from some of the Indian tongue, “The dark and bloody ground”. Undergrowth: shrubs of various kinds as wild spice [*Lindera benzoin*], red bud [*Cercis canadensis*], prickley [probably prickly-ash, *Zanthoxylum americanum*], elder-ash [*Sambucus canadensis*].—Without any mixture of any kind [of] whortle berry [*Vaccinium* spp. and allies], pink elder [*Sambucus pubens*], sour wood [*Oxydendron arboreum*] etc. The herbage is very plentiful in the uninhabited parts (tho’ as

usual it is mostly devoured in the settlements) as wild pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], wild rice [ryes] [*Elymus* spp.], buffalo grass [perhaps *Panicum clandestinum*], Kentucky nettle, a weed peculiar to those countries and a sign of great fertility [perhaps *Urtica chamaedryoides*], and many others too numerous to mention. The wild grape vine [mostly *Vitis vulpina*] grows in those regions to an astonishing size; which indicated to me that it is famous for vineyards. These parts are totally exempt from the curse of broom-sedge [*Andropogon virginicus*] and wild sorrel [*Rumex acetosella*], tho' they abound pretty generally with most other weeds and grass that we have among us; as crab grass [*Digitaria* spp.], a kind they call nimble will [*Muhlenbergia schreberi*] [and] several other kinds of wild grass which I do not recollect. They also [have] Jamestown weeds [*Datura stramonium*], cuckold burs [*Xanthium strumarium*], carrot weeds [*Daucus carota*], poke [*Phytolacca americana*], pusley [perhaps *Portulaca oleracea*], waterweed [perhaps *Polygonum* spp.], stickweed [perhaps *Desmodium perplexum*], careless weed [perhaps *Amaranthus hybridus*], pie-markers [*Abutilon theophrasti*] etc.”

[Here Barrow provides notes on farming and crops, which are not relevant to the purpose of this document, but should be included in further agricultural history.]

p. 23: “Tho' these western tracts are found to about with an excellent range for grazing animals of all kinds at their first settlement,—yet after they soon became amazingly bare owing to there being none of the sedge or courser kinds of grass in the woods in the first place, and secondly to peoples letting their hogs run out in the woods, which prey upon the roots of the rich herbage and in a short time totally destroys their profitable pasturage. This inconveniency is easily and effectively removed by the lands being so well adapted to tame grass of all kinds, which not only affords an inexhaustible pasturage.—A few acres well laid down in grass will provide

immense quantities of hay.”

“It appears to me that this country is designed by the great parent of the universe as the seat or stage of some of the last scenes, for I do seriously think that it is calenlated [perhaps calendared] for the greatest degree of independence of any country that is now or perhaps ever was found,—For it evidently does abound, without any connection with other part[s] of the universe, with a very [large amount of] material, when manufactured, necessary for human life. It is generally healthy. It is famous for horses, cattle, sheep, swine, fowls; and near the waters for fish and honey bees; it abounds with numbers of salt springs, which appear inexhaustible; and from the few of them that have as yet been occupied, the numerous inhabitants have been supplied handily with salt, at the price of from one to three dollars a bushel. Those who have industry may, with the ordinary pots suitable for a family’s use, make as much sugar in the course of a winter as they can have any call for tho the whole year, as good as ever came from the Indes [*Saccharum officinarum*]. This is done from the water issueing from the sugar tree, which with care may be repeated on the tree, without destroying it, for ever so many years successfully...”

p. 24: “In the winter and wet seasons, their creeks which are numerous are flush, sweetly gliding over rocky bottoms, and appear to be never failing; but in mid-summer if the season should be dry, [the creeks] disappear for miles together, and then perhaps break out again, which subterranean passages giving vent to their springs in this secret manner renders water scarce for mills, etc. in very dry seasons. But I am informed by good authority that as the country becomes cultivated numbers of springs are brought to run on the surface that were unknown before, but if this were not the case wells may be sunk thru this rock that would be

never failing; there remains no doubt with me.”

p. 25: “The bones and teeth that have been found in opening some of the springs at several of the salt licks cannot fail to excite wonder. I saw three teeth at what is called the blue lick, two tusks and one grinder that were amazingly large, but as I had neither rule nor steel yards, I forbore to say how many feet they were long or how many pounds they would weight. They were evidently the teeth of a grazing animal and I suppose none other than that of any elephant; and tho none of those creatures have been seen in America since its first discovery, [it seems] that those creatures must have inhabited this quarter of the world before the flood and were destroyed at that time.”

“The height of the cliffs on the Kentucky raised my astonishment and I believe [it] does that of most travelers. The lands are mostly poor on these cliffs but as one leaves the river one enters a delightful plain or shady grove, captivating every sense, surpassing even imagination itself. If a stranger were set down in the midst of the country he would suppose by the growth that he were in a body of the richest grounds he ever saw in his life, but let him travel to the cliffs of this river or the Ohio and he will be convinced that he was not on low ground.”

“The richest kind of land has no ticks and but few snakes; [but] snakes and ticks too are plenty on the cliffs. Our common kind of birds were very scarce I am told when the country was first settled, but they have greatly increased, such as partridges [quail]; the gray mocking bird and kill dee are very rarely to be seen. They have no whipoorwills off from the cliffs. They have abundance of woodpeckers, crows and ravens. Their woodcocks have white or what some call ivory bills [pileated woodpeckers]. They have plenty of pheasants [grouse] in places, also wild

geese and ducks are plentiful in the fall season on the Ohio. Wild turkeys are much reduced on the settlements but plentiful in the borders. It is the same with deer, bear, etc. They have no rats or common mice except in the neighbourhood of the boat landings. There are but few hares [rabbits] and no fox squirrels, but the like of gray and ground squirrels [chipmunks] I have never seen before. The following paragraph was published in a Kentucky Gazette some time last June: “A company met to kill squirrels in Madison county about the plantation of Archer Wood some time about the last of May or the first of June, and in two days killed 5589.”

“This country like all other countries where people are dirty is very productive of fleas, chinchies, lice, and house flies. They have abundance of gnats though but few mosquitos above the falls of the Ohio. Horse and cow flies though are not so plentiful as they as with us [in Virginia].—This is especially so on first rate lands. They [the inhabitants] have been much afflicted with caterpillars for seven or eight years past. They have done much damage in the woodlands especially among the sugar trees, viz [thereby] leaving them bare so many years an abundance of that valuable growth is dead. They have a worm (tho I did not see them) in some places but by what I can learn they are a kind of ground worm that prove very fatal where they prevail. They [eat] everything before them and leave the face of nature bare. This is always in the spring and as the hot season approaches they entirely disappear. If these creatures should get a general commission from the universal King they would be more to be feared than a grand army.”

Interpretation. In some passages, Barrow may be alluding to Filson (1784) or Imlay (1792), but his language appears to be genuinely original. The comments about herbage, hogs, springs, fossils, game, and invertebrates are distinct from any other known writings before this time.

References for common names include: USDA Forest Service, Forest Products Laboratory (website) for “black lin”; Krochnal’s “Guide to Medicinal Plants of Appalachia” for “stickweed” and “careless weed”. The “caterpillars” on sugar maple probably were the forest tent caterpillar (*Malacosoma disstria*), which can cause widespread regional outbreaks, lasting 2-5 years, at intervals of 5-15 years (see USDA websites); this should not be confused with the eastern tent caterpillar that often infests cherry trees. Outbreaks may be enhanced by promoting monoculture of sugar maples and by various stresses in the trees.

Shelby County Court Records. 1795. July 27: “Danl Goodman claim Danl Boone Depo.” Transcribed and forwarded to JC by Neal Hammon, Shelbyville (June 2012).

“In compliance with a Warrant to us directed from the Clerk of the County Court of Shelby we Martin Daniel, Isham Talbot and Abraham Owen this 27th day of July 1795 having met at the place called the Vinyard on the Watters [waters] of Little Jepsey a South fork of Brasheirs's Creek in the fork between two small dreans [drains] of said Creek (Jepsey) where there are two Beeches marked as follows Viz. one marked William W Kinzie 1775 and the Other J Johnston Nov 9th 1775 on one of which said trees towit the one marked J. Johnston Nov. 1775 there appeared to have been a large blaze in the manner in which trees are usually blazed to be marked with Powder or Keele, which said marks appears to be as ancient as the dates thereon Inscribed and having by our Warrant caused Colo Daniel Boone to come before us and him the said Daniel Boone being first sworn deposed and saith that in the fall of the year 1775,

“To wit, in the time Bucks were hunting he the Deponant in Company with Colo Thomas

Hart, Capt. Nathl Hart, Jesse Brenton John Kennedy William Mc Kenzie 6 young Gentleman from the lower parts of North Carrolina, Jno Johnston Daniel Goodman Deceased and others were going from Boonsborough to the Falls of Ohio and having traveled a great distance through a broken Beechey Country and upon ariving at on the top of a ridge where the land changed suddenly and going some short distance through a beautiful rich piece of ground fell on a small drea[n] [drain] and followed the same down a small distance arrived at the place which was then by some of the Company called and named the Vinyard, and finding some water in the branch and it being near the middle of the day the company concluded to Stop, noon it, and dry their cloths which was wet by a rain that fell the over night, and several of the company fond of Hunting for Deer &c and Viewing the Land concluded to turn out on that business and Colo Thomas Hart and this Deponent went together and after walking about a half a mile this deponent killed two deer and they then returned to this place where they had left the rest of the company and on their return found that Jesse Brenton and John Kenedy had also gone out, and had not returned, and while the company was waiting for them this Deponent recollects hearing Daniel Goodman claim this place as his Land and after waiting sometime and Brenton and Kenedy not returning the company moved on crossed two creeks, Towit, the Creeks now known by the name of Jepsey and Gess's fork at the last said Creek they incamped and the next morning this Deponent returned to this place in search of Brenton and Kenedy and finding Brenton returned to the Company and this Deponent further saith that when the Commisseeoners Set for adjusting claims and granting Certificates for Settlements and Preemptions, Colo Richard Callaway.”

“Calloway or Samuel Henderson who laid in the claim for the Heirs called on this

Deponent to prove and Locate the Same which he the said Deponent did and Located it on this spot knowing it to be claimed by the Decendent Goodman in his lifetime he the said Goodman having prior to the Seting of the Commissioners and Subsequent to his claiming the Land [had] been killed by the Indians at Boons Borough in the year 1777 as well as he recollects whilst acting as Overseer for Colo. Callaway and the said Deponent further saith that he this day Attended Abraham Owen Esquire whilst he was Surveying the Settlement of the said Heirs and says that the lines thereof includes the place marked and named as aforesaid in the center of a Squar

Daniel Boone”

“Sworn to and Subscribed before us this day and date aforesaid at the aforesaid place called the Vinyard in Presence of John Waggoner and James Craig disinterested Inhabitants of The said County of Shelby and also in presence of Mr. Andrew Holmes and James Morten and we do Certify that a large Beech tree on which "TH 1775" was Inscribed was also shewed us within about half a Mile of the place which said marks appears to be as old ass the date thereof and that the said Deponent saith he Verely believed that Colo Thomas hart cut those Letters and date at the time he the Deponent was skinning the two Deer he had Killed whilst they were looking at the Land

Martin Daniel

Isham Talbot

Abraham Owen”

“Shelby County Sct. August Court 1795. The above Deposition of Daniel Boone together with the Commissioners Certificate there under Written was returned and Ordered to be Recorded

Teste James Craig CC.”

Interpretation. The Vinyard was south of Jeptha's Knob, near where modern Interstate 64 runs.

Clark County Court Records. 1795-1814. The following extracted and interpreted text has been provided by Harry Enoch, to whom I am most grateful. He has published some of this material in the Winchester Sun of Clark County., and in the following report: Harry G. Enoch and Diane Rogers (2005), “Deposition Book, Clark County Court Depositions, 1795-1814”, Winchester, Kentucky. See also his notes on “Sycamore Forest” above under “Fayette County Court Records” of 1779-80, together a map from these Clark County records.

Regarding the “Sycamore Forest” between Johnson’s Fork and Hancock Fork of Stroud’s Creek, about 4 miles north of downtown Winchester and almost a mile east. There are several references in depositions to an unusual “grove of sycamore trees” (William Bush, p. 168 in Enoch & Rogers); “the sycamore forest” (Robert McMillan in Crockett v. Allan, 1810); “sycamore forris” (Oswald Townsend, Deposition Book, p. 234); and the following from William Clinkenbeard (Deposition Book, p. 236).

“Question By Mathew Patton: Do you know that the trace from Boonsborough to the lower Salt Springs run through the center, or nearly so, of the Sycamore forrest? Answer: I beleave it did. Question by Same: Do you know of any other place on said trace that bore the name of the Sycamore Forrest? Answer: I do not. Question by Same: Was there not sycamores on each side of the ridge, both on the waters of Hancock and Johnson? Answer: There was. Question by Thomas Kennedy: Was not the sycamore forrest a Large body of wood extending from Hancocks fork to Johnsons fork with the salt spring trace runing through it? Answer: It was a large body of wood, but I do not think they extended to either [fork].”

Interpretation. The “Sycamore Forest” grew up on damp disturbed ground, perhaps an old lick..

Regarding “Falling Timber”, apparently on uplands south of the “Sycamore Forest”. According to Enoch, the earliest reference was in January 1780, when Virginia approved a claim (Reg. Ky. Hist. Soc. 1981, p. 121): “William Forbes this day claims a settlement and preemption to a tract of land in the District of Kentucky lying on the head of Wolf Creek, a branch of Licking Creek, adjoining the falling Timber by raising a Crop of Corn in the Country in the year 1776.” However, the survey of 1782 stated that this tract was “upon Hancock’s fork, a branch of Strodes fork of Licking”. Wolf Creek later became known as Johnson’s Fork or Johnson Creek. In 1800, there was further reference by Jacob Starnes (p. 168 in Enoch & Rogers): “the trace leading from Boonsborough to the lower blue licks came down this Branch [?Strodes], that it crossed and recrossed the first branch that hit came to of this branch, before it came to this place. And that it did not cross said Branch [?Hancock] until it came within half a mile or three Quarters of the Grove of sycamores called the sycamore Forrest. And that in 1778 this branch [?Hancock] was called the long branch of the fallen Timber fork, and further that the Creek now called Johnston was then known by the name of Wolf Creek”. And David Lynch recalled in the summer of 1780 that he accompanied Capt. James Estill and twelve to fifteen men on their way to lower Blue Lick, as follows: “to make salt, and we went along the Salt Lick Trace by the falling timber, the Many Crossings ... and so on to the Lower blue lick. Captain Estill told the company the names of the different noted places we passed, as the men under his command was from different stations in different parts of the country, and I remember the names of several of the noted places we passed after we left Strodes Station that Estill said they were known by, which was as follows. The first was falling timber, then the Many Crossings, Harrods lick and the flat Lick. ... We stayed there seven or eight days and made a few bushels of salt and then returned.” (Henry’s heirs v. Sturgis, p. 257-258 in Deposition Book).

Interpretation. the “Falling Timber” may have resulted from a tornado here on damp ground.

Rev. James Smith. 1795-97. Journals of 1783-1795-1797. Printed with notes by Josiah Morrow. 1907. Ohio Archaeology and History Society Publications 16: 348-401.

p. 371: 24 Oct 1795: at the Blue Licks (Robertson Co.).

“We soon reached the Blue Licks, the country around which remains a monument of barrenness. The amazing resort of buffalo to the Licks in former times is supposed to be the cause of this barrenness. As you approach the Licks [from the north], at the distance of 4 or 5 miles from it, you begin to perceive the change. The earth seems to be worn away; the roots of the trees lie naked and bare; the rocks forsaken of the earth, that once covered them, lie naked on the neighboring hills, and roads of an amazing size, in all directions, unite at the Licks, as their common center. Here immense herds of buffalo used formerly to meet and with their fighting, scraping etc., have worn away the ground to what it is at present... We left the Lick and pursued our journey to Lexington following one of the old buffalo roads, which I suppose was generally 200 feet wide. After we got from the Licks 5 or 6 miles the lands became good and surprizingly fertile.”

p. 373: 9 Nov: at “Bryant’s Station” north of Lexington.

“The summer and fall hitherto having been uncommonly dry in this country, has created an alarming scarcity of water... Stock of all kinds have suffered very much. Horses to my knowledge have not drank a single drop of water for many days together, and cattle could only loll out their tongues where they once drank the refreshing stream. The far greater part of the springs were stopped running and not a few entirely dry. Even the bottoms of the mill ponds were as dry as an hearth, and numbers of people had then to fetch [water] several miles [away].

A day or two past the whole face of the country was as dry as tinder, and considerable rivers had ceased to flow in their channels. But this morning the scene is agreeably changed. The springs, creeks, and rivers flow in their usual channels...”

p. 375: 11 Nov: at the Kentucky River near Lexington.

“The cliffs of Kentucky produce little else but cedar, which shooting their roots among the rocks, grow in great abundance. They are generally from 6 inches to 2 feet thro, some however are much larger I am told, and well adapted to building. After getting clear of the cliffs, the soil gets richer as [one] go[es] from the river, till it exceeds description.”

p. 376: 14 Nov: from Georgetown to Cincinnati.

“About 3 in the afternoon, we came upon the waters of Eagle creek; here we got into an uninhabited country, the lands on Eagle creek being poor and very broken. At sunset we ascended what is called the Dry Ridge, on which the road goes 27 miles without crossing a drop of water... We endeavored to pursue a solitary track thro an immense wood, but for want of light we sometimes wandered out of the way. After traveling about 12 miles thro this dark wilderness, we fortunately reached a house, which we were glad to see.” [Next day they rested at “Read’s” before arriving at the Ohio River.]

p. 379-380: 18 Nov: from Hamilton, Ohio, down Great Miami River to the Ohio River.

”We set out early and traveled to and fro thro the wild woods. A body of low grounds which we came thro last evening, for beauty and fertility exceeding any that I had ever seen. I had therefore a wish to see the lands on the heights; for this purpose we ascended the highest hills we could find and to my great astonishment found the lands here in no respect inferior to the

low grounds. The growth being mostly walnut was amazing large; buckeye, sugartree and white ash abounded here also. Scarcely any undergrowth but pawpaw was to be seen. The earth we found light and green as a carpet; wild rye [*Elymus* spp.] and clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] was here in abundance. Game we found in great plenty.”

“About 11 o’clock we came to Dunlap’s Station... We travelled down the Miami river from this old fortification [prehistoric mounds near Dunlap’s], pursuing our course to the Ohio, our only guide being the river, for path we had none. I have however reason to believe, that there had in former ages been a road leading along the very course we were going. My reasons for thinking so, were these: I observe[d] in a number of places, the river hill is pretty steep and comes quite down to the water. In such places as these, I observed a level place on the hillside, from 30 to 60 feet wide appearing as if the hill had been cut down and the earth removed to the lower side. This appearance continues till we came within a mile of the Ohio, where I thought I could discover the traces of an old town. It is probable that the appearance alluded to, was once a high road, leading from the town of the Miami to this other on the Ohio. But a vast length of time must have elapsed since these surprising works were performed. The trees on the wall in the town [up the Miami] and on the highway (if such they were in reality) are as big as they are in other places.”

Recounting the previous day from Cincinnati to Hamilton, as follows.

“Within 9 or 10 miles of Hamilton, the lands I think are the richest I ever saw. The growth is mostly walnut, sugartree, &c., tied together by clusters of grapevines, which in this country grow amazingly large. From this to Hamilton we saw several pararas, as they are called. They are large tracts of fine, rich land, without trees and producing as fine grass as the best

meadows.”

p. 383: 20 Nov: at Big Bone Lick.

“Deer about the lick are very plenty, and a few buffalo yet remain.”

p. 383: 15 Sep 1797: at “Bryant’s Station” north of Lexington.

“It was delightful to see the fine fields of corn, which everywhere presented themselves to our view.”

p. 389: 28 Sep: in Lexington area.

“A great scarcity of water prevails in this country which is an evil, severely felt by man and beast.”

p. 390: 3 Oct: opposite Augusta, on the north side of the Ohio River (Brown Co., Ohio).

“We rode down the river 3 or 4 miles to the mouth of Bull Skin creek, then left the river and pursued a northwardly route thro a rich and beautiful country. The land, after leaving the river, lies high and is very level. The trees, which are mostly red and white oak, are the tallest and most beautiful timber I ever beheld. The soil appears deep, clear of stone and wild pea-vine in abundance. It was very pleasant to see the deer skipping over the bushes and the face of the country clad in a livery of green.”

p. 391: 4 Oct: towards the East Fork of the Little Miami River (Clermont Co., Ohio).

“We started from Plainfield pretty early and pursued a northwest direction. The country continues exceeding level except near the water courses, where it sinks into deep valleys. The

soil in general is rich, the growth being oak, hickory, ash, walnut, sugartree, beech &c. About 1 o'clock we reached the Little Miami..."

p. 395: 10 Oct: along the Little Miami River.

"...there has not been a frost to bite anything in this country, till this morning. Hence it appears that this climate, tho about 120 miles north from Lexington, is not near as cold, for when I left those parts the corn blades in many places were entirely killed. But on my arrival northwest of the Ohio I was surprised to find not the smallest symptom of frost."

p. 399: 21 Oct: at Chillecothe, making general summary of lands in southern Ohio.

"Leaving the rivers a high hill skirts the low ground. Here the land is still amazing fertile, covered with a heavy growth of timber, such as white and red oak, hickory, ash, beech, sugar tree, walnut, buckeye &c... Grass of the meadow kind grows all over this country and white clover [*Trifolium repens*] and blue grass [*Poa pratensis*] grow spontaneously wherever the land is cleared."

David Meade. 1796a. Letter to Joseph Prentis in Webb-Prentis Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. Printed with commentary in: Gill, H.B. & G.M. Curtis. 1992. A Virginian's first views of Kentucky: David Meade to Joseph Prentis, August 14, 1796. Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 90: 117-139.

p. 132-133: in 1796, written from Lexington, Kentucky, to Williamsburg, Virginia.

"But it is not only the land near the river that merits high commendation, the country to a vast distance north & south tho' more or less rolling is extremely rich. From the foot of the Laurel

Mountain [near Ohio River] to this place, except about six miles to the east of the Blue Licks upon the main Licking & a very little on the hither side, my eyes have not beheld a single acre of mean land & indeed a considerable portion of that excepted, is good farming land. I am at this moment near the center of the largest body of fine land (which varies not in its quality) in the western country. Such is the opinion of all. It is a general plain of more than forty miles in extent every way. This land does not lay as flat as Elizabeth City [Virginia] but better for cultivation—agreeably waving—more like the most level parts of Frederick & Berkley, a comparison would do credit to those counties, if truth would allow me to make it. The limestone here of which there is abundance differs much from that on the other side the Aleganys. It seems to be compounded of marine shells & lays so far below the surface as to be no interruption to the labors of the husbandman.”

“Property in Fayette County is much divided, consequently high. Few people hold more than three or four hundred acres, and (perhaps) there are more who own less than a hundred acres than over three hundred. Farms of fifty & even twenty five are not uncommon. An oak tree is as scarce in this country as a black walnut or ash is upon high land with you. The growth here is sweet maple [sugar maple], wallnut, ash, both kinds of locust, particularly the fruit bearing [honey locust], which is extremely high & large. Poplar [tulip/yellow poplar] only in some places & these of vast size, scaly bark hickory [shagbark/shellbark] not uncommon. Buckeye (differing materially from your horse chestnut being only a species or variation of the same genus); cherry tree, mulberry, &c with but few of the common kinds to the eastwards. The undergrowth, usually the spice bush & frequently a young growth of sugar maple. Wherever the woods are a little open or a piece of cleared ground not in cultivation, the whole is covered with elder bushes mixed with a high weed call'd devils bit or iron weed [*Vernonia gigantea*], well

known to me at Maycox [Virginia] to be eradicated only by the grubbing hoe. The only wild grass in the settled parts is what is here call'd the nimble-will [*Muhlenbergia schreberi*] more resembling the wire grass [*Poa compressa* according to Gill & Curtis] than any other in Virginia. It is rather finer.”

“Perhaps there never has been heretofore a time or is likely to be hereafter when this country did or will appear to greater disadvantage where the early stations were established. The wild herbage consisting of cane & pea vine is entirely eat out and the place of it supplied by weeds not agreeable to cattle. The wood range is therefore not good yet but where the wild food has been more recently consumed the whole face of the earth is as bare of every kind of herbage as the gravel walks in your garden. In these parts of cow would starve in the woods. In the very earliest settlements as about Danville, the nimble-will, a very good pasture grass, has taken place of the weedy growth which first succeeded the primitive cane brake. This will be the case in four or five years every where on this side [of] the Kentucky River.”

“In the mean time it behooves the farmer to cultivate grass & all those who have lands enough opened to spare, sew them in blue grass or clover. No farm ever so small is without a timothy meadow. Vast quantities of hay are made here. Many good farmers make extensive wood pasture by clearing up the under brush & small trees and sewing blue grass seed sometimes mixed with timothy. Of that number is your acquaintance Col. G. Nicholas [first attorney general of Kentucky].”

David Meade. 1796b. Copy of above letter to his sister Ann Randolph in Virginia. Original in the collected papers of William Bolling, housed in the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University. [Check minor differences in wording.]

David Meade. 1796c. Letter from Lexington, Kentucky, to his sister Ann Randolph in Virginia; dated October 20, 1796. Original in the collected papers of William Bolling, housed in the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University.

The following section was transcribed by JC from pages 1-2, describing land around Lexington, and more specifically Meade's land in northern Jessamine County at the site where his house "Chaumiere de Prairie" was later built, on what came to be known as Catnip Hill Road. The transcription of words is literal, but it does incorporate sentence endings and beginnings, plus a few additional commas, into the original freer form of the letter. Also, long dashes are substituted for the short dashes in the original.

"We are now arrived at the pleasant month of October, which as to weather is much as with you - but the new [illegible, perhaps "life"] which our woods have put on, is much more beautiful than those of Virginia. Some has yet retain[ed] the Summer green - but the greater part are clear bright yellow & some indeed red. The sweet Maple stands amongst the for[e]most of those which have changed a fine green for a yellow. The woods now afford most delightful walks, and riding on horseback in the crossroads & private ways is not less so. There are indeed small obstacles produced by trees laying across the path - but such as are not easily surmounted by step[p]ing or leaping over are to be avoided by going round, for the woods are very open and

clear of underbrush.”

“ In the course of next week we propose removing from hence - and a very disagreeable move it will be to Sally and the girls. Our log houses are but little advanced - nor are they likely to be finished inside [before] Christmas. We must therefore necessarily go into the indifferent habitation built by our predecessor - it consists of two small rooms with fire places below, and two above partly in the roof. The owner and his large family - a dirty crew - have occupied it and are yet in it. The condition such inhabitants have put it in is so filthy that it will take some time to purify it - bad as it will if left be. We must necessarily take up our abode in it for a time. The term of three months for which we rented our present apartment expires about this time - and tho’ I have no doubt but that my obliging landlord would willingly suffer us to remain here as much longer as would be agreeable to us, I find it very inconvenient to linger absent from our Farm. If I could have spent the chief of my time there, our new house would have been nearly finished by this time.”

“But another consideration of no less moment presents in favor of a speedy removal - namely the expense of living in this Town, which is much too great for my small funds. Could you beli[e]ve that we have this morning given two shillings for half a bushel of Indian Meal? This you will conclude is a consequence of the scarcity of Corn - but it is no such thing, for greater crops of Corn were never made in Kentucky than it is said were this year... [to be continued]”

David Meade. 1797d. Another letter to his sister in the papers of William Bolling; see 1797c.

Dated June 1797. Page 3: “...our house is in the corner of a wood (and a very noble one it is)...”

Edward Harris. 1797. Letter of 11th April to Thomas Christie, Londonderry, New Hampshire. Printed in The Filson Club History Quartlerly Vol. 2.

p. 129: describing the land around Washington, in Mason County.

“Last season a neighbor, nearby cut 9 tons of herds grass on 3 acres at one mowing, which is enough; to tell you of the fertility of the soil in this Country would be treated as romance in Londonderry [New Hampshire], therefore [I] shall not furnish you with materials to redicule facts. I don’t mean you in particular, but your Countrymen in general...”

“The soil is free from sand or gravel; when you take it between your fingers you cannot percieve any more grit than in butter; in what is called the rich land it looks as black as the bottom of your dung heaps; the under strata is clay of different complexions but generally inclined to a reddish or yellow; under this clay is a limestone thro’ the whole state... “

“To enumerate all the natural herbage & flowers in the woods would be too tedious & I should want names for them; buffaloe clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*], rye grass [*Elymus* spp.]—pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*] & a broad leaf grass [perhaps *Panicum clandestinum*] & what is call’d rich weed [perhaps *Pilea pumila*] is what the cattle most delight in, but there is in the month of march a great variety of food all over the woods; the under brush is what you call

fever bush [spice bush] which grows large with a red berry, some haws or thorn; the natural fruit is the custard apple [pawpaw], cherries, mulberries, & a variety of plum like damsons, blackberries, rawberries, may apples, resembling an orange, gooseberries, & crab apples, (nuts) hickory, black walnut, chesnut, beachnut, coffee nut & buck eye; this last resembles the chesnut, but is as large as a hickory nut of the largest size. The trees you have seen innumerable in the pamphlet that was published about the Muskingum [river country in Ohio] when it was in vogue; sheep are the best in this country I ever saw, cattle are not so good as in N. England owing to want of care, horses are much better than with you.”

Interpretation. In early floristic writings of eastern North America, “rich-weed” has been applied to *Cimicifuga racemosa* (early floras), *Collinsonia canadensis* (most modern floras, also Thoreau), *Eupatorium rugosum* (see also collections of C.W. Short at KY) and *Pilea pumila* (including Thoreau) Since *Pilea* is relatively palatable, but the others are less so, it seems likely that Harris was referring to this species. See also: “Richfield: township in Summit County, [northeast] Ohio. The name originated from a weed which grew abundantly, known as richweed, corrupted to richfield, and applied to the settlement” (Henry Gannett. 1905 (2nd ed). The Origin of Certain Place Names in the United States. U.S. Geological Survey Bull. No. 258, Series F, Geography, 45).

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John Heckewelder. 1797. Journal. Printed as: Notes of Travel of William Henry, John Heckewelder, John Rothrock, and Christian Clewell, to Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum, in the Early Summer of 1797. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 10: 125-157. This is extracted in Booth (1994; see under Charles Stuart, 1755). Although well to the northeast of the Bluegrass region, this account provides fascinating detail

from an old frontier town.

p. 140-151 [to detail]: 12 May 1797, at the destroyed “White Eyes Town”, near what became Gnadenhütten on the Tuscarawas River (between Uhrichsville and Newcomerstown).

“The whole situation of the town could be easily traced from the ruined chimneys which were still visible. Everything, however, is overgrown with heavy grass, & as this becomes matted down during the winter, we soon perceived that this would serve as a good shelter for numberless snakes. Besides this, the ground was so thickly overgrown with plum trees, hazel-bushes, and black-berries, that there was no getting through them except by means of the paths made by the bears, deer & wolves. This wild mass we set on fire, & obtained thereby considerable more air. Then only did we obtain a correct view of the ruins of the village. Everywhere bones could be seen, & in the cellars of the houses, where some of the Brethren had been massacred & burnt, they were also to be found.”

John Price. 1799. Letter to Col. Joseph H. Daviess, Louisville, Ky. Written from Jessamine County, August 28. Transcribed in: S.M. Duncan (1886); Sketch of Jessamine County; locally published. Also in B.H. Young and S.M. Duncan (1898): A History of Jessamine County from its Earliest Settlement [1798] to 1898; Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, Louisville.

"Dear Sir: You will please to allow me to present you the thanks of the people of this county for the valuable services you rendered in securing the right to form a new county, which I had the honor of being the first to represent in the General Assembly of last year, and to which I gave the name of "Jessamine," from a flower which flourishes in various parts of the county, and a

creek bearing the same name, which rises from a spring near the plantation of Jesse Koker [Cogar], and flows south near twenty miles, and empties into the Kentucky River. Your kind recommendation of Thomas Caldwell, John Berry, Gabriel Madison, John Lewis and Co. William Price for justices of the peace, I heartily approve. They are all good men, and well known to me as men who will do their duty in any position they may be called to occupy. You will dismiss the suits against Col. Price. Let me hear from you soon. Your friend, John Price"

Interpretation. There have alternative stories for the origin of the name Jessamine, as noted in the sources cited above. This letter is taken to be the most authentic source for the origin. But if the name was based on a flower, what was that species? Nothing like Carolina Jasmine (*Gelsemium*) occurs here. Was it crossvine (*Bignonia capreolata*), or perhaps a species of honeysuckle (*Lonicera*)?

Franklin District Court Docket. 1799-1802. Case Number 82: John H. Craig vs. the McCracken Heirs. 219 pages. Summarized in: N. Hammon. 1971. Historic lawsuits of the Eighteenth Century locating the “Stamping Ground”. The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 69: 197-215.

Following are notes in Hammon (1971), with relevant quotations from the case, that indicate the existence of three “stamping grounds” or large “wallows”: (1) in Franklin County near “Blacks Pond” ca. 1650 feet south of the current intersection of US 60 with US 421; (2) in Woodford County near Ky. 1681 or Spring Station Road, perhaps about a half mile west of US 62 [see also, Winter 1831]; (3) in Scott Counties at the community still known as Stamping Ground. However, there were probably several smaller wallows in this area, causing some

confusion. Curiously, there are virtually no available descriptions of the latter (3), which may have been the largest.

p. 202: “[Robert] Saunders’ entry was to begin at a corner where “an old line leads to from the road which lead from the Stamping Ground to Lees Town where there is HM cut on a tree where the line crossed said road about half a mile from the first branch below the Stamping Ground... [Abraham] Heponstall’s deposition was taken in 1801, and he stated that he was present when Mercer’s military survey was made in 1774, and that he himself had cut the initials HM in the tree where the buffalo road crosses near the lower corner. This tree he supposed to be “a little upward of a mile” from the stamping ground which was to the east. [Hammon’s footnote: “This point is later referred to as the upper stamping ground or the one on Alexander’s Plantation. From the surveys it is indicated to be a little to the south, but in the vicinity of the present Midway, Kentucky.”] He also stated “I know a place of great resort of Buffaloes on the side of a hill about two miles above Lee’s Town but I do not recollect that we called it a stamping ground, but it had the appearance of a stamping ground.” [Hammon’s footnote: “This point, also referred to as the lower or Lee’s stamping ground, would be near the junction of the present Georgetown-Versailles Road, in east Frankfort, near Blacks Pond.”]

p. 203: “Thus the first error on the Saunders entry is disclosed. The HM tree was not half a mile from the Stamping Ground; it is over a mile according to Heponstall who blazed it, and 8250 feet according to a later measurement... Like James Nourse, one Patrick Irvin also traveled along the buffalo road during the summer of 1775 according to his deposition. He stated that there was a large buffalo stamping ground about three miles from Leestown and no others, “but there are several buffalo wallows on said road.”

p. 204: “Marquis Calmes also passed through the area that year. He stated that in the spring of 1775, he and several others landed at Leestown “an deposited our goods on a knob [presumably Fort Hill] near the mouth of a Branch at or near a sand bar which has since been called Lees Town Landing. We then started on our route to a place called Boonesborough, and traveling a Buffaloe road from Lees Town the same assessing our course about one mile we found ourselves on high ground where there appeared to be a small Buffaloe wallowing place or Stamping Ground: We then continued on our course on the same Buffaloe road to a place now in the plantation of Robert Alexander Esquire, where there was a wollow or Stamping Ground which this deponent thinks about one acre of ground—This deponent further saith that from the first mentioned Buffaloe wallowing place to the one on Alexander’s Plantation we discovered no place that could be considered a Buffaloe wallowing place or Stamping Ground; But on the trace there was a great appearance of the Earth being trod and washed away by reason of the ground being rolled and broken at those places.” He further stated that the hunters called the later one the Stamping Ground and it was “notoriously known” by that name. The plantation of Robert Alexander referred to apparently was the same parcel of land that was originally surveyed for Hugh Mercer by Hancock Taylor.”

p. 204-205: “John Smith was also in the area in 1775 and was acquainted with three Stamping Grounds in the neighborhood, “one on Lecounts Branch on a large Buffaloe road leading to Drennon’s lick, by the head of Cedar (Creek), and another called the lower Stamping ground about 2½ miles above Lees Town and the other called the upper Stamping ground about 8 or 9 miles from Lees Town towards Lexington on a large Buffaloe road, which crossed main Elkhorn three times below the forks leading from the Stamping ground on Lecounts branch to

the lower Stamping ground, and thence to Lees Town.” Lecounts Stamping ground was in Scott County and is still called the “Stamping Ground”. When asked if it were not true that buffalo roads could be anywhere where the animals resorted he answered that the roads generally led from Drennon’s Lick out to the range, and there were usually some in any area where they frequented, “but generally did not extend far—on branches and creeks (these) roads were commonly to be found.” [Hammon’s footnote: “The part of this statement referring to the path “which crossed Main Elkhorn three times...” is somewhat confusing. The survey from the case of John Keller vs. Sanders and Madison, Franklin District Court, 1801, does show such a buffalo road, but not its termination or junction with the Lexington-Frankfort Path, herein described.”]

p. 205: “Robert Paterson, the founder of Lexington, gave a deposition for this case in which he stated that he knew of a buffalo road “to and on the south waters of south Elkhorn from and ever since December, 1775. The stamping ground was “situated on the new Lexington-Frankfort road about one hundred poles (1650 feet) above the junction with the Georgetown Road. A stony sideling hill containing perhaps 10 acres cleared on timber (and) also a small place near the upper end of said road containing perhaps 10 poles called at sometime the Buffalow Walord and at other times Buffalow stamping ground but there was nothing remarkable to distinguish it from many other places in the same naborhood only that it was near the path.” He believed the latter to be on or near Alexander’s Plantation.”

Later depositions added complexity, but with some significant details; see Hammon (1971).

These are summarized as follows.

Samuel Martin: upper stamping ground was “about five or six poles square... where George Black-burn and Robert Alexander now live.”

SM: lower stamping ground “could not be less than 8 or 10 acres stant naked”; it was “between 2 & 3 miles” from Lees Town.

SM: in addition to the upper stamping ground “there was a woller below Blackburns on or near the frankfort rode where it now runs that I think was nearly as large as the one above mentioned”; this was never called a stamping ground..

SM: “frey quantley from the [lower] stomping grown there was small paths turned out on both sides of the main rode and in a small destiance came together again”.

SM” another buffalo road “turned out at the lower stompong ground leading towards Glen’s Creek” [which became US 60 to Versailles].

James Wason: “there was a small drain between Alexanders and Blackburns [Spring Station Road] called by some the little stamping ground though there were several other wallowing places on the same road which had as much appearance of a stamping ground...”

James Headon: on the buffalo road up Glens Creek [ca. US 60] there was also a place called “by our family a stamping ground”.

William Davis: there was another stamping ground three quarters of a mile “below the mouth of Benson towards Lexington”.

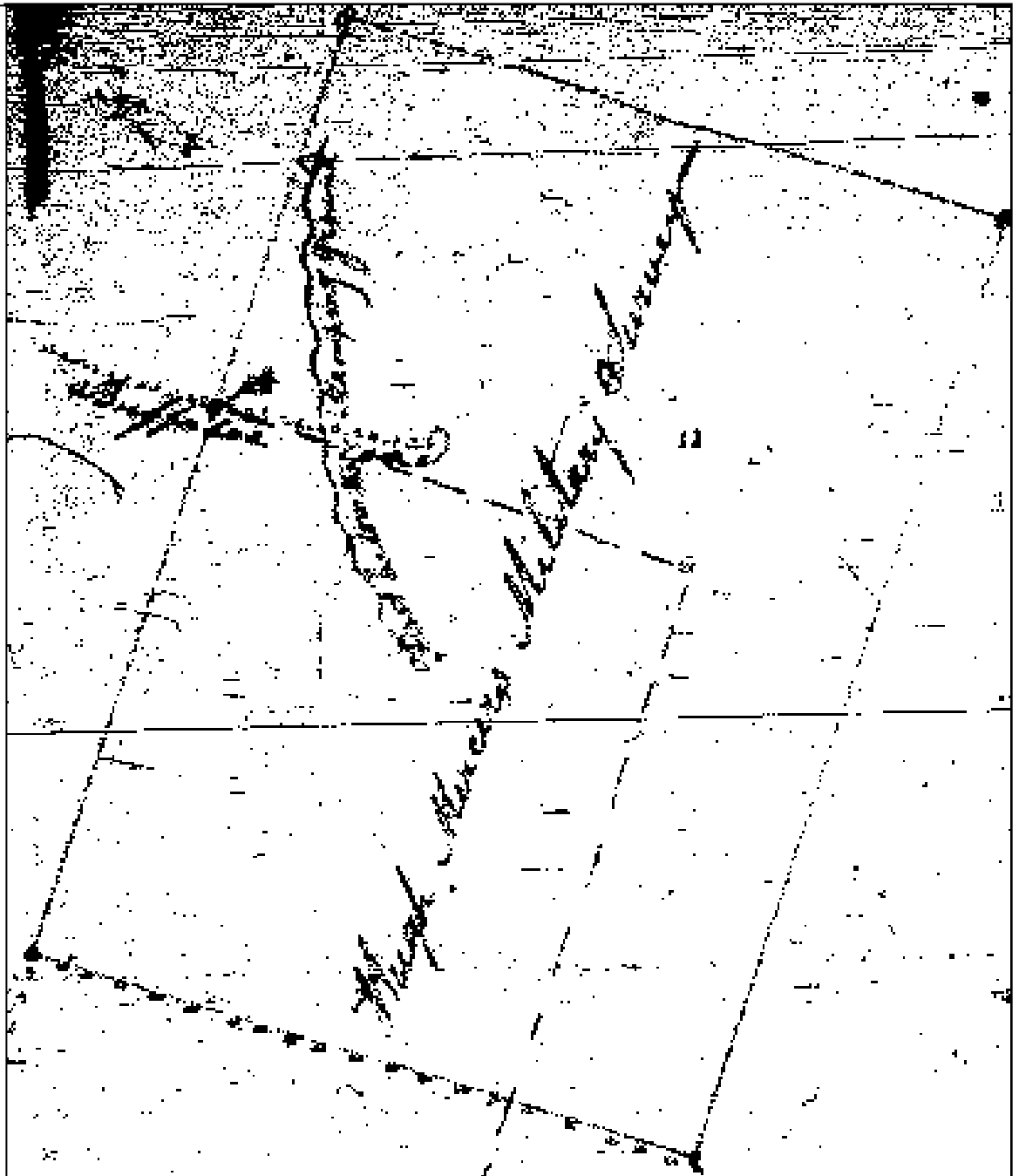
Humphrey Marshall: about the upper stamping ground, “recollects (it was) about half mile below where the trace leading to Col Marshalls office, then kept at or near Bucks Pond, left afore said trace” [Marshall’s office may have been on Ironworks Pike, and the trace = US 62 to KY 341? Does “below” mean beyond the intersection with US 62 or near Wallace Station?]

Further interpretation and notes. The particularly fertile soils of this area have promoted unusually productive farms. Note from Wikipedia under “Woodburn Stud”: “Woodburn Stud was an American horse breeding farm located in Woodford County, Kentucky about ten miles (16 km) from the city of Lexington. It was established in the 18th century as an original land grant property of General Hugh Mercer to whom it had been granted for his military services during the American Revolutionary War. Robert Alexander (1767–1841), a Scottish immigrant, came to Virginia from Scotland in 1786. Around 1790 he purchased the Mercer estate in Kentucky. Under the guidance of his son, Robert A. Alexander, during the 19th century, Woodburn Stud became the birthplace of Kentucky's Thoroughbred industry.” The old Blackburn Farm is still on the north side of the old Alexander Farm.

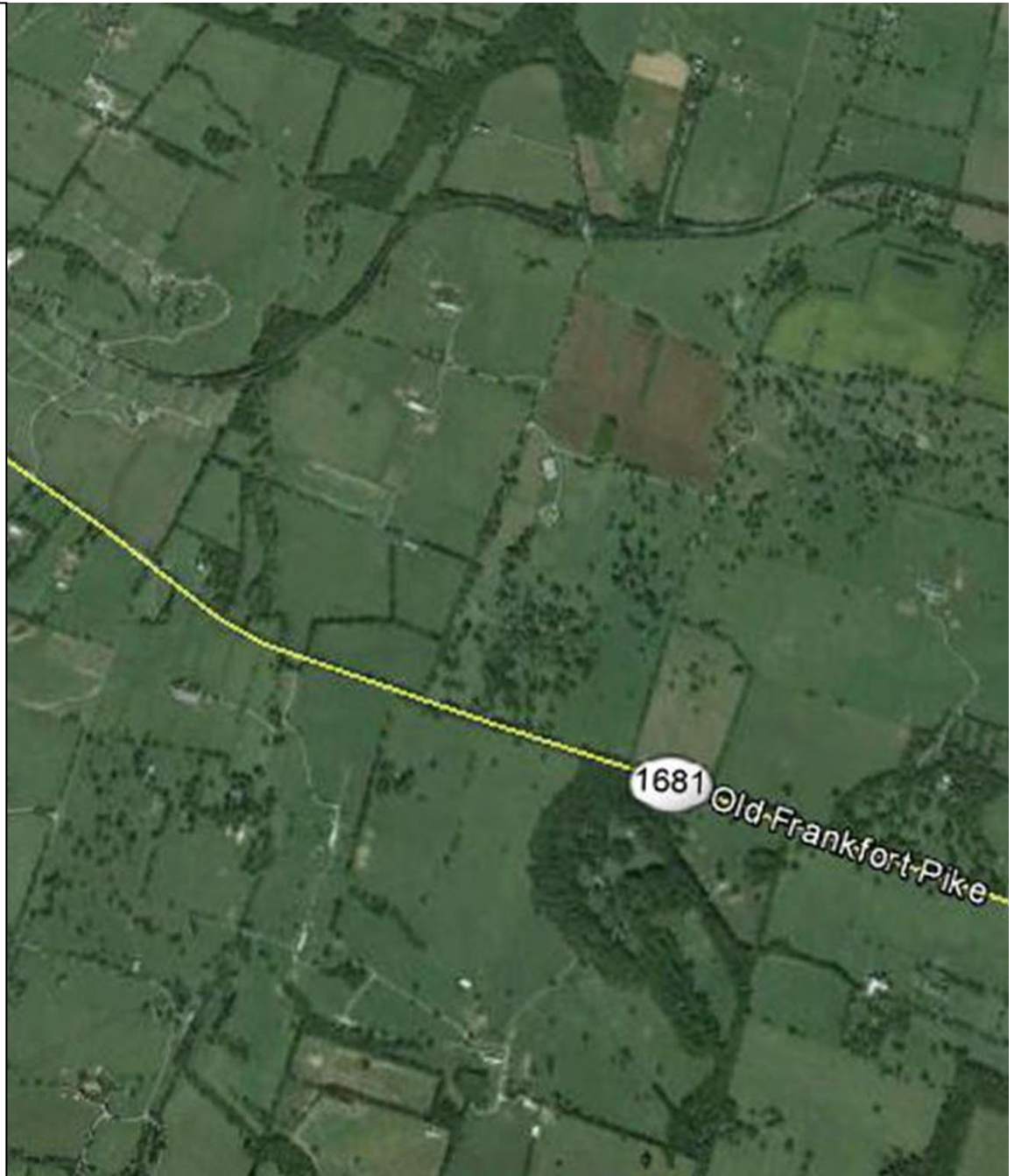
Some phosphate mining was established in this area ca. 1900-1920, especially around Wallace Station (A.E. Foerste. 1913. The phosphate deposits in the upper Trenton Limestones of central Kentucky. Kentucky Geological Survey Ser. 4, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 387-440).

Kentucky Geological Survey (<https://www.uky.edu/KGS/im/phosphate.htm>): “Phosphates are a natural source of nutrients and fertilizer, which benefits Bluegrass soils and is one of the reasons central Kentucky is a center for the thoroughbred horse industry. These naturally occurring phosphates help build strong bones in mammals.”

Right: closeup showing part of map made by William Steele in Woodford County for Case Number 82 of Franklin District Court Docket (1799-1802); see preceding pages. It shows the Hugh Mercer Tract (which later became part of “Woodburn Stud” and later the “Airdrie” horsefarm). The north boundary is close to Spring Station Road. The “Buffalo road” leading into this tract from the west lay close to the modern “Old Frankfort Pike” (Rt. 1681), but perhaps shifted up to half a mile north. Written across this road is a wavy line (perhaps representing a stream) labeled “First below the Stamping Ground”. This Stamping Ground was probably located near the east-central side of this tract; see notes above.



Right: aerial image (Google Earth, 22 Sep 2014) with best match to early survey of Hugh Mercer Tract; see previous page. The stream labeled “First below the Stamping Ground” appears to have been Beals Run, which flows under Old Frankfort Pike near the bend as shown here. Corners in the original survey (Virginia Land Grant No. 4 in the Fincastle County series) were noted: “three sugar trees”; then SW to “black walnut, hoopwood and buckeye”; then NW to “two honey locusts and hickory”; then NE to “a black walnut and buckeye”; then SE to the beginning. The extensive woodland pastures here now, made during 1800-1860, are dominated by blue ash with scattered bur oaks.



Francois André Michaux. 1802. [Journal entries for his trip to the Ohio Valley.] First translated and printed with the complete 1802 journal in 1805. Travels to the West of the Allegheny Mountains... B. Crosby and Co. and J.F. Hughes, London. Reprinted in R.G. Thwaites (ed). 1904. Early Western Travels. 1748-1846. Vol. III. The Arthur C. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

p. 175 [in 1904 printing]: 20 Jul 1802, between Pittsburgh and Marietta on the Ohio River. “Thirty-six miles before our arrival at Marietta we stopped at the hut of one of the inhabitants of the right bank, who shewed us, about fifty yards from his door, a palm-tree [sycamore], or *Platanus occidentalis* [sic], the trunk of which was swelled to an amazing size; we measured it forty seven feet in circumference [15 ft or 4.6 m in diameter]. It appeared to keep the same dimensions for the height of fifteen or twenty feet; it then divided into several branches of a proportionate size. By its external appearance no one could tell that the tree was hollow; however I assured it was by striking it in several places with a billet. Our host told us that if we would spend the day with him he would shew us others as large, in several parts of the wood, within two or three miles of the river. This circumstance supports the observations which my father made, when travelling in that part of the country, that the poplar and palm are, of all the trees in North America, those that attain the greatest diameter.”

Quoting his father’s account (A. Michaux 1793), as follows.

““About fifteen miles,” said he [Michaux’s father], “up the River Muskingum, in a small island of the Ohio, we found a palm-tree, or *Platanus occidentalis*, the circumference of which, five feet from the surface of the earth, where the trunk was most uniform, was forty feet four inches, which makes about thirteen feet in diameter. Twenty years prior to my travels, General

Washington had measured this same tree, and found it nearly of the same dimensions. I have also measured palms in Kentucky, but I never met with any above fifteen or sixteen feet in circumference. These trees generally grow in marshy places.”

“The largest tree in North America, after the palm, is the poplar, or *Liriodendron tulipifera* [sic] Its circumference is sometimes fifteen, sixteen and even eighteen feet: Kentucky is their native country; between Beard Town [Bardstown] and Louisville we saw several parts of the wood which were exclusively composed of them. The soil is clayey, cold and marshy; but never inundated.”

“The trees that are usually found in the forests that border the Ohio are the palm, or *Platanus occidentalis*; the poplar [*Liriodendron tulipifera*], the beach-tree [*Fagus grandifolia*], the *Magnolia acuminata*, the *Celtis occidentalis*, the acacia [*Robinia pseudoacacia*], the sugar-maple [*Acer saccharum*], the red maple [probably *A. saccharinum* as well as *A. rubrum*], the populus nigra [*P. deltoides*], and several species of nut-trees [*Juglans*, *Carya*]; the most common shrubs are, the *Asimina triloba* [sic], the evonimus latifolius [*Euonymus atropurpurea*], and the laurus benzoin [*Lindera benzoin*].”

p. 181: 23 Jul at Point Pleasant, situated a little above the mouth of the “Great Kenhaway” [Kanawha] River. “What makes the situation more beautiful is, that for four or five miles on this side of the Point, the Ohio, for hundred fathoms broad, continues the same breadth the whole of that extent, and presents on every side the most perfect line. Its borders, sloping, and elevated from twenty-five to forty feet, are, as in the whole of its windings, planted, at their very base, with willows from fifteen to eighteen feet in height, the drooping branches and

foliage of which form a pleasing contrast to the sugar maples, red maples [probably silver maples], and ash trees, situated immediately above. The latter, in return, are overlooked by palms [sycamores], poplars, beech, [and] magnolia of the highest elevation, the enormous branches of which, attracted by a more splendid light and easier expansion, extend towards the border, overshadowing the river, at the same time completely covering the trees situated under them. This natural display, which reigns upon the two banks, affords on each side a regular arch, the shadow of which, reflected by the crystal stream, embellishes, in an extraordinary degree, this magnificent *coup d'oeil*. The Ohio at Marietta presents a perspective somewhat similar, perhaps even more picturesque than the one I have just described...”

p. 186: 25 Jul, at the mouth of the “Great Scioto” River.

“At Alexandria, and the other little towns in the western country, which are situated upon a very rich soil, the space between every house is almost entirely covered with stramonium [*Datura stramonium*]. This dangerous and disagreeable plant has propagated surprisingly in every part where the earth has been uncovered and cultivated within twelve or fifteen years; and let the inhabitants do what they will, it spreads still wider every year. It is generally supposed to have made its appearance at James-Town in Virginia whence it derived the name of James-weed. Travellers use it to heal the wounds made on horses’ backs occasioned by the rubbing of the saddle.”

“Mullein is the second European plant that I found very abundant in the United States, although in a less proportion than the stramonium. It is very common on the road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster, but less so past the town; and I saw no more of it beyond the Alleghany Mountains.”

p. 197: early August, from Limestone [Maysville] to Lexington.

“The country we traversed ten miles on this [Lexington] side [of] Mays-Lick [or perhaps Blue Licks], and eight miles beyond, did not afford the least vestige of a plantation. The soil is dry and sandy; the road is covered with immense flat chalky stones, of a bluish cast inside, the edges of which are round. The only trees that we observed were the white oak, or *Quercus alba* [sic], and nut-tree, or juglans hickory [probably *Carya ovata*], but their stunted growth and wretched appearances indicated the sterility of the soil, occasioned, doubtless, by the salt mines that it contains.” [The translation is perhaps wanting in this section.]

p. 209-210: 10-12 Aug, heading south from Lexington, in what is now Jessamine Co.

“...and as the establishment formed to naturalize the vine in Kentucky was but a few miles out of my road, I resolved to go and see it... About fourteen miles from Lexington I quitted the Hickman Ferry road [now US 27], turned to my left [probably close to Ky. Route 39], and strolled into the woods, so that I did not reach the vineyard till the evening, when I was handsomely received by Mr. Dufour, who superintends the business... The spot that he has chosen is on the Kentucky river, about twenty miles from Lexington [probably near Ky. Route 39]. The soil is excellent and the vineyard is planted upon the declivity of a hill exposed to the south, and the base of which is about two hundred fathoms from the river...”

“I did not set out from the vineyard till the second day after my arrival. Mr. Dufour offered, in order to shorten my journey, to conduct me through the wood where they cross the Kentucky River. I accepted his proposal, and although the distance was only four miles we took two hours to accomplish it, as we were obliged to alight either to climb up or descend the mountains, or to leap our horses over the trunks of old trees piled one upon another [Eden Shale Hills around

Pink and Little Hickman]. The soil, as fertile as in the environs of Lexington, will be difficult to cultivate, on account of the great inequality of the ground. Beech [*Fagus*], nut [probably *Carya*], and oak [*Quercus*] trees, form chiefly the mass of the forests. We crossed, in the mean time, the shallows of the river [perhaps at Devils Elbow to Canoe Creek], covered exclusively with beautiful palms [sycamores]... In this season of the year the Kentucky River is so low at Hickman Ferry [later Camp Nelson and the US 27 bridge] that a person may ford it with the greatest ease.”

Interpretation. Clarification of this route would come from researches into the exact location of the “Kentucky Vineyard Society” that was established during 1798-1802, and managed by Jean-Jaques Dufour; perhaps there are records describing the location.

p. 211: mid-August, at the Dix River.

“Dick’s River, like the Kentucky, experiences, in the spring, an extraordinary increase of water. The stratum of vegetable earth which covers the rock does not appear to be more than two or three feet thick. Virginia cedars [*Juniperus virginiana*] are very common there. This tree, which is fond of loft places where the chalky substance is very near to the superficies of the soil, thrives very well; but other trees, such as the black oak [probably *Quercus shumardii* as well as *velutina*], the hickory [probably *Carya ovata*, *glabra* and *tomentosa*], &c are stunted, and assume a miserable appearance.”

p. 212: mid-August, at the plantation of General Adair.

“His plantation is situated near Harrodsburg in the county of Mercer. Magnificent peach orchards, immense fields of Indian wheat, surround the house. The soil there is extremely

fertile, which shews itself by the largeness of the blades of corn, their extraordinary height, and the abundance of the crops, that yield annually thirty or forty hundred weight of cord per acre. The mass of the surrounding forests is composed of those species that are found in the better sort of land, such as the gleditsia acanthus [*Gleditsia triacanthos*], guilandina dioica [*Gymnocladus dioica*], ulmus viscosa [*Ulmus rubra*], *Morus rubra* [*sic*], corylus [*Corylus americana*], annona triloba [*Asimina triloba*]. In short, for several miles round the surface of the ground is flat, which is very rare in that country.”

Interpretation. John Adair (1757-1840) lived 5 miles northeast of Harrodsburg on the Lexington road, now US 68, at the head of Shaker Creek. He was Governor of Kentucky, 1820-1824.

p. 213: 20 Aug, between Harrodsburg and “Chaplain Fork” [near Perryville].
“In this space, which is uninhabited, the soil is excellent, but very unequal.”

p. 213: 21 Aug, beyond “Chaplain Fork” towards Tennessee, probably close on or near modern US 68 towards Nashville.

“Ten miles on this side [south of Perryville] is Mulder-Hill [Muldraugh’s Hill], a steep and lofty mountain that forms a kind of amphitheatre. From its summit the neighboring country presents the aspect of an immense valley, covered with forests of an imperceptible extent, whence, as far as the eye can reach, nothing but a gloomy verdant space is seen, formed by the tops of the close-connected trees, and through which not the vestige of a plantation can be discerned. The profound silence that reigns in these woods, uninhabited by wild beasts, and the security of the place, forms an *ensemble* rarely to be met with in other countries.”

p. 229-230: summarizing patterns in the trees of the settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee. “In support of this mode of appreciating in America the fecundity of the soil by the nature of the trees it produces, I shall impart a remarkable observation that I made on my entering this state. In Kentucky and Cumberland [Tennessee], independent of a few trees, [among] natives of this part of these countries, the mass of the forests in estates of the first class, is composed of the same species which are found, but very rarely, east of the mountains. In the most fertile soil, these species are the following: *cerasus virginia* [*Prunus serotina*], or cherry-tree; *juglans oblonga* [*Carya cordiformis*], or white walnut; *pavia lutea* [*Aesculus* spp.], buck-eye; *fraxinus alba* [*F. americana*], *nigra* [perhaps *F. pennsylvanica*], *cerulea* [*F. quadrangulata*], or white, black, and blue ash; *celtis foliis villosis* [*Celtis occidentalis*], or ack berry; *ulmus viscosa* [*U. rubra*], or slippery elm; *Quercus imbricaria* [sic], or black-jack oak; *guilandina dioica* [*Gymnocladus dioica*], or coffee tree; *Gleditsia triacanthos* [sic], or honey locust; and the *annona triloba* [*Asimina triloba*], or pawpaw, which grows thirty feet in height. These latter three species denote the richest lands.”

“In the cool and mountainous parts, and along the rivers where the banks are not very steep, we observed again [also] the *Quercus macrocarpa* [sic], or over-cup white oak, the acorns of which are as large as a hen’s egg; the *acer sacharinum* [*A. saccharum*], or sugar-maple; the *fagus sylvatica* [*Fagus grandifolia*], or beech; together with the *planus occidentalis* [*Platanus occidentalis*], or plane [sycamore]; the *Liriodendron tulipifera* [sic], or white and yellow poplar; and the *Magnolia acuminata* [sic], or cucumber tree, all three of which measure from eighteen to twenty feet in circumference; the plane, as I have before observed, attains a greater diameter. The two species of poplar, i.e., the white and yellow wood [merely variations in heartwood], have not the least external character, neither in their leaves nor flowers, by which

they may be distinguished from each other; and as the species of the yellow wood is of a much greater use, before they fell a tree they satisfy themselves by a notch that it is of that species.”

“In estates of the second class are the fagus castanea [*Castanea dentata*], or chestnut tree; *Quercus rubra* [sic], or red oak; quercus tinctoria [*Q. velutina*], or black oak; laurus sassafras [*S. albidum*], or sassafras; *Diospyros virginiana* [sic], or persimon; *Liquidambar styraciflua* [sic], or sweet gum; nyssa villosa [*N. sylvatica*], or gum tree, a tree which in direct opposition to its name, affords neither gum nor resin.”

“The [estates] of the third class, which commonly are dry and mountainous, produce very little except black and red oaks [*Q. velutina, rubra, coccinea*]; chestnut oaks of the mountains, quercus prinus montana [*Q. montana*], or rocky oak; pines [*Pinus* spp., perhaps *Tsuga canadensis*]; and a few Virginia cedars [*Juniperus virginiana*].”

“The juglans pacane [*Carya illinoensis*] is found beyond the embouchure of the rivers Cumberland and Tennessee, whence they sometimes bring it to markets at Lexington. This tree does not grow east of the Alleghany Mountains. The *Lobelia cardinalis* [sic] grows abundantly in all the cool and marshy places, as well as the *Lobelia siphilitica* [sic]. The latter is more common in Kentucky than in the other parts of the United States that I travelled over. The laurus benzoin [*Lindera benzoin*], or spice wood, is also very numerous there. The two kinds of vaccinium [perhaps *corymbosum-pallidum* and *stamineum* group] and andromeda [perhaps *Oxydendron-Lyonia* group], which form a series of more than thirty species, all very abundant in the eastern states, seem in some measure excluded from those [lands] of the western and chalky region, where we found none but the andromeda arborea [*Oxydendron*

arboreum].

“In all the fertile parts covered by the forests the soil is completely barren; no herbage is seen except a few plants, scattered here and there; and the trees are always far enough apart that a stag may be seen a hundred or a hundred and fifty fathoms off. Prior to the Europeans settling, the whole of this space, now bare, was covered with a species of the great articulated reed, called *arundinaria macrosperma* [*Arundinaria gigantea*], or cane, which is in the woods from three to four inches diameter, and grows seven or eight feet high; but in the swamps and marshes that border the Mississippi it is upwards of twenty feet. Although it often freezes in Kentucky, from five to six degrees, for several days together, its foliage keeps always green, and does not appear to suffer by the cold.”

“Although the ginseng is not a plant peculiar to Kentucky, it is, however, very abundant in it... [Noting export to China and India] The profit must be considerable.” [Check for more material.]

p. 233: more on Kentucky, and to north and south.

“They have again [also], in Kentucky, and the western country, the same animals that inhabit those parts east of the mountains, and even Canada: but a short time after the settling of the Europeans several species of them wholly disappeared, particularly the elks and bisons. The latter, notwithstanding, were more common there than in any other part of North America. The non-occupation of the country, the quantity of rushes [graminoids] and wild peas [faboids], which supplied them abundantly with food the whole year round—and licks (places impregnated with salt, as I have before mentioned)—are the causes that kept them there. Their

number was at that time so considerable, that they were met in flocks [herds] of a hundred and fifty to two hundred. They were so far from being ferocious, that they did not fear the approach of the huntsman, who sometimes shot them solely for the sake of having their tongue, which they looked upon as a delicious morsel. At four years old they weigh from twelve to fourteen hundred weight; and their flesh it is said, is preferable to that of the ox. At present there are scarcely any from Ohio to the river Illinois. They have nearly deserted these parts, and strayed to the right bank of the Mississippi.”

p. 236: “Wild turkies, which begin to grow very scarce in the southern states are still extremely numerous in the west... The only species of [larger] animals which are now common in this country are the following: the deer, the bear, the wolf, the grey and red-haired fox, the wild cat, the racoon, the opossum, and three or four species of squirrels.” [Check for more material.]

Fayette Circuit Court. 1804. Complete Record Book A. Selected passages transcribed and printed in: C.R. Staples (ed). History in Circuit Court Records, Fayette County. 1932. Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society Vol. 30. Pages 282-292 in the latter source include the material quoted below.

These passages concern Grassy Lick in western Montgomery Co., which appears to have had an unusual early patch of bluegrass (*Poa pratensis*).

Page 563 [in original]. “Deposition of Moses Thomas, taken 27th July 1804 at a Grassy lick in Montgomery county before Jacob Coons, J.P., deposes:—”

“In the year 1779 he came to this country with Enoch Smith to get land for ourselves and others. We lodged at Boonesborough—and went out to explore the country in company with Richard Spurr, Charles Beal, Enoch Smith, Cooper Chancellor and two of the Drakes, and we came to the waters of a creek now called Grassy Lick creek. We went down the creek to the lick, which we are now at and in the fork of the creek, we turned out our horses to feed on the blue grass or English grass which was the first we had seen in the country. Enoch Smith was our leader and he called the creek Pasture Lick creek because we turned our horses out to feed on this blue grass. I know Enoch Smith had a land warrent of John Darnell’s and that he located it on Pasture Lick creek now called Grassy Lick... this bottom was the most remarkable for blue grass, more so than any other within the distance of half a mile below the lick...”

Page 564. “Deposition of John McIntyre—taken on 27 July 1804 at a Grassy Lick in Montgomery county before Jacob Coons, J.P., deposes:—”

“That he had been acquainted with what is now called Grassy Lick creek which this deponent as well as he recollects generally bore that name since the year 1780 at which time he first became acquainted with said creek and Lick—and further saith that he has often been informed by Thomas Clarke, John Crittenden etc., that they called the lick Buck Lick and the creek Buck Lick creek as early as the year 1775. He was informed by said Clark and company of the name of said Lick and creek as early as the year 1780 and nearly about the same time was informed by some of the people living at Boonesborough, that they called the above mentioned creek Pasture Lick creek and have been entries calling for Pasture Lick which I always thought to be the creek we are now on and this deponent further sayth the lick stands in the fork of the creek and the creek known to be the waters of Licking and this deponents says the lick we are now at

was most noted on the creek and much more frequented by Buffalo than any of the other licks on said creek. We then proceeded from said Lick down to the place--called for in complaintants entry which is a low piece of ground remarkable for English grass. This ground was more noted for Blue Grass than any other within half of a mile below the licks.”

Page 566: “Deposition of Ebenezer Corn, taken at a point on Sommerset creek in Montgomery county on 14th May 1804 before John Fuqua and James H. Lane, deposes:--”

“Sometime during the winter of 1776 he was traveling from Blue Licks to where he now lives and on his way passed up the creek to a lick and there he saw a quantity of blue grass in a bottom on said creek and he was informed by Colonel Linn or his party that the lick was called Buck Lick which is now called Grassy Lick... which stands in the forks of the creek near the Methodist Meeting House... I saw an improvement below this place on the creek... by Elias Tolin and company by their information in the year 1776.”

Page 569. “Deposition of William Yates, at Grassy Lick in Montgomery county on 27th February 1804 before Jacob Coons, deposes:--”

“In the year 1785 I got acquainted with this lick we are now at which stands in forks of the creek which is now called Grassy Lick but has borne the name of Buck Lick and in or about the year named, I understood it was called Pasture Lick creek, also, when I got acquainted with this creek I well recollect a remarkable bottom in and about half a mile below the lick where the stones are pulled up, which bottom was then remarkable set with blue grass much more so than any bottom on the creek.”

Page 572. “Deposition of Elias Tolin, taken at a lick in Montgomery County on 29 February 1804 before Jacob Coons, J.P., deposes:...”

“In the year 1775 deponent came to Kentuck in company with William Linn, Andrew Linn, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Brazier, John Crittenden, Thornton Farrow and George Rogers Clark... this deponent went out buffalo hunting and got lost from the company and fell upon this creek below the lick and (there) fell upon the company that had been out before and followed on the same trail to this lick where we are now at and there found a cabbin and some trees belted and Thornton Farrow’s name, or rather, the first two letters of his name... when I was with the company above mentioned at this place, I assisted in building a cabbin and then we discovered the great quantities of English grass in the bottom near the pile of stones.”

Simon Kenton. 1800-1805 (approx.). [Statements and depositions to be traced to original sources.] Quoted in: Edna Kenton. 1930. Simon Kenton: His Life and Period, 1755-1836. Double Day, Doran & Co., New York.

In Kenton (1930; see below), the following statements are attributed to Simon Kenton, regarding the landscape in Kentucky during about 1770-1780.

(1) “The Indians never made but two settlements in Kentucky—one on Slate Creek, and one at a place called Lulbel-grud; and at both places they raised corn; what the name Lul-bel-grud came from I never heard, but it was used by Finley and Boone. I don’t know how long ago it was, but the locust is a thrifty growth in Kentucky, and the trees were big enough to make ten rails, and the corn hills were plain to be seen there. They put mighty big hills to their corn.”

Interpretaton. See Wilson (1923) and associated interpretation of the “Slate Creek” settlement. Lulbegrud Creek, by Indian Old Fields in Clark Co., was derived from the town Lulbegrad in Gulliver’s Travels by Jonathan Swift, as noted in a deposition by Boone (Kenton 1930).

(2) About Blue Licks: “When I first saw it, it was a deep pond of salt water and sand—the dryer the time the deeper the pond; the buffaloes tread it up all into a mire and prevented it running into the river... at different times the waters would overflow and leave a considerable quantity of sand in the places where the pond stood, when numerous small springs burst up all [a]long... when the buffaloes by treading it would soon make it a pond again.” Edna Kenton (1930) adds in her words: “The flats on both sides of the river were crowded with buffalo come to lick the salty earth. At one time when he was there Kenton counted fifteen hundred pacing in single file to the Licks.”

Bourbon County Records. 1800-1805 (approx.). Court Case 121. [To be checked; cited in Hammon’s (2005) “Daniel Boone and the Defeat at Blue Licks” published by The Boone Society, Inc.] Discussed under Filson’s (1784b) map above.

Thomas Ashe. 1808. Travels in America, Performed in 1806, for the Purpose of Exploring the Rivers Alleghany, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and Ascertaing the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity. Vol. II. Richard Phillips, Bridge-Street, London, England.

p. 100-101: July, near mouth of Big Sandy River. “We also fell in with a great number of quails, remarkable for their size, and so fat and heavy, that they never attempted flight, but ran

and hid themselves among dry leaves and grass, to a very considerable distance from where we at first started them. Independent of what we killed, my dog ran down and caught several, two of which being perfectly white, were to me a great curiosity. The quails of this country are very tractable, soon domesticated, and easily kept to be killed for family use. Our notice was frequently attracted by a number of hogs ranging in a wild state. They multiply to a great degree notwithstanding that the wolves have no objection to their flesh, and that panthers consider them as their nicest diet. In this natural state they attain considerable courage and ferocity, to which, perhaps, their multiplication and safety may be attributed.”

p. 134-138. “Mayslick is a salt-spring formerly worked, since abandoned in consequence of the discovery of less feeble waters. It is yet interesting from having been the resort of millions of animals who came there to purify their blood at annual intervals and return to the great barrens, swamps, wildernesses, and cane-breaks, in search of favorite pasture though pregnant with putridity and disease. I amused myself more than an hour in discovering vestiges of facts which occurred in the most remote antiquity. No vegetable whatever grows near the Lick. The soil fit for vegetation being trampled down below the surface, and a blue clay trampled up is perhaps the cause of this phenomenon. At all events it cannot be attributed to the salt and sulphur of the ground, as other grounds are known, saturated with those qualities, to produce vegetation in a rich abundance. In the vicinity of the spring are several holes marked in such a manner as to proclaim at once that they were formed by animals wallowing in them after they had bathed and satiated there pass on for the waters of the spring.”

“Some banks in the neighbourhood are hollowed out in a semilunar manner from the action of beasts rubbing against them and carrying off quantities of the earth on their hides,

wet, with the view of tempering the mould and forming a coat of mail to resist the stings of wasps and all the armed insect tribe. One of those scooped out hollowed banks appeared like a side of a hill from which one hundred thousand loads of soil might have been carried off, and the height of the waste of the bank by friction was so great that I could not reach it within ten feet, though aided by a pole seven feet long. I admit that some of the upper part might have washed down and given the place a space not required by attrition, but the impression made on the mind from general appearances of the concavity which cannot be described, was favorable to an idea that the concave sweep was made in the bent by animals of uncommon height and magnitude; probably by the mammoth, whose bones have been often found not far distant from the spot.”

“Other substances within the area of the salt ground evince their having been licked and worn by the action of the tongue. It was these indications which induced the first settlers to give the name of salt licks to saline springs. They abound at Mayslick, and are expressed on stones with more precision than on the banks or surface of the impregnated earth, the impressions of which diminish with the encrease of time. The indention on one stone I found to be four inches deep, that is in its greatest concavity, and seven inches wide. On the same rock were several lesser indentions, and on other rocks, after more minute research, I discovered several more concavities, both larger and smaller than what I have described. The stone appeared to me to be a blue limestone either impregnated with salt, or receiving it on its surface, from the vapours issuing from the spring, and falling to the earth from incapacity to rise in consequence of its density and weight. To me the taste of sulphur appeared to predominate in the spring more than that of salt; and as the salt water rose and blended with the fresh, it diffused itself in black clouds through the surface and discolored it as far as the salt indulation could extend.”

p. 138-139. “Having made these few remarks, I mounted my horse, and continued the road to Lexington, till I arrived at a place called the Blue lick, both from the colour of the stone and the clay brought to the surface by the constant trampling of the thousands of animals which formerly frequented the springs. Here also vegetation entirely ceases. The indications of rolling in the mire, attrition of banks, and indentions in rocks, from licking their surface, are more numerous at the Blue than at Mayslick; and an old settler informed me, that on searching for the best fountains of salt, bones were discovered, which required from four to six men to remove. One entire *defence*, or Mammoth's horn was raised up and lay on the bank till knocked to pieces by persons coming along and who wished to *find out what it was*.

p. 156-157. “The soil round Lexington is from one to thirty feet deep—the bottom throughout the whole State a solid bed of limestone. The beds of creeks and streams are solid limestone; and the Kentucky river runs through a natural canal, whose perpendicular sides of one hundred feet high are composed of limestone rock.”

p. 171: July, descending the Ohio River from Limestone [Maysville] to Cincinnati. “Four miles from Eagle, is Bracken Creek on the Kentucky shore. It gives name to the county through which it runs. The county-town is fixed at the mouth of an extensive bottom, and in a very handsome situation. It is yet small, not being long laid out.—Augusta is the name given to it. I am disposed to think very favorably of the taste of the inhabitants from the judicious manner they have cleared the timber of their settlement. They have left on a very fine bank of gradual descent to the water, six rows of stately trees, which form several grand avenues and afford shade from the sun without obstructing the breeze or circulation of air. They have also left clumps of trees and small groves in the improvements. which have a pleasing effect, and strike

the attention more forcibly, as Augusta is the only town on the river which has respected the ornaments of nature or left a single shrub planted by her chaste yet prodigal hand. In all other settlements the predominant rage is to destroy the woods, and what the axe cannot overturn is left to the vigour of fire. This element is applied to a work which mocks the labor of man, and in a short time converts the greatest forests and the richest scenes to a dreary prospect of dissolution and waste.”

p. 209-210: starting from the Milford area. “I set off on a north course for a town called Lebanon, thirty miles distant, and lying exactly central between the two Miamis. The first five miles were hilly, but afforded fine rich intervals for farms... For ten miles further on, the land was broken, heavily timbered, and but little cleared. The remaining fifteen miles to Lebanon were nearly the best I ever viewed, and settled considerably for so new a country.”

p. 223-224. “Determined not to penetrate the woods till the sun had the power of exhalation, I rode along the river bank, which I found extravagantly rich and beautiful. The shrubs and flowers grew to a great size; and, for the first time since my arrival in the country, I met with the *Magnolia Altissima* [*sic*, presumably planted *Magnolia grandiflora*] which I considered a testimony of a change of soil and climate, as it requires both of a very prolific nature.”

p. 226-227. At Mr Digby’s, near New Burlington on the Little Miami River: “He did not consider the spot he was on unhealthy, but there were swamps in the rear of his plantation which emitted infectious smells, and caused a nausea when he had occasion to remain in or near them. His fine meadows were wood-swamps till he cleared off the trees and drained them into creeks communicating with the low country and with the river. He has no other (fault with

the land than that it is too rich—forcing every thing into a stalk like timber, and making the hay so coarse, that he often destroys the first growth; and only saves the after-grass when a foot high or under.”

p. 229-232. “On leaving Mr. Digby's, I continued my journey up the Little Miami for about ten miles, when I arrived at some hilly and broken land... I bent a west by north course by compass, which I judged would strike the Great Miami near Dayton... The distance from the Little Miami, from whence I turned to that part of the Great Miami, for which I made, I conjectured to be between forty-five and sixty miles. The surface in the first instance, swelled into the hills, and sunk into dales of great fertility and richness, and was much more sound and less noxious than that I traversed the preceding day. One particular part contained a greater variety of advantage and beauty than I ever beheld embraced in the same compass.”

“Entering an opening between the feet of two hills, through which rushed a rapid transparent stream, I had a view of a circular piece of ground so thinly wooded, that the hill by which it was girt was distinctly seen crowned with sumptuous trees, representing a fine amphitheatre, which met the eye in every direction around. The water was visible in many places, and traversed the plain numerous times in search of the sortie through which I entered, and through which it dashed with as much exulting violence as if sensible of the liberty it regained. It entered the plain from the north west, in which situation it possessed several falls of sufficient power for any over-shot and grist mills. This advantage connected with a variety of others, renders the spot the most eligible imaginable for all the purposes of rural economy and contracted desires of primitive life. The plain contains perhaps twelve hundred acres; the land could easily be cleared, the soil a rich black mould, could be cultivated with little labor; from

the facility of being drained no offensive vapours could arise and a house seated in the declivity of the hill from which the stream descended in quick and rapid falls, could command an uninterrupted view of an abundant and enchanting prospect. From the thin state and growth of the wood, there remained no doubt of the plain having been formerly under cultivation. No traces of Indian settlements notwithstanding appeared. I journeyed on for the remainder of the day through a wilderness of melancholy gloom and endless extent.”

p. 235-238. “Perfectly refreshed, I again pursued my journey towards the Great Miami, and travelled for four hours over the finest tract of wood land I ever beheld. It was nearly a level, but healthy and dry, in consequence of being intersected by a number of rapid little streams, which carried off rains, and left no ponds for the creation of noxious and putrescent matter. The soil was deep and black, and the following timber grew in great magnitude, beauty, and abundance:—Maple [*Acer*, mostly *saccharum*]; Sycamore [*Platanus*]; Black Mulberry [*Morus rubra*]; White ditto [*M. alba*]; Black Walnut [*Juglans nigra*]; White ditto [*J. cinerea*]; White Oak [*Quercus alba* etc.]; Black ditto [*Q. velutina* etc.]; Red ditto [*Q. rubra* etc.]; Spanish ditto [*Q. shumardii* etc.]; Chesnut ditto [*Q. muehlenbergii* etc.]; Butter Nut [*J. cinerea*]; Chesnut [*Castanea*]; Hickery, three species [*Carya cordiformis, glabra, ovata*]; Cherry [*Prunus serotina*]; Buckwood, or Horse Chesnut [*Aesculus glabra*]; Honey Locust [*Gleditsia*]; Elm, two species [*Ulmus americana, rubra*]; Cucumber Tree [perhaps *Liriodendron*]; Lynn Tree [*Tilia*]; Gum Tree [*Nyssa*]; Iron Wood [*Carpinus*]; Ash, three species [*Fraxinus americana, pennsylvanica, quadrangulata*]; Aspin [*Populus grandidentata*]; Sassafras; Crab Apple Tree [*Malus*]; Papaw [*Asimina*]; Plum Tree, sev. kinds. [*Prunus americana, angustifolia, hortulana, munsoniana*]”

Interpretation. This list seems reasonable with some exceptions. The oaks remain uncertain. “Cucumber tree” here is just outside the range of *Magnolia acuminata*; Ashe might have confused that species with *Liriodendron*. The absence of beech (*Fagus*) is curious, as is the presence of chesnut (*Castanea*); the latter is virtually unknown as a wild tree in southwest Ohio.

“Besides these there were nine species of bark: spice [*Lindera*], and leather wood bushes [*Dirca*]; the judus tree [*Cercis*], the dog wood [*Cornus*], and many others whose names and properties I had not capacity to ascertain. The land in every direction produced vast quantities of grapes of various sorts [*Vitis aestivalis, cinerea, riparia, vulpina*], and cotton, growing in great perfection, shewed itself to be the natural production of the country.” [Ohio cotton was last produced in 1840; <http://ohiocottongrowers.org/history-of-ohio-cotton.html>].

“The sugar maple is the most valuable tree for an inland state. One tree can yield about ten pounds of sugar a year, and the labor is very trifling. This valuable tree, like every other valuable gift of nature to this Western world, is hastening to dissolution and decline. In the spring of the year sugar camps extend through the whole country; and the persons employed give the trees such great and unnecessary wounds that their whole virtue runs out, and they perish perhaps in a season. So violent has been the prodigality of the people of Kentucky, that they have nearly annihilated the maple altogether, by hacking the trees with an axe and never closing the wounds from which they drew the sap, though they well knew that the timber would perish from such treatment. Persons of better regulated minds tap the trees with an augur, insert a cane, draw off the liquor, and then stop up the flowing and the wound, by which means the trees recover their vigour, and afford fresh supplies from three to twelve years.”

p. 254-256. “Differing from other settlers, Mr. Symmes has been studious to give the river-sides a pastoral effect, by preserving woods, planting orchards, and diversifying these with corn-fields, sloping pastures, and every other effect incidental both to an improved and rural life... Miss Livingston [a niece or sister-in-law] is much of a botanist—a practical one—She collects seeds from such plants and flowers as are most conspicuous in the prairies, and cultivates them with care on the banks, and in the vicinity of the house. She is forming a shrubbery also, which will be entirely composed of magnolia, calalpa, papaw, rose and tulip trees, and all others distinguished for blossom and fragrance. In the middle is erected a small Indian temple, where this young lady preserves seeds and plants, and classes specimens of wood which contribute much to her knowledge and entertainment.”

p. 258. August, descending the Ohio River from Cincinnati to Louisville. “The salt spring is very weak at the Big Bone Lick. One thousand gallons of water yield but a bushel of salt. About twenty miles back of the Big Bone, is Grant's Lick [on Phillips Creek near US 27 in Campbell County], one hundred gallons of which make a bushel of salt of a very strong and fine quality.”

p. 261. “The Kentucky is about ninety yards at its mouth. Its banks, or rather precipices, ought to be reckoned among the grandest natural curiosities of the country. There the astonished eye beholds three hundred, and often five hundred feet of solid perpendicular rock, in some parts of lime stone, and in others of fine white marble, chequered with strata of extraordinary beauty and regularity, which gives the river the appearance of an immensely deep and artificial canal, whose rocky banks are crowned with sumptuous cedar, and other trees, of a perpetual verdure.”

“While exploring the banks, I fell in with some antiquities peculiar to the country. They consist of old forts, not circular like the many I have pointed out, but oblong, and situated on strong well-chosen grounds, and always contiguous to the best landings of the river. When, by whom, and for what purpose thrown up, is, most unfortunately uncertain. They are undoubtedly very ancient, as there is not the least visible difference in the age or size of the timber growing on or within those forts, and that which grows without; and I never yet could obtain any satisfactory tradition respecting them. Doctor Cutler, who has accurately examined the trees in those forts, and which he thinks, from the appearances, are the second growth, is of opinion, that they must have been built upwards of one thousand years. One fact is also clear; they must have been the efforts of a people acquainted with some science, and capable of infinite labor; and it is difficult to conceive how they could be constructed without the use of iron tools and the instruments we are compelled to employ in works of much less magnitude and character. At a small distance from each fort there stands a mound of earth thrown up in the manner of a pyramid.” [Dr. C. was probably Manessah Cutler (1742-1823) of Massachusetts and Ohio.]

p. 269: at Louisville. “The inhabitants are universally addicted to gambling and drinking. The billiard rooms are crowded from morning to night, and often all night through.” [etc. etc. etc.]

p. 277-278: August, travelling towards Bardstown. “Accommodated with two excellent saddle and one good pack horse for the conveyance of my tent, and a few common necessaries, I took a south course with the intention of reaching Beardstown, a rising settlement about fifty miles off. I was very glad to find that the hills were neither so rugged nor numerous as I had previously experienced in most other parts of the state; but I passed several swamps and ponds, which emitted a most noxious smell, and affected for a moment both the stomach and the head.

I found the country exceedingly well timbered. Sugar maple [*Acer saccharum* s.l.], the coffee [*Gymnocladus*], the papaw [*Asimina*], the hackberry [*Celtis*], and the cucumber tree [perhaps *Liriodendron*] everywhere abounded. The coffee tree resembles the black oak, and bears a pod, which encloses a seed, of which a drink is made, thought by inferior tastes to be as good as coffee. Besides these, I met with the honey locust, black mulberry, and wild cherry of a very large size, and the magnolia, bearing a beautiful blossom and shedding an exquisite fragrance...” [Ashe follows this with remarkable social commentary...]

Interpretation. Again, his “cucumber tree” may have been confused with tulip tree or poplar (*Liriodendron*), which used to be locally abundant on the southeast side of Louisville (as along Poplar Level Road). *Magnolia acuminata* is virtually unknown in the western Bluegrass region.

p. 282-285. “I had advanced but a few miles, when I left the ridgy regions which confine the Ohio, and travelled through a delightful country, presenting to view one extended plain, interspersed with trees and covered with herbs and blossoms which embalmed the air with the sweetest odours, and added to the luxury of the charming scene. Many spots were enriched by shady groves, and many enlivened with lilies [perhaps *Lilium michiganense*], roses [*Rosa carolina, setigera*], gilly-flowers [perhaps *Phlox paniculata*], and jessamins [perhaps *Lonicera sempervirens*] and a thousand other flowers, joined to the finest and most aromatic violets in the world. My servant, who is far a better botanist than myself, presented to my notice several herbs made use of by the wise men of his nation. I knew one to be the *eustracia*, which, by being soaked in warm water, and applied moist to the eye, restores a weak sight, or stops the fountain of the worst cataract [perhaps a *Scutellaria* or *Veronica*]. The next was that extraordinary herb called the *escursonera*, which is an antidote against all sorts of poison, and a remedy for the bite of the worst vipers [perhaps a *Nabalus* / *Prenanthes*]. It is also said to be

serviceable in the yellow fever; in fits, paroxysms and vapours, and capable of dispelling gloom and melancholy. There was also another vegetable whose flower was very beautiful, and which the Indians used in all cases of fever and flux. The same exists in Portugal, and is known by the name of *anagris*” [perhaps *Senna marilandica*].

Interpretation. It is hard to guess which species he implied, then in August when no species of violet flowers. “Eustracia” might have been a corruption of *Euphrasia*, which has traditional medicinal use for the eye, but the genus is not native to eastern North America; some vaguely resembling *Scutellaria* species have had similar uses. “Escursonera” is a Spanish or Catalan name for salsify-like plants (*Scorsonera*, *Tragopogon*); the loosely related *Nabalus* species of North America are often known as “rattlesnake-root”. *Anagyris foetida* is a well-known Mediterranean shrub with showy yellow flowers and purgative properties; *Senna marilandica* is distantly related in Fabaceae (sensu lato), and has some gross similarities.

“Birds of every description,, plumage, and song, were met with. Quail and partridge [perhaps larger quail] held the vicinity of cultivated grounds; pheasants [perhaps grouse] and black cocks [perhaps wood-cock] abounded in the deepest woods, and the blue linnet, red bird, purple finch, and hundreds of such others, claimed the protection of smaller detached houquets and rural bowers... [preparing to camp] I had killed a very fine black cock and several quails. The flesh of the black cock was of the most exquisite relish. This bird is known in the Highlands of Scotland. He is not commonly found in so southern a latitude as this. In the winter of 1788, these birds were taken plentifully about Quebec. When ever the winter of the Arctic region sets in with rain, so as to cover the branches and leaves of trees with a glaze of ice, they are deprived of their food, and obliged to fly to a milder climate. They differ much from those

of Europe in colour, the feathers being mostly white, and a coronet of a dark grey displayed on the head.”

p. 288-290. “The remainder of my ride to Beardstown, was highly interesting. It lay through an enchanting vale in many places cultivated to the summit of the hills that formed it, and in all others covered with luxuriant timber and aromatic plants and shrubs. The vale is twenty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth; and as the splendid productions of nature, with which it abounds, are mingled with neat farm-houses, and settlements of considerable improvement, I know of no place that can vie with it for richness of scenery and rural perfection... Having conversed with a planter of some civilization and intelligence, I learned that the vale had been the favorite residence of a nation of Indians, called, from tradition, Pono Cognorago, or the Vale of Spirits—which bears an exact analogy to our Garden of Eden, or Paradise, such places as have been deigned worthy the care and the walks of God.” [Statement is unverified.]

Volume III, p. 4: along the lower Ohio River. “Most of the settlers on the lower parts of the waters are criminals, who either escaped from, or were apprehensive of public justice. On descending the river, they fix on some inviting spot, without ever looking after the proprietor of the soil, erect log-hut, plant little corn, make salt at neighbouring saline; coffee from the wild pea and extract sugar from the maple tree.”

Dr. Luke Munsell. 1818. A Map of the State of Kentucky. From actual Survey. Also part of Indiana and Illinois, Compiled principally from Returns in the Surveyor General's Office by Luke Munsell. [Printed in Frankfort with a loan from the State of Kentucky.]

See extract on next page.



From Munsell's 1818 map of Ky. at Library of Congress: Indian Town, Fields, Valley, Creeks.

Part Two: Reminiscences of Early Settlers written during 1805-1920

Fortescue Cuming. 1807. Journal; in R.G. Thwaites (ed.). 1904. Early Western Travels. 1748-1846. Vol 4. The Arthur C. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

p. 176-177: 21 Jul 1807, conversing with Captain John Waller about the settlement era in central Kentucky: “Our host was an obliging and sensible man, and possessed of good general information relative to this country: he was not destitute of some particular also... He said that buffaloes, bears and deer were so plenty in the country, even long after it began to be generally settled, and ceased to be frequented as a hunting ground by the Indians, that little or no bread was used, but that even the children were fed on game; the facility of gaining which prevented the progress of agriculture, until the poor innocent buffaloes were completely extirpated, and the other wild animals much thinned: And that the principal part of the cultivation of Kentucky had been within the last fifteen years. He said the buffaloes had been so numerous, going in herds of several hundreds together, that [157] about the salt licks and springs they frequented, they pressed down and destroyed the soil to a depth of three or four feet, as was conspicuous yet in the neighbourhood of the Blue Lick, where all the old trees have their roots bare of soil to that depth. — Those harmless and unsuspecting animals, used to stand gazing with apparent curiosity at their destroyer, until he was sometimes within twenty yards of them, when he made it a rule to select the leader, which was always an old and fat female. When she was killed, which rarely failed from the great dexterity of the hunter, the rest of the herd would not desert her, until he had shot as many as he thought proper. If one of the common herd was the first victim of the rifle, the rest would immediately fly. The males sometimes exceeded a thousand pounds weight, but the females were seldom heavier than five hundred. He said that the

whole country was then an entire cane brake, which sometimes grew to forty feet high, but that the domestic animals introduced by the settlers have eradicated the cane, except in some remote and unsettled parts of the state. He described that plant as “springing up with a tender shoot, like asparagus, which cattle are very fond of.”

p. 181-182: approaching Lexington along Russell Cave Road; “The country had insensibly assumed the appearance of an approach to a city. — The roads very wide and fine, with grazing parks, meadows, and every spot in sight cultivated.”

Humphrey Marshall. 1812. The History of Kentucky. Revised and extended. 1824. 2 vols. Henry Gore, Frankfort.

p. 5: speaking of the pioneers in Kentucky during 1775 and thereafter.
“Their arrival on the plains of Elkhorn, was in the dawn of summer; when the forest composed of oaks of various kinds, of ash, of walnut, cherry, buckeye, hackberry, sugar trees, towering aloft to the clouds, overspread the luxuriant undergrowth, with their daily shade; while beneath, the class of trees—the shrubs, the cane, the herbage, and the different kinds of grass, and clover, interspersed with flowers, filled the eye, and overlaid the soil with the forest’s richest carpet.”

p. 8-9: speaking of the Indian conflicts over the land
“In consequence of which, and because these combats were frequent—the country being thickly wooded, and deeply shaded—was called in their expressive language, THE DARK AND BLOODY HUNTING GROUND.”

His account of the battle of Blue Licks provides further notes on vegetation, and is cited above under Col. Levi Todd (1782), an original source.

Brown, Samuel Right. 1817. The Western Gazetteer; or emigrants directory, containing a geographical description of the western states and territories, viz. the states of Kentucky, Indiana, Louisiana, Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi: and the territories of Illinois, Missouri, Alabama, Michigan, and North-Western. Printed by H.C. Southwick, Auburn, New York.

p. 81-85, under “FACE OF THE COUNTRY”

“The bottoms of the Kentucky side of the Ohio, from its mouth to that of Big Sandy, will average one mile in width. The timber is beech, sugar maple, sycamore, cottonwood, hackberry, pawpaw, and honey locust. These bottoms are in some places subject to periodical inundation, but are nevertheless susceptible of cultivation; about one sixth part of this land is cleared. Parallel to the Ohio, and in the rear of the bottoms, lies a strip of country from five to twenty miles wide, and as long as the state, which is cut into deep vallies and high hills, by the numerous creeks and runs entering the Ohio. This soil, however, is rich and the greater part capable of improvement. Between this strip, Big Sandy and Green rivers, and the eastern counties, lies the garden of the state, if not of the world. It is about 150 miles long, and from 50 to 100 miles wide, and comprises the counties of Mason, Fleming, Montgomery, Clarke, Bourbon, Fayette, Scott, Harrison, Franklin, Woodford, Mercer, Jessamine, Madison, Garrard, Logan, Casey, Lincoln, Washington, Green.”

“This extensive tract is intersected by Little Sandy, Licking, Kentucky, and Salt rivers, and their numerous forks. This district has the happiest surface; gradually rising and descending alternately. There are no swamps, and the hills are of such easy ascent, that the fields show to the best possible advantage.”

“The angles of ascent are from eight to twenty-four degrees; the vallies are very narrow, and what is quite singular, inferior in point of fertility to the uplands. The soil, is black and friable, generally, but sometimes of a deep vermilion hue, or of the color of strong ashes. These lands produce black walnut, black cherry, honey locust, buckeye, pawpaw, sugar tree, mulberry, elm, ash, cotton wood, white thorn, with a grape vine encircling almost every fourth tree. The depth of the soil is always the greatest on the summits of the ridges and hills, varying from one to twenty feet. There is little or no under wood; but its place was supplied, when the country was first settled by the whites, by the reed cane, which covered all the rich lands. In the woods the earth is not incumbered with the rubbish of fallen timber, nor the trunks of partially decayed trees, as is the case in the northern states. The trees are small and strait, and do not in many places average more than twenty to an acre, except near the principal streams, where the prevailing timber is oak, and the soil hard and sterile to the distance of two or three miles. This part of the state is not so well watered as the hilly strip near the Ohio and the broken country near the Virginia boundary line, yet almost every farm is blessed with a durable spring.”

“The counties bordering the Virginia and Tennessee frontiers, situated in the eastern and south-eastern parts of the state, are broken by the spurs and lateral branches of the Allegany and Cumberland mountains. Besides, it is in these sections of the state that the Big Sandy, Licking, Kentucky, and Cumherland rivers have their sources. The small streams are numerous; and

have gullied the earth into sharp hills, long crooked ridges, deep glens, dark hollows, and frightful gulfs. The hills are covered with oak, chesnut, hickory, gum, and poplar, and the vallies with beech, sugar maple, elm, poplar, black walnut and hackberry. In the bottoms of the gulfs, or “coves” as the inhabitants call them, the trees are thickly planted, and grow to a most extraordinary size, particularly the poplars, which frequently measure eight feet in diameter, and of immense height. It is in these unfrequented recesses that solitude may be said to hold her court; for the light of heaven is not able to penetrate the eternal gloom which reigns beneath the impervious foliage. What a scene for Scott! His description of the woods of Soignies is strikingly appropriate to the coves and gulfs of Kentucky and Tecnessee.”

“Thy woods, dark Soignies, holds us now,
Where the tall beeches glossy bough.
For many a league around,
With birch and darksome oak between,
Spreads deep and far a pathless screen.
Of tangled forest ground.”

“The areas of these gulfs are from one to fifty acres, perfectly level at the bottom, and covered, when in a state of nature, with a thick growth of cane, they have gaps or outlets on one side through which flows the brook created by the numerous springs issuing from the base of the almost surrounding hills. The water of these springs is excellent and durable; the sides of the hills, when not so steep for the plough, yield fine crops of corn, potatoes, &c. The soil is exceedingly rich, and the inhabitants often locate themselves in these peaceful retreats. They afford a pleasant residence in winter, but are too confined and sultry in the summer.”

“Between the Rolling fork of Salt river and Green river, in Nelson county principally, is a tract of country, about forty miles square, mostly barren, interspersed with plains and strips of good lands, which are advantageous situations for raising cattle, as the neighboring barrens, as they are improperly called, are covered with grass, and afford good pasturage. Small tracts of similar land are found upon Great and Little Barren rivers. But the country between Green and Cumberland rivers is emphatically called "the barrens" by the inhabitants living north of Green river and the Knobs of Pulaski county; not because the soil is unproductive, but because the timber is uniformly oak, chesnut, hickory, gum, lye, poplar and cucumber. The "oak" or "knob" district, includes the counties of Pulaski, Wayne, Rocky Castle, Knox, Cumberland, Warren, Barren, Livingston and Christian.”

“In 1800, the Legislature of Kentucky made a gratuitous grant of this extensive tract to actual settlers. Every actual settler was entitled to a lot of four hundred acres. At the time, this land was considered of little value; but time and settlement has given it a reputation. It proves to be excellent grain land; and hogs and cattle are easily raised. In consequence of the great size of the lots, and the destitution of water in many places, the *range* cannot be destroyed, as has been the case in the *old* or northern settlements. There are no meadows or pastures to be seen in this quarter; all the domestic animals run in the woods. These lands will yield from forty to fifty bushels of Indian corn; fifteen bushels of rye, twenty of wheat, and thirty of oats, an acre; besides, tobacco does well in the swales and flats, which are sometimes very fertile; cotton and indigo will do tolerably well. The gardens produce onions, cabbage, sweet and Irish potatoes. The bottoms of Cumberland, where it runs on the Kentucky side of the boundary line, are very productive, not so subject to inundation, nor so wide as those of the Ohio. The soil is a gravelly

clay or loam of a vermilion color, except in the poplar timbered lands, where it is a deep, ash colored mould, rich, durable, and capable of producing one hundred bushels of corn an acre. The inhabitants make use of this soil for the culture of tobacco, of which they raised great quantities last season. I scarcely passed a plantation, which had not a tobacco field; in which purpose they had uniformly cleared a piece of new ground. The country merchants were offering from twelve to fifteen dollars a hundred in advance. The chesnut trees are remarkably tall and handsome; and the inhabitants mostly use thiis timber for rails and shingles.”

p. 92. Describing thre Lexington area.

“The grazing parks hare a peculiar neatness; tlie charming groves, the small, square and beautiful meadows, and above all, the wide spreading forests of corn waving in grandeur and luxuriance, and perfuming the air with its fragrance, combine to render a summer's view of Lexington inexpressibly rich, novel, grand and picturesque.”

p. 96.

“Summerset—The seat of justice for Pulaski county, stands on the side of a hill in a rich undulating country, twelve [miles] S-S, E. of Stanford.—It contains about [?40—illeg.] houses, brick, framed and hewn logs; it has a post office, three taverns, six stores, three blacksmith shops, and a grist mill. Six miles beyond Summerset on the Monticello road, the aspect, soil and timber of the country, changes instantly: for you pass almost at a single step, from the deep, black, rich soil, covered with honey iocust, sugar maple, buckeye, &c. into the *oak* or *knob* region, where the soft vegetable mould, the accacia, grape vine, and rich pastures disappear, and you tread on a firmer soil, and make your way through a lofty oak and chesnut forest. The ascent from the rich lands to the summit of the *Knobs*, is several hundred feet.”

p. 97.

“Wayne county is the most healthy part of the state. Diseases and physicians are almost unknown to the inhabitants; but as a drawback on this blessing, they frequently experience the most tremendous thunder storms. In travelling from Limestone to Cumberland river, I scarcely saw a single tree which had been struck by lightning. But immediately on entering this county, I discovered frequent instances of the lightning’s rage; and soon had an opportunity of beholding it exerting all its power on the forest which covers Poplar mountain. The storm overtook me several miles from any house, and upon the summit of the mountain. The claps came in quick succession and were distinguished for uncommon vividness of the lightning, and terrific severity of the thunder. There was but very little rain, and not the least appearance of wind. Several trees were struck within a short distance of the covert I had selected. A large chesnut tree was literally shivered into splinters, and scattered to the distance of several rods, in every direction. The fragments exactly resembled the strips of a basket-maker.”

p. 109. Under “THE RANGE”

“The reed cane, an evergreen, which in the first settlement of the state covered the country on all the rich lands from Big Sandy to the Tennessee frontier, and which constitute the principal food for horses and cattle in winter, has of late years almost entirely disappeared. But a still more valuable succeedanum [sic] has sprung up in its stead, so that the woods and commons in the best counties afford a rich and luxuriant pasturage. This is a short, nutritious grass called "nimble will," which has completely overspread with astonishing celerity, almost every spot of waste or uncultivated ground. The inhabitants affirm that the range is now better for horses and cattle, than it was when the country was in a state of nature.”

Felix Walker. 1824 [approx. date]. Account of his journey with the Transylvania Company in 1775. Apparently first transcribed in Draper Manuscripts: 3B, p. 173-179. First published as in J.D.S Debow. 1854. Debow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc. Vol 2, p. 150-155 [check Feb 1851 also]. Reprinted as "Felix Walker's narrative of his trip with Boone from Long Island to Boonesborough in March, 1775" in G.W. Ranck. 1901. Boonesborough. Filson Club Publication No. 16, p. 163-164. John P. Morton & Co., Louisville.

p. 163-164: recounting events of 1775, during late March to July, traveling from Appalachian hills to Boonesborough, probably camping near Irvine's Lick when they were attacked. "On leaving that river [Rockcastle], we had to encounter and cut our way through a country of about twenty miles [probably hills of northern Rockcastle County], entirely covered with dead brush, which we found a difficult and laborious task. At the end of which [in the Berea area] we arrived at the commencement of a cane country, traveled about thirty miles [into modern Madison County] through cane [*Arundinaria gigantea*] and reed [perhaps *Phalaris arundinacea*], and as the cane ceased, we began to discover the pleasing and rapturous appearance of the plains of Kentucky [central Madison Co.]."

"A new sky and strange earth seemed to be presented to our view. So rich a soil we had never seen before; covered with clover [probably *Trifolium stoloniferum*] in bloom, the woods were abounding with wild game--turkeys so numerous that it might be said they appeared but one flock, universally scattered in the woods. It appeared that nature, in the profusion of her bounty, had spread a feast for all that lives, both for the animal and rational world. A sight so delightful

to our view and grateful to our feelings, almost inclined us, in imitation of Columbus, in transport to kiss the soil of Kentucky, as he hailed and saluted the sand on his first setting his foot on the shores of America. The appearance of the country coming up to the full measure of our expectations, and seemed to exceed the fruitful source of our imaginary prospects.”

“We felt ourselves as passengers through a wilderness just arrived at the fields of Elysium or at the garden where was no forbidden fruit. Nothing can furnish the contemplative mind with more sublime reflections, than nature unbroken by art; we can there trace the wisdom of the Great Architect in the construction of his work in nature’s simplicity, which, when he had finished, he pronounced all good. But, alas! the vision of a moment made dream of a dream, and the shadow of a shade! Man may appoint, but One greater than men can disappoint. A sad reverse overtook us two days after, on our way to Kentucky river. On the 25th of March, 1775, we were fired on by the Indians, in our camp asleep, about an hour before day...”

“...At length I was carried in a litter between two horses, twelve miles, to Kentucky river, where we made a station, and called it Boonesborough, situated in a plain on the south side of the river, wherein was a lick with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated. On entering the plain we were permitted to view a very interesting and romantic sight. A number of buffaloes, of all sizes, supposed to be between two and three hundred, made off from the lick in every direction; some running, some walking, others loping slowly and carelessly, with young calves playing, skipping and bounding through the plain. Such a sight some of us never saw before, nor perhaps may never again.”

Interpretation. Hammon (1970) provided a reconstruction of this early route. From the

Rockcastle River, they traveled up Trace Branch of Rockcastle [Rockcastle Co.] then down Crooked Creek then up Roundstone Creek to “Boone’s Gap” [into southern Madison Co. where US 25 and Interstate 75 enter the Bluegrass from the Knobs]. The “thirty miles through thick cane and reed” presumably included the valley along Roundstone Creek and the southern edges of the Bluegrass region near the modern town of Berea; distances were probably exaggerated. This was a general description, based on much more than the actual journey; but note that clover does not bloom until April or May. See also Calk’s Diary from 1775: arrival of Walker at Boonesboro was on 20th April.

John Bradford. 1826-29. Notes on Kentucky. Kentucky Gazette. Published by the author in Lexington. Reprinted in: J.W. Townsend (ed). 1932. Bradford's Notes on Kentucky. Grabhorn Press, San Francisco. Reprinted with extensive footnotes by Thomas D. Clark (ed). 1993. The Voice on the Frontier. John Bradford’s Notes on Kentucky. The University Press of Kentucky.

p. 47 [in 1993 printing]: describing a prelude to the fighting in 1782, along the north side of North Fork of Elkhorn Creek, north of Lexington.

“Hogan’s party had travelled but a short distance after crossing the creek, before they heard the voice of somebody cry out “boys stop!” on looking back they discovered several Indians closely pursuing them; they therefore laid whip to their horses and for several miles when in open woods could see the Indians in their rear.”

p. 49-50: Simon Girty’s speech of 1782 as reported in this source; earlier renditions are unknown but the military history should be searched; see also Marshall (1812). According to

Bradford, Girty addressed the Indians in Chillicothe, Ohio, before their attack on Bryan's Station north of Lexington as follows.

“Brothers: the fertile region of Kentucky is the land of cane and clover—spontaneously growing to feed the buffaloes, the elk and the deer; there the bear and beaver are always fat—the Indians from all the tribes have had a right from time immemorial, to hunt and kill unmolested these wild animals, and bring off their skins, to purchase themselves clothing—to buy blankets for their backs and rum to send down their throats, to drive away the cold and rejoice their hearts, after the fatigue of hunting and the toil of war [great applause from the crowd]. But

“Brothers, the long knives have overrun your country, and usurped your hunting grounds,—They have destroyed the cane—trodden down the clover—killed the deer and buffaloes, the bear and raccoon—They are building cabins and making roads on the ground of the Indian camp and warpath: The beaver has been chased from his dam and forced to leave the country [palpable emotion among the hearers].

“Brothers, the intruders on your lands exult in the success that has crowned their flagitious acts:—They are planting fruit trees and ploughing the land where not long since were the cane break and clover field. Were there a voice in the trees of the forest, or articulate sound in the gurgling waters, every part of this country would call upon you to chase away these ruthless invaders who are laying it waste:—Unless you rise in the majesty of your might and exterminate the whole race, you may bid adieu to the hunting ground of your fathers—to the delicious flesh of the animals with which it once abounded, and to the skins with which you

were once enabled to purchase your clothing and your rum.”

p. 54: describing the battle field of Blue Licks in 1782.

“The Licking river at this place is about 300 feet wide, at common water, and forms a semi-ellipsis which embraces on its N.E. side, towards Limestone, a great ridge of rocks which had been made bare by the stamping of the buffaloe and other game, drawn together from time immemorial, to drink the water and lick the clay.—Two deep ravines, heading in the ridge near each other, and extending in opposite directions, formed the longest diameter of this ellipsis. This ridge had very little timber on it, and what it had was very indifferent, and exhibited a dreary appearance; but the ravines were furnished not only plentifully with timber, but with thick brushwood also.”

Daniel Trabue. 1827. Memorandum made by me D Trabue in the year of 1827 of a Jurnal of events from memory and Tradition. In: C.R. Young (ed). 1981 [paperback 2004]. Westward into Kentucky. The Narrative of Daniel Trabue. The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky.

p. 47 (in Young 1981): in late April 1778, from Boonesborough to Logan’s Fort [that become Stanford]

“In about one week we went on to Logan’s fort about Forty miles through the woods without any road. We found the way very well.”

p. 49: near Logan’s fort [that became Stanford], returning from “15 or 20 Miles eastard... to wards the Old Settlement [Boonesborough].

“...and when we came in about 2 or 3 Miles of the fort we came to the road. Mr. Lail [an “Old Dutchman”] was before and he took the road. I said, “Mr. Lail, let us not keep the road. It is too Dangerous.” Mr. Lai[l] said, “Te cane preak is so pad to co through, and ted I not tel you tat no Indin in De nation could hurt us dis day?” I said, “Mr. Lai[l], I am afraid to go along the road. Let us take thugh the cain.” ...[after confusion and fear]... So we kept through the cain to the fort and we never found our horses.”

p. 51-52: in summer of 1778, between Logan’s fort and Harrodsburg.

“The indians was very troublesome this summer. They was almost or often waching the roads, killing Men, or steeling our horses, or killing our cattle... They found that the indeans had persued McCoy some Distance to wards Herodsburgh and the (the endians) thought he was gone on that way. So they concluded the people at logan’s Fort would not know it, so they put the plunder in a cain break and hopped the horses and then was gone to wards the fort [Harrodsburg]... Logan sent back Alexander Montomery to tell Capt. May to take some men and go to the big lick [ed: a salt vein known as Flat Lick about 2 miles SE of the fort; but JC thinks perhaps the Knob Lick further south] and wach their, while he would stay with the plunder and horses... [at the lick] The indeans Jumpt to trees and cursed our men and said, “Dam son a bich, come hear.” These wounded Indians appeared to crawl off or was helped off. They was at the edge of a cain break...

p. 52-53: another incident betwen Logan’s and Harrodsburgh

“Several men came from Herrodsbourgh to court. And when they arrived they Give intelegence that the Indeans had fired on them about half way to Harrodsburgh which was Ten Mile from logan fort and one of their men was a missing—to wit, Mr. Poge. It is yet a mistery how these

men come to ride away from Poge and leave him for their was 18 or 20 Men and only about 5 indeans; but the fact was the indeans was in a cain break and our men Did not know how many their was... The next Day when this Valueable Capt. Logan and his Valuable Men was comeing home near the same place where they [the Indians] shot Poge they fired on Logan and his men and wounded Hugh Leeper. These men Returned the fire. The Indians were in a very thick cain break: but Logan and his men rushed in the cain after them and they fled... Capt. Logan waked me out of my bed... He said I must go by the little flat lick which was about 3 miles, then through the woods North course about 2 Mile... We had a path to the little flat lick...”

p. 60: near Logan’s, about the time of the seige of Boonesborough

“...And we had got but a few steps before Capt. logan said... I will hunt the cattle and Indians alone. I will keep in the cane the whole way...”

p. 56, 63, 72-77: refs to buffalo for later checking...

p. 79: on Bear Grass Creek [now part of Jefferson Co.]

“Col. Floyd had a black walnut Tree that these Virginians Did much admire. It was 33 feet in circumpherence and the trunk was about 60 feet to the limbs...”

p. 143-144: conversation with an Indian chief, to be checked.

The following additional note on meat purchases is of interest, perhaps based on original accounts [to be checked]; this was referred by Young (1981, p. 166, f. 46) and then Belue (1996, p. 121). During Jul 13-Oct 6, 1778, Daniel Trabue laid in provisions for Logan’s Station [Stanford], including: “2,820 pounds of buffalo beef.” [Estimated 235 lb per week].

Robert B. McAfee. 1845. Recollections reported in R.B. McAfee. 1927. The life and times of Robert. B. McAfee and his family and connections. Register of Kentucky State Historical Society. Vo. 25, No. 73.

p. 113-114: describing the Kentucky pioneers in general, during 1775-1783 or thereafter; perhaps based on family letters or other papers to be checked.

“The cane, peavine and wild grass and clover called buffalo clover (a large white kind) [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] supplied them with pasturage with little feeding (except salting) both winter and summer.”

Nathan and Olive Boone. 1842-51. Interviews and correspondence recorded by Lyman C. Draper. Draper Manuscripts in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. See also: Neal. O. Hammon (ed). 1999. My Father, Daniel Boone. The Draper Interviews with Nathan Boone. The University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

Page numbers provided here are for Hammon (1999). Unless otherwise stated all statements quoted here are from Nathan (1781-1856), though there are many other statements in the manuscripts from his wife, Olive (1783-1858), who came to Kentucky in about 1785. Nathan lived in Kentucky during most of 1781-89 and 1793-99; he married and moved to Missouri in 1799. Several of these statements were worked into Draper’s Life of Boone [1842-51]; see below.

p. 30-32: about Daniel Boone’s hunting in summer of 1770.

“He visited the Upper and Lower Blue Licks on the Licking River. At the latter place he saw thousands of buffaloes, with other animals resorting there to lick the ground and drink the water. He kept on down Licking River a few miles below the lick to where the old Indian warpath crossed, then went along a trail to the Ohio, which he reached about twenty-five miles above the mouth of Licking River.”

Interpretation. 25 miles above the Licking is near the Campbell-Pendleton county-line. It seems likely that there was a relatively little-used trail from the Lower Blue Licks, crossing the North Fork of Licking, then following the watershed divide between Licking and Ohio, perhaps on or near modern Ky. Route 165 then Ky. Route 10. Perhaps this trail connected to the “war road” mapped by Filson (1784) to Ruddle’s Station in the South Fork drainage of Harrison Co., perhaps via Ky. Route 32 to Hooktown and Headquarters then “Buffalo Trace Road” to Ky. Route 1244 in western Nicholas Co. See also discussion under the version of this story in Draper’s Life of Boone [1842-51]; Belue (1998).

p. 33: more about 1770.

“The summer and fall hunt must have yielded entirely deer skins, and these only half-dressed... The bear does not seem to lose flesh during his hibernation. It comes out in the spring and eats young nettles and other tender weeds, but seldom any grass, which makes them very poor... The elk was not hunted for his hide. The hides were nearly valueless at market, and moreover, being from four to six times the weight of deer skins, they were too cumbersome to pack. The hunters would occasionally kill them, mainly to make tugs and straps of their hides. The meat was considered as good as venison, and hunters used it for variety or when buffalo, deer, or bear could not be obtained.”

p. 46-47: recollections by Olive about life in Kentucky, probably at Boonesborough or nearby during about 1785-1790.

“We used to gather nettles, a sort of hemp, toward spring, and when it became rotted by the wet weather, we would spin them. It was very strong. It grows in rich land about four feet high [probably *Laportea canadensis*]. Nettles, the warp, and buffalo wool spun the filling—both spun. For socks the buffalo wool alone was used. It was quite soft and wears very well.”

“We found turkeys were very thin in summer, because of ticks, and made poor food. In the fall they would fatten rapidly on beech and other small mast. They were good eating in fall, winter, and spring. Buffaloes are best when eaten in the fall, as they feed upon grass, buffalo clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*], and pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], and feed some upon acorns, chestnuts, and beechnuts. The clover is a large white blossom kind and lasts the growing season [as leafy forage], but the pea vine does not amount to much until the latter part of summer and early fall. The deer are also fattest in the fall. They live upon the same kind of food as buffalo, and the elk the same. About Christmas they would begin to thin down. They became very poor in the latter part of winter and early spring but in May began to improve. Frontier people probably found no wild bees and honey, as bees do not generally precede white settlements. There were none in the woods of Missouri until after the settlements expanded.”

p. 47: about the capture of the girls at Boonesboro in 1776, on Sunday, July 14th.

“One of the Callaway girls wanted to go a certain point to get some young cane...”

Interpretation. Perhaps the only documentary indication that cane shoots were eaten; see also Draper’s (1842-56) *Life of Boone*.

p. 53: about Daniel Boone's hunting at the Blue Licks in February 1778.

"The buffalo seldom visited the licks in the winter; they then would keep near the cane as the best winter's range and lived in summer mainly on grass... At that time the nearest cane of consequence to the Lower Blue Licks was about five or six miles off, in the rich cane lands towards Mays Lick."

Interpretation. Filson's (1784) map shows "Fine Cane Land" a few miles north and east of the Lower Blue Licks, now mostly in Fleming Co., but this may have somewhat inaccurate and mapped too close. The May's Lick area, in southern Mason Co. on US 68, undoubtedly had much cane; see other references to travels along this ancient road.

p. 57: about Daniel Boone's captivity to southwest Ohio during February 1778.

"I have heard my father speak of the want of food and of eating slippery elm bark (rather loosening) and then oak bark ooze by chewing to counteract any bad effects."

p. 70: about Boone's Station in eastern Fayette Co. during 1779 or thereafter.

"...its locality was on the northeast side of a small stream, a fork of Boone Creek, about half a mile east or northeast of Athens, then called the Cross Plains... Father said that they would see buffalo on the opposite side of the little stream from the fort."

p. 71: about Daniel Boone's escape during 1780 when his brother Edward was killed.

"I think from the locality it was most likely the Upper Blue Licks where they had been... Some Indians who had probably been watching the lick from a canebrake then shot Edward dead. My father then jumped on a horse and attempted to throw off the loads of meat, but the Indians

rushed him, so that he had to abandon the horse and dash into the canebrake... The Indians chased him into the cane... I think it was two or three miles that the Indians and their dog chased him, and that the entire distance was a canebrake... In consequence of Edward Boone's being killed, there is how Boone Creek and Boone's Lick received their names."

Interpretation. The lick was probably Plum Lick, in southern Bourbon Co., not Upper Blue Licks, which lies 20 miles further north on Ky. Route 57. This Plum Lick was in the eastern part of Cane Ridge, where cane was especially extensive. The renamed creek was probably Plum Lick Creek, not the larger Boone Creek between Fayette and Clark Cos. See also notes under Clinkenbeard's interview (Draper 11CC, p. 65).

p. 82-83: about Daniel Boone's digging of ginseng in 1787-1789, based at Limestone (now Maysville in Mason Co.).

"During the fall and winter of 1787 and winter following, Father was busily employed in digging ginseng. He employed several hands for this work and also bought up what he could do. We were old enough (Nathan just 6-7 years old) to camp out among the hills to help with the digging. By the next spring we had some twelve or fifteen tons, which we loaded into a keelboat, and Father started up the river with his family with him, destined for Philadelphia to the market."

"Father left his son-in-law Philip Goe to operate his warehouse and run the business at Limestone. At the head of a large island just above Gallipolis, the only island between Gallipolis and Point Pleasant, we attempted to cross, but with the strong current at the head of the island, the boat careened upon the driftwood at the head of the island and filled with water in the shallow water. No lives were lost, but everything in the boat got wet, and the ginseng was

damaged. We sent to Point Pleasant for help to raise the boat. It was only three miles away.”

“John Van Bibber and others came to Father’s aid. We dried some of the ginseng spread on shore, but all was injured, so Father didn’t get half the regular price. The delay at Point Pleasant caused him to reach Philadelphia just after a fall in the price. As it was, Father lost money by the operation. All of the roots had to be washed when dug, then strung and dried in the sun.”

“...After the wreck near Point Pleasant, in a week or so we resumed our trip up the Ohio. Without any further accident we reached Redstone in cherry time. There his daughter, my sister Mrs. Goe, resided. We stopped and stayed with her husband’s parents until her father returned. There the ginseng was packed on horses and transported to Colonel Thomas Hart in Hagerstown, Maryland. We made but a short stay in Philadelphia and then went to Father’s old neighborhood in Berks County.”

Interpretation. Someone should estimate how much land was covered to dig 12-15 tons of ginseng; perhaps they roamed over much of the northern Bluegrass and adjacent hills to collect this amount. This species is now virtually extirpated from the region. And were there similar operations in the Ohio Valley at this time? What other documentation exists for this trade at that time?

p. 102-103: about the farming of Nathan Boone and Jonathan Bryan in 1798, near what became the town of Ashland in Boyd Co.

“We planned to open an unimproved tract of land owned by my family, which was located about half a mile above the mouth of Little Sandy, on the southern bank of the Ohio. When we

got there we found it pretty heavily timbered, so they decided to raise our first crop upon a nearby unoccupied tract which would be easier to clear. So we went up the Ohio River about ten miles and found a rich bottom with a small growth of timber and began preparing for the crop. This clearing, because of the numerous grapevines tangled in the tops of the small trees, proved to be much more laborious than we had expected. However, we finally got in eight acres of corn and raised a fair crop.”

Lyman C. Draper. 1842-1856 [drafted during this period]. The Life of Daniel Boone. Manuscripts in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. Partially printed in: C.A. Hanna. 1911. The Wilderness Trail. 2 vols. G.P. Putnam’s Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, New York. Fully printed in: T.F. Belue (ed). 1998. The Life of Daniel Boone. Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania.

Draper’s account was based liberally on many sources, including interviews with Nathan Boone (see above), Levi Todd (1791), Imlay (1797), Filson (1784), and many others. Passages from those sources that Draper reworked more or less verbatim into his manuscript are not repeated here. Draper’s work was never published, and Belue’s (1998) edition provides the first full printing and many useful footnotes. *Page references here are to this 1998 printing.*

p. 205: about John Findlay’s coming to Eskippakithiki with Shawanoes in the fall of 1752. “To this invitation he yielded a ready assent, and passing from Big Bone Creek through the rich lands of Kentucky along an Indian trail traced on Evans’ old map, they arrived at an Indian settlement situated a mile west of the oil spring on Lulbegrad Creek, a northern tributary of Red River of Kentucky. This town is evidently the one laid down on the Evans’ map between

Licking and Kentucky rivers, and called by the uncouth name of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki. It was directly on the route of the great *Warrior's Road* leading from the Ohio southward through Cumberland Gap and was doubtless the town alluded to by Franklin when he asserted that "in the year 1752, the Six Nations, Shawaness and Delawares had a large town on Kentucke River." The location of the settlement on a small prairie was extremely beautiful, with a more level region adjacent and a better quality of land that was generally found in the country."

p. 211: about the explorations of Findlay and Boone in 1769 in the eastern Bluegrass region, including parts of modern counties Clark, Estill, Madison, Garrard.

"The forests, prairies, and cane-brakes were all filled with game, and several months were now delightfully employed either in the pleasures of the chase or in sallying forth from their Station Camp to reconnoiter the country. Hunting, however, formed their chief occupation. The summer and fall hunt was necessarily confined almost exclusively to deer, whose skins were then in good condition, while the pelage of the furry tribe was not fit for use at that season of the year... Boone preferred roaming, without restraint, through the noble forests."

p. 212: after notes on game animals based on conversations with Nathan Boone.

"Besides these rich and tempting viands which necessarily formed the hunter's repast, berries, plums, grapes, and nuts, towards the close of summer and during the autumn, added largely to the delicacies of the wilderness... There were then no bees in Kentucky, and so our hunters could have had no wild honey; for bees generally kept pace with, and not much precede the advancing settlements. Hence originated the name of English flies bestowed upon them by the Indians, who use to say to each other, when they saw a swarm of bees in the woods, "Well brothers, it is time for us to decamp, for the white people are coming."

p. 217: about the 2-3rd of January, 1770, probably between Station Camp and May's Lick. "The ensuing day and night, they kept up their flight in the second morning to give the horses a momentary respite and enable them to refresh themselves on the wild grass, clover, and pea vine by the wayside."

p. 218: more about Daniel Boone's escape in January 1770. "probably about the 4th of January" [Draper's footnote]: "On the evening of the seventh day, Captain Will's party of Shawanoes pitched their camp besides a large, thick cane-brake in the primeval forests, where the last rays of sunset had departed. This was probably at a point not very far east of May's Lick in Mason County, on the old Warrior's Path which led past the Upper Blue Licks to the mouth of Cabin Creek on the Ohio, a little above the present Maysville, Kentucky. In all that fertile region, cane-patches were frequent and of a luxuriant growth... So dark was it in the cane, and so difficult to make any headway in pursuit, that the Indians made no efforts to follow or search for them there. When the confusion was over, Boone and Stuart ventured with the utmost circumspection to make their way through the tangled cane and, by dint of hard travelling, were soon beyond the reach of their inveterate foes."

p. 260-261: about hunting by Boone and others in about 1770-71. "The Knob Licks were discovered by James Dysart and one of his comrades of the party, a few miles south of Dick's River, in the present county of Lincoln [now Boyle], a noted locality, not producing salt water but simply a soft clay slate formation among the Knobs or detached hills, with the soil strongly impregnated with particles of salt and so eaten away as to present a

singular basin of several acres in extent. While hunting, these two men came across a large buffalo path that appeared to be much used, and pursuing which a few miles, they were led to this celebrated place of resort for the tenants of the wilderness. Reaching the summit of one of the Knobs overlooking the Lick, some of which attained an altitude of two hundred feet, they beheld what they estimated at largely over a thousand animals, including buffalo, elk, bear, and deer, with many wild turkies scattered among them, all quite restless, some playing, and others busily employed in licking the earth; but at length they took fright and bounded away all in one direction, so that in the space of a couple of minutes, not an animal was to be seen. The hunters now entered the Lick and found that the buffalo and other animals had so eaten away the soil that they could in places go entirely underground.”

p. 274: about hunting by Boone and others in the upper Pond River area during about 1770-71. “They at length crossed over the ridge and pursued down Bledsoe’s Creek within four or five miles of the Lick, when the cane became so thick in the woods that they concluded they must have mistaken the place until coming to the Lick and discovered the cause. A party of French hunters from the Illinois country had been there, slaughtered the buffaloes simply for their tongues and tallow, loaded a keel boat which lay at the mouth of Bledsoe’s Creek, and descended the Cumberland. “Bledsoe told me,” says General Hall, “that one could walk for several hundred yards in and around the lick on buffalo skulls and bones, with which the whole flat around the lick was bleached.” This great slaughter of buffaloes sufficiently explained the sudden growth of cane within a few miles of the lick.”

Interpretation. Draper cites “Gen. William Hall’s MS letters; Boone’s narrative.” Belue (1998) notes that the French hunters “may have been Jacques Timothy Broucher de Monbruen and his men, who were scouring the Cumberland watershed as early as 1766. Locations need to be

investigated further; “Big Blue Lick” was mapped by Barker (1795) at the head of Pond River—perhaps near Elkton in Todd Co.—and might be indicated here. “Bledsoe’s Creek” is perhaps not the small creek now named this in western Russell Co.

p. 307: 1774, after Jun 27 before Jul 8th. story about buffalo in big rut

p. 406: reflections of Major Nathan Reid, as narrated to his son, Nathan Reid Jr.; Reid Sr. hunted and traveled widely in the Bluegrass region during 1776.

“Our time was mostly spent in locating and surveying lands, or in hunting the buffalo and deer, of which there were vast herds. Sometimes we extended our excursions far into the country—and what a country it was at that day! It would be difficult for the most fertile imagination to draw an exaggerated picture of its then lovely appearance. The soil was black as ink; and light as a bank of ashes. A person passing through the woods might be tracked almost as easily as through the snow. Often from many days together have Capt. Floyd and myself wandered in various directions through the land, sometimes tearing our way through thick cane-brakes, not knowing at what moment we might be shot down by the Indians, or fall into their hands to suffer a more cruel death. Whenever night overtook us, there we laid down and slept, if sleep we could. Sometimes strange sounds and noises, to which we were unused, broke from the solemn wilderness; then again, the screams of night birds, and the squalls of wild beasts in their distant lair, made us feel very sensibly that we were in a strange land, and caused us many times to turn uneasily upon our leafy bed. At other times, on awakening in the morning after a night’s sound sleep, and hearing the buffalo bulls lowing in all directions around us, it was difficult to resist the impression that we were not in an old settled country.”

“We lived, meanwhile, entirely on the flesh of wild game—such as turkies, deer, bear, and buffalo, which we eat without bread or salt. The hump of the back of the buffalo was regarded by us as a great delicacy. It consists of a streak of fat and a streak of lean, and when properly cooked would be considered [missing word such as excellent] by a city epicure.”

“Strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that amid all the dangers, privations and exposures of our situation, a very considerable portion of our time was spent in real enjoyment, The abundance and variety of the game—the pleasure of the hunting—the novelty of the life we led—the dreams we indulged of better days to come, all combined to keep up our spirits, and banish uneasiness from our thoughts. Frequently have [John] Floyd and I sat down on a log, or at the foot of a tree, and given a free rein to our heated imaginations, constructed many a glorious castle in the air. We would, on such occasions, contrast the many discomforts that then beset us, with the pleasures we would one day enjoy in the possession of boundless wealth. Spread out before us lay the finest body of land in the world, any quantity of which, with but little exertion, we could make our own. We clearly foresaw that it would not be long before these lands would be justly appreciated, and sought after by thousands. Then we should be rich as we cared to be. These golden visions of the future, however, so far as I was concerned, were never realized.”

Interpretation. These notes were placed by Draper into his manuscript with quotation marks and a footnote indicating the source as just “MS. notes of conversations with Major Reid by his son Nathan Reid, Jr.”; further investigation is warranted. Although lacking specifics of vegetation, this passage does have general interest for insight to the views of some pioneers; see also material derived from Levi Todd and “the late Captain Henry Wilson” in preceding material of

Draper.

p. 412: about the captivity of the girls at Boonesborough in 1776, on Sunday, July 16th.

“The rugged banks of the river, the projecting cliffs and towering trees with patches of cane and gaudy flowers here and there to the very verge of the water attracting their attention, they described the stream, keeping up a sprightly, careless conversation, and spoke of visiting a little island below where wild onions grew [*Allium canadense*]—perhaps with a view of procuring some for a poultice for Jemina Boone’s foot. About a quarter of a mile below Boonesborough was a prominent rocky cliff on the northern shore, towards which the current had naturally drawn them. On of the Miss Callaways carelessly proposed going ashore and getting some flowers and young cane... Suddenly five Indians rushed out from a thicket of cane and bushes where they had been concealed...”

Interpretation. There were many accounts of this kidnapping; Belue (1996, p. 117) gives 7 Jul for the initial kidnap, then 10 Jul for the rescue, when “After three days the warriors eased up, thinking they had pulled off the coup. As they paused to shoot a buffalo and feast on tongue and hump, Daniel Boone and a few more men stormed them with guns blazing and rescued the girls.” Belue cited interviews in Draper Manuscripts: Richard Holder (8 Oct 1850); and Samuel Dixon (3 Feb 1852).

p. 428: “John McMillen was a young Virginian and, not long before the captivity of the girls, went out hunting, accompanied by John Gass... At Harrod’s Lick, on the north side of Stoner’s Fork of the Licking, McMillen wounded a buffalo bull...”

p. 460: Boone's experiences on February 7th, 1778, below the Lower Blue Licks.

“In the afternoon, when the sky was dark and snow had commenced falling, he was about ten miles below the Lower Blue Licks on Licking [River]... [Captured by Indians] Boone was soon made acquainted with the fact that there was a large Indian encampment nearby, for which his captors were probably seeking supplies of meat, and thither they conveyed him. This encampment was on an old Indian war trace that crossed the Licking eight miles below the Lower Blue Licks and a few hundred yards north or north-east of the river.”

Interpretation. This camp would have been in Robertson Co. near the junction with Harrison and Bourbon Co. The “war trace” was presumably the same as recalled by Nathan Boone (1842-51; Hammon 1998, p. 30-32); see notes above

Lyman C. Draper (ed.) and John D. Shane. 1842-51. Draper Manuscripts [DM] in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin. These are in many volumes, as referred to below followed by original page numbers where possible.

Shane conducted many interviews for Draper during the 1840s but it is not always clear if Shane or Draper was the source of the writing, and the exact dates are sometimes obscure; to be checked further in some cases. More comprehensive review of all material is still needed.

1A, p. 35-36 etc. [details to check]: George Michael Bedinger, interview with Draper. C.L. Heath (ed). 2002. The George M. Bedinger Papers in the Draper Manuscript Collection. Heritage Books, Berwyn Heights, Maryland. See also Belue (1996, p. 131 etc.).

[Not quoted here yet; but to be examined in detail for useful dates of hunting buffalo, etc.]

11CC, p. 6 [?]. Ben Guthrie interviewed. Details to be determined; see Belue (1996, p. 127; citing DM 14: 6).

1784: in Fleming Co with D. Boone, spooked a herd of buffalo crossing the Licking River

11CC, p. 17: John. D. Shane, Memo [perhaps based on interviews with Hedge or others].

“Cane Brake Rd fr Winchester to Dry Forks of Howards up. [upper] Creek & so on.—So called for the cane-brake between the Dry Fork & Howards up. Creek, including 1000’s of acres and some very good too.”

Interpretation. This road was probably that known now as Ky. Route 89 (to Irvine), and the cane-brake would have been along the section from Ruckerville (Dry Fk) to three miles on (main creek).

11CC, p. 19-23: John Hedge interviewed by John D. Shane in 1840s. Transcribed by O.A. Rothert. 1940. John D. Shane's interview with pioneer John Hedge, Bourbon County. Filson Club History Quarterly 14:176-181. [Still need to check original details.]

p. 178 [in 1940 printing]: in 1789-91 and afterwards, describing settlement around Hedge’s Station, on the ridge between Stoner Creek and Upper Howard Creek, now in eastern Clark Co.; later, in the 1840s, Hedge lived at the crossing of the Paris-Winchester road (now Ky. Route 627) and the “Iron Works” road between Clintonville and Middletown (now Ky. Route 57) in southern Bourbon County.

“Many squatted down on lands, not knowing or caring whose they were. And some who had leased, enchanted with the abundance of the cane and the ease of raising cattle, fell too readily from their original purpose of settling themselves, and by attempting to follow up the range, which thus soon ran out, reduced themselves to poverty, and some of them thus lost some of the finest lands in the country. Improvidence, once scarcely to be practiced, when the face of things changed, was then the ruin of thousands.”

p. 179 [in 1940 printing]: about the land in 1789-91.

“*Buffaloe*. When I first came here, the buffaloe bones covered all the grounds. Said that men used to come down from Stroud’s [later Winchester] and the interior [perhaps Lexington area], when the buffaloe were poor, and kill them for sport, and leave them lie... The trace that passed on to the upper [on Ky. Route 57] and lower [on US 68] Blue Licks led through here, and they would kill them on it. It went from Strode’s Station [now Ky. Route 627 from Winchester]. There was very little cane through here [junction of 627 and 57].—Mostly covered with wild-rye and pea-vines.”

“*Salt Spring Trace*. The trace that was a buffaloe trace from Strode’s Trace [perhaps between Boonesborough and Stroud’s Station] to Harrod’s Lick [perhaps the Paris area], on Stoner, was called the Salt Spring Trace. And the trace made by Stroud [perhaps the modern 627] avoided crossing Stoner so often. The buffaloe took a strait course.”

11CC, p. 51-53: Septimus Schull, interviewed by John D. Shane in approximately 1842.

The family name is “Scholl” in other sources. Septimus was a grandson of Daniel Boone. Describing Boone’s view from Pilot Knob.

“The following is a piece Schull said he had written out for his children, placed it at my

[Shane's] disposal. Grammar and structure of sentences amended: "When Colonel Boone with his associates had mounted the most commanding position of Kentucky and viewed the numerous herds of Buffalo, Elk and Deer on the plains below, he observed to his comrades to 'behold!', claiming the whole as their own, at the same time exclaiming, 'We are as rich as Boaz of old [Book of Ruth in OT], having the cattle of a thousand hills [Psalm 50].'"

Describing travels of [brothers] Ned and Daniel Boone in February [?] 1778 to Grassy Lick, in western Montgomery County.

"Ed. and D. Boone had gone down to the Blue Licks in pursuit of game (buffaloes) which fattened earlier and better about the Blue Licks, where they could get salt, than elsewhere... [check sequence]... At length they came to a spot on Grassy Lick Creek where the indigenous blue-grass sprung up pretty fresh and here it was proposed that they should stop... Like with [Likewise] the cane—I thought they would never get [rid of it in] this country, when I came, but now it is of a curiosity."

11CC, p. 58-68: William Clinkenbeard interviewed by Rev. John D. Shane in approximately 1842, about events in pioneer years, mostly 1779-1780 in Clark Co. and presumably much in Strode's Valley [north of Winchester]. Transcribed by Lucien Beckner. 1928. Shane's interview with pioneer William Clinkenbeard. *Filson Club History Quarterly*. 2: 104-128. See also: Harry G. Enoch. 2012. *Pioneer Voices. Interviews with Early Settlers of Clark County*. Published by the author. Winchester, Kentucky. Transcriptions vary due to somewhat ungrammatical or illegible original notes; a best estimate is attempted here.

p. 58 [p. 104 in Beckner]: during the winter of 1779-1780.

“Eight of us were out on Stoner Creek, 3 or 4 miles above where my brother [Isaac] lives, when a small snow fell... Next day we went on down near to the mouth of Green Creek and there camped and this little snow fell. On my way there I killed a big fat buffalo, my first, and there we parted, to kill buffalo... Afterwards a company of us went down the other side of Green Creek. Eight of us were laying out there when the deep snow fell, which was before Christmas. Christmas morning we had sixty-eight marrow bones in the fire roasting at once... Bill Rayburn was once gored with a buffalo, in the side, about six inches in length, before he could get up into a honey locust, where he got a great many thorns. Not a mile from the fort. My wife said she picked a great many thorns out of him.”

p. 58 [p. 105 in Beckner]: in 1780.

“One of the men off a piece shot a buffalo. Strode took the alarm, rushed through the prickly ash that grew very thick on Green Creek [in southeast Bourbon Co.] at that time, and never stopped until he got into Strode’s Station [which became Winchester]... Ravens used to be very plentiful about here in this country when buffalo were so plenty; they went off as well as the buffalo.”

p. 58 [p. 107 in Beckner]: in 1780, about clearing 15 acres of land near Strode’s Station.

“Colonel Thomas Swearingen, with Van his son and a negro fellow of his, cleared five; John Kirk two; Adam Mooney, a little Frenchman, two; my brother and I, six acres, at Strode’s Station. We all fenced in under one, fifteen acres. All came out from one neighborhood in Virginia, and as we knew each other there, we worked together. Some had to stand guard while others wrought. We went 1/2 mile from the fort to get rid of [away from] the cane—Every bit as good soil and easier cleared—No cane to cut. Trees grew in the cane, the same as elsewhere.

Most all cane in this high country with some shaune ridges [probably “shorn”, i.e. scythed or grazed ground vegetation, but transcribed as “chance” in Beckner’s copy, which makes no sense].—Monstrous place to travel thro’ once, grape-vines, thorn-bushes, cane and everything. Where the soil was very rich there was a good deal of locust. Cane-ridge [Bourbon Co.] was also the greatest place for plumb-bushes.—We always called it the plum orchard. [We] Grubbed with our axes, [in] them times; nothing to grub hardly, but paw-paws and spice-bushes, and they had very little root. Could not burn this country; always too damp. Burn out in the poor barrens, it did [?].—But never could here, or [it] would [have] been all burnt up, so many hunting fires.—Wet damp soil under the grass, kept it wet.”

p. 60 [p. 112 in Beckner]: about the time of the hard winter of 1779-80, in Clark Co.

“My brother and myself drove two cows out, that died off that hard winter. Go through the cane and see cattle laying with their heads to their side, as if they were asleep; just literally froze to death. Great many lost their cattle. A great country for turkeys, and they had like to have starved to death; a heap! a heap! of them died. Cane very binding: cattle need to eat a great deal of salt when it could be had. Cane grew up in one season; When it went to seed, it all died down. Want of salt, too, I thought, killed a good deal of stock the hard winter.”

p. 60 [p. 112 in Beckner]: around Strode’s Station.

“When we first came out, there was a great many paroquets in the country; like a parrot, only not so large; lived on cuckleburrs; flew in large gangs. Good many about the Station the first winter and spring. Saw a good many at the French Lick, between this and Louisville, on my way home in the late war [of 1812].—Last I’ve seen.”

p. 61 [p. 113 in Beckner]: in spring 1785, at “Constant’s Station” which was on Strode’s Creek one mile north of Strode’s Station; Hood’s Station developed from this or nearby.

“[Captain John] Constant had been over in Madison [County] and given \$1 for a quart of bluegrass seed, to sow in that pasture. It was the 1st Bluegrass I ever heard of on this side of the [Kentucky] river. Constant was out in his, and Stamper in his cornfield ploughing. Some of the other children had the measles, and these two had been sent to the mouth of the lane (just big enough to do such an errand) 120 or 130 yards from the house, to break some spice bushes. Those two poor children did look dreadful; I think they were tomahawked; pretty nigh cut their heads off.”

p. 61 [p. 114 in Beckner].

“We picked nettles in the spring to make the chain [warp] and got buffalo wool in the spring for the filling [woof]. Made the buffalo wool into hats, too. The buffalo wool was the longest in the spring, and longest we called best. Yearlings and two year olds always had the best wool on. Four of us went out once and got tw[e]nty-four; killed them and go all the wool off. They did destroy and waste them then, at a mighty rate. If one wasn’t young and fat, it was left, and they went on and killed another. Likewise the cane. I thought they never would get it out off this country, when I came, but now it is scarce and a curiosity.”

p. 64-65 [p. 122 in Beckner].

“Old Major Hood and [Captain] John Constant were as good as wolves to track Indians. Major Hood was a Low Dutchman. Often picked the wool off of bushes where was but a single hair pulled off their [Indian] blankets to show they had been along there. We never followed an Indian till Major Hood came, that I recollect of; all raw hands knew nothing about it. [Hood]

Lay on the [perhaps upper Kentucky] river all winter; couldn't come down for the ice [presumably during the hard winter of 1779-1780 or later when icy conditions delayed his settlement north of Strode's Station]. Had to cut down beech trees for his cattle to browse." p. 65 [p. 123 in Beckner]: how Boone Creek was named [between what Fayette and Clark Cos.].

"Three of us, Daddy Stamper, Isaac Constant, and myself had been out not more than three miles from them that night between Rockbridge and Somerset [locations uncertain]. Next P.M. we met old Colonel Sudduth's father and got the news near here. Ned Boone was killed [October 1780] about a mile lower down [at a] Lick called Boone's Lick. After that Plumblick Creek was changed to Boone's Creek."

Best Interpretation. Rockbridge Creek was at least the western tributary of the Boone Creek of South Fork of Licking; see Munsell's 1818 map above. The current Rockbridge Road runs between a central section of that creek to a central section of Plum Lick Creek (with Yatesville Church and "Bradley Gap"). Somerset was probably a place on the Somerset Creek in central Montgomery Co. (Another Somerset Creek joins Hinkston Creek nearby in Nicholas Co.). The Plum Lick or "Boone's Lick", as referred to here, was probably at or near Plum, now in southern Bourbon Co. where the currently named Plum Lick Creek joins the Boone Creek of South Fork Licking River. This is at the crossroads of Route 57 (the old road to Upper Blue Licks) and Route 537 (the old Cane Ridge Road). See Jillson's (1934) notes on licks in this area. Evidently, the old Plum Lick name was retained for this southern tributary of Boone Creek. The main stem of this stream system plus the former "Rockbridge Creek" is now named Boone Creek, but "Rockbridge" might have applied to the main stem before; check old bridges.

Erroneous Interpretation. "Rockbridge" [a supposed branch of Boone Creek of Kentucky River] may have been near where Ky. Route 1927 "Todds Road" crosses the creek. "Boone's

Lick” may have been the remarkable natural pond half a mile from Boone Creek between Sulphur Well Road and Gentry Lane, with swamp white oaks. “Plum Lick” may have been the site of the old Boone Station, now owned by State Parks on Gentry Lane just north of Ky. 418 (the Athens-Boonesborough Road). See also notes of Hammon (1999; footnote 13 for Chapter 4) and the interview with Nathan Boone (1842-51).

p. 65-66 [p. 124-126 in Beckner]: notes on the 1782 campaign in Ohio.

“[Horse] Race paths ran from the Little Miami [River at Old Chillicothe] towards the towns [New Chillicothe on the Big Miami River]; two right jam close to one another; prettiest, levelest, straightest paths I ever saw; could have been made no straighter; level as this floor... It was a mighty thickety, willowy place above the town, above where we camped... Had to cross the Big Miami before we got to the town; then it was on the west or southwest side. Caught, or killed rather, three Indians in the prairie...”

p. 66-67 [p. 126-128 in Beckner]: notes on the 1780 campaign in Ohio.

“Went up to old Chillicothe on the Little Miami. Never saw a nettle patch in my life as we saw in a bottom on the way. Afterwards came to another bottom where the Indians had had a sugar camp; beautiful grove of sugar trees there; appearances as if the Indians had been making sugar there. Not just then though. The Indians had left the town... Had to cross a little prairie before we came to the second town, (Pickaway, on Mad River) little better than one fourth-mile from the town... When we went through that prairie the Indians fired upon us from their cabins... [On return to Kentucky they stopped to eat at Cincinnati.] The regulars put up that little stockade fabric at Cincinnati. Militia, I was of. The men peeled the elms, slippery elm, that the hill side there was filled with, [and chewed the bark] as bad as elk used to [or “did”—check original].”

11CC, p. 67-79: Benjamin Allen interviewed by John D. Shane in about 1850. Transcribed by Lucien Beckner. 1931. John D. Shane's interview with Benjamin Allen, Clark County. The Filson Club History Quarterly 5: 63-98. [These later page references provided below.]

p. 70-71: 6-12 Dec 1790, in what became the Mount Sterling area and further east, in Montgomery and Bath Cos.

“First night we camped at about where Mt. Sterling now is. Not a stick [of timber] amiss there then. Frank Wyatt told big tales about killing buffalo, and I couldn’t get to sleep all night... My father and I got to the mouth of Mud Lick Branch [Bath Co.]... Salt Lick and Mud Lick mouthed right together there. We rode down right between the forks of these two creeks, hobbled our horses, and turned them out into a small cane-patch that was there right in the fork... I looked up and saw three dirty, black-looking, naked Indians, up in the cane where our horses were, between us and the horses...”

11CC, p. 86-90: William Risk interviewed by John D. Shane in about 1840. Transcribed partially in: Lucien Beckner. 1932. Eskippakithiki: The Last Indian Town in Kentucky. The Filson Club History Quarterly 6:355-82.

p. 377 [in Beckner]: about the settlement of Indian Old Fields, formerly Eskippakithiki, in southeast Clark Co. near the mouth of Lulbegrud Creek.

“I heard one of the partners, Gen. [Marquis] Calmes, say the Old Fields were all covered with bluegrass when he first saw it [in 1775]. And when I first saw it, it was very high with grass, as high, some, as a horse’s back, and with a head on it. I believe this was a white oak valley, at 1st,

and [then] cultivated. There were sprouts of white hiccory [perhaps *Carya ovata*], and cherry tree, and black locust, and black walnut, all through the Old Field. There was a place, where there were stumps, some off as high as a chair back, and around these stumps were trees, some of them would make five rail cuts. I could not tell whether the trees were sprouts (of the stumps) or not. If they were, why had not the stumps rotted out? I did not know whether the trees were of the same kind [as] the stump. It was very singular how they had come to grow so close around the stumps. Suppose some of the trees had been cut down to put up a white oak pole cabin that was there close by on a point. Saw there about a year after I came.”

“On that point was a cabin there and looked old when the partners were taking up the land. The white oak point joined to the old fields—known as the cabin on the white oak point.—Now on Leonard Beall’s land, joining to Mrs. Goff’s down on Howard’s creek. The cabin was hardly one-half mile from the gate posts. The point was on this side of Howard’s Creek:—E. side (N of Indian Old Fields). Logs in the cabin were very old when I saw it, abt. 5 ft high. Ben Combs said he did not know who made it. The posts were two, of black walnut, about as far apart as a gate would be from 4 to 4½ feet...were hewed. I saw this gate post standing there. The gate posts and cabin were then old when these men went to make the entries there, so I heard them say. A squaw ax, queensware, ax all eye, gun barrel, when I think I saw, etc., ploughed up... Down where Eastin’s Mill is...there was a sign of corn hills there. It was down by Lulbegrud, as if the fence had all rotten down, and the place overgrown with weeds.”

11CC, p. 92-95: Major Jesse Daniel, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

These are extracts related to the Indian Old Fields, in southeast Clark County, and the old cabin there at Eskippakithiki [thanks partly to Harry Enoch for transcription].

“Indians first visit. Some three or four years after I came up here [1801] and previous to the late war [1812-15], three Indians, one very old and two younger that were said to be his grandsons, came about here. An old Indian, very grey. Tallest Indian I ever saw. No spare flesh about this Indian. They came up through Bourbon, up Grassy Lick and by my place here. Twas said by those who were—might have been—with them that as soon as they came in view of the Pilot Knob, they gave great demonstrations of joy. My idea was there had been a town there. They went down and camped that night between the silver spring, or Block house spring, and the Clay Lick, rather nigher to the Clay Lick. “Calmes’ Spring” south of both places. My father lived down by them there. Visited several licks about there. Seemed to know them all. I soon found by his chat, he seemed to be acquainted with the ground he was on. They were Shawnees. I was there with them some the night they camped there. The next day or perhaps longer off, they went on to Red river, about the Pilot Knob. No person comprehended the object of their visit, and they departed again as they came in, leaving the whole subject involved in the deepest mystery. As they returned through Bourbon, the secret of their mission was entrusted to one Riddle in that county that had been a prisoner among them and raised by them. We soon heard the report after they had gone back. Think it came from Riddle through [William] Hazelrigg.”

“Indians second visit. Some years after the war [1812-15], the king of the Shawnees [Catahecassa, or Black Hoof] and two boys came along. Their coming this time was procured by Riddle for General David Thompson of Scott, father of Martius V. Thompson, Lieutenant Governor, and [James] Sugget, also of Scott. The object of the old man’s visit was to keep the place in mind, and he had come to show these two Indian boys. On this second visit,

Thompson, Sugget and Riddle came with the Indians. They called by here as they were going back. Don't know where they stayed going down. I think at old man William Hazlerigg's, or breakfasted there. I think four got there at breakfast. It was my acquaintance with Thompson that drew me in. We had become acquaintances in the Legislature. On a rock there by Calmes' Spring, I had heard of their being there and rode down. The king stood up and made a speech. He had gotten his account from the boys. Riddle interpreted his speech, when he had made it. In his speech, he told about the country then. Said that they had had a town there till one year before Braddock's war [1755], at the old fields. My understanding is somewhere in Mrs. Gough's farm, that this old man had once lived there. That then some tribe from the south—I think the Catawbias—proving too hard for them, they had been obliged to remove way up on Sandy towards the head of Red River. He also said that a white man, a frenchman that was among them, had dug that silver mine, that the vein was the size of a flour barrel and round. No such vein was ever found in digging. I dug a good deal, did most of it and in that way came by my share. I wouldn't have done the work for less than a hundred dollars. The Indians were not at the digging.”

“I saw corn hills, as I would say them to have been, and tho't [thought] they looked too regular for Indn's work. I never saw the gate posts, but heard of them—suppose locust posts were planted there.”

11CC p. 97-98: Nancy Hedges Goff, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

These notes are from Harry Enoch, to whom I am most grateful. Nancy Hedges (1799-1870) was the daughter of John Hedges of Bourbon County. On Christmas night 1817, she married Elisha Goff (1795-1831), the son of Thomas Goff, a pioneer settler of Clark County. The

couple lived on a tract at the northern end of Indian Old Fields that Elisha inherited from his father. Tradition has it that Elisha planted the first fields of timothy and bluegrass in the area and that he served as a captain in the Kentucky militia.

“**Gate posts.** Mrs. Gough had seen the gate posts [of Eskipakithiki]. Only one. Had an iron band on it. My idea was that the band was to hang the gate to. I rather think the post was not standing when we came. Have heard Mr. Thornton say he saw it. Old Mrs. Daniel, John H. Combs and wife, old Mrs. Dunahoo suppose all saw it. Also old Mr. [William] Risk.”

“**Old fields.** Old father [Thomas] Gough said when he came here first, fall 1789, before Harmer’s campaign, the place was covered with the finest Buffalo clover [presumably *Trifolium stoloniferum*], that there was no timber on the place thicker than a man’s thigh. Old General [Marquis] Calmes said the cane was so thick you could hardly ride through it. Many places couldn’t see more than ten feet.”

11CC, p. 121-123 [?]: Col. John Graves, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

p. 121: about “Burnt Station” which was north of Lexington, near Bryan Station Road (Ky. Route 1970) and Antioch Road, in what became Bourbon Co.; it was attacked and burned by some of Byrd’s war party in June 1780, but then rebuilt in 1784.

“Burnt S. [Station] was 2 ms [miles] this way or to the left of Bryant’s Station. It was Grants S. [Station] before. Burnt, I think (in) the spring (of the same year) before we moved here.— spring 1786. Only one square was burnt. It might have been by the Indians; but it was repaired and occupied.”

p. 123: in 1787 or afterwards, at “Great Crossing” west of where Georgetown now stands. “Very shortly after this, at the great crossing, some of Robin Johnson’s negroes were out at a black-berry patch, which was only a small distance from the fort. (Blackberries was a very rare thing, owing to the cane’s being so thick. On my place, here, was an open space thick set with raspberry.)”

11CC, p. 128-133: John Wymore, Jr., interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 131: recalling events in Lexington during settlement, in 1779-1781 or thereafter. “My father, John Wymore, came out with his family to Lexington in the fall of 1779... [describing attack by Indians]... The cane was so thick my father and Donnolly could not be shot at till they got into the open woods, near the fort. There was a large forked wild cherry somewhere about where the Court House is now. Donnolly got behind this and shot at the Indians. When the men sallied out, the Indians (of which there were only seven or eight) immediately retreated again into the cane. They hung the head of that Indian up in that wild cherry, and cut up his frame for the dogs. The cane was cleared away around the fort, for about seventy or eighty yards... Buffalo would pass the station of Lexington every day and sometimes all day long. Virginians and land jobbers used to come out and spend the winter at the station before Indian raids in the spring.”

11CC, p. 133-135: Elijah Foley, interviewed by John D. Shane in 1840s [?]. Printed in: 1937. John D. Shane’s Interview with Elijah Foley. The Filson Club History Quarterly 11(4). This is also posted as http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~kyfayett/nfj/elijah_foley.htm.

[Pages to be checked.]

“[He: Elijah] lives down by the Republican Meeting house [in 1999-Trinity Pentecostal Church on Higbee's Mill Road]..that is between the two turnpikes [Nicholasville Road and Harrodsburg Road], on or near the Clay's Road. (postscript: Since dead? Yes.)”

Regarding Bowman's Station: “We started from Frederick County, VA and settled Bowmann's Station, fall 1779, [arriving] about the middle of December. My mother was the first white woman that was there for some time; and our coming was the first settling of the station. There was nothing but a camp there till sometime in March, because it was too cold to work. As soon as we had gotten a good camp, Colonel Abraham Bowman brought his family from Harrodsburg, and by spring we had twenty families that had camped in the snow and remained during that winter. [At this point he goes on to mention the names of the settlers of Bowman's Station, which included his father, Richard Foley. The names were all heads of families and those who wintered there in camps. In June, by planting time, there were 31 or 32 families there. There were that many cabins; over 30. The cabins were built on each side of a hollow in the form of a half H. The main lines were probably 150 yards apart, to give the stock room to get in. The Run went down through the H and then in about a mile, emptied into Cane Run. The cabins were not stockaded in. The stream ran north and was rather between Cane Run and Dick's Rivers. He than proceeded to tell various things about the families at Bowman's station, and finally about his own...

11CC, p. 158 [?]: Samuel Matthew, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 158: his account of land around Bryan's Station in about 1783.

“There was a great deal of walnut about Bryan's Station. Land that had not cane on it, was grown up with white blossoms, and the trees were tall ash, sugar-trees, elms, hackberry, tall and very thick. What locust there was, was very high and wind broken. [In contrast, underlining added.] Locust, walnut, low scrubby hackberry, and some elm, and sometimes sugar trees, vast quantities of buckeye, where cane grew abundant. Soil much better where cane was. Buckeye outlasts sugar tree [perhaps meaning that it persists in settlement]. Plums, haws, wild-cherry, pawpaw, hackberry, grass nuts, turkeys fed on. Mistletoe grew on walnut and elm. No chestnut N of Kentucky River: all S and W of that River.”

11CC, p. 164-167: Ned Darnaby, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 164 [?]: recalling how he helped in making the road from Lexington to Paris in fall of 1787, starting in Lexington.

“Here we cut out the road broad and open. But the further they went, the more careless they were, till at last just blazed the way, and threw out the bushes out of the road. When I passed at Paris, they were just getting the brush and piling it. They had [?made?] the county seat there. Well I said it was a terribly ugly place—looked like a very hilly place, with sink holes and ponds of water. The country had not been laid off [into parcels] yet when I went in. There were 4 companies between Lexington and Paris, and one of them was always to be on guard scattered through the woods, and passing all through the country.”

11CC, p. 215: Thomas Butler, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

p. 215: recalling travels during 1790 on the Kentucky River near the mouth of “Dicks” [Dix River]; “Thos Butler lived in Jessamine Co.

“They were close to a willow bar on this side [Jessamine Co. side], and passing up close to a where the bushes grew thick to the water’s edge...”

11CC, p. 216-217: Robert Gwynne, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 216-217: recalling the Clover Bottom area on “Shawnee Run Road” (now Mundys Landing Road in southern Woodford Co.); Gwynne came to Kentucky in 1784, and appears to have lived in Jessamine or Woodford Co. close to this area.

“Cane down here [along Shawnee Run Road] was only in very little patches, and that not the big rank quality but a kind of maiden cane, as high as a man’s head. Here the timber was white, red, and black oak. There [presumably further from the river on better soils] ash and walnut. Where ever big ash or big walnut now grows, there was cane lands. But little black walnut [young trees in second growth] is not on what was cane ground. The Shawnee Run Indian trace was never more than a foot wide.—was a foot deep. It passed thro’ Clover bottom, where Mr. Clanahan made a pre-emption.—called so becs [because] the Buffalo clover grew up there in a little space, about twice as big as this house (a stone house w 3 rooms on the ground floor.)”

11CC, p. 221-224: Mrs. Ephraim January, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?]

p. 221: describing Spring Station during April 1780, now in northern Woodford Co. (on Beals Run 3-4 miles west of Midway).

“I tho’t [thought] it was as pretty a place as ever I had seen, so level. The sugar trees and

buckeyes were all out. The place where you went down to the springs was all grassy.—No hills.”

11CC, p. 226...[?]: Stephen Shelton, perhaps interviewed in the 1840s [check details]. Transcribed in N.E. Hammon. 1978. Early Louisville and the Beargrass Stations. The Filson Club History Quarterly 52:147-165.

p. 226: describing Louisville in 1779.

“At Louisville was the greatest world of cane I ever saw. Some I know [was] full 30 feet high. All the level places were covered with this cane. Someone had cleared a little place and planted corn and pumpkins when we got there, but I now do not know who it was. It was on the hill, right back of the fort. They’ve got it all level now. There was a pond right back of the fort. It is all filled up now... After we got back from the campaign we cleared all around the fort that open flat below town, except on a little quad of cane.”

11CC, p. 253-257: Ben Guthrie, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s. Transcribed by Mrs. W.H. Coffman. 1931. The Filson Club History Quarterly 5:1-15. [Page references below are from latter.].

p. 8: “April, 1784, Survey in Fleming. Col. Boon, 1784, April.”

“In April 1784, Col. Robt. Jonhson went out surveying in Fleming County. Daniel Boon was pilot. Crossed at the Upper Blue Licks, where we saw 600 buffaloes...”

p. 9: “Fall, 1784, road to Blue Licks”; “1786, Road, Lexington to Geo. Town.”

“In Sept. or Oct., 1784, we cut out the road from Bryan’s Station to Blue Licks. There were

along, a good many from Bryan's Station and all the men from the Big Crossings [just west of what became Georgetown]. It has been cut out before, only to Bryan's Station. After that they followed buffalo traces, which were as plain as roads, after they got out of the cane... Where Geo. T. [Georgetown] is, was all a canebrake... In the fall of 1786 a road was cut from Geo. Town to Lexington. Had buffalo traces before that.”

11CC, p. 270-274: William Moseby, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 270...: recalling the Kentucky River in Woodford Co. in 1782 or thereafter.

“The deer came down by night to get the moss out of the bottom of the river, in the shoals.— Grew in the bottom, and pointed up frequently a little above the water; if not they would reach their nose down and nip it off... [For fire-hunts to spook the deer with bright light...] A canoe was gotten ready; a piece a green bark was spread over with sand, and on this a fire made with dry Linn [basswood bark]—what made a very bright light.”

12CC, p. 45-53 [?]: Mrs. Sarah Graham, interviewed by John D. Shane in 1840s.

Transcribed in 1935. John D. Shane's interview with Mrs. Sarah Graham of Bath County.

The Filson Club History Quarterly 9: 222-241.

p. 240-241 [FCHQ] in 1935 printing: in 1781 or shortly afterwards at “Grant's Station”, near the forks of Dick's [Dix] River or perhaps near the current community of Toddville (junction of Ky. Route 152 and US 27); see Filson's (1784) map.

“One Andrew Gimlet had ventured (say 1781+) about three-quarters of a mile out from the station, in dangerous times. Some persons determined to scare him in and went and waylaid a pathway in the peavines near his cabin; and when Andrew went by, shot their guns which were

only loaded with [powder]... The children in the spring nearly lived on these peas, the vines of which were very luxuriant. Were very much like the black-eyed pea, only a little flat. Buffalo meat [was used] for bread and bear for meat.”

12CC, p. 51...[?]: Cornelius Skinner [a] and [person] Stevenson [b] interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 51 [a]: “In 1792, Winchester was a canebrake.”

p. 51 [b]: “Winchester, about 1793, had a courthouse, like a tobacco house of open round logs, in the midst of the cane.”

12CC, p. 65... [check further]: Josiah Collins interviewed by John D. Shane in 1840s.

p. 65: recalling the settlement of Lexington in 1779.

“I continued at Harrodsburg till the fifteenth of April, 1779, when I joined with twenty-four others... all from Harrodsburg, and went on to Lexington that now is, and build a block house... Josiah Collins cutting the first tree, a burr oak, about two feet across at the butt... observing at the same time, in the most unsuspecting simplicity, that when there was a town built there, and he an old man, he could say he had fallen the first tree cut on the spot. We cleared and put under fence about thirty acres of land that season; and planted corn in it.”

12CC, p. 115: Col. Jack Workman, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 115: about a “camp at the head of Hugh’s Creek by the “side of a poplar” in what is Bath

Co., presumably along Ky. Route 57 but the exact location uncertain.

“The Buffalo road going thro’ this place to Upper Blue Licks, from—it may be—the Furnace, etc., was nearly thigh deep.”

12CC, p. 138-144: John Hanks interviewed by John D, Shane in 1840s. Printed in: H.G. Enoch. 1994. The Travels of John Hanks: Recollections of a Kentucky Pioneer by Harry G. Enoch. Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 92: 131-148

“In May 1786 we came to Kentucky. Colonel Boone had a little store at Limestone then. We went out a hunting, and Boone lent me his rifle in place of taking my own and saying, as I carried it on my shoulder, if I saw any buffaloes it would twist round towards them. In 1789 he had a little store at the mouth of the Kanawa...”

“We got there [near forks of Big Sandy River] in February [1789]. Pine trees occupied all that bottom, where the town of Lawrence [Louisa] is. In that bottom I hunted and killed wild turkies.”

12CC, p. 190-191: W. Barrow, author of [or source of information for] “memo” in the Draper Papers [check details].

p. 190: “4,5,6 May 1794, the hard frost appeared to kill all the wheat.”

p. 191: “Art [or some other name—perhaps Ann], w. [with] her handy care, gathered the nettle from the thickets, and the wool from the buffalo.”

Interpretation. Check context further; referring to weaving of nettle fiber and buffalo wool.

12CC, p. 201-210: Col. Thomas Marshall, interviewed in the Draper Paper [check details].

p. 209: describing the situation of early stations in what became southern Clark County and adjacent counties, within 18-20 miles of Strode's [later Winchester], Boone's, "Busbgh's" [Boonesborough], Magee's and Holder's [on Howard's Creek, see Jillson's notes], and Mt. Sterling.

"In March 1783, the state of the intermediate country, between these stations and this place [Winchester], was a wilderness overgrown w. timber & cane."

12CC, p. 212: ... Weston, letter from Missouri with details of timber in Kentucky...
[check details].

Notes elm, hackberry, walnut, hickory, lynn, box-elder, honey-locust, coffee-bean, w. some oaks; undergrowth of pawpaw, ironwood, unusual grapevine...

12CC, p. 213: Mrs. Lockridge, interviewed by John D. Shane... [?].

p. 213: about Grassy Lick Creek on what became US 460 in western Montgomery Co.
"Grassy Lick Creek; so called from a salt lick that is where it crosses the Paris road to Mt. Sterling."

12CC, p. 225: David Crouch, interviewed by John D. Shane [?].

p. 225: describing in 1787 the area between Lexington (Fayette Co.) and southern Nicholas Co.

about 4 miles north of Sharpsburg (in Bath Co.).

“The range [for free-ranging livestock] there was as good as a wheat-field. When it gave out, he wodn’t say [Shane was referring to Crouch]...”

“It was the beautifullest country for wild fruit I ever saw. Had it not been for the fruit and game, that country co’d [could] not have been settled as it was. Of the fruits—in kind there were service berry (growing on a tree as thick as your leg, & high as the joice [?of?] of common log house, with a bark resembling that of a maple; the fruit round, & red, but not like the haws.— Spread a sheet under the tree and shake.) Whortleberry, & cranberry. 2 ms. [miles] of Cranberry swamp by West Falls.”

Interpretation. There must be some confusion of localities in this account; to be checked further.

12CC, p. 244: Memo by John D. Shane [?] about “Mr. Purdom” in Draper Papers.

p. 244: about the old buffalo trace [now on or near Ky. Route 57] in southeast Fleming Co.

“Mr. Purdom can recollect the old buffalo trace—very deep (perhaps can be seen yet)—3 ms. [miles] on [to] Fleming [County] from U.B.L. [Upper Blue Licks] where he lives.”

13CC, p. 1-7 [-16?]: Asa Ferrar interviewed by John D. Shane in about 1851 [?].

p. 2: after arriving in Lexington on December 19th, 1788 [probably 1778; but original states 1788; recheck]; clearing the road along what became Main Street or US 25.

“There where not over 100 men in Lexington (at this time). As many of them as we could get, were employed two days in clearing out the road from Brennan’s now Chiles’ [where the

Phoenix Hotel stood], as far as what we called VanPelt's Lane [Rose Street]; in clearing out to where the race ground was [probably along Vine Street or near what became Ashland]. There was one burr oak so large we couldn't get a saw long enough to run through it. Had to cut out on each side to let the saw in. Have no doubt the tree was four feet over. Forest of burr oak and black walnut. This road led out to Levi Todd's, where was the clerk's office; three miles out of town [between US 25 and Ky. Route 1927 or Todds Road to the north]. The part I speak of that we cleared these two days was on what is now Main Street [US 25]. A hurricane had filled the passway and they were now [occupied] in clearing it out. There was a trace in this direction, to Boonesborough and the road was at this time opened up to that place [US 25 to Ky. Route 418 or Athens-Boonesborough Pike].”

Interpretation. Davidson (1950) quoted this passage with useful interpretation of places.

p. 2: at Lexington in 1788.

“Tables were made of hackberry split, & the heart taken out so that it could [be] adzed and then sit on 4 legs.”

p. 16: about Lexington in about 1785; this passage was quoted by C.R. Staples (1939) in his “History of Pioneer Lexington 1779-1806” (Transylvania Press, Lexington), with his additions in brackets []; check details.

“[There was a great waste of timber in clearing this land.] With no open land in or around Lexington, every acre had to be cleared of timber or cane, before a cabin could be built or crops planted. As late as 1785 stumps were being removed from the streets. [Staples: As late as 1785 the Trustees were still trying to get the stumps of trees removed the streets.] ”

13CC, p. 37: Mr. Stewart, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s [?].

p. 37: about Washington [then Maysville] in Mason Co., during settlement in 1787.

“When we came along in 1787, they had their cabins at Washington covered with buckeye bark. One [Mr.] Sweet had the only cabin covered with shingles.”

13CC, p. 115-129: Joshua McQueen, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s and reported in L. Draper, 1851 [?].

p. 119: recalling buffalo hunts in 1781 or thereafter at Station Camp [now in Estill Co.] and Drennon’s Lick [now in Henry Co.].

“Killed buffalo up at Station Camp after I came to Ky.; to hunt when they were beseiged—brought in their [?meat along?] roads at night. Was at Drennon’s Lick when the buffalo came in from every side so constantly you couldn’t possibly have driven them all out. Time was I was about Drennon’s Lick... [illegible] ...& 2 Indians way laid the place, and one [of us] was shot, and the Indians escaped.—Got into the cane, no chance to catch them.—Cane as thick as hemp... Had a camp.—I would go out and hide my horse in the cane & kill game on that 2nd creek (near Spring Station in Woodford Co.).”

p. 121: recalling settlement in central Kentucky during 1779-82.

“Many a buffalo was killed by the whites, and only a little of the rump taken out, or a thigh bone for the marrow. The Indians never shot them but when they wanted them. This was their great natural park. Could come here and get fat bear, and buffaloes, &c., were always in order. Indians were more numerous here than in Pennsylvania; and at least as bad.”

p. 121[?]: noting “Mingo bottom”, referring to the well-known place of that name on the Ohio River in northeast Ohio, not Kentucky.

“Some little reed cane grew up in the Mingo bottom and some few buffalo strayed up that way. Two were killed up against the Mingo bottom. But they were very seldom ever there. Think there were more cattle in Kentucky, at its 1st settlement, than there is now. Roads at the Blue-Licks were 40 yards wide, and that for a distance. Many a man killed a buffalo, just for the sake of saying so. Indians had formerly lived in the Mingo bottom. All a prairie, to the back part of it.”

Interpretation. Family history of descendants from Dugal McQueen (see www.danmcqueen.net) indicates that Joshua McQueen married Margaret Baxter at Mingo Bottom, now in Brooke Co., West Virginia, about 1783.

13CC, p. 130-134: Jesse Graddy, interviewed by John D. Shane in 1842 [?].

p. 130 [?]: recalling the settlement during 1788 on Glenn’s Creek, draining from Versailles, now in west-central Woodford Co.

“Couldn’t find 10 acres of uncleared land that was not cane. Cane was all through here very thick. And [the Woodford County] Courthouse was made in the midst of cane 10 + 12 feet high.—Very rank there... I had the job of building the Courthouse [in Versailles]... Buckeye logs just hewed straight—inside, a platform for the judge, a place for the bar, and some benches... When we came to this country in 1787, the buffalo were gone.—Never saw a wild one. The 2nd year [after] I came, the frost came on the 28th day of August, 1789, I think 53 years ago, and bit all the corn that wasn’t planted very forward [early].—Scarcely any good corn in the country except some old corn.”

15CC, p. 5-12: Col. Francis Flourney Jackson, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

p. 10: describing land in southern Clark Co., near the mouth of Muddy Creek in Madison Co or nearby, after he arrived here in 1786, aged 9.

[a] “...Lint of nettles, and filled in with buffalo wool, of which a suit of cloths were made for me.”

[b] “Clay’s Ferry—mouth of Boone’s Creek, in old times, Cleveland’s landing—called Cleveland’s neck. When I was 11 years old, I went there to dig ginseng, and got full of seed tick.”

15CC, p. 157-162: Levi Todd, journal of 1791; this original document is included above under author “Levi Todd” for 1791.

17CC, p. 120-187 [?]: John Floyd. 1780. Letters. Included in Draper Manuscripts but from original documents; listed above under John Floyd for 1780.

22CC, p. 14(9?). Daniel Bryan to LCD. To check; see Belue (1996, p. 123, footnote 29).

Dec 1779 [?]: Daniel Bryan brought in 31 horse loads of buffalo meat at Martin’s and Ruddle’s Stations.

23CC, p. 25-26 [?] and 33-35: Spencer Records interviewed by [?] Shane in 1840s [?].

p. 25-26: recalling a hunting party in December 1783, perhaps near what became Georgetown on North Elkhorn Creek.

“When we came to Elkhorn the snow was knee deep. We waded the creek about the same depth, and soon found ourselves in a large canebrake, where we could get no wood to make a fire. The cane was all bending with snow, and no broken wood was to be found: however we found an old hickory stump, about fifteen feet high. We pushed it down, and it being dry and rotten, we put fire to it. It was all the fire we had that night; we scraped away the snow and lay by it: it burnt slowly all night, but we could not dry ourselves by it. The next morning we went on four miles to Bryan’s Station.”

p. 33-35; see Belue (1996, p. 122), to check.

Nov 1779: Spencer Records and John Finch shot six buffalo with six shots near Estill’s Station.

23C, p. 104 (2). Rachel Denton to LCD, Jan 5 1856. This appears to be transcribed at: <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~glendasubyak/ch46.html>; together with the introduction copied below. See also: Belue (1996, p. 123, footnote 34) who quotes this source: during 1779/80: “the poor miserable buffalo would come to drink the sugar water and they could hardly drive them off, they were so poor” and people shot them from their cabins.

Details need to be checked, but the website above provides the following account.

“ABRAHAM SCHOLL'S SISTER, Rachel Scholl Denton (born in March, 1773), replying to questions of Lyman C. Draper, collector of the noted Draper Manuscripts, in 1844, when she was 71, related many things pertinent to events heretofore mentioned, her relation being of such importance as to merit a full exposition here. Of the coming of the Scholl family from Virginia

to Kentucky (she was then six years old) she says:

"Late in '79 (1779) William Scholl and family went from Shenandoah county, Va., and reached Boonesboro on Christmas day and there ate their last bread until raised in '80. Went that spring to Louisville, then called Clarksville (George Rogers Clark had founded a fort there in 1778), to buy seed corn. That same day (25th of December, '79) Scholl's and Boone's family passed over Kentucky river about four miles. Boone killed a young buffalo cow and camped. They cooked their fine beef. Next morning there was snow on the ground; after a little erected half-fitted camps, made of boards and forked sticks. In March the snow went off (from December 25, '79 to March it never melted off) and then they erected cabins and stockades with port holes — but never was attacked; horses stolen occasionally. Soon after Boone and kinsman Scholl took up camp they were joined by three or four other families — Edward and Samuel Boone and Wm. Hays among them... That cold winter we lived on buffalo, bear, deer and turkies. All were very lean and poor from the severe winter and the sleet-covered condition of the cane, but such as it was Boone and his friends furnished a good supply... Boone had a considerable supply of corn but had divided even to his last pone with the newcomers..."

"Blue Lick Defeat — Five of the Boone's Station men were killed and one, John Morgan, taken prisoner and was returned. Israel Boone (Daniel's son) was killed and Squire Boone, son of Samuel, had his thigh broken and his neighbor, Samuel Brannon, gave up his horse to Boone to escape and was himself killed before he reached the Licking. But Boone reached the Station with his shattered limb dangling in the cane and grape vines and sometimes thrown upon his horse's rump. Long after he recovered."

“Boone's Station settled on Israel Boone's preemption. In spring of '80 (following the hard winter) Boone had the whole station engaged in sugar making. The poor miserable buffalo would come to drink the sugar water and could hardly drive them off, they were so poor... In the spring of a year children would gather up rotted nettles, make warp of it and fill it with wool or more commonly buffalo hair... When Boone's brother Edward (ancestor of the Pike county Elledges) was killed, Boone (Daniel) escaped by killing the Indian dog and reached home (1780) in the night with heart-rending intelligence. Edward Boone left a widow and five children (one of whom, Mary, married Abraham Scholl's brother, Peter, and another of whom, Charity, married Francis Elledge and settled across the Illinois river in Scott county where both she and her husband are buried)... The year (1780) was a fine fruit year, succeeding the cold winter; spring came out fine — plenty of pawpaws, grapes, wild plums, nuts in abundance — good corn and pumpkins.”

Relating the origin of the name of Nolin Creek, background of many a Boone adventure, Mrs. Denton says: "The bark of the lin tree was much used as a poultice for wounds; and no lin being found on that stream when some was needed, hence the name. A party on No Lin going to or from meeting in '85 was fired on by Indians and Betsy Van Cleve's horse shot from under her. She, a young woman, taken; a party of whites pursued, discovering which, the prisoner tomahawked."

Lyman C. Draper's account of John Finley [1840s] in C.A. Hanna. 1911. The Wilderness Trail. G.P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, New York & London. Vol. I, p. 223.

p. 233: in 1769, based on Draper's research; original materials to be checked.

“Buffaloes were in their best order in the fall, after feeding on wild grass, buffalo clover, and pea vine, and to some extent also, upon acorns, beech-nuts and chestnuts; the clover, a kind with a large white blossom, lasting the whole growing season, but the pea vine only affording sustenance in the latter part of summer and early autumn. The bear does not seem to lose flesh during his torpid state in winter, but coming out from his den in the spring and greedily devouring young nettles and other tender herbs, seldom any grass, which acting as a cathartic, soon very much reduces him in the flesh.”

William M. Sudduth. 1845. Manuscript of 26 pages sent by Sudduth on 21st June 1845 to Lyman C. Draper; included in Draper’s materials as “A Sketch of the Early Adventures of William Sudduth in Kentucky”; now filed under vol. 14U, p. 114-? (Wisconsin State Historical Society). Transcribed by Lucien Beckner. 1928. A sketch of the early adventures of William Sudduth in Kentucky. The History Quarterly, Filson Club. J.P. Morton & Co., Louisville. Vol. 2, No. 2. Page numbers here refer to Beckner (1928).

p. 47: in 1785 at or near “Hoods Station” in what became northwest Clark Co., on Hoods Creek about 2-4 miles north of “Strodes Station” [which became Winchester] near what became Ky. Route 627, the road to Paris; see also notes under Draper’s Manuscripts (1842-51) about Constant’s Station that preceded Hood’s.

“We then proceeded with the family and arrived at [Major Andrew] Hoods Station on the 5th of April 1785, making five months from the time we commenced our journey to Kentucky [from Virginia]. We had then a house to build & ground to clear to raise corn, & all the meat we used to procure by hunting as they was none to purchase. I hunted for the family & generally kept plenty. From the first of April to the end of the year I had killed Sixty Buffaloe beside deer,

bear, elk & turkees. The Indians gave use no interruption this year; we believe they did no happen to find us out & we were in the midst of a strong cane break & the hunting traces from Strodes Station passed about one mile and a half below us. I hunted often by myself & camped out alone.”

p. 47: in 1786 near Hoods Station.

“In the month of March 1786, Miss Hood & one of my sisters went out to a sugar camp about two hundred yards from the fort & amused themselves with swinging to a grapevine untill nearly dark...”

p. 48: in 1786 near Hoods Station.

“In April a party of three Indians about three oclock in the afternoon stole two mares belonging to Maj. Hood which he had been working & turned into the cane.”

p. 49: in 1786 at the head of Salt Lick Creek, probably at or near what became Glen Springs in southeast Lewis Co.

“The horse [men] came up & the Indians fled. We got sight of but two of them; the others dashed into a thick spicewood thicket; the other two took up an open ridge. We pursued & killed them both.”

p. 50: in 1786, Aug.-Sep., on military expedition to attack and plunder in western Ohio, near “Towns on the head of the Big Meama.”

“The town stood in the edge of a beautiful perarie when we discovered it. A Mr. Henry Hale formerly of Harrison County & myself laid whip to our horses & went through the town to the

edge of the woods...”

p. 52: in 1786, in early stages of settlement at Mount Sterling in what became Montgomery Co. “On the 3rd of September I made a survey near where Mountsterling now stands... A plain hunting trace led up the hollow passing by the Little Mountain [now Mt. Sterling]. Just before we came to the mountains we discovered a fresh trail in the weeds... I would take my blankets & go into the cane & lay by myself without fire... The weeds and cane were verry high & thick... We then went a small distance into the cane & weeds & stayed all night.”

p. 54: in 1786, near Mount Sterling.

“We collected our buffaloe hides and about half a mile below where Mountsterling now stands we came to a larg Indian camp where they had chopod into a sugar tree & stuck a painted arrow towards the settlement. It appeared like they had left the camp about twenty four hours before we came to it. We then turned into the cane, hung up our hides, & made the best of our way home [still at Hoods Station].”

p. 61: in 1791 [?], probably in eastern Wolfe Co., pursuing Indians after they had largely disappeared from the Bluegrass region.

“in search of Indians... above the Narrows of Red River... They had peeled a number of trees, cut out cane breaks & made a large camp & enjoyed themselves I suppose verry well.”

Daniel Drake. 1845-48. In: E.F.D. Horine (ed). 1948. Pioneer Life in Kentucky 1785-1800. Henry Schuman, New York. [Reprinted in 1961. Daniel Drake, 1785-1852: Pioneer Physician of the Midwest. University of Pennsylvania Press.]

p. 13: recounting the settlement of his father and family during 1788 in Mason County. “At length they fixed upon a “settlement & preemption”... 8 miles from Washington on the Lexington road [now US 68]. Hard by the latter, there was a salt spring, and the deer and buffalo were in the habit, as at other salt springs, of “licking” the surrounding earth. This tract, of 1400 acres, they purchased from a man by the name of May, and decided on calling their “new home” Mayslick—a decision sufficiently indicative of uncultivated taste.”

p. 36-38: in 1794, his father purchased 200 acres about one mile directly west of Mayslick. “The land acquired was covered with an unbroken forest, which much be cleared away, and a new cabin erected... I was provided with a small axe—father had a larger, and a mattock for grubbing. Thus equipped, with some bread & meat wrapped in a towel, we charged upon the beautiful blue ash and buckeye grove, in the midst of which he proposed to erect his cabin... The forest consisted chiefly of blue ash—tall, straight, soft while green, easily hewed & easily split into rails and puncheons; of sugar trees—generally preserved [in clearing]; of several kinds of hickory [at least *Carya cordiformis* and *laciniosa*] and walnut; and of buckeye [probably *Aesculus glabra*]. The last was so soft that it soon became my favourite; and, to the readiness with which it yielded to my axe, I may ascribe the affection which I have ever since cherished it. [Horine’s notes: that Drake was the person who proposed the buckeye as Ohio’s State Tree, etc.] I loved it in proportion to the facility with which I could destroy it. But its obliging temper was not limited to my demands. It has a parasite, which sought the air and light of heaven by climbing to its limbs, and weaving those of many adjoining trees into a broad and tangled canopy. That parasite was the winter grapevine [*Vitis vulpina*]... In due time a “log rolling” frolic was gotten up, when the buckeye showed that, if pressed too far, it could resist,

for its consumption by fire was affected with more difficulty than that of any tree.”

p. 53: describing his childhood in the 1790s.

“In the latter part of summer and in early autumn, after the corn was “laid by”, various rank weeds, including Spanish needles [probably *Bidens frondosa* or *bipinnata*] and wild-cucumber vines [*Sicyos angulata*], covered with an armature of bristles, would spring up among it... Always we returned from the field at night with Spanish needles (Bidens of the botanists as I learned 10 years afterwards).”

p. 60-62: about 1794.

“My Uncle Abraham Drake built two mills on Lee’s Creek, a little north of Mayslick, and when I was 9 years old, I was taken to them by Father. Having learned the path which lay through the woods, I was soon entrusted with the whole duty... we sometimes went 10 & even 12 miles to horse [mills] and water mills; the former at Flemingsburg & the latter on Licking River. These were fine opportunities for seeing the world, and it was on one of these lazy, listless rides, the horse always merely walking, that I first noticed the influence of soils on the character of the forest. We passed suddenly out of the woods of the rich lands on which we lived (the diversified—*Arbustum terra fertilis*) into a forest of white oak, supported by an argillaceous soil... The distant water mill of which I have spoken, was two miles above the Blue Licks [probably on Abner’s Road].. I passed through a zone of oak land and when three miles from the springs, we came to an open country, the surface of which presented nothing but moss between rocks and evergreens [western Fleming Co. between US 68 and Ky. Route 560]... I had learned that immense herds of buffalo had, before the settlement of the territory, frequented the spot, destroyed the shrubs and herbage around, trodden up the ground and prepared it for

being washed away by the rains until the rocks were left bare.”

p. 75-77: when he was about 8-15 years old, in 1794-1801.

“In the latter part of winter we were often short of fodder for our stock, and had to resort to the woods with both cattle and horses for *browse*. Of the whole forest, the red or slippery elm [*Ulmus rubra*] was the best, next to that of the white elm [*U. americana*] and then the pignut or white hickory [*Carya cordiformis*]... The woods immediately beyond our fields were unmutilated and not thinned out as you see them at present. They were, in fact, as nature received them from the land of her Creator... The cane as high as my head and shoulders... the winter grapes [*Vitis vulpina*]... tufts of mistletoe [*Phoradendron serotinum*]... the *Celastrus scandens* [*sic*]... and the Indian arrow wood (*Euonymus carolinensis*) [*E. atropurpurea*] below.”
[To be checked further in original; elms and hickory also noted near Washington.]

p. 79: more about 1794-1801.

“It was a custom with father and some of his neighbours in those days, to take their mares and colts & the horses which were not yet broke into what they called the *range*. Within 3 miles of where we lived, on Johnson’s Fork of Licking [at edge of Eden Shale Hills along Mason-Fleming county line], there [were] no settlements, and consequently, there was a luxuriant herbage consisting largely of what was named pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], with a full growth of Buffalo grass [probably *Panicum clandestinum*]. The months of May, June & July were selected for this resort to the untrodden wilderness. Some salt was tied up in a rag (for paper was scarcer than the raw materials), and when we reached a wild and unfrequented spot where there was water, the salt was placed on the grounds to be licked up. From this “whetter of the appetite” the animals eagerly fell on the rich herbage, which they devoured with as much

avidity as I feasted my eyes on the surrounding scenery; which from its being “oak land” [with much white oak on uplands] presented many productions and aspects different from the woods with which I was familiar. When the horses had wandered off a little way we left them; and it is remarkable that they would remain there, and make the spot where they were salted a kind of rallying point or place of resort.”

p. 86: making maple sugar, perhaps along Lees Creek to the north.

“There were but few sugar trees on Father’s land, and he rented a “camp”, as the grove was called, about two miles off.”

p. 127-129: collecting wild fruits.

“The pawpaw [*Asimina triloba*] was a general favorite... There are two varieties, the pale yellow and the white. The latter are intolerable to all tastes, until they have been frostbitten half a dozen times. I observed that but two animals ate the pawpaw—ants and oppssms... the greatest charm of haw [perhaps *Viburnum prunifolium*] hunting was found in the favorite locality of that tree, always on the margin of some rocky brook... Crabapple [*Malus coronaria*]... was always found solitary (while the pawpaw formed groves or patches)... In clearing land, this lady like tree [crabapple] was always spared... [Of nuts] black walnuts [*Juglans nigra*] were most abundant, and they made our staple; next came hickory nuts [probably *Carya laciniosa* and *ovata*], and lastly, butternuts [*Juglans cinerea*].”

p. 180: comparing the landscape of his childhood (1794-1800) with later years.

“The great occupation was clearing off the forest and cultivating the rich & fresh soil, which reveled in the sunshine; of which, from April to November, through an indefinite period of

time, it had been deprived by the overshadowing woods. The little clearings with their log cabins were detached from each other by intervening forest, through which foot paths, bridle paths, and narrow wagon roads, obstructed with stumps, would their way. Although several families might live within the sound of a rifle or a falling bee tree, a boy felt himself in the almost unbroken wilderness, raising in him an exaggerated idea of the distance from place to place; as I was deeply convinced, on my last visit in 1845 to the same neighbourhood, when so much of the forest had been destroyed as to bring places, which 55 years before had seemed quite remote, into full view of each other, and make them seem quite near.”

Robert B. McAfee. 1845. Printed in 1927. The life and times of Robert B. McAfee and his family and connections. Register of Kentucky State Historical Society Vo. 25, No. 73.

p. 113-114: describing the Kentucky pioneers in general, about 1783.

“The cane, peavine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*] and wild grass and clover called buffalo clover (a large white kind) [*Trifolium stoloniferum*] supplied them with pasturage with little feeding (except salting) both winter and summer.”

Lewis Collins. 1847. Historical Sketches of Kentucky. Published for the author by J.A. & U.P. James, Cincinnati. Further editions were completed by the author’s son, Richard H. Collins, in 1874 and 1877; these need to be cross-checked for some details.

p. 24: speaking of soils in the early settlements.

“The deep vegetable mould had been accumulating for centuries, making it a hotbed of fertility.”

p. 51-52: regarding Big Bone Lick in Boone County.

“In this county [Boone] is situated the celebrated Big Bone Lick, about twelve miles a little west of south from Burlington, and one mile and a half east from Hamilton, on the Ohio River. The lick is situated in a valley which contains about one hundred acres, through which flows Big Bone creek. There are two principal springs, one of which is almost on the northern margin of the creek; the other is south of the creek, and at the base of the hills which bound the valley. There is a third spring of smaller size some considerable distance north of the creek, which flows from a well sunk many years ago, when salt was manufactured at this lick...”

“At a very early day the surrounding forest had no undergrowth, the ground being covered with a smooth grassy turf, and the lick spread over an area of about ten acres. The surface of the ground within this area was generally depressed three or four feet below the level of the surrounding valley. This depression was probably occasioned as well by the stamping of the countless numbers of wild animals, drawn thither by the salt contained in the water and impregnating the ground, as by their licking the earth to procure salt. There is no authentic account of this lick having been visited by white men before 1730. In the year 1773, James Douglas, of Virginia, visited it, and found the ten acres constituting the lick bare of trees and herbage of every kind, and large numbers of the bones of the mastodon or mammoth, and the arctic elephant, scattered upon the surface of the ground...”

p. 226-228 [check original pages]. There are several remains in the northern part of Fayette county, which appear to be vestiges of ancient Indian fortifications.. There are three, two of them still very distinct, near the dividing line between the old military surveys of Dandridge and Meredith, of which a brief description may be interesting. The most easterly of those is on

the estate of C. C. Moore, Esq. It is on the top of a high bluff, on the west side of North Elkhorn, in the midst of a very thick growth, mostly of sugar trees... Trees several hundred years old, are growing on the bank and in the bottom of the ditch, and over the area which it encloses, and the whole region about it... Going still westward from this spot, you cross a branch, ascend a sharp slope, and come upon an elevated and beautiful forest along the old military line spoken of above ; and at the distance of a quarter of a mile from the work first described, is a work of considerable extent... An ash tree was cut down in the summer of 1845, which stood on the bank of this ditch, which, upon being examined, proved to be four hundred years old... In 1838, these works were measured by Prof. Robert Peter, who now resides on the Meredith Place. The larger work—of which the ditch was yet about six feet deep in some places, in which trees, apparently as old as any in the primeval woods of the country, were growing...”

p. 242: regarding Stamping Ground in Scott County.

“so named from the fact that the herds of buffalo which resorted here for salt water tramped or *stamped* down the undergrowth and soil for a great distance around.”

Note: check also J. Stoddard Johnston (see below, p. 741-742) on buffalo traces.

Ben Casseday. 1852. Casseday’s History of Louisville. The History of Louisville from its Earliest Settlement till the Year 1852. Hull and Brother, Louisville, Kentucky.

p. 33: quoting “Marshall, Doddridge, others...” about the early settlement of Louisville during 1775-85; sources to be checked.

“The food was of the most wholesome and nutritive kind. The richest milk, the finest butter,

and best meat that ever delighted man's palate, were here eaten with relish which health and labor only know. These were shared by friend and stranger in every cabin with profuse hospitality. Hats were made of the native fur; and the buffalo wool [was] employed in the composition of cloth, as was also the bark of the wild nettle [perhaps *Urtica gracilis*]. There was some paper money in the country, which had not depreciated one half nor even a fourth as much as it had at the seat of government. If there was any gold or silver its circulation was suppressed. The price of a beaver was five hundred dollars.”

Charles Campbell. 1853. General John Poage Reminiscence No. 1. Ironton Register, February 3rd. This article was based on an interview given by Poage to Campbell. It was cited in part by Belue (1996, p. 100, footnotes 13), but with a supplementary reference to the Draper Manuscripts: 16E: 1 [to be checked].

“The father, George Poage, was one of the party that accompanied Col. James Harrod to Kentucky in the year 1774, at which time Col. Harrod built the first house that ever stood in the interior of Kentucky, at Harrodsburg; Daniel Boone had previously built a cabin upon the borders of the state. Col. Harrod was a pioneer party and there were no women in the company; Mrs. Boone and her daughters were the first white women in that section, in the year 1775, while a party of Harrod's men were out surveying, they encamped at Fountain Blue, about three miles from Harrods Burgh—early in the morning, some of the party being in engaged in making preparation for the day, George Poage still asleep had a remarkable dream, and was observed by the men to be kicking about; he was dreaming that the guns were all pointed at him, and the campfire burning near the breeches it seemed that they would catch fire and burn until the guns would discharge at him; he awoke and while relating his dream, they were fired

upon by Indians. The surveyor, who was drying his papers by the fire, was killed and one other man. Mr. Poage snatched his gun and ran, the Indians followed him closely; he threw his gun over a creek, and the Indians quarreling about it he gained upon them and made his way safely to the fort. Soon after several of Harrod's party having by various accidents lost their rifles, about thirty, among whom was Poage, returned to Virginia, and immediately he with the others joined the command of Col. Lewis and were at the battle of Point Pleasant, the far-famed Indian battle, in the fall of 1774. George Poage afterwards served in the army of the Revolution, and was at the siege of Yorktown.”

“By the way, we came near forgetting to state that "Dick Taylor, " the father of General Zachary Taylor, was one of Harrod's party; he was with the surveying party which was surprised by the Indians at Fountain Blue, and escaped into the woods. He made his way to the Ohio river near where is the city of Louisville, and by some means went down the river to New Orleans, where he took ship for Virginia.”

“One other circumstance in connection with George Poage's first summer in Kentucky, in 1774. He with others were out hunting, and in a long ramble of 75 or 80 miles they chanced to come upon the Blue Licks, which no white man had ever before visited unless it was Boone. These famous licks, it will be recollected, are near Licking River, some 25 or 30 miles S. SW. from Maysville. They came upon a ridge which overlooks the basin in which are the Licks, and there, perhaps, was one of the greatest sites ever seen; ten thousand or more, buffaloes were there, it maybe, ten thousand other animals of every species known in the western wilds, bears, wolves, panthers, foxes, wild cats, deer, elks, &c. - 20,000 wild animals, all moving about in one vast throng and rubbing against each other, the stronger frequently praying upon the

weaker. The ground about for miles was a perfect barren waste, worn out and torn up by the stamping and pawing of these wild nyriads. What a site!”

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James B. Finley. 1853. Autobiography. Cranston and Curtis, Cincinnati, Ohio. Reprinted in W.P. Strickland (ed). 1855. Methodist Book Concern, Cincinnati, Ohio.

p. 39 [in 1853 printing]: describing how his father, Robert W. Finley, moved to Bourbon County.

“This was in the spring of 1790 on what was then called Cane Ridge... The land purchased by my father was part of an unbroken canebrake, extending twenty miles toward what was called the Little Mountain (now Mount Sterling). We had to cut out roads before we could haul the logs to build our cabins. The cane was so thick and tall that it was almost impossible for a horse or a cow to pass through it. We first cut the cane and gathered it in piles to be burned. This was performed by a cane-hoe. The next thing was to plow, which was first done by cutting the cane roots with a coulter, fastened to a stock of wood, which was called the blue boar. This turned no furrow, and hence it was necessary to follow it with the bar shear, which turned over the sod.”

p. 105-106 [in 1855 printing]: describing the Scioto River bottoms near “Chilicothe” in 1796. “It would be impossible for me to describe the beauty of these rich bottoms. The soil itself for richness was not exceeded by any in the world. The lofty sugar-tree, spreading its beautiful branches; the graceful elm, waving its tall head, the monarch of the forest; the cherry and hackberry; the spicewood, with its fragrance; the pawpaw, with its luscious fruit; the wild plum; the rich clusters of grapes, which, hanging from the massy vines, festooned the forest; and, beneath all, the wild rye, green as a wheat-field, mixed with the prairie and buffalo clover—all formed a garden of nature most enchanting to behold.”

Rev. Jacob Young. 1857. Autobiography of a Pioneer. L. Swormstedt & A. Poe, Cincinnati.

p. 32-33: regarding Henry County in November, 1797.

“Sortly after we had taken up our residence, I was called upon to assist in opening a road from the place where Newcastle now stands, to the mouth of Kentucky river. That country, then, was an unbroken forest. There was nothing but an Indian trail passing the wilderness. The Indian warriors were in the habit of crossing the Ohio river, and leaving their bark canoes in the mouth of the Kentucky river; and following the trail into the white settlement, where they murdered the inhabitants, indiscriminately, men, women, and children, then stealing a number of horses, and making their escape back to their own country... The country through which the company passed was delightful. It was not a flat country, but, what the Kentuckians called, a rolling ground. It was quite well stored with lofty timber, and the ground was very pretty. The beautiful cane-breaks gave it a peculiar charm. What made it most interesting was the great abundance of wild turkeys, deer, bear, and all other wild animals... Just after sundown the captain called us to leave our labor, and, after a short address, he told us the night was going to be very cold, and we must make very large fires. We felled the hickory-trees, in great abundance, and made great log-heaps, mixing the dry wood with the green hickory...”

p. 33-35.

“We purchased a tract of land, in an uncultivated state—erected a log-cabin and moved into it the eleventh of May, 1797. There was no floor to the cabin, nor shutters to the doors. The tall oak-trees overshadowed it, and the howling wolves made music for us at night. Our money was gone. Our only chance to raise bread was to clear the forest in the wilderness. The reader will

say this was a gloomy prospect. And so it was, but we were all in good health and fine spirits, and went to work, my father furnishing us with meat, from the woods, with his gun. Buffalo grass and pea-vine were then nearly knee-high in every direction. We bought some milch cows, and made a large quantity of sugar early in the spring.”

Francis Fredric. 1863. Slave life in Virginia and Kentucky; Or, Fifty Years of Slavery in the Southern United States. Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt, London. Reprinted in: C.L. Innes (ed). 2010. Slave Life in Virginia and Kentucky: A Narrative by Francis Fedric, Escaped Slave. Louisiana State University Press.

Following extract is posted at <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USASsugar.htm>
Francis Fredric was a slave working on a sugar plantation in Maysville, Kentucky. “When we arrived there we found a great deal of uncultivated land belonging to the farm... The neighbouring planters came and showed my master how to manage his new estate. They told the slaves how to tap the sugar-tree to let the liquid out, and to boil it down so as to get the sugar from it. The slaves built a great many log-huts; for my master, at the next slave-market, intended to purchase more slaves.”

James McBride. 1869. Pioneer Biography. Sketches of the Lives of some of the Early Settlers of Butler County, Ohio. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. Volume 1.

Extracted here is the reference to “beargrass”; similar statements about “beargrass” were made in the following sources. [Many thanks to John White in Illinois for these references.]

(a) Henry A. Ford & Mrs. Kate B. Ford. 1881. History of Hamilton County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biogeographical Sketches. L.A. Williams & Co., Ohio. p. 51.

(b) Henry Howe. 1891. Historical Collections of Ohio in Three Volumes. An Encyclopedia of the State. H. Howe & Son, Columbus, Ohio. Volume 2, p. 24.

p. 11. “Wild game was abundant, but the breadstuffs which they took with them were soon exhausted, and supplies of corn and salt were only to be obtained at a distance and in small quantities. Various roots of indigenous plants were used as articles of food. The women and children would go from Columbia to Turkey-bottom, one and a half miles above the mouth of the Little Miami to scratch up the bulbous roots of the bear-grass, which, when mashed, boiled and dried, were pounded into a kind of flour which served as a tolerable substitute for wheat and corn flour.”

Interpretation. “Beargrass” here was probably *Camassia scilloides*, which is well known to be edible for humans. This common name has been generally used for eastern species of this genus (*scilloides*, *angusta*) and western species (especially *esculenta*); see, for example, William Miller (1884. A Dictionary of English Names of Plants. John Murray, London) and Britannica Concise Encyclopedia (2008. Encyclopedia Britannica, Chicago). However, “beargrass” has also been applied to several other plants, including *Xerophyllum* and *Yucca*, which are not edible. [Thanks to Dan Boone of Cincinnati for this interpretation.]

Miss Jessamine Woodson. 1897. Sketch of Jessamine County. Read by the author to the Acme Literary Club on Feb. 22, 1897. Partly included in Young and Duncan (1898); see below. Printed in full by the Jessamine County Historical Society, Nicholasville, Kentucky, September 1969. The following curious passages were not included in Young and Duncan; and there are other passages that reflect a romantic interest in nature, deserving reverence.

p. 5. "Although so small in area, we have twenty miles bordering on the most picturesque river in the world [Kentucky River], which winds about and in and out with many a graceful curve and scallop, and many a "blossom sailing", clear and sparkling, rippling and glancing, reflecting precipitous banks of the wildest grandeur, and clad in verdure, towering hundreds of feet towards the skies, showing white marble ledges as Carara and the blue limestone in varied and exquisite shapes of turns and polished shafts and flat ledges, on which grow in great profusion delicate ferns, graceful vines—the rare and gorgeous tea-vine among them [perhaps *Bignonia capreolata*]—and dainty flowers of every hue, beautiful flowering shrubs, fruit trees and evergreens. Quantities of the finest timber are found here, and some future day, when our resources are developed and our hidden treasures unearthed, noble castles will be erected on these heights, grander and more beautiful than those on the Rhine, and on that day, a Kentucky Longfellow will have immortalized its beauties and the heroic deeds of our people, and a native Dickens will have made known to the world, some of our quaint and original characters."

p. 10. "A few miles below [High Bridge] is the Brooklyn bridge, and one of the locks, recently finished. A mile or two above, on the Harrodsburg pike, is an enchanting little cove or shady dell, a trysting place for fairies and elfins, the loveliest place in the world for a picnic. It is secluded from the dust and glare of the pike above, a valley of ferns and with graceful vines and dainty flowers of every hue, the delicate wild flax in starry blossoms of white and blue, the anemone, the mountain pink, the wild pansy and bluetts along the rippling, sparkling stream with many a little break over a fall of six to twenty feet, making a misty floating veil of exquisite lace work, and emptying into a crystal pool, ready for the most fastidious bather. On every side of this palace of the Gods, are walls of marble with tall trees and shrubs growing out of them, and cave of some extent."

B.H. Young and S.M. Duncan. 1898. A History of Jessamine County from its Earliest Settlement [1798] to 1898. Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, Louisville. Full text at: http://www.archive.org/stream/historyofjessami00you/historyofjessami00you_djvu.txt

p. 9: “for the first time put in permanent form... accounts of the men who first cut down the forests, grubbed the cane brakes and drove out the savages who disputed its possession...”
“The first and only fort in Jessamine County was established by Levi Todd in 1779. This was one year before Lexington was built. The line of travel between Harrodsburg and the Fayette county stations passed through the northern and western parts of the county, and on this trace, near Keene, Todd’s station was built.”

p. 21-22: letter from Major Ben Netherland to Major Hopkins in 1802. “A few days ago four Cherokee Indians from Iredell County, N.C., called at my home and remaining overnight. Next morning one of them was too sick to travel. All day his sufferings were severe and painful. I sent for Drs. Gale and Peter Trisler, who at one pronounced his case hopeless. After intense suffering for four days the poor Indian died. His poor, disconsolate friends were painfully grieved at the death of one of their number, who was a man of some notoriety among his people, particularly as an expert hunter, having himself killed seventy-odd deer while on the last October hunt in the Cumberland mountains. The dead body of the poor Indian was taken to the Kentucky river cliffs, eight miles south of Nicholasville, and interred in the earth after the Indian custom, but instead of filling the vault with earth, as is used by us, these poor Indians made a frame work of wood, like a steep roof, which they put round the mouth, and reared up a heavy pile of earth, giving it the appearance of a potatoe heap. The three Indians who buried

their comrade appeared bowed with grief. One seated himself on the ground, directing his face towards sunset, and extending his voice, making a great and sore lamentation. As much as I hate these wild children of the forest, I could not refrain from shedding tears when looking at them in this honest grief at the loss of one who was regarded as a good and true man. In four or five weeks after the death of their comrade, the same party, with a brother of the Indian, who died, came back and took his body in a small wagon to North Carolina, a distance of more than 300 miles, and reintered his remains in the land of his birth among his own people. I have been much among the Cherokee of North Carolina. I consider them among the best of our Indian friends. They have strange customs. I wish I had time to give you more correct idea of their character as compared with the other Indian tribes of our country.”

p. 37. “Gen. Percival Butler... came to Jessamine county in 1784, and settled at the mouth of Hickman creek and engaged in merchandise. This point was then one of great importance. The Kentucky river was the outlet for a large portion of Central Kentucky, and flatboats plied up and down the stream carrying the commerce of the country tributary to it. The rich lands lying in proximity were already producing large treasure which found market in the East and at New Orleans. Gen. James Wilkinson has opened a large dry goods store at Lexington in 1784. Salt was carried out of the Salt river from Mann and Bullitt Licks to Nashville, and the Kentucky river was also sending its tide of wealth to the outside world. In 1785 a ferry had been established at the mouth of Hickman creek by the Virginia legislature, and in 1787 Wilkinson had pushed his trade down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and the mouth of Hickman at once become a center of trade. By this date roads were cut through from Lexington to Danville, Stanford and Lancaster, and the chartering of the ferry as early as 1785 shows that a large trade crossed at this point. Prior to this date no other ferry had been established by Virginia except

the one across the Kentucky river at Boonesboro (1779). The next were those at the mouth of Hickman, the mouth of Jack's Creek, Madison county, at Long Lick, and two at Louisville, to the mouths of Silver creek and Mill Run."

p. 46-48: "It is strange that, from the time of the settlement at Harrodsburg in 1774 down to 1779, there were no stations established in Jessamine county. In Mercer, Boyle, Fayette, Woodford, Madison, Scott and Franklin, numerous stations were erected, but with all the richness of the land in Jessamine county, none came to found a fort within its midst. There were surveys made in the county during this time, one of which, the Abram Hite survey of 2,000 acres on Marble creek, was both permanent and important, and discussed in the fort at Harrodsburg in 1774 and 1775. A Mr. Black established a station on what is known as the G. B. Bryan farm, half way between Nicholasville and Brookline on the Harrodsburg turnpike. It was on the old trace which led through the county along the waters of Jessamine creek to the waters of South Elkhorn. There were several large boiling springs in the locality, and as these were always in demand for settlements. Black located his station there. It was composed of several cabins, and the land was originally part of what is known as the "Craig Survey," and was subsequently owned by Archibald Logan, who was a rich tanner and had an establishment in Lexington. Logan conveyed this land to his daughter, Mrs. Hord, when he left Jessamine county in 1829, and the house known as the Patterson House is where Logan lived. Mrs. Hord conveyed the place to her daughter, Mrs. Worley, and she conveyed it to others, and it is now owned by the Bryan's heirs. Beginning with 1783, this station became quite an important one, and was one of the stopping places for those who followed the trace from Mercer and Boyle to Franklin and Woodford counties."

"The difficulty in obtaining water in this general section was very great, and Joel Watkins, in his diary, says: June 24 [1789]—"Forded river at mouth of Hickman; after travelling seven or eight miles on the road that leads from the river to Lexington I turned to the left of said road and crossed a water course called East Jessamine; after leaving the said creek, the land is very level and of a very pretty mulatto soil and the growth is black and white oak, hickory, and some walnut and sugar trees, and the undergrowth hazel nut and red bud, till I arrived at West Jessamine. I proceeded up said river to head, the land altering as I proceeded up said creek until I came near the head springs, the land there appearing very rich till I struck the waters of South Elkhorn. This day I passed several good farms, and especially John Craig's, badly watered between the two Jessamines, so much so that people settled only along the said creeks." This scarcity of water was doubtless one of the reasons for establishing the station at Black's."

JC: see later more complete transcription of this journal above [Watkins 1978]; this route between West Jessamine Creek [now Town Fork] and East Jessamine would have left US 27 near Handy or Vineyard then NNW, crossing current Shun Pike, joining West Jessamine towards current junction of US 68 and Rt 169; according to the NRCS soil survey, this route crosses a curious patch of less intensely calcareous soils—Faywood and Lowell—intermixed with the purer Inner Bluegrass soils—Maury, McAfee and Fairmount; such mixture of soils might explain the mix of oak-hickory-hazel and walnut-sugar-redbud that Watkins recorded; geological mapping here need further investigation.

"Watkins says August 18 [1789 not 1889 as printed in error in Young & Duncan in 1898]: "Passed Dick's river at McGuir's, from thence we proceeded to Curd's Ferry on Kentucky, which is at the mouth of Dick's river—the latter we forded— (hero the cliffs are of amazing

height); we proceeded towards Lexington about eight miles; we turned to the left of said road past Black Station on the waters of Clear creek, proceeded onward, the land lying very well, but the growth indicating the rock being nigh the surface of the earth; we crossed several forks of Clear creek; we came to Captain Woodfolk's mentioned on page 22; from this place the land continued very slightly, both soil and Growth, to Mr. Watkins', at which place we arrived about dark— received very kindly." He also says, August 24: "Monday, after breakfast with Mr. W., set out for the south side of Kentucky river, agreeing with the aforesaid gentleman at parting to keep up a literary correspondence, past Black Station again and crossed the two forks of Jessamine and arrived at Kentucky river at the mouth of Hickman, which I forded, and arrived at Mr. Walker's at two hours besun.""

"It will be seen that the trace along by Black's Station was the road usually traveled by those who passed from Garrard and Mercer and Boyle to Woodford and Franklin. Another station in Jessamine county was built by Levi Todd a little northwest of Keene—its exact location can not now be determined—it, is, however, laid down upon Filson's map, but was abandoned. This was a fort. The road from Harrodsburg to Lexington doubtless passed by Black's Station, and from this on to Todd's Station.

"There was also another route by which they crossed the river to the mouth of Hickman, followed Hickman for some distance, and then turned northeast towards Lexington, then their route followed Hickman for several miles, then struck East Jessamine and followed it to its Head at Mrs. Horine's on the Southern Railroad, about a mile east of Nicholasville, and from this over to the headwaters of Jessamine, and from this along the general route of the Lexington and Harrodsburgh turnpike to Lexington. This is shown by deposition of David Williams,

which was filed in the case of Mansoires Executors vs. Craig Williams, in which Williams deposes as follows: "He was well acquainted with Hickman's creek from a small distance above the survey, 'Abram Hite,' to the head of the creek, and that the east fork of Jessamine was as well known to the people of Harrodsburg as Hickman's creek was. The east fork of Jessamine lay more out of the course generally taken by hunters in traveling from Harrodsburg to the waters of the Licking; they commonly fell on main Jessamine above the mouth of East Fork; thence up the main Jessamine spring; thence crossing the waters of Hickman to Boone's creek, and over to the head of Stroud's creek, where there were roads leading down most of its branches to the Salt Licks. It was also common to pass by main Jessamine above the East Fork and by Todd's station on the waters of Hickman to go to the headwaters of South and North Elkhorn. This deponent, with others, frequently took this road to avoid large canebrakes.""

JC: these canebrakes appear to have occurred on the gentle lands around what became Nicholasville and the lands between Hickman and Boone Creek, draining to Marble Creek and Raven Run; there are a few remnants of cane in these lands; by taking the route along West Jessamine they could connect more directly into the more shaly "east-central Bluegrass Plains" on the southeast side of what became Lexington; these shaly lands included more white oak-hickory, sugar tree and even local beech, in contrast to pure Inner Bluegrass lands.

p. 48-51. The Last Indians. "The high cliffs, covered with dense forests of cedar and other timber, along the Kentucky river, and their utter inaccessibility, rendered them excellent hiding places for the Indians who disturbed the settlers as late as the end of 1792. No great incursion of the Indians into Kentucky happened after the battle of Blue Licks, in 1782, but predatory bands, consisting of four or five warriors, both from the south 'and from the north, gave the

settlers great disturbance and uneasiness and murdered a great many women and children. Shortly after the battle of Blue Licks the people abandoned the forts and scattered out in their log cabins over the state. Fear of Indian raids had been removed and the immense tide of settlers which came into the state during this period took up lands in every part, but as late as 1792 many people were killed in Garrard, Lincoln, Madison and Jessamine."

"On July 6, 1793, Major Benjamin Netherland wrote the following letter to Governor Shelby, which gives a contemporaneous account of these troubles:

"Mingo Tavern, Fayette county. Ky., July 6, 1792. To His Excellency, Isaac Shelby. Governor of Kentucky. Dear Sir — Your letter of the 28th [?] of June, was handed to me on yesterday by John Wilson. I tender to you my hearty, warm thanks for the good opinion you express concerning my poor services in the defense of our beloved country. To enjoy your confidence and friendship may well be considered a distinguished honor, and I shall at all times consider it a pleasure to be of service to you. There have but few depredations occurred in these parts of the county. Last year it was reported three men were killed by a party of Shawnees. They were pursued, overtaken and two of them were killed the following day at Boonesboro. About three months ago two Indians crossed the Kentucky at the mouth of the Dix river, and came among the settlers, as they said, for trading. I was not pleased at seeing such treacherous enemies, and gave orders to Tom Lewis and his father to keep a watch on them. They spoke English very well and were trying to make the impression that they were our best friends. When they left the next morning they met one of the settlers named Michael Hififner, who had been to see Thomas Rowland, who settled on a plantation some miles above. The Indians told Hififner he must let them have his horse. This he refused, when he heard the snap of a gun. He at once jumped from

the horse and stabbed the Indian to the heart. He then turned upon the other, who shot him in the arm and ran off into the timber. Hififner, being a good Indian fighter and a brave and active man, pursued him, and before the Indian could reload his gun Hififner caught him and knocked his brains out with a club, and threw his body down the high cliffs into the river. The body of the Indian he stabbed to death was buried."

"A party of Wyandots killed a man at the mouth of Jessamine last spring. At the various crossings Indian tracks have been discovered. At Paint Lick two years ago two men were killed by this same party of Indians. It is my opinion that if 50 mounted men were employed to scour the Kentucky river cliffs during the fall, I feel sure no more of our people would be ambushed and killed. These hills and cliffs, Major Whitley says, are good hiding places for Indians to do us much injury. I must urge you to appoint Tom Wilson captain and lieutenant of this end of the county. He is young and active and can run like the wind, and such service would be in keeping with his nature, which is daring and full of adventure. I would seek the place myself, but I have so long neglected my private affairs that it would be ruinous for me to put my affairs into the hands of others, who seek their own interest to the neglect of mine, besides I have now the high and responsible duties of husband and father, which I can not throw aside without doing great injustice to the innocent who look to me for protection as husband and father. Your old friend, B. Netherland.""

p. 51. "All sorts of "varmint" were plentiful in the days of the early settlers. Bears and rattlesnakes were in great abundance. On the farm of Mr. Alexander Willoughby, near Sulphur Well, one of the great curiosities was a place known as "Rattlesnake Spring." When the land was first settled this spring was a great resort for these snakes. The water issued from a large

crevice in a lime- stone rock, overlaid by a bold bank. Near the spring was a cave. Major Netherland, who visited the place in 1796, says: "In the fall of the year they would crawl from the cave to the spring and enter the crevice of the rock, where they remained torpid during the winter. When the warmth of spring revived them they would emerge from the crevice and the cave and bask in the warm sun. At this season they fell an easy prey to the destroyer. Henry Allsman, who is now living on this portion of Mr. Willoughby's land, told me he and his family have killed hundreds of them in the last week. He would pile them up on a log heap and burn them. By this wholesale slaughter, this enemy of God and man was extirpated, and in another season of spring and summer nothing will remain of that representative of the transgression but his hateful name." The man Allsman here referred to was the father of the notorious Andrew Allsman, who caused General McNeil to shoot ten innocent men at Palymra, Mo. He was born on this farm in 1805 and left home in 1829. Allsman boasted on the streets of Palmvra of causing the death of these men. The next day after he made this dreadful confession his dead body was found hung and riddled with bullets. He had been put to death by Col. Joe Porter's men in the neiuhborhood."

p. 68. "Jessamine creek — one hundred years ago a stream of large volume and great beauty — rises near the line of the R. N. L & B. Railroad, close to the station called Nealton [?] and about half a mile from where the Nicholasville & Versailles turnpike [now Rt 169] crosses, and on the land now owned by Pleasant Cook, Esq. Along its banks grew the jessamine in richest profusion. This flower was found in great abundance in many parts of the territory embraced by the new county. The name had been given to the creek by the pioneers, and the beauty of the plant and the beauty of the name so impressed the early settlers that they called this beautiful stream Jessamine creek. It is about twenty miles long and empties into the Kentucky river.

Colonel Price asked that the new county should be called Jessamine."

"The Price Letter about the Formation of the County. Barbour Home, Jessamine county: November 13, 1820. My Esteemed Friend : I have read your favor of October 6th with much pleasure. The county of Jessamine was surveyed by my friend, Maj. Frederick Zimmerman. I think he commenced his work in May, 1796, but the county was not organized as a county until February 14th. In August the next year I was chosen as a member of the General Assembly by the county — without opposition. The name Jessamine was selected from a flower that grows on many creeks in the county."

p. 69. "Col. John Price induced many of his Virginia friends to settle in the Marble creek neighborhood. The following letter to Lewis Tapp will be extremely interesting, as he has many descendants in Jessamine county: "Lexington, Ky., May 10, 1805. Dear-Sir and Friend: I have received yours of April 2d. I take great pleasure in informing you that if you have a desire to leave Virginia and settle in Kentucky I would advise you to pay a visit to this portion of Kentucky. Jessamine county was formed eight years ago. I settled in the limits of the county in 1788 The population is 5,400. The surface of the land for the most part gently undulating, rising here and there into hills and moderate elevations. The timber is white ash, hickory, hackberry, elm, white oak, also white and black walnut. Besides this variety of timber in the county, cedar trees, yellow poplar, beech and cherry is scattered over various parts of the county. The principal creeks in the county are Hickman and Jessamine. There are also numerous smaller streams well distributed throughout the county. You can buy good land in this town for \$20 per acre and in Elkhorn first-class land is worth from \$10 to \$12 per acre. As I am just in the act of going to Nashville in Jesse Cogar's flat-boat at Frankfort, I trust you will make us a visit soon.

Your old friend, John Price. Lewis Tapp, Staunton, Augusta county, A'a.'"

p. 147: from Miss Jessamine Woodson's history of the county for the Acme Club; with description of the county extracted here. "We see waving fields of grain, hemp, tobacco and woodland pastures, carpeted with green, velvety grass, and trees that are tall and straight and of great variety and of wondrous beauty, and under these and in the meadows are groups of fat sheep, Jerseys and Shorthorns, thoroughbred horses, Berkshire pigs and Southdown sheep. Thrifty fruit orchards we see, too, and green hedges of osage orange, and stone fences and barn yards with all sort of pretty domestic fowls... Our bluegrass pasture lands are our special pride. Grass as soft as velvet, and with blades often a yard long, and as fine as a silken cord, without a weed, growing close to the very trunks of the tall wide-spreading elms, walnut, oak and maple trees. Here is the home of the dryads and wood-nymphs, and here the poet must have been inspired to write, "The Grove's were God's First Temples," and these actually were to the noble army of pioneers who first set up "The Banner of the Cross" while building log-cabins with rifles in their hands. The country is gently undulating, with hill and dale, meadow and wood, giving variety and sparing the eye of monotony until you approach the river, when it becomes more rugged, but always grander and more wonderful in beauty and sublimity..."

p. 148-149: notes on Jessamine Creek (with photo of spring at head). "Two large oaks trees grow immediately over the spring, and rise out of the cliff overhanging it. While the stream has never gone dry within the memory of the young men, the current of water has very much decreased in the last fifty years... That part of the stream called "The Narrows," near Glass' mill, has some most beautiful and picturesque scenery... High up on the cliffs on the west side of the stream near the "Narrows" is the famous Chrisman Cave... A short distance below

Spark's Ford is a natural curiosity, known as the "Little Mountain." It is a mound standing out separate and single and having no connection with the cliffs."

p. 151: notes on Hickman Creek. "...empties into the Kentucky river near what is called "Boone's Knob." ... The country between the two branches of Hickman creek is one of the most fertile in Jessamine county. The section drained by Hickman creek is well timbered, and still has a superb growth of oak, hackberry, ash and hickory, with a sprinkling of maple. Along this creek the earliest settlements of Jessamine county were made..."

p. 158: notes on crops and soils. "In 1840, Gen. James Shelby, of Fayette county, received from the Agricultural Society a premium for the most productive five acres of corn. The five acres yielded 550 bushels, or 110 bushels per acre; but in the same year Walter C. Young, of Jessamine county, who then lived in the eastern part of it, gathered, by disinterested parties, from two acres of a field of corn, the enormous yield of 195 bushels and 198 1-2 bushels, respectively, which stands, so far as known, as the largest yield ever obtained from a similar area"

p. 160. "The growth of hemp commenced with the earliest days of settlement of Kentucky. It came with the corn and flex, among the first products of the state. The soil of Jessamine county has always been extremely favorable to the production of this plant. The black loam, so general throughout many parts of the county, produces hemp of very heavy and excellent fibre, and Jessamine county stands among the greatest hemp-producing counties of Kentucky. Per acre, no county in the state produces a larger yield."

p. 216-218: notes on Chaumiere. “Prior to 1796 David Meade, a son of the founder of Chaumiere, came to Kentucky. He was attracted by the splendid climate, fertile soil, wonderful forests, and charming surroundings, and induced his father [also David] to leave a beautiful home in Virginia, on the James river, and come to the wilds of Kentucky... David Meade [the father] was a man of large fortune... He purchased about three hundred acres of land from the Crocketts and the Woodsons... The beautiful forest trees attracted his admiration and won his affections. Sugar trees, poplar, ash, oak, hackberry and walnut, all growing in most superb profusion, determined his choice of residence... He founded at this locality a home, called Chaumiere des Prairies, but it was familiarly known throughout the county as Chaumiere, which is the French for Indian Village. On this small place David Meade lavished vast sums of money... He laid out a hundred acres of Chaumiere into a beautiful garden. He imported rare and exquisite plants. He made lakes, constructed water falls, shaped islands, built summer houses and porters’ lodges, and in this backwoods wilderness created an ideal Englishman’s home. He had a large retinue of liveried servants, splendid coaches, magnificent furniture, service largely of silver, and maintained in every way the style of a feudal lord...”

“The oldest son had died young and unmarried. At Colonel Meade’s death [1832], none were able to maintain or hold Chaumiere, and so it went under the hammer under block and was bought by a plain, practical farmer. This surprised and distressed the citizens of Jessamine county, who had taken a just pride in this strange and beautiful home, and in a little while after the new owner of the place had been announced, there was placarded in large letters on the houses of the grounds the words “Paradise Lost.” This caused the purchaser to become indignant, and in less than a week the beautiful flower gardens were filled with horses, cattle and hogs. The glorious forest trees were felled, lodges torn down, parks destroyed, and lakes

drained. A portion of the house was pulled down, and in the rooms that were once the resort of fashion and made memorable by the presence of the most distinguished people in the land, were stored wheath and corn. Only three rooms remain of this once magnificent home.”

“On a hill overlooking Chaumiere in a neglected burying ground, sleeps the dust of David Meade and his wife and a few of his family, but the memories of Chaumiere will long live in Jessamine county and in the West.”

Danske Dandridge. 1901. George Michael Bedinger: a Kentucky Pioneer. The Michie Company Printers, Charlottesville, Virginia. This account is based partly on papers of Bedinger, but details are not available. See also Belue (1996, p. 128).
See also: Collins Pension Application: <http://www.southerncampaign.org/pen/s30336.pdf>

p. 54: in latter part of May, 1779, George Bedinger witnessed killing of buffalo by hand while serving in Colonel’s John Bowman’s campaign.

James R. Rogers. 1910. The Cane Ridge Meeting-House. The Standard Publishing Co., Cincinnati, Ohio. [Apparently based on James Finley’s (1853) account and other sources to be clarified; perhaps there are original diaries in archives of Finley family or Cane Ridge.]

p. 1 [check]: about the pioneers in Kentucky; Rogers cites “Manuscript of Peter Houston, one of the number” as a source for this story.

“A band of Boone’s former neighbors from the valley of the Yatkin, North Carolina, seeking

homes, sought Boone, inquiring “where the best farming lands were to be found.” “On the Cane Ridge; the most game is there, the biggest sugar-trees and the best corn grow there. I think it the best farming lands. I gave it the name.” It may prove of interest to note the confirmation of Boone’s judgment of soils, based on the growth of sugar-trees and corn, by reciting that Dr. Robert Peter, State geologist, in his analysis of soils from the counties of Kentucky, found the richest to be from Cane Ridge, Bourbon County.” [See also Peter’s reports; to be compiled.]

p. 17-18: Robert W. Finley’s first trip to Kentucky in 1784, coming from Berks Co., Pennsylvania.

“Penetrating the wilds of an unbroken forest to see for himself this abounding land, in the season of 1784. He saw a country marvelously rich, teeming with an unlimited growth of splendid timber of every known variety, watered by innumerable springs and streams, with all description of game common to the latitude, that he beheld with wonder and satisfaction, the ideal of the pioneer and settler, the hunter and the trapper. He returned to his home enthusiastic over the prospects of an immediate removal to the brakes of Kentucky, where he had seen a growth of cane of great area, green and succulent the entire year, affording the richest pasturage for stock in the winter months, and when removed from the surface which if cumbered, exposing a soil for opulence and productiveness not surpassed.”

p. 22: Robert W. Finley’s settlement in Bourbon Co. in 1790.

“...he and his family... purchased in the spring of 1790 a portion of a canebrake eight miles northeast of Paris in Bourbon County, which he named Cane Ridge. Comfortable log cabins were built, the cane cut away and corn planted in time to mature that season... The suggestion is

tendered that the canebrake occupied by Finley and his companions was 8 to 10 feet in height, and was an unbroken stretch to Little Mountain, the present site of Mt. Sterling, fifteen miles in an air line, and perhaps half as wide; that is was the favorite lair of every known variety of game, from the common gray squirrel to the buffalo, and that the water courses abounded with fish.”

John L. Smith & Lee L. Driver. 1914. Past and Present of Randolph County, Indiana. A.W. Bowen & Company, Indianapolis. This material is repeated in some other sources.

p. 272. Narrative of “Jere Smith, 1817—read at Old Settlers’ Meeting, June 11, 1864.”
“I came to Indiana, in 1817, with my father, William Smith, being twelve years old. He stopped that spring near Garrett’s mill, on Green’s Fork, two miles above Williamsburg, In’d. The settlers there were mostly from the same neighborhood in South Carolina with my father. David Young had come out in the fall of 1816, rented some ground for father, and a little cabin in a new town called Salem, in Wayne county, extinct long ago. Father put in a crop on that land, and stayed there till August, and then went up into Randolph county. The country all seemed low and like a river bottom in the jungles. The uncleared land was full of ramps [*Allium tricoccum*], a rank, ill-smelling weed, eagerly eaten by the cows, and utterly ruining their milk. They grew early, however, and were soon gone. Buckeyes, nettles, gnats and mosquitoes were very plenty.”

p. 273-274. “The country was thickly covered with a tall, heavy forest, having a dense undergrowth of shrubs, wild grass and weeds. I will name the trees most abundant: first, beech, sugar tree, ash [*Fraxinus*], three varieties, gray [*americana*, *pennsylvanica*], blue

[*quadrangulata*] and swamp [*nigra*]; oak, five varieties, white, red, burr, pin, and river [perhaps *bicolor*]; poplar; walnut—white and black; elm—red or slippery [*rubra*], and white or hickory [sic?] [*americana*]; hickory—white or shell-bark [*ovata*], and black or pignut [*glabra*]; buckeye, linn, wild-maple [*Acer rubrum*], hackberry, coffee-nut, honey-locust, cottonwood. The undergrowth was spice-bush, iron-wood [or] water-beech [*Carpinus*], horn-beam [*Ostrya*], prickly ash [*Zanthoxylum*], dog-wood, kunnekanic [perhaps *Cornus* or *Rhus*] (Indian name—tree now extinct), red-bud, papaw, wild-plumb, red [*Crataegus*] and black [*Viburnum*] haw, sassafras. In swamps there were black-alder [*Alnus*], willow, thorn [perhaps *Rosa palustris*], crab-apple, young cottonwood. Weeds and grasses were nettles [*Laportea*, *Urtica*], pea-vines [*Amphicarpaea*], may-apple [*Podophyllum*], ginseng [*Panax*], ferns, black snake-root [*Cimicifuga racemosa*], seneca-root [*Polygala senega*], silk-weed [*Asclepias syriaca*], ramps [*Allium tricoccum*] (soon extinct), bear-grass [probably *Camassia*], file-grass, skunk's cabbage [*Symplocarpus*], pond lily [perhaps *Nymphaea*], cats-tail [*Typha*]. In clearings, there were butter weeds [*Packera*], thistles [*Cirsium*], mullen [*Verbascum*], dog fennel [*Eupatorium*]; in tilled lands, Spanish needles [*Bidens*] and touch-me-nots [perhaps *Impatiens*].”

p. 276. “In the fall and winter of 1821-22, a pigeon roost was made between father's and Huntsville, on the southwest quarter section 33, township 18, range 13, and northwest quarter of section 4, township 18, range 13. They began in October or November, and stayed to lay and hatch the next spring. They would begin to come about sun-down, and keep coming till 8 or 9 o'clock at night; some flocks would be more than a mile long. There must have been millions of the birds; on still nights, we could hear their noise to our house, a mile and a half. People would go there by night and kill them by hundreds, coming from Martindale creek, and even from Green's Fork. The birds would lay their eggs in March, two in a nest, hatch and fly away,

such as were left. I have seen but few for many years.”

Mrs. Ida Withers Harrison. 1915. Chaumière du Prairie. Journal of American History 9: 563-574. This is based on several older sources, especially an unpublished [?] memoir of David Meade [1744-1830], written ca. 1824. See also letters of David Meade above for 1797, etc.

p. 570. “In 1825 Doctor Craik, Rector of the Episcopal Church in Lexington, writes of it [Chaumière] with equal enthusiasm. He says:... “Colonel Meade told me he had selected his present residence on account of the natural beauties of the country, and he pointed with enthusiasm to several groups of sugar maples, with the lovely grass beneath them, as the most attractive features of the place.””

p. 570. “One of David Meade's granddaughters, Mrs. Susan C. Williams, give a more intimate description of this paradise in the wilderness... “The bird-cage walk was cut through a dense plum thicket, excluding the sun, and lead to a dell, where there was a large spring of water, and the mouth of a cave.””



The beautiful estate of Spring Hill, originally consisting of upwards of 3,000 acres, comprised a military grant to Nathaniel Hale” [Knight & Greene 1904, Country Estates of the Blue Grass]

Part Three: Observations of the Changed Landscape, 1810-1920

Thomas R. Joynes. 1810. Memoranda made by Thomas R. Joynes on a journey to the states of Ohio and Kentucky, 1810. William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine 10:145-158, 221-232.

p. 225-226. “I left Frankfort Sunday, 15th, and arrived that evening at Lexington—twenty-two miles. Lexington is a beautiful town, situated in the county of Fayette, containing about 500 houses and 4,000 inhabitants. The town is regularly built, has some very handsome buildings in it, and increases in size with unexampled rapidity. There are a number of machines for carding and spinning cotton yarn, several rope walks, and an extensive factory for making sail duck and cotton bagging. The said duck manufactured here is of very excellent quality and nearly equal to the best Russian duck. The manufacturers have contracted with the government for 500 bolts at \$24. This town is now the second inland town in the United States, both in size and in domestic manufactories.”

“For a considerable distance around Lexington there is the finest tract of country I ever saw, and it is indisputably the largest body of good land in the United States. This part of the country is in a very high state of cultivation, and is elegantly improved. In the vicinity of Lexington, particularly, there are some superb country seats. It is a remarkable fact that when this country was first settled, springs were very small and scarce, and as improvement and settlement have progressed and the annual quantity of vegetable putrefaction diminished, the springs have considerably increased both in number and size. This part of the country is now plentifully supplied with very excellent water, and the climate is very salubrious. The

inhabitants now turn their attention almost entirely to the cultivation of hemp, for which they find their soil adapted, and which is more profitable than anything else they can cultivate.”

“In speaking of Kentucky in general terms, it may be remarked that the soil is very fertile, and the climate tolerably salubrious, but the country is badly watered. I do not mean that the water is of bad quality, but that mill-ponds are scarce, and in some places water is scarce for answering the ordinary purposes of life. Horse mills are generally used in the greater part of the State. In and about Lexington and Frankfort there are a number of men of very handsome talents, and extensive literary acquirements, particularly the gentlemen of the bar; but in the country the mass of people are extremely ignorant and illiterate. In hospitality and politeness the inhabitants are greatly superior to the citizens of their mother State.”

p. 228: in Ohio. “Left Chillicothe Saturday, August 25th, and arrived that evening at Tarleton, in Pickaway County - eighteen miles. About six miles from Chillicothe I stopped at the Sulphur Spring, the waters of which are strongly impregnated with that substance, and are considered very salutary in many complaints. In the State of Ohio there are great numbers of plains, or, as they are called by the French, prairies. They are uniformly of a fertile soil, and covered with luxuriant grass (which I have seen on them nine feet high) and without the least appearance, in their natural state, of a tree or bush. A plain in Pickaway County, called the Pickaway Plain, is the largest in the State, and is about eight miles in length, and from two to three in breadth. There was a field of wheat on this plain this year of upwards of 200 acres, which averaged 40 bushels to the acre. Those plains were perfectly barren of timber at the first discovery of this country by the whites, and the cause of it is difficult to conjecture.”

Daniel Drake. 1815. Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country, Illustrated by Maps. Looker and Wallace, Cincinnati. This book includes an initial list of the woody plants, which is presented below under Part Three.

p. 38. “2. CLERMONT. This county lies east of the last it is large, and will probably be divided. Its southern parts are hilly, the interior and northern flat the soil is generally second rate, and the prevailing timber oak.”

p. 41-43. “4. BUTLER... Oxford, in the western part of the county, has less population and improvement, but more notoriety, than either of these, from having been fixed on as the seat of an University. The land is held in trust, by the Legislature, which in 1810 enacted law directing the lots to be disposed of on leases for 99 years, renewable forever, at the rate of per cent, per annum on the purchase money, to be paid annually. Being on the frontier of the state, and almost surrounded by forest instead of cultivated country, it has received but little attention.”

p. 43. “6. MONTGOMERY. This county is nearly bisected by the Great Miami. On the eastern side of that river, the surface is uneven, except in the vicinity of Madriver, where there are wide and valuable prairies. On the western side, it is principally wood-land, and equal to any in the state.”

p. 45. “7. GREEN. This county, situated east of the one just described, is traversed from north-east to south-west by the Little Miami, and has in addition, three or four small millstreams. In value, however, they yield to the falls of the Miami, at which there are two mills, and will

doubtless be many others. In point of soil, the county is inferior to many in the Miami settlement. The vallies are wide and productive, but the uplands are generally second rate. The northern parts abound in tracts, nearly deprived of trees by annual burning for long series of years, and which, in contradistinction to the rich prairies, are called barrens.”

p. 46. “8. CLINTON. This is new county, lying east of the preceding; and of the Little Miami by the branches of which, however, it is watered. In most parts the surface is rich and level, in some it is marshy, and unfit for present cultivation. It has but little prairie, and not much cleared land.”

p. 46. “9. CHAMPAIGN. This county, comprising the north-east corner of the Miami country, is larger than any yet described, except Clermont. Its northern limit is the Indian boundary line of 1795. Madriver, and its numerous durable branches, irrigate nearly the whole, and furnish number of sites for water works. The name of this county is characteristic of its surface no portion of the west ern part of the state, having such extensive champaign tracts. These lie chiefly on the east side of Madriver, and may be divided into barrens and prairies. The former, as was just stated, are second rate wood lands thinned by fire the latter are tracts of flat alluvion, covered with luxuriant grass and herbage. Many are swampy, and require draining, before they can be cultivated. On the west side of Madriver, the soil aspects and timber are excellent... Urbanna. the county seat, is one of the youngest and largest towns north of Cincinnati, from which it is distant 94 miles. It lies two miles east of Madriver, on an extensive, elevated and fertile prairie.”

p. 49-50. “11. DARK. This is the north-west county of the Miami tract. It is traversed by

Greenville creek, Stillwater, and few smaller streams. The eastern parts, in soil and aspect, resemble the contiguous portions of Miami. In the western half, prairies and barrens are common. In this county are the sites of three wooden forts, erected during the Indian war, which terminated in 1795. They are Jefferson, Greenville and Recovery. The last was built on the spot where general St. Clair fought the Indians in 1791.”

p. 54. “Of tracts that have the same local advantages, those alluvial or bottom lands, which have been recently formed, command the best price. The dry and fertile prairies are esteemed of equal value. Next to these, are the uplands, supporting hackberry, papaw, honeylocust, sugartree and the different species of hickory, walnut, ash, buckeye and elm. Immediately below these, in the scale of value, is the land clothed in beech timber while that producing white and black oak chiefly, commands the lowest price of all.”

p. 56-57. “Before the settlement of this country, the woods abounded in grass and herbage proper for the subsistence of cattle, but these have long since disappeared, except in remote situations. In the prairies, however, where the whole energy of the soil is employed in producing grasses and herbaceous plants, instead of trees, the pasture is still luxuriant, and the business of grazing extremely profitable. It is chiefly of Champaign and Green counties, that this remark is true. In the former, one hundred thousand dollars, it is estimated, are annually received for fat cattle. The prairies are likewise found to support hogs which grow and fatten on the numerous fleshy roots, with which those tracts abound; sheep, both domestic and foreign, are already diffused extensively through the Miami country. They are in general healthy, and rather prone to excessive fatness. Their flesh is said to be superior in flavor to that of the sheep of the Atlantic states.”

p. 58-59. “That part of Kentucky which lies opposite the Miami country, is hilly the soil is various, but generally second rate and the population scattered. There are no prairies or bottom lands; mill-streams are neither numerous or durable; and wells cannot be dug, on account of the limestone rocks, which, except in the valley of the Ohio, are every where found at the depth of few feet.”

p. 72: regarding bones of megafauna from Big Bone Lick. “Barton made an application to purchase them but at that time they had attracted the attention of a foreign swindler, named Thomas Arville, alias Ashe, who obtained permission of the owner to ship them to Europe for exhibition since which they have not been heard of. To this personal injury of a worthy individual, the miscreant has since added a libel on the American people, and gross insult to the British nation, by the publication of book of travels, redundant in the most puerile and malicious falsehoods.”

Henry M[c]’Murtrie. 1819. Sketches of Louisville and Its Environs, including, among a great variety of miscellaneous matter, a Florula Louisvillensis... S. Penn, Louisville, Kentucky.

p. 2-3: general notes on the Ohio Valley but with some focus on the Louisville area.
“The whole of this tract, with few exceptions, is extremely similar in its general appearance whether it be viewed, with the inquisitive and searching eye of the Geognost or the more superficial glance of the common traveller. The one [the Geognost], every where, beholds the same formation characterized by the nature and position of the Rock, the paucity of its metallic productions, the abundance of its saline ones, and the existence of those alluvial deposits, the

debris of former ages, which together, with other circumstances, carry the most inestable conviction to his mind, that he is now treading on a spot once occupied by the deep and placid waters of a Lake bounded by the Knobs [in Kentucky] and Silver Creek Hills [in Indiana], then doubtless much higher than at present.”

“The other [the common traveller] gazes with delight upon the number of beautiful streams, which interrupting his passage, are every where seen rolling their tribute to the Ocean, bearing on their foaming bosoms, the products of the lovely country through which they pass. If accident or design should lead him into the surrounding high country, how is he struck with admiration at the sight of meadows containing from five, to a hundred thousand acres lying on one uninterrupted level, covered with a profusion of Flora’s most favorite gifts, and composed of the richest soil that any people under the canopy of Heaven can boast of! He sees that nothing more is requisite to prepare the Prairie* for the reception of that seed which it is sure to return him a thousand fold, than to burn up the grass and set in his plow... [M’Murtrie’s footnote as follows:] *The name by which these extensive natural meadows are generally known in the Western Country. In the state of Kentucky alone it is calculated there are upwards of half a million acres of this description, which are now rapidly settling.”

p. 8: on the Kentucky River.

“...it runs in a northwesterly direction to the Ohio, through a country remarkable for the fertility of its soil, and the sublimity of the scenery exhibited on the banks of its water courses, some of which are from four to five hundred feet in height, crowned with groves of red Cedar, which furnish ample supplies of that valuable timber to the Louisville market.”

p. 10: on Bear-Grass [Creek].

“It enters the Ohio, (to which for the last half mile it runs nearly parallel) opposite Louisville, leaving between it and the river, an elevated slip of land, covered with large trees, that affords a delightful and shady promenade to the citizens during the heats of summer.”

p. 53-54: under the heading “Soil”.

“Perhaps no city in the universe is supported by a more fertile and productive soil than Louisville. The lands throughout the country generally are well timbered, the first rate, being covered with walnut, mulberry, locust, beech, sugar-tree, cherry, papaw, buckeye, elm, poplar and grape-vines, the two latter of which attain a most enormous size. I have frequently met with grape-vines, in the Beargrass settlement, measuring 36 inches in circumference, and as to the poplar it is proverbially gigantic. From 6 to 10 feet is the usual diameter of these trees, and of the sycamore, one individual of which is said to be still standing in the interior, into whose hollow, a gentleman assured me, he had stepped with a measured rod twenty feet long, which, grasping by its middle he could turn in every direction. If in addition to this we consider the thickness of sound wood on each side of the tree, necessary to sustain its tremendous and superincumbent weight, we may have some idea of this monarch of the western forest.”

“The second rate lands produce dogwood, oak, hickory and some sugar-trees; the third rate, nothing but blackjack oak and fir [probably scrub pine, *Pinus virginiana*]; red cedar is found on the banks of the rivers and creeks, and white pine only in the mountains.” [Subsequent notes on crop production has interest for agricultural history.]

p. 58-61: notes on animals.

“The elk, deer, bear, buffaloe, beaver, and otter, together with the various species of squirrel, and other smaller animals common to the American forest, were found in great plenty near this place, by the early settlers, particularly buffaloes, which have often been seen at the licks, to which they resorted in search of salt, in droves of from seven to eight thousand. The roads opened by these animals, in their progress through the woods, may be reckoned among the natural curiosities of the state, being generally wide enough for a carriage or waggon way, in which the trees, shrubs, &c. are all trampled down, and destroyed by the irresistible impetus of the mighty phalanx. Of the vast numbers of these animals, that once covered the prairies of Kentucky, not one is to be found at the present hour—an enemy to civilized man, they retire before his approaches, and continue to preserve their independence in the heart of the wilderness.”

“The same remark may be partially applied to the elk and beaver; the latter of which abounded within a few miles of the town, and, were we permitted to judge from the remains of their *fortifications*, we should pronounce them to have been in innumerable possessors of the soil from time immemorial. Every pond, creek, and river, exhibits some traces of them, but their metropolis appears to have been situated about four miles east of Louisville, where, among a variety of extensive dams, I measured one whose length is fifteen hundred feet, height eight, thickness at the base fourteen, with a talus equal to 45° . extending to the top... I have been informed by a respectable old gentleman who was among the earlier settlers, that, when he first arrived here, the beaver was sometimes to be seen in the neighbourhood, and that at that time the great dam spoken of, was at least fourteen feet high,—a prodigious monument of the industry and skill of this social little animal...”

“Deer inhabit the barrens, and are sometimes seen within a few miles of the town, while bears keep themselves buried in the woods at a distance. Foxes occasionally disturb the farmer’s hen roosts, and wolves now and then pick up a stray sheep, they are however neither very numerous nor fierce.”

Interpretation. Neal Hammon (pers. comm.) has indicated that the most likely place for the big beaver dam is within Cherokee Park, about a quarter-mile downstream from “Big Rock.”

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Thomas Hulme. 1819. Journal. Printed in: William Cobbett. 1819. A Year’s Residence in the United States of America. Sherwood, Neely and Jones, London. Reprinted in R.G. Thwaites (ed.). 1905. Early Western Travels. Vol. 10, p. 17-84. The Arthur C. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

p. 65: in 1819, 10th July.

“Leave Frankfort, and come through a district of fine land, very well watered, to Lexington... Had the good fortune to meet Mr. Clay, who carried us to his house, about a mile in the country. It is a beautiful residence, situated near the centre of a very fine farm, which is just cleared and is coming into excellent cultivation. I approve of Mr. Clay’s method very much, especially in laying down pasture. He clears away all the brush and underwood, leaving timber enough to afford a sufficiency of shade to the grass, which does not thrive here exposed to the sun as in England and other such climates. By this means, he has as fine grass and clover as can possible grow.”

Elisha T. Winter [President]. 1831. Report submitted to the board of directors of Lexington and Ohio Rail-Road Company by the president and ordered to be printed August 13, 1831. In archives of David Hulme, Midway, Kentucky, abstracted by Bill Penn of Midway Museum in December 2009: description of the planned route from Lexington to Frankfort.

p. 13: Table C: Bridges and culvert spans in Midway area: Section 2.

“Descend to South Elkhorn Creek [N of Leestown Rd. bridge on Elkhorn]

Ascend to W. side of Chamber’s ridge [ridge NE of bridge]

Descend E. side of Lees’s Branch [SE side of Midway]

Ascend then descend to E. side of Harper’s ridge [about a mile W of Midway]

Ascend then descend to W. side of Stamping ground ravine [flowing W near Spring Sta. Rd.]

Mostly descend to [from?] summit of Blackburn’s ridge [farm east of Spring Station]

Descend to Maddux’s ravine” [Beals Run ca. 2000 ft NE of N end Steele Rd]

Interpretation. Spring Station was at the junction of modern Woodlake Road (Ky. Rt. 1685) and Spring Station Road. It seems likely that the “stamping ground ravine” drained from the old location of the Stamping Ground, which could have been at the pond about 1000 ft south of Spring Station Road and 3000 ft northeast of Woodburn (old mansion on the Alexander farm).

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Timothy Flint. 1832. The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley... Vol. I. E.H. Flint & L.R. Lincoln, Cincinnati. (2nd. ed.).

p. 53: in 1832, describing cane.

“This beautiful vegetable is generally asserted to have a life of five years, at the end of which

period, if it has grown undisturbed, it produces an abundant crop of seed, with heads very like those of broom corn. The seeds are farinaceous, and said to be not much inferior to wheat, for which the Indians, and occasionally the first settlers, have substituted it. No prospect so impressively shows the exuberant prodigality of nature, as a thick cane brake. Nothing affords such a rich and perennial range for cattle, sheep and horses...”

p. 347: more on cane.

“In the first periods of the settlement of the country, it was covered with a thick cane brake, that has disappeared, and has been replaced by a beautiful grass sward of a peculiar cast even in the forest...”

Anonymus. 1834-35. Travels in Hot Weather. Western Monthly Magazine 2: 528-539, 3: 29-38. Reprinted in E.L. Schwaab (ed.). 1973. Travels in the Old South. University Press of Kentucky, Lexington.

p. 266: in 1834, from Georgetown to Lexington.

“I was struck with its similarity, in this respect, to the central and northern parts of Illinois... The fields are extensive, and well cultivated. Not a spot remains in its original state of wilderness; but everywhere the hand of art is seen to have exerted its energies with an unusual vigor and felicity of execution. Every foot of ground has been adorned or rendered fruitful. The woodland pastures, which are peculiar to this section of country, are remarkable beautiful... This pleasing effect is produced by a simple procedure. The woodlands are all inclosed [sic]; the underwood and the useless trees are removed, and the valuable timber trees are left, standing sufficiently wide apart to admit the rays of the sun and the free circulation of the air

between them. The ground is sown with grass, and extensive tracts, which would otherwise have been mere forest, are thus converted into spacious lawns, studded with noble trees. These are so numerous, and of such extent, as to form a prominent feature in the scenery, and it is impossible to imagine any thing of this kind more beautiful than the alternations of woodland and meadow, with hemp and corn fields, and orchards, which the eye here meets in every direction... Within the memory of living witnesses, the region which is now so splendidly embellished, and which support a numerous and highly refined population, was covered with savage forests and vast cane-breaks...”

Charles Fenno Hoffman. 1835. A Winter in the West, Harper & Brothers, New York.

p. 150: in 1835, early April, from Georgetown to Lexington.

“The country now becomes much more level, and the soil richer than I had seen since crossing the Ohio. The enclosures, too, were all in better order, and I now, for the first time, saw some of those beautiful wooded pastures which, as they are the pride of Kentucky, are peculiar, I believe to this State. An occasional villa, imbosomed [sic] in trees and shrubbery, was soon after observable.”

p. 154: in 1835, 8th April, from Lexington to Frankfort.

“Leaving the road, we entered at once upon a large and beautiful park or chase.* [author’s footnote follows] *Called “cattle-range,” if I mistake not, in Kentucky [end footnote]. It was enclosed by a common worm-fence, but afforded some charming vistas among its noble clumps of trees, where a large herd of deer were browsing unmolested. This was the grazing portion of the farm, and the hardy *blue* grass, even thus early, afforded a rich sward beneath the boughs

that were just putting forth their leaves. Passing completely through this wooded pasture, we entered a square enclosure of some eight or ten acres of garden, lawn and orchard combined...”

p. 156: continuing at same locality.

“...descending...a slight knoll back of the house, where a lively brook came singing from a rocky cave within a few yards of the door, we entered a wooded enclosure of about a hundred acres, separated by a fence from the woodland pasture around. Here a herd of *elk*, startled by the sound of our horses feet, reared their tall figures from the patches of underwood, and banding together in a moment, scampered after their antlered leader.”

p. 164: returning to Lexington.

“...the woodland and arable land were so intermixed, that the tall and taper trees of the former, now ranging in open avenues along a hill-side, and now disposed in clumps upon the meadows, as if set there by the eye of taste, produced the impression of riding through a magnificent park, whose verdant swells and imbowered glades had only been and there invaded and marred by the formal fences drawn through them.”

**Charles Augustus Murray. 1835. Journal in: 1839. Travels in North America... Vol. 1.
Richard Bentley, London.**

p. 221: in 1835, 6th June.

“The scenery between Louisville and Lexington is undulating, rich, and varied; and I could not have seen it at a more favourable season than this, when the thick-pressed ranks of rye were waving in every direction, the young corn was just sprouting, and the clover in full and

luxurious bloom; the woods, also, were adorned with a variety of trees which I had not before noticed, as the coffee-tree and others, too numerous to mention.”

p. 223-225: arriving at Lexington.

“This is a neat pleasant town, containing a considerable number of locust-trees and small gardens, which give it a cheerful appearance, while they afford the occasional luxury of shade... Mr. Clay’s residence is about a mile from the town, situated in a pretty woodland scene, somewhat resembling an English park... His pastures are on fine virgin soil, well shaded by noble forest-timber, with here and there an open glade (something like an English park).”

James R. Robertson. 1836. Letter from Madison County, Indiana, to Messrs. Ross and Alexander Carsons, Washington County, Tennessee. Papers in Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. Filed under MSS C R.

General description of north-central Kentucky, from travels to Lexington and Louisville areas. “I have seen many strange and interesting things since I left the “Cloud capt hills and barren vales of Lick Creek” [perhaps Tennessee]. After passing the Cumberland mountains, I arrived in old Kentucky which is the most wealthy, and highly cultivated country I ever saw. A great portion of this country is reserved for pastureing. It is no uncommon thing to see from 50 to 100 miles in one pasture; the whole country is fenced in. I have rode for 50 miles without being out of a lane... This country is mostly a perfect level, just rolling enough to relieve the prospect from dull monotony. There are numerous towns and villages here; it is nothing uncommon to be in sight of two towns at the same time. This is a fine grazing country, grass springs up

spontaneously. Horses and cows keep very fast in the forests. The growth is sugartree, buckeye, beech, hickory, elms, poplar, walnut, cherry, oak, ash, hackberry, spicewood, &c. Cows and hogs are numerous, and that interesting little creature the Goat is very common..." [Details of livestock follow.]

John M. Peck, James H. Perkins & James R. Albach. 1857. Annals of the West: embracing a concise account of principal events which have occurred in the western states and territories from the discovery of the Mississippi Valley to the year eighteen hundred and fifty six. 3rd edition. James R. Albach, Pittsburgh. [Also cited in Wilson 1927, Filson Club History Quarterly, p. 46; needs further checking.]

p. 392: "The hills about the Blue Licks are even now (1856-'57), almost wholly without wood, and the scattered cedars, which at present lend them some green, did not exist in 1782."

William Stickney. 1872. Autobiography of Amos Kendall. Lee and Shephard, New York.

p. 112: in 1814 and thereafter, when Kendall—or his father-in-law—arrived in Lexington. "The wood pastures, so called, were particularly novel and interesting. Originally, the site of Lexington and the surrounding country was covered with heavy timber, under which was a thick growth of cane so intertwined with pea-vine as to be almost impenetrable to man and beast. The leaf of the cane very much resembles that of Indian corn but not as long or broad, and it constituted the favorite food as well of the buffalo as of domestic cattle. As soon as the latter, became numerous, they fed the cane so closely as to kill it as well as the pea-vine, leaving the forest without any undergrowth. The cane and vine were soon replaced by a thick

and luxurious growth of bluegrass; affording, perhaps, the richest pastures in the world--as beautiful to look upon and wander over as pleasure-grounds kept in order by incessant labor in other regions. But the thought would intrude, that even the beauty of these natural parks are transient, for there is no young growth to take the place of the trees that are destroyed by the axe or by time, and that at no distant day the forest must entirely disappear.”

George W. Ranck. 1872. History of Lexington, Kentucky. Its Early Annals and Recent Progress. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. This book derived some material from earlier accounts of Filson (1784), Imlay (1792), which is all not repeated here.

p. 29. “A buffalo " trace" fortunately ran from this station [Bryan’s] close to Lexington, and [in 1779] the settlers of both places joined forces in clearing it of logs, undergrowth, and other obstructions; a wise measure, as subsequent events proved, for, owing to it, the troops from Lexington that went to the assistance of the besieged station, in 1782, were enabled to reach it much sooner than they could otherwise have done.”

p. 30. “With the building of "the fort," at Lexington [in 1779], came also the cutting of the cane, the girdling of the trees, and the opening of the land for cultivation; and civilization had never before demanded the sacrifice of the primeval glories and wild beauties of such a region as that of which Lexington was the center... The surrounding forests abounded in game, and it was an unusual thing for the fort not to be well stocked with the meat of the deer, but falo, bear, elk, and minor animals. The thick canebrakes, though the chosen retreat of the panther and the wildcat, were thronged with birds prized by the hunters. Provender for the horses and cattle was not wanting. They waded, up to their knees, in native clover; they reveled in waving oceans of

wild rye and buffalo grass, and grew fat upon the young shoots of the nourishing cane. The earth glowed with the beauty of numberless natural flowers, many of which are now rarely, if ever, seen here. Lilies, daisies, pinks, wild tulips, and columbines delighted the eye; beds of sweet violets and fragrant wild hyacinths perfumed.” [Much of this verbage about herbage comes from Imlay.]

p. 37. “The settlers killed by the Indians, in the summer of 1780, were eadly and reverently carried, by an armed band of their surviving companions, along the cow-path which extended by the side of the fort, on to what the garrison called the "first hill," now known as the Baptist churchyard, on Main street.* [Footnote: *Old Journals] A small space on this hill was cleared of cane, and here, after a silent prayer, the earliest settlers of Lexington were buried.”

p. 65-68. [In 1781] “One charming day in April, Alexander McConnell took his rifle and went out from the fort to hunt deer, in the woods near where Mr. Frank McCallie now lives, on the Versailles turnpike... A large pignut tree [*Carya cordiformis*], under which McConnell was captured by the Indians, was carefully preserved for a long time by the father of Mr. Frank McCallie, who subsequently owned the land upon which it grew. After the capture of McConnell, the Indians annoyed the stations in Fayette county greatly. They lurked in the canebrakes, waylaid the traces, stole horses, butchered cattle, and not unfrequently killed and scalped indiscreet settlers.”

p. 78. “The station was situated on a tract of land admired by all the settlers for its natural beauty, and it doubtless merited the glowing praise of the poet* [Ranck’s footnote: *W.D. Gallagher], who speaks of

" A picketed station on fair Elkhorn,
Surrounded by groves of the milk-white thorn,
And paw-paw, with long and silvery stem,
And dogwood of beautiful diadem ;
Green meadows with antlered deer yet dotted,
And lawns with flowers the loveliest spotted. "'

p. 102. "The freaks of fortune are marvelous. Shortly after his [John Carty's] arrival, the young settler was offered a large tract of land comprising several " out-lots," then thickly covered with cane and forest trees, in exchange for his well-worn old fashioned "bull's eye" watch; but, as the ancient time piece had been his father's, and as he had already one lot to improve, he refused to exchange it for " cheap canebrakes."* [FootnoteL *Old Inhabitants]. Much oif the best part of Hill street now occupies the refused "canebrakes," and is valued at several hundred thousand dollars."

p. 105. "By this time (1784), Lexington had assumed the appearance of a frontier village. The few cabins which existed, were all log ones, and very much scattered; Main street was extended a short distance through and beyond the fort, in the direction of the present Lexington Cemetery, but it was sadly obstructed by roots and stumps, and in bad weather was almost impassable; the favorite paths of the settlers were "traces" made as hard as modern roads, by the wild animals which had traveled over them for centuries."

p. 188. "Game, once so abundant about Lexington, had greatly diminished by the year 1794. Teal and duck were still plentiful, and the deer had not left the forests, but the buffalo and the

elk had disappeared, and wild turkeys were never seen. Immense numbers of quails, which before the settlement of Kentucky had been unknown, now migrated from the other side of the mountains, following up the grain scattered by emigrants.”

p. 412. “There is probably no richer or more productive soil on earth than that of Fayette county. In pioneer days it was a deep mass of rich, black, vegetable mold, the accumulation of ages, which made it a perfect hot-bed for fertility. This gradually changed after the original forests and canebrakes were cleared, and the heat of the sun and the full influence of the atmospheric agencies were admitted to the soil. But then came the rich and luxuriant blue grass, for which this favored locality is noted the wide world over, and we were still left a region "beautiful as the vale of Tempe and fertile as Sicily, that granary of Europe." The soil of Fayette county now varies from a rich dark brown or mulatto color to a light yellowish or reddish brown in the upper soil, and a light brownish or reddish yellow in the subsoil.”

p. 415-416. “Words can not be found too strong to express the richness and loveliness of the country about Lexington. The landscape is soft, luxuriant, and picturesque; the approaches to the city are beautiful, and the rides and drives in every direction are charming. Noble English-looking home steads, surrounded by evergreens and magnificent foresttrees, dot velvet lawns of peerless blue grass and clover, the emerald green of which covers every inch of ground, save where the walks and carriage drives are cut through the thick turf. Stone fences and osage orange hedges, or high snow-white railings, inclose breeding establishments of fine stock on every road. Splendid blood horses and herds of thorough-bred cattle browse in the shade. The land teems with fatness, and the eye is constantly refreshed with scenes of plenty, comfort, and loveliness.”

James Lane Allen. 1886. The blue-grass region of Kentucky. Harper's New Monthly Magazine 72: 365 – 382.

p. 368: “The most characteristically beautiful spots on the blue-grass landscape are the woodland pastures. A Kentucky wheat field, a Kentucky meadow, a Kentucky lawn, may be found elsewhere; but a Kentucky sylvan slope has a loveliness unique and local... The foliage of the Kentucky trees is not thin nor dishevelled, the leaves crowd thick to the very ends of the boughs, and spread themselves full to the sky, making, where they are close together, under-species of green gloom scarcely shot through by sunbeams. Indeed, one often finds here the perfection of tree forms. I mean that rare development which brings the extremities of the boughs to the very limit of the curve that nature intends the trees to define as the particular shape of its species... Here the same characteristic strikes you in the wild cherry, the maple, and the sycamore – even in great walnuts and ashes and oaks; and I have occasionally discovered exceeding grace of form in hackberries, in locusts, and in the harsh hickories – loved by Thoreau.”

“But to return to the woodland pastures. They are the last vestiges of that unbroken primeval forest which, together with canebrakes and pea-vines, covered the face of the country when it was first beheld by the pioneers. No blue-grass then. In these woods the timber has been so cut out that the remaining trees often stand clearly revealed in their entire form, their far-reaching boughs perhaps not even touching those of their nearest neighbor, or interlacing them with ineffectual fondness....”

John Burroughs. 1890. A taste of Kentucky blue-grass. The Century 40: 339 – 348.

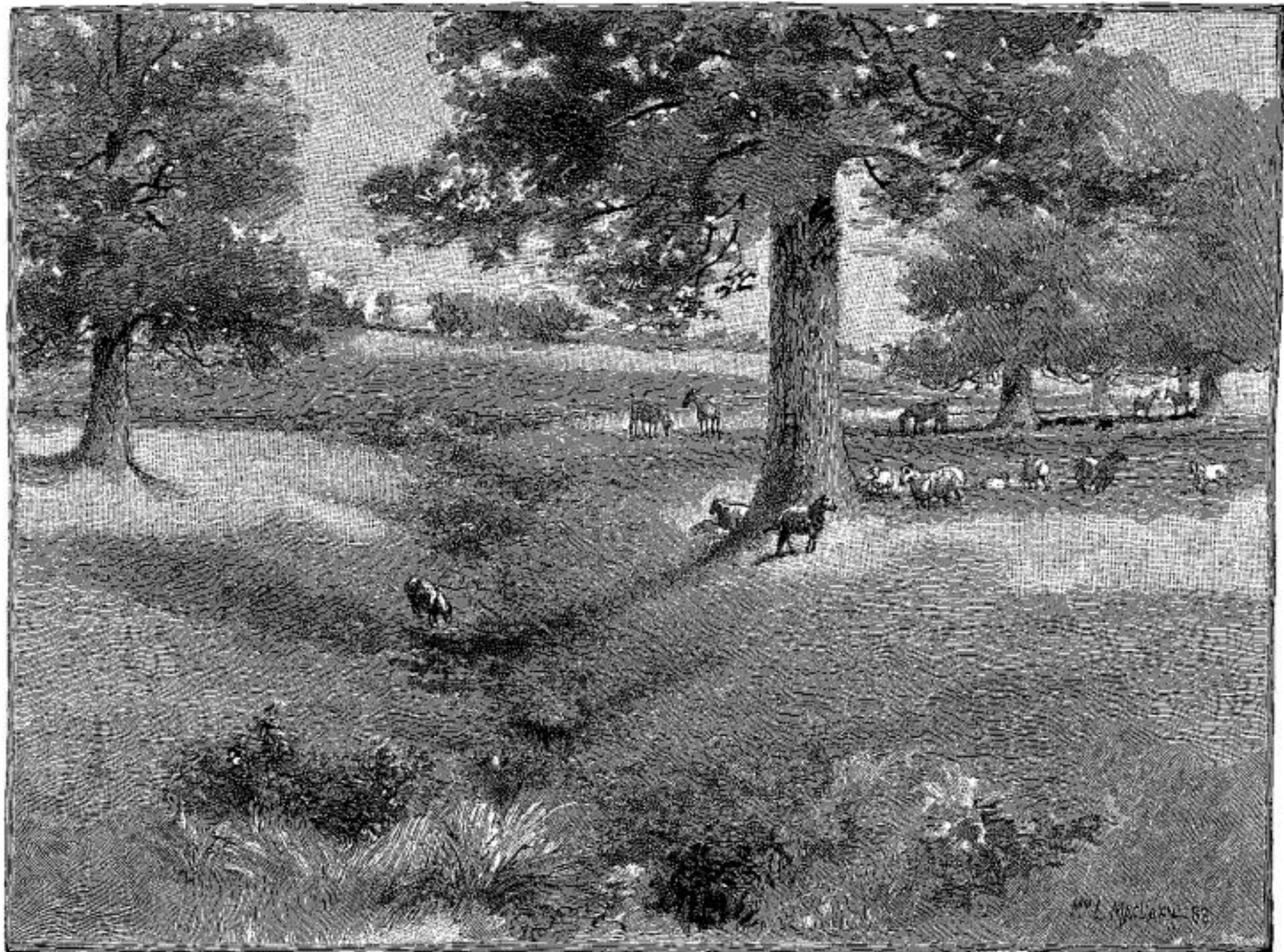
p. 342-343: “But the feature of this part of Kentucky which struck me the most forcibly, and which is perhaps the most unique, are the immense sylvan or woodland pastures. The forests are simply vast grassy orchards of maple and oak, or other trees, where the herds graze and repose. They everywhere give a look to the land as of royal parks and commons. They are clean as a meadow and as inviting as long, grassy vistas and circles of cool shade can make them. All the saplings and brushy undergrowth common to the forests have been removed, leaving only the large trees scattered here and there, which seem to protect rather than occupy the ground. Such a look of leisure, of freedom, of amplitude as these forest groves give to the landscape!”

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Next pages: illustrations from (1) Allen (1886) and (2) Burroughs (1890). Note that the trees in these images, and in most photographs of similar scenes by Knight & Greene (1904)*, have relatively long trunks with few lower limbs. This pattern supports the general observation that ‘woodland pastures’ were created by thinning deeper woods, where most trees had grown up in partial shade. In modern remnants of ancient woodland, such as Griffith Woods (on land similar to 2), there tends to be more branching at lower levels on tree trunks, presumably due a longer history of open conditions. [* Thomas A. Knight & Nancy Lewes Greene. 1904. Country Estates of the Blue Grass. Published by the authors, Lexington, Kentucky. 199 pages.]



"INGLESIDE," HART GIBSON'S RESIDENCE, NEAR LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY.



BLUE-GRASS MEADOW PASTURE.

Part Four: Initial Academic Interpretations, 1815-1920.

The following entries focus on more obscure sources. There is much additional material from Michaux, Rafinesque, Short, Peter, Owen, Garman and other widely published scientists who worked in the state during the 19th Century. The extensive publications of those authors are not all reproduced here, since they are readily available elsewhere.

Daniel Drake. 1815. Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country, Illustrated by Maps. Looker and Wallace, Cincinnati.

p. 76-81. Under “I. Forest of the Miami Country” he lists the following woody species, tabulated below, together with modern names now appended but tentative in some cases (?). The list would appear to cover the following 11 counties of 1815: Hamilton, Clermont, Warren, Butler, Preble, Montgomery, Green, Clinton, Champaign, Miami, Dark[e]; see also map below.

“FAMILIES”	“SPECIES”	“POPULAR NAMES”	Modern name; *if quite different
Cephalanthus	occidentalis	Button tree	Celtis occidentalis
Cornus	florida	Dogwood	Cornus florida
Cornus	candidissima	Swamp dogwood	*Cornus racemosa, obliqua?
Cornus	alterna	Alternate-branched do.	Cornus alternifolia
Cornus	sericea	Rose or red willow	*Cornus rugosa, stolonifera?
Ptelea	trifoliata	Shrub trefoil	Ptelea trifoliata
Hamamelis	virginiana	Witch-hazle	Hamamelis virginiana
Vitis	vulpina	Fox grape	Vitis vulpina, riparia?

Vitis	labrusca	Fall grape	*Vitis aestivalis, cinerea?
Vitis	serotina	Winter grape	*Vitis labrusca?
Hedera	quinquefolia	Ivy	*Parthenocissus quinquefolia
Ceanothus	americanus	New-Jersey tea	Ceanothus americanus
Euonymus	carolinensis	Indian arrow-wood	*Euonymus atropurpurea
Euonymus	sempervirens	Evergreen do. [ditto]	*Euonymus americana
Celastrus	scandens	Staff tree or bittersweet	Celastrus scandens
Lonicera	virginiana	Honeysuckle	*Lonicera sempervirens, etc.
Ribes	oxy[a]canthoides	Gooseberry	*Ribes cynosbati, missouriense
Ribes	floridum	Black currant	*Ribes americanum?
Ulmus	americana	Slippery elm	*Ulmus rubra
Ulmus	mollifolia	White elm	*Ulmus americana
Sambucus	nigra	Common elder	*Sambucus canadensis
Sambucus	canadensis	Red-berried elder	*Sambucus racemosa
Viburnum	prunifolium	Black haw	Viburnum prunifolium, rufidulum
Staphylea	trifoliata	Bladdernut tree	Staphylea trifolia
Rhus	radicans	Poison vine	*Toxicodendron radicans
Rhus	glabrum	Sumach	Rhus glabra
Rhus	typhinum	Stagshorn sumach	Rhus typhina
Rhus	copallinum	Lentiscus leaved do.	Rhus copallina
Rhus	suaveolens	Trifoliolate-leaved do.	*Rhus aromatica
Aesculus	flava	Common/foetid buck.	*Aesculus glabra
Aesculus	maxima	Sweet buckeye	*Aesculus flava
Dirca	palustris	Marsh leatherwood	Dirca palustris

Vaccinium	stamineum	Longleaved vaccinium	Vaccinium stamineum
Laurus	sassafras	Sassafras	*Sassafras albidum
Laurus	benzoin	Spicewood	*Lindera benzoin
Cercis	canadensis	Redbud	Cercis canadensis
Guilandina	dioeica	Coffee tree	*Gymnocladus dioicus
Hydrangea	frutescens	Mock snow ball	Hydrangea frutescens
Prunus	virginiana	Wild cherry	*Prunus serotina
Prunus: several varieties / species of plumb tree			*Prunus americana, hortulana etc.
Crataegus / Mespilus: five or six species / varieties of haw			*Crataegus crus-gallii, mollis etc.
Pyrus	coronaria	Crabapple	*Malus coronaria
Rosa	parviflora, lucida	Wild rose	*Rosa setigera
Rosa	carolina	Wild rose	Rosa carolina
Rosa	palustris	Swamp rose	Rosa palustris
Rubus	fruticosus	Blackberry	*Rubus allegheniensis etc. etc.
Rubus	hispidus	Running blackberry	*Rubus flagellaris etc. etc.
Rubus	occidentalis	Raspberry	Rubus occidentalis
Spiraea	opulifolia	Nine bark	*Physocarpus opulifolius
Spiraea	tomentosa	Downy spiraea	Spiraea tomentosa
Tilia	americana	Black linden tree	Tilia americana [sensu stricto]
Tilia	pubescens	Oblique-leaved do.	*Tilia heterophylla [with above]
Magnolia	acuminata	Cucumber tree	Magnolia acuminata
Annona	glabra	Pawpaw, two varieties	*Asimina triloba [no segregates]
Liriodendron	tulipifera	Poplar, yellow & white	Liriodendron tulipifera [no segr.]
Bignonia	radicans	Trumpet flower	*Campsis radicans

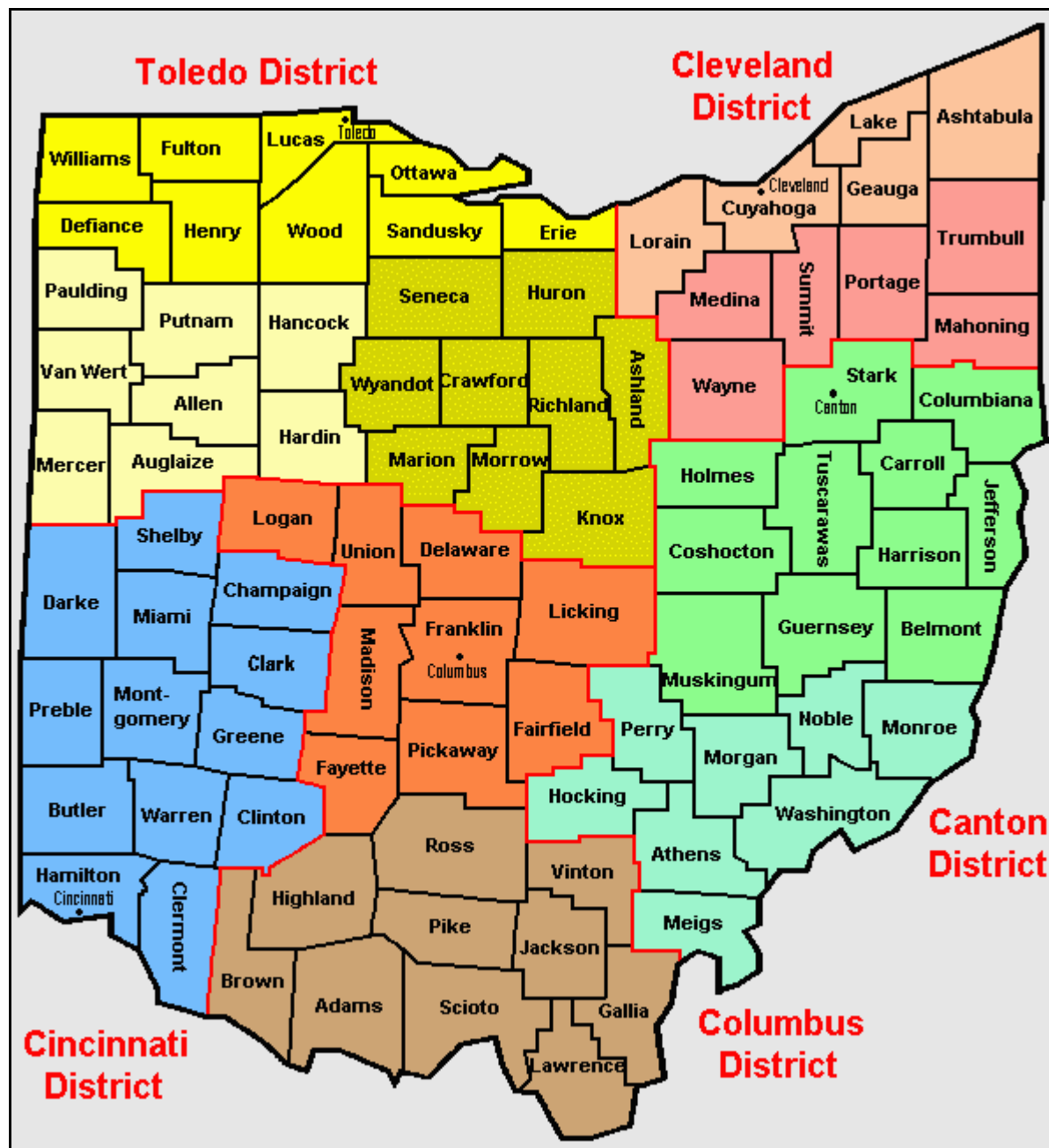
Robinia	pseud-acacia	Flowering locust	Robinia pseudoacacia
Ascyrum	hypericoides	St. Peter's wort	*Hypericum stragalum
Morus	rubra	Red mulberry	Morus rubra
Betula	nigra	Black birch	Betula nigra [river birch]
Alnus	rubra	Common alder	*Alnus serrulata
Fagus	ferruginea	Beech	*Fagus grandifolia
Fagus	castanea	Chesnut	*Castanea dentata
Carpinus: betulus virginiana		Hornbeam	*Carpinus caroliniana
Carpinus	ostrya	Hop hornbeam	*Ostrya virginiana
Juglans	nigra	Black walnut	Juglans nigra
Juglans	cinerea	Butternut	Juglans cinerea
Juglans	alba ovata	Shell-bark hickory	*Carya laciniosa, ovata
Juglans	alba minima	Pig nut	*Carya cordiformis
Juglans	alba odorata	Balsam hickory	*Carya glabra
"There are perhaps other species, of this genus, and several varieties, some of which appear to be hybrids."			*Carya tomentosa *Carya ovalis?
Pinus Abies	americana	Hemlock	*Tsuga canadensis
Platanus	occidentalis	Sycamore	Platanus occidentalis
Quercus	macrocarpa	Bur oak	Quercus macrocarpa
Quercus	alba	White oak	Quercus alba
Quercus	prinos acuminata	Chesnut oak	*Q. muehlenbergii, bicolor?
Quercus	prinos monticola	Mountain chesnut oak	*Quercus montana
Quercus	cinerea	Upland willow oak	*Quercus imbricaria
Quercus	tinctoria	Black oak	*Quercus velutina

Quercus	falcata	Spanish oak	*Quercus shumardii, palustris?
Quercus	coccinea	Red oak	*Q. rubra, palustris, coccinea?
Corylus	americana	Hazle nut	Corylus americana
Thuja	occidentalis	American arbor vitae	Thuja occidentalis
Salix	nigra	Rough barked willow	Salix nigra
Salix	sericea	Ozier	Salix sericea, eriocephala etc.
Viscum	album	Misseltoe	*Phoradendron leucarpum
Xanthoxylon	fraxinifolium	Prickly ash	*Zanthoxylum americanum
Smilax	4 or 5 species	Green briar	Smilax hispida, bona-nox etc.
Populus	deltoide	Cotton tree	Populus deltoides
Populus	tremula	Aspen	*P. grandidentata, tremuloides?
Taxus	canadensis	Canadian yew tree	Taxus canadensis
Juniperus	virginiana	Red cedar	Juniperus virginiana
Acer	saccharinum	Sugar tree	*Acer saccharum, nigrum
Acer	glaucum	Red or water maple	*Acer rubrum, saccharinum
Acer	pennsylvanicum	Mountain maple	*Acer spicatum?
Acer	negundo	Box elder	Acer negundo
Celtis	occidentalis	Hackberry	Celtis occidentalis
Diospiros	virginiana	Persimmon	Diospyros virginiana
Gleditsia	triacanthos	Honey locust	Gleditsia triacanthos
Nyssa	sylvatica	Sour gum	Nyssa sylvatica
Fraxinus	americana ?	White ash	Fraxinus americana, biltmoreana
Fraxinus	sambucifolia ?	Swamp ash	*Fraxinus nigra, pennsylvanica?
Fraxinus	quadrangularis ?	Blue ash	Fraxinus quadrangulata

Right: map of districts established for operations of the Ohio Department of Job and Family Services, as posted in 2015 (<http://jfs.ohio.gov/County/index.stm>).

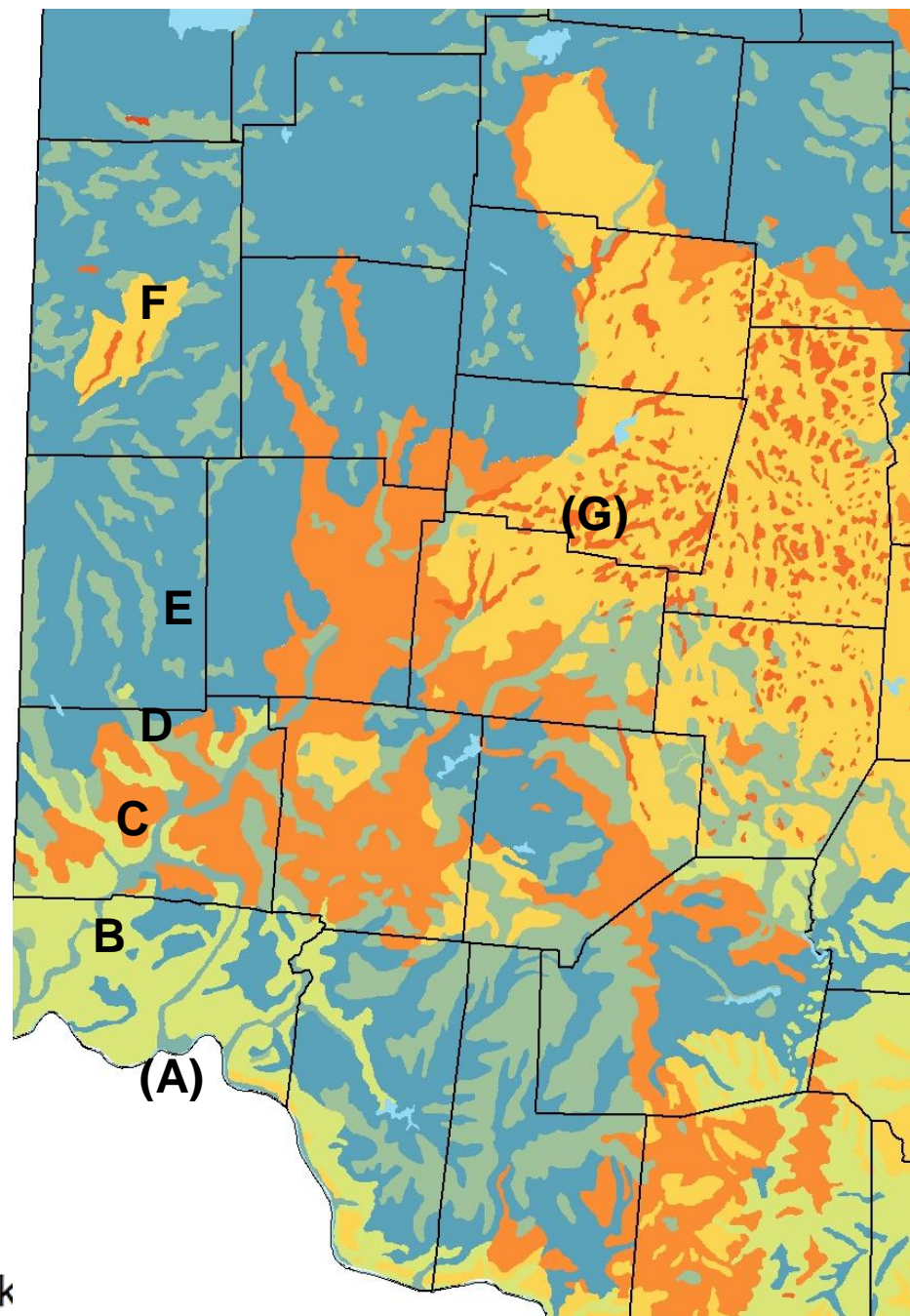
Their blue “Cincinnati District” is almost identical to Drake’s 1815 “Miami Country”. Clark and Shelby are additions in the modern map. But Clark was formed in 1818 from parts of Champaign, Green and Madison; and Shelby was split out of Miami in 1819.

It is remarkable that this agency for public welfare has adopted the same geographic region as Drake.

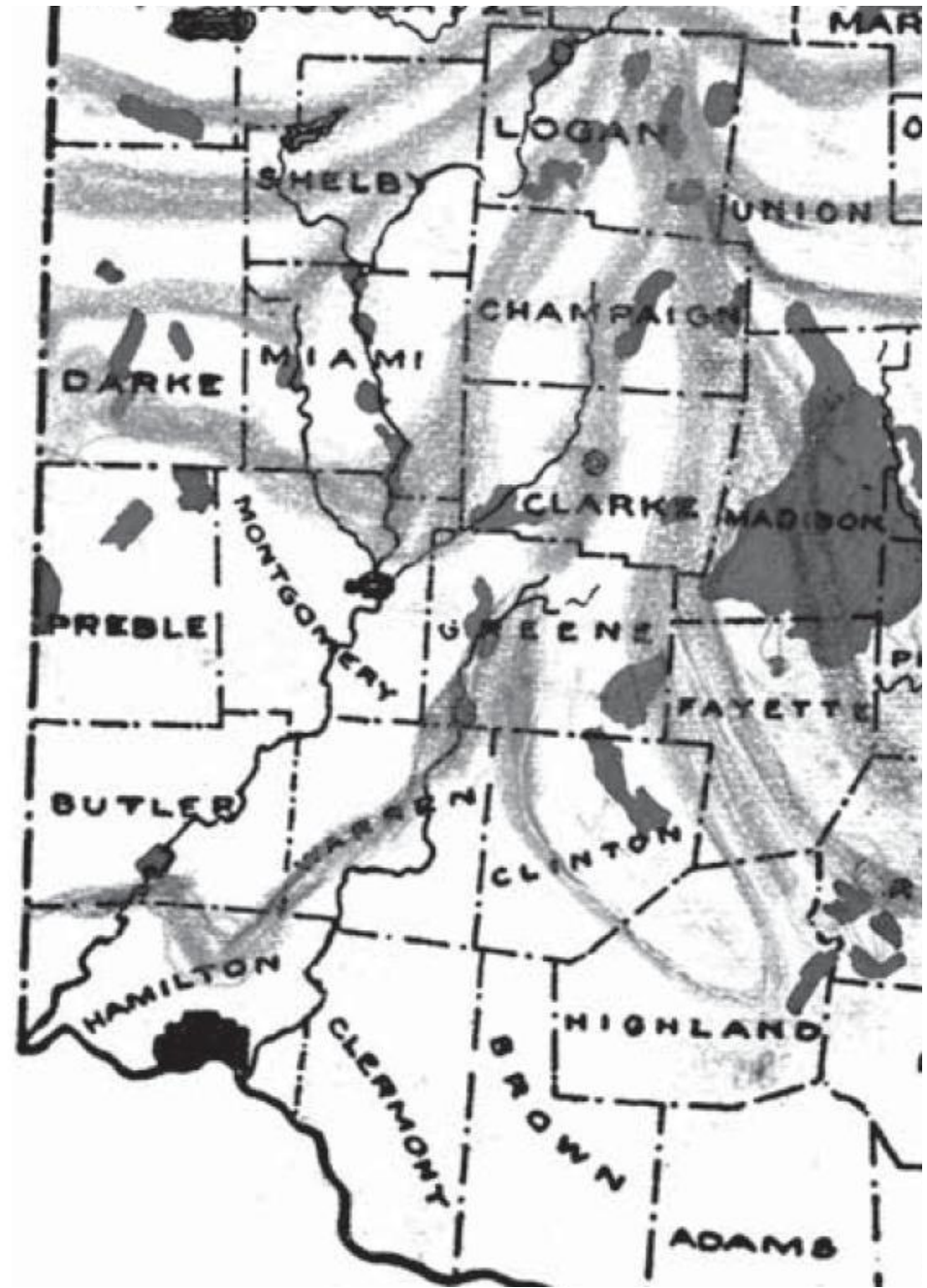


Map for southwest Ohio, based on:
 Gordon, R.B. 1966. Natural vegetation of
 Ohio, at the time of earliest surveys.
 Bull. Ohio Biol. Surv. 3: 1-109.
 (<http://www.fractracker.org/tag/utica/>)

- F** Mixed Oak
- Oak Savannas
- C** Oak-Sugar Maple
- G** Grasslands
- Peat Bogs
- White Pine-Red Maple
- E** Beech
- A** Bottomland Hardwoods
- D** Elm-Ash Swamp
- Marshes and Fens
- B** Mixed Mesophytic
- Hemlock-Beech-Chestnut-Red Oak



Map for southwest Ohio, extracted from the map of J.B. Sears, showing the original native grasslands of Ohio. This was prepared by 1919 but not published until included in: Stuckey, R.L. 2009. Contributions of Paul B. Sears to natural vegetation mapping in Ohio. Ohio Journal of Science 109: 91-98. A more detailed account of the natural openings in Ohio was published by Sears in 1926 (Natural vegetation of Ohio II. The Prairies. Ohio Journal of Science 26: 128-140). Paler stippled areas are glacial morraines. Darker areas in Hamilton Co. (Cincinnati) and Montgomery Co. are urban areas. Sears' mapping of grasslands in the Miami region, especially northern sections, concurs with earlier notes of Ashe and Drake (see above), and with E.L. Braun (1921. Ecology 3: 161-180). But with no justification, these grasslands were omitted from Gordon's (1966) map, except in Darke Co. (see previous page below "F").



p. 82-83. “II. Mr. Michaux, as quoted by Dr. Mease, asserts that in the United States there are ninety kinds of trees which grow above 40 feet in height. In the Miami country, there are about forty-five which attain to that elevation. According to the same authority, there are in the Union, thirty species which rise above 60 feet in this quarter, there are at least an equal number which grow to that height. Hence it appears that the soil of this tract is superior to that of the United States generally, for it affords as many trees above 60 feet in height as all the states taken together, while it has only half the number of species.”

“III. The most valuable timber trees are the white flowering locust, white, black, lowland chesnut and bur oaks, black walnut, wild cherry, yellow poplar, blue and white ash, mulberry, honey locust, shell-bark hickory, coffee nut and beech all of which, except the first, are common throughout the Miami country. Many other species, such as the sweet buckeye, sassalras, sugar tree, red maple, linden tree and box elder are seldom used for timber but are of great value, in the mechanical arts. Experience has shown that the timber of the western country is softer, weaker and less durable than that of the Atlantic states which is no doubt owing to its more rapid growth in fertile, calcareous soil and humid atmosphere...”

“V. The beech, white oak, sugar tree and some kinds of walnut, hickory and ash, are the most numerous of any trees in the Miami country. The flowering locust, abundant in Kentucky and along the Ohio, is rarely found more than 30 miles north of that river. The chesnut, persimmon, fox grape and mountain-chesnut oak are still scarcer. The arbor vitae, hemlock, yew, mountain maple, red berried elder and witch hazle are only found at the falls of the Little Miami while the swamp ash, cucumber tree, rose willow, leather wood and aspen, set to be. confined to the more northern portions of this tract.”

“VI. The *Juglans pacan* (a species of hickory) *Aralia spinosa* (angelica tree) and *Bignonia catalpa* (catalpa tree) are common in the Indiana Territory as far north as the latitude of Cincinnati, but are not found east of the Great Miami. The white cedar and cypress (*Cupressus thyoides* [= *Chamaecyparis*, but probably meaning *Thuja*] and *disticha* [*Taxodium*]) are found on the river Wabash; and the white pine (*Pinus strobus*) is said to be occasionally seen on the waters of the Muskingum but neither is found in the Miami country. The cane (*Arundo gigantea*) seems not to have at any time grown north of the Ohio, in this state. On the Wabash it is frequently seen, but seldom pushes itself further north than 39°. In the fertile parts of Kentucky, this vegetable, 25 years ago, formed extensive and almost impenetrable brakes, which have long since been devoured by cattle, and at present not a single stalk can be found.”

Further notes and Interpretations: ordered below under the modern genus names.

Acer. *A. rubrum* appears to be combined with *A. saccharinum* in his list, but he later notes it as an “astringent” under medicinal uses (p. 86): “*Acer rubrum*—red maple, the bark.” Drake’s record of “pennsylvanicum” is curious, since that species is unknown in the region; he probably implied *spicatum*, which is known from Clark and Greene Counties (see BONAP and PLANTS websites).

Aesculus. Drake added ecological details for the two species (p. 78-79).

A. glabra (“flava”): “The whole plant with foetid odour. The leaves and fruit noxious to animals which eat them. This tree grows exclusively in rich soils, and occasionally attains the diameter of feet, and the height of 60 or 70.”

A. flava (“maxima”): “This species delights in rich hills, and is seldom seen far from the Ohio or its larger tributary streams. It frequently arrives at the height of 100 feet, and the diameter of 4.”

Aralia. It is notable that *spinosa* is absent from Drake's list, and he states "not found east of the Great Miami". The species is now known from Butler, Clermont and Preble Counties (BONAP, PLANTS). Has it spread since settlement? See also notes under *Liquidambar*.

Arundinaria. Drake indicates that *A. gigantea* did not occur north of the river, but there are a few wild patches today on warm aspects in the Cincinnati area—were they perhaps planted?

Cornus. His listing of "sericea" is interesting since this name was generally used for *C. stolonifera* (= *C. alba*), which is virtually unknown today in the Miami region (BONAP, PLANTS). The related species, *C. rugosa*, does occur on northeast side of the region, and may have been implied instead.

Liquidambar. There is a complete absence of sweetgum (*L. styraciflua*) from Drake's list, Ashe's (1808) notes and other early observations of the region. However, this species is now known from Clermont, Clinton, Greene and Warren Counties (BONAP, PLANTS). Has it increased after settlement due to increased clearance and lack of fire?

Magnolia. Today, *acuminata* is known only from Clinton County (BONAP, PLANTS); see also Ashe's (1808) note of "cucumber magnolia" but perhaps confused with *Liriodendron*.

Morus. The absence of *alba* in Drake's list is interesting; Ashe (1808) did list it.

Quercus. The absences of *marilandica* and *stellata* from his list are understandable since those species are known today only from Clinton County (BONAP, PLANTS). *Q. falcata* has never been verified within the region, and it is likely that his "falcata" implied *shumardii*; both species have been called "Spanish oak" in the vernacular. *Q. coccinea* is known from Warren and Clinton Counties; Drake may have omitted the much more widespread *rubra* (= *borealis*) in error or perhaps confused it with *coccinea*. The absences of *bicolor* and *palustris* must have similar explanations; these are locally common species but perhaps confused with *muehlenbergii* (especially "lowland chesnut") and *shumardii*, respectively.

Ulmus. Drake's confusion of "americana" with "slippery" elm is curious, and confirmed by his later note under "demulcents" (p. 87): "Ulmus americana—slippery elm, the bark."

Vaccinium. Blueberries are generally rare to absent in the region today, and there are few historical records. Under "Plants used in dyeing and the domestic arts" Drake adds the following (p. 88): "Vaccinium macrocarpon—cranberry, the fruit." There is a record of cranberry (*V. oxycoccus*) from Champaign County (BONAP, PLANTS).

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque. 1817. Description of IOXYLON POMIFERUM, a new genus of North American Tree. [Number 12 in]. Museum of Natural Sciences. American Monthly Magazine & Critical Review 2: 118-119.

Although not native to Kentucky, the osage orange tree—eventually known as *Maclura pomifera*—was spread widely by settlers during the 19th Century, after being discovered and its potential uses extolled. It became especially common in the Bluegrass region. The following extract provided some of the first published documentation for this remarkable species.

“It is a native to the regions south of the Missouri, near the Arkansas river and the neighborhood of New-Mexico [Texas]: the Osage indians have planted some trees near their villages, from where it has been introduced in the gardens of St. Louis, and near Philadelphia in the garden of Mr. McMahan; it grows easily from seed, and does not appear to be delicate, but like the Box and all the trees with hard-wood, it grows slow and lives to a great age. Its wood is exceedingly hard and tough, and preferred by the Osage to any other for making their arrows, whence it might probably become a substitute for the box-wood: it is said they travel annually to a considerable distance south-west to procure it from its native place. The fruit is very good to eat, the milk which it contains is sweet, and a real amylaceous emulsion, composed of a fine

white fecula or starch, which separates in a sediment if the milk is squeezed out and left to stand. This tree deserves therefore, to be introduced and cultivated all over the United States, for its beauty, and the uses to which the wood, fruit, and starch might be put.”

Interpretation. Rafinesque’s claims of edibility for the fruit’s flesh appear to be fanciful—unless the Indians did have a recipe for making the very bitter material palatable. There are, however, some reports that the seeds can be eaten if extracted, washed and roasted.

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque. 1819. Botany of Kentucky: on its principal features. Western Review & Miscellaneous Magazine 1: 92-95. Reprinted in: R.L. Stuckey & J.S. Pringle. 1997. Common names of vascular plants reported by C.S. Rafinesque in an 1819 descriptive outline of four vegetation regions of Kentucky. Transactions of the Kentucky Academy of Science 58: 9-19.

p. 93-94. “2. THE CENTRAL REGION. It is formed by the limestone tract included between the valley of the Ohio and the hilly ridges or knobs. The ground is slightly broken, very fertile and mostly under cultivation. The section is remarkably poor in the number of botanical species growing spontaneously. I conceive that its flora hardly contains 500 species, including trees, shrubs, and naturalized plants! There are hardly any species peculiar to it, but the following ones, rare elsewhere, are here very common:

(26) *Eupatorium urticaefolium*, White nettle [*E. rugosum* = *Ageratina altissima*]

(27) *Pavia muricata*, Prickly Buck-eye [*Aesculus glabra*]

(28) *Isanthus ceruleus*, Blue Penny-royal [*I. brachiata* = *Trichostema b.*]

(29) *Polymnia uvedalia*, Scented Sun flower [= *Smallanthus uvedalius*]

(30) *Phlox glaberrima*, Pink &c.&c. [perhaps *Phlox paniculata*]

It is also highly singular that in this region, the woods are open as parks, without shrubs and with very few plants, except grass or some social weeds.”

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque. 1822. The Cosmonist—No. VIII. On the botany of the western limestone region. Kentucky Gazette, new series 1:2-3, April 4th.

“You blooming fields and you enchanting groves,
Where peace and hapiness nout sought in vain
Reside from Nature’s friendly bard receive
The greeting, tuneful, song, or else his thanks,
Deserv’d by sweet sensations oft conveyed
To his warm soul with purity of thought,
And gratefully accepted, duly nursed.

On the Botany of the Western Limestone Region.

The vegetation of the western states offers several singular peculiarities: among which one of the most remarkable is the paucity of species to be found in the rich soil of the limestone region. For instance no more than 600 species of plants that grow spontaneously within 15 miles of Lexington in every direction, while a similar circle of 30 miles diameter round Philadelphia, affords about three times as many or 1800 species.

Many tribes of plants afford but a very small number of species in this region, such as the Ferns, Mosses, Lichens, Orchidaceous, Liliaceous, etc. But to compensate for their small

quantities the number of Individuals of the spondtaneous growth is [?very great, with?— illegible] species of grasses, radiacious, and trees, grow in compact social clusters, covering many acres of ground, and with the utmost luxuriance. This may be ascribed to that region having been covered formerly with an extensive growth of Canes (*Miega arundinacea*) forming almost a general canebrake under the forests, where but few plants could take a stand.

Another remarkable feature in our Botany, is the casual change of the prevailing plants and trees upon many peculiar spots of grounds. It has been observed by the ancient settlers that the following plants have followed each other in succession in many [?places?] as the prevailing growth.

The Canes, or *Miega arundinacea* [*Arundinacea gigantea*].

The Butterweed, or *Lupatorium urticaefolium* [*E. rugosum*].

The Ironweed, or *Vernonia prealta* [*V. gigantea*].

The Nimblewill, or *Panicum dactylon*

[*Cynodon dactylon* or, more likely, *Muhlenbergia schreberi*].

The Hardgrass, or *Panicum glaucum* [probably *Setaria pumila*]

The wild Camomile, or *Anthemis cotula*, &c.

There is therefore a kind of natural perennial change of vegetation, when a species has exhausted the soil of a peculiar nutrition which it requires, it gives way to another for a series of years, &c.

The number of plants peculiar to the limestone region is small, I have however detected several new genera and species in it, some of which will be described in my next number.”

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque. 1830. Medical Botany; or Manual of the Medical Botany of the United States of North America. 2 volumes. Atkinson & Alexander, Philadelphia.

Although attempting a broad geographic scope, the author was most familiar with the Ohio Valley. Some initially selected notes on species of interest are provided here.

Vol. 2, p. 184. “ACER, L. Maple Trees... We could make maple sugar in sufficient quantity for the whole use of our population, and even for exportation. But instead, the trees are wantonly destroyed or neglected. Hardly 100,000 lbs. of sugar are made annually, and chiefly in remote settlements. We ought to plant and cultivate these trees instead of destroying them, or leave from 10 to 50 on each acre of cleared land. Whole forests of them have lately been planted in Germany, Hungary, and France...”

Vol. 2, p. 190. “AMBROSIA, L. Ragweed. The *A. elatior* and other species with jagged leaves bear that name, called also Carrot-weed, Conot-weed, Bastard Wormwood. Bad weeds in old fields, not eaten by cattle; if cows eat it by chance, their milk becomes bitter: the plant deemed emollient and antiseptic in fermentations, the seeds mixed with wheat, give a bitter taste to bread. The *A. trifida* is called Horseweed and Wild Hemp, was used by the Indians to make a kind of hemp and ropes, may be available, sometimes 10 feet high.”

“AMPHICARPA MONOICA, Elliot. (*Glycine do*, L.). Pea Vine. Cattle are greedy of this plant, and destroy it almost every where, ought to be cultivated for fodder. The seeds are like peas, and as good to eat. In Carolina they begin to cultivate it for the table [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*].

Vol. 2, p. 215. “DECEMIUM HIRTUM, Raf. 1817. (*Hydrophyllum*, auct.) Shawnee Sallad. Eaten as greens in the west, in early spring.” [*H. appendiculatum*]

Constantine Samuel Rafinesque. 1836. New Flora and Botany of North America. Published by the author, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. First Part [1836]: 100 pages. Second Part, Neophyton [but “Fourth Part”, “Neobotanon” on page 2; 1837]: 96 pages. Third Part, New Sylva [1838]: 96 pages. Fourth Part, Neobotanon [1838]: 112 pages. [For details, see J.H. Barnhart. 1907. *Torreyia* 7: 177-181.]

First Part, p. 28: in Introduction, outlining unusual regions of eastern North America. “6. The Limestone Region of the Ohio, forming a basin in Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky: it has a very scanty flora, few shrubs in the woods, no *Kalmias* nor *Vacciniums*, but among trees many *Asiminas* and *Pavias* [*Aesculus*], with abundance of social grasses or congregating plants.”

William Henry Harrison. 1839. A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio. Pages 217-267 in: Transactions of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Part Second. Vol. I. G.W. Bradbury & Co., Cincinnati. Following:: pages 247-249.

This material also quoted in part by: Charles Lyell. 1845. Travels in North America with Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia. Vol. II, pages 34-36.

before the period fixed for its conquest by the Iroquois. All the early voyagers on the Ohio, and all the first emigrants to Kentucky, represent the country as being totally destitute of any recent vestiges of settlement. Mr. Butler, in his history of Kentucky, remarks in the text, that "no Indian towns, within recent times, were known to exist within this territory, either in Kentucky or the lower Tennessee;" but in a note he says, "there are vestiges of Indian towns near Harrodsburg, on Salt river, and at other points, but they are of no recent date." The same author, and all others assert, "that this interjacent country, between the Indians of the south, and those north-west of the Ohio, was kept as common hunting ground or field of battle, as the resentments or inclinations of the adjoining tribes prompted to the one or the other." The total absence of all vestiges of settlement, of a date as late as the period of the alleged conquest, is conclusive testimony against it. The process by which nature

restores the forest to its original state, after being once cleared, is extremely slow. In our rich lands, it is, indeed, soon covered again with timber, but the character of the growth is entirely different, and continues so, through many generations of men. In several places on the Ohio, particularly upon the farm which I occupy, clearings were made in the first settlement, abandoned, and suffered to grow up. Some of them, now to be seen, of nearly fifty years growth, have made so little progress towards attaining the appearance of the immediately contiguous forest, as to induce any man of reflection, to determine, that at least ten times fifty years would be necessary before its complete assimilation could be effected. The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio, present precisely the same appearance as the circumjacent forest. You find on them, all that beautiful variety of trees, which gives such unrivaled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case, on the fifteen acres included within the walls of the work, at the mouth of the Great Miami, and

the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber, are about the same. The first growth on the same kind of land, once cleared, and then abandoned to nature, on the contrary, is more homogenous—often stunted to one, or two, or at most three kinds of timber. If the ground had been cultivated, yellow locust, in many places, will spring up as thick as garden peas. If it has not been cultivated, the black and white walnut will be the prevailing growth. The rapidity with which these trees grow for a time, smothers the attempt of other kinds to vegetate and grow in their shade. The more thrifty individuals soon overtop the weaker of their own kind, which sicken and die. In this way, there is soon only as many left as the earth will well support to maturity. All this time the squirrels may plant the seed of those trees which serve them for food, and by neglect suffer them to remain,—it will be in vain; the birds may drop the kernels, the external pulp of which have contributed to their nourishment, and divested of which they are in the best state for

germinating, still it will be of no avail; the winds of heaven may waft the winged seeds of the sycamore, cotton-wood and maple, and a friendly shower may bury them to the necessary depth in the loose and fertile soil — but still without success. The roots below rob them of moisture, and the canopy of limbs and leaves above intercept the rays of the sun, and the dews of heaven: the young giants in possession, like another kind of aristocracy, absorb the whole means of subsistence, and leave the mass to perish at their feet. This state of things will not, however, always continue. If the process of nature is slow and circuitous, in putting down usurpation and establishing the equality which she loves, and which is the great characteristic of her principles, it is sure and effectual. The preference of the soil for the first growth, ceases with its maturity. It admits of no succession, upon the principles of legitimacy. The long undisputed masters of the forest may be thinned by the lightning, the tempest, or by diseases peculiar to themselves; and whenever this is

the case, one of the oft-rejected of another family, will find between its decaying roots, shelter and appropriate food; and springing into vigorous growth, will soon push its green foliage to the skies, through the decayed and withering limbs of its blasted and dying adversary, — the soil itself, yielding it a more liberal support than any scion from the former occupant. It will easily be conceived what a length of time it will require for a denuded tract of land, by a process so slow, again to clothe itself with the amazing variety of foliage which is the characteristic of the forests of this region. Of what immense age, then, must be those works, so often referred to, covered, as has been supposed by those who have the best opportunity of examining them, with the second growth *after the ancient forest state had been regained?*

But setting aside all that has been advanced adverse to the claims of the Six Nations, to be the extensive conquerors that they have so long been considered, there are, I think, insuperable arguments to be found against it, drawn from the

Charles Lyell. 1845. Travels in North America with Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia. Vol. II. John Murray, London

Pages 63-65

Two days after I reached Cincinnati, I set out, in company with two naturalists of that city, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. J. G. Anthony, who kindly offered to be my guides, in an excursion to a place of
to west. There are two springs on the southern or left bank, rising from marshes, and two on the opposite bank, the most western of which, called the Gum Lick, is at the point where a small tributary joins the principal stream. The quaking bogs on this side are now more than fifteen acres in extent, but all the marshes were formerly larger before the surrounding forest was partially cleared away. The removal of tall trees has allowed the sun's rays to penetrate freely to the soil, and dry up part of the morass.

Within the memory of persons now living, the wild bisons or buffaloes crowded to these springs, but they have retreated for many years, and are now as unknown to the inhabitants as the mastodon itself. Mr. Phinnel, the proprietor of the land, called our attention to two buffalo paths or trails still extant in the woods here, both leading directly to the springs. One of these in particular, which first strikes off in a northerly direction from the Gum Lick, is afterwards traced eastward through the forest for several miles. It was three or four yards wide, only partially overgrown with grass, and, sixty years ago, was as bare, hard, and well trodden as a high road.

The bog in the spots where the salt springs rise is so soft, that a man may force a pole down into it

many yards perpendicularly. It may readily be supposed, therefore, that horses, cows, and other quadrupeds, are now occasionally lost here; and that a much greater number of wild animals were mired formerly. It is well known that, during great droughts in the Pampas of South America, the horses, cattle, and deer throng to the rivers in such numbers, that the foremost of the crowd are pushed into the stream by the pressure of others behind, and are sometimes carried away by thousands and drowned.* In their eagerness to drink the saline waters and lick the salt, the heavy mastodons and elephants seem in like manner to have pressed upon each other, and sunk in these soft quagmires of Kentucky.

Owen, D.D. 1857. Report of the Geological Survey of Kentucky. No. 2: 85-114. No. 3: 59-171. No. 4.

See summary in: Campbell, J.J.N. 1989. Historical evidence of presettlement forest composition in the Inner Bluegrass of Kentucky. In G. Rink & C.A. Budelsky (eds.). Proceedings of the Seventh Central Hardwood Forest Conference, p. 231-246. North Central Forest Experiment Station, USDA Forest Service.

Owen, D.D. 1861. Fourth Report of the Geological Survey in Kentucky. State Printer, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Owen (1861), p. 72

No. 804—SOIL. *Labeled “Best Hemp Soil, from heavy black walnut land, one and a half miles southwest of Sharpsburg, Bath county, Ky.” (Blue limestone of Lower Silurian formation.) Strongest soil of Bath county.*

The dried soil is of a light umber color. Some fragments of ferruginous sandstone were sifted out of it.

Owen (1861), p. 73

No. 805—SOIL. *Labeled "Genuine Clinton Groupe Red Soil, from over the encrinital, flesh-colored, magnesian limestone, (see No. 797,) two miles west of Owingsville, Bath county, Ky. Primitive growth, blue ash, sugar-tree, hickory, &c., &c."*

Dried soil of a light reddish-brown color, containing some cherty fragments.

Owen (1861), p. 75

No. 809—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, from woods pasture; from Mr. Sudduth's farm, a mile and a half east of Sharpsburg, Bath county, Ky. Primitive growth, black locust, black walnut, black and blue ash, and sugar-tree. Some of the best blue limestone land of Bath county. Lower Silurian formation."*

Dried soil of a light umber color. Some fragments of dark, soft, ferruginous sandstone were sifted out of it.

Owen (1861), p. 83

BOURBON COUNTY.

No. 822—MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE. *Labeled "Loose slab on the surface of woods pasture, where the soil was collected, at William Buckner's farm, Cane Ridge, Bourbon county, Ky." Lower Silurian formation. (See No. 574 of Chemical Report, Volume III.)*

A fine-granular, grey-buff rock, with numerous pores filled with darker buff material. Powder of a light grey-buff color.

Owen (1861), p. 115

No. 878—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, from woods pasture, on Judge Simpson's farm, near Winchester, Clarke county, Ky. Primitive growth, black walnut, locust, mulberry, blue ash, &c. Lower Silurian formation." (Obtained by Dr. Owen.)*

Dried soil of a light-greyish-brown color.

Owen (1861), p. 116

No. 881—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, from Wm. R. Duncan's farm, Clarke county, Ky. (From a lower situation than the old field from which the next preceding soil was taken; and more of a meadow soil.) Forest growth, sugar-tree, black locust, white and blue ash. Blue limestone formation." (Collected by Dr. Owen.)*

Dried soil of a dark, dirty, grey-buff color.

Owen (1861), p. 152

No. 975—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, derived from the yellow limestone. Charles Marshall's dairy farm, near Mount Carmel, Fleming county, Ky. (At the junction of the Lower and Upper Silurian formations.) Growth, sugar-tree, walnut, buck-eye, &c."*

Dried soil of a dark-grey-brown, or light chocolate color.

Owen (1861), p. 155

No. 982—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, from the Blue-grass lands of Franklin county, Ky." Farm of Isaac Wingate. Primitive growth, large ash, burr oak, black locust, walnut, &c.*

Dried soil of a light chocolate color. Some chert and iron gravel were sifted out from it with the coarse seive.

Owen (1861), p. 192

No. 1070—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil; eight inches of the surface, taken immediately under the sod of native blue-grass, in Woodland pasture. Principal growth walnut, with black locust, wild cherry, elm, ash, hackberry, box-elder, buckeye, pignut and shellbark hickory, coffee-nut, red and over-cup oak, large sugar maple, and root-covered beech. Farm of Theodore Brown, six miles east of Louisville, on the Lexington turnpike, waters of Middle Fork of Beargrass creek, Jefferson county, Ky." Upper Silurian formation. (Some of the best "Beargrass" land.)*

Dried soil of a dark, dirty-buff color.

Owen (1861), p. 217

No. 1134—SOIL. *Labeled "Mason County Virgin Tobacco Soil; from the hill-side near Dover; about one hundred and fifty feet above the Ohio river, in the midst of the Blue Limestone. (Lower Silurian.) Growth, sugar tree, walnut, black and white ash, buckeye, &c."*

Dried soil of a dirty-buff or light-umber color.

Owen (1861), p. 220

MERCER COUNTY.

No. 1139—SOIL. *Labeled "Virgin Soil, from woodland, on the farm of James C. McAfee, on the east side of Salt river, four miles north of Harrodsburg, on the base line. Forest growth, sugar-tree, black walnut, oak, black ash, cherry, and hickory. Set in blue-grass: no under-growth. Lower Silurian formation."*

Dried soil of a light chocolate brown color.

Owen (1861), p. 223

No. 1148—SOIL. *Labeled "Soil, first year in cultivation, (in corn,) from the farm of Mr. R. Apperson, Mount Sterling, Montgomery county, Ky. On the Delthyris Lynx beds of the Lower Silurian blue limestone. Forest growth, black walnut, sugar tree, &c. Excellent corn land. Produces hemp, but not well."*

Dried soil of a light yellowish-umber color.

Killebrew, J.B. 1878. Grasses, cereals and forage plants of Tennessee. The American Co., Printers to the State, Nashville. 511 pages.

p. 190-192, extracts regarding cane (*Arundinaria*): “When the first settlers came to Tennessee, the whole face of the country was covered with cane, and while it existed, afforded abundant pasturage to stock of all kinds, both winter and summer. The shoots of young cane are both succulent and nutritious. Not only are they eaten by beasts but, when young and tender, they are boiled and eaten by man... It forms the most excellent winter pasturage, besides sheltering stock from the inclemency of the weather. Several large farmers in Middle Tennessee still have their pastures of cane. Almost any portion of Middle Tennessee, if enclosed and unused, will soon send up small cane, and if unmolested until it attains some size it will stand very constant grazing... One of grandest and most sublime sights to be seen, is the burning of a cane-brake. Sounds as if a terrific battle raged are heard and a blaze goes up that effectually destroys all vegetation within its fiery circle... It grows best on the richest land, but if the poorest soil is once set with it, it acts as a fertilizer. This is to be attributed to its wonderful network of roots, the immense foliage it deposits on the soil, and to its dense shade. It is a very difficult matter to break up cane land, but once broken, it quickly rots and adds to the fertility of the soil. The roots run to a surprising length and depth, and serve as pumps to raise dormant fertilizing principles from below the reach of any plow.”

Note: some author(s) appear(s) to have summarized as follows: “The leaves are...greedily eaten by horses and cattle. This type of forage was quite an asset to stockmen in early times who drove their cattle to the brakes and allowed them to browse in the canebrakes which afforded them some protection from cold weather as well as forage upon which they did well for several months when little or no other wild grazing was available.” [To check sources.]

William Renick. 1880. Memoirs, correspondences and reminiscences of William Renick. Union-Herald Book and Job Printing Co., Circleville, Ohio.

p. 44-45: with reference to presettlement conditions, especially in the Bluegrass Region.

“The soil of Kentucky was originally heavily clothed with large timber, that part now known as the Blue Grass Region, densely, in that there were no prairies, no plains, and but little of it that was sparsely timbered. Consequently it was manifestly impossible for the bluegrass to flourish there. Blue grass could only flourish in its wild state, or, rather, in the country’s wild state, on very rich timberless lands, that were relatively retentive of moisture, so that its almost perpetual verdure, when growing on such lands would in a large measure protect it from the autumnal fires that swept over the country annually. Blue grass could not withstand repeated burnings like the sedge and other wild grasses, hence it was never found in its wild state on light and dry soils. But even had all else been propitious to its growth, I do not believe it could have obtained foot-hold in the now blue grass region, because cane, that effectual exterminator of all grasses, weeds, or anything else of more diminutive growth than itself, was indigenous to the soil. Hence the pioneers found no blue grass there. Indeed, I have had it from the mouths of some of the earliest settlers themselves, that they knew of but two kinds of grasses that were natives of Kentucky, called respectively, the buffalo and the bear, both coarse and almost worthless, but would grow where cane would not.”

Interpretation. The identity of “buffalo” and “bear” grass here is still somewhat mysterious. I suggest that buffalo grass might have been *Dichanthelium clandestinum* (but see also *D. boscii*, *Tridens flavus*). Bear grass might have been cane in some contexts. But in regions outside the

most fertile Bluegrass core of lands, did these names perhaps refer to tall prairie grasses (*Andropogon* spp., *Sorghastrum nutans*, *Tripsacum dactyloides*, etc.)? And beargrass was apparently applied to *Camassia scilloides* by some pioneers; see McBride (1869).

N.S. Shaler. 1880. A general account of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. Geological Survey of the Commonwealth. E.H. Porter, Public Printer, Frankfort, Kentucky

p. 19. “Beginning with the lowest rocks, the soils of the Blue or Cambrian Limestone are those of the first quality, and are surpassed by no soils in any country for fertility and endurance. These soils are derived from a Limestone very rich in organic remains, which decays with great rapidity, and continually furnishes its debris to the deeper-going roots. This soil varies considerably in different districts, and at some few points, where the underlying rocks are locally rather sandy, it falls from its usual high quality. The best soil may be known by the growth of blue ash, large black locust, and black walnut. Many other trees are found in its forests, but these are characteristic, and are never found together save on best soils.”

p. 26. “The cultivated district of Central Kentucky, commonly known as the Blue-grass District, is perhaps for its area the most beautiful rural district in America. The surface is undulating; large areas of the original forests have been cleared of their undergrowth and produce a fine close sod, and in these wood-pastures are some of the finest flocks and herds in the world. It has happened to the writer to pass on several occasions from this region to the richest lands of Middle England, or vice versa, and he has always been struck by the singular likeness of the two countries. There is probably a closer resemblance between the surface of the country, the cattle, horses, the agriculture, and even the people of these two areas than any two equally

remote regions in the world. ”

Robert Peter. 1882. Synopsis of the Blue Grass region. In W.H. Perrin. History of Fayette County, Kentucky. O.L. Baskin and Company, Chicago.

p. 11, 20: notes on cane, etc.

“The introduction of live stock by the white settlers caused the gradual extermination of the cane, which was almost the only undergrowth on these rich lands, and its place was soon monopolized all over the region by Kentucky blue grass so that at this time the cane is found only in spots which are inaccessible to grazing animals, which are fond of its leaves and young shoots - a forage said to be very nourishing and fattening to them... The primeval forest on these rich lands, as given by the late Dr. Owen, are, pignut hickory [*Carya cordiformis*], sugar tree, hackberry, ash, walnut, mulberry, buckeye, box elder, etc., etc. Prof. Shaler states: “The best soil may be known by its growth of blue ash, large black locusts and black walnuts. These are characteristic," he says, “and never to be found together, save on the best soils.””

C.W. Batterfield and George A. Ogle (eds). 1884. History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wisconsin. Union Publishing Company. Springfield, Illinois.

p. 488: general comments on changes in land-use and climate.

“With regard to the quantity of rain-fall, we cannot positively affirm that the total annual quantity of rain is even locally diminished or increased by the destruction of the woods, though both theoretical considerations and the balance of testimony strongly favor the opinion that more rain falls in wooded than in open countries. One important conclusion, at least,

upon the meteorological influence of forests is certain and undisputed; the proposition, namely, that, within their own limits, and near their own borders, they maintain a more uniform degree of humidity in the atmosphere than is observed in cleared grounds. Scarcely less can it be questioned that they tend to promote the frequency of showers, and, if they do not augment the amount of precipitation, they probably equalize its distribution through the different seasons.”

“There is abundant and undoubted evidence that the amount of water existing on the surface in lakes and rivers, in many parts of the world, is constantly diminishing. In Germany, observations of the Rhine, Oder, Danube and the Elbe, in the latter case going back for a period of 142 years, demonstrate beyond doubt that each of these rivers has much decreased in volume, and there is reason to fear that they will gradually disappear from the list of navigable rivers.”

“The Blue-Grass region of Kentucky, once the pride of the west, has now districts of such barren and arid nature, that their stock farmers are moving toward the Cumberland mountains, because the creeks and old springs dried up, and their wells became too low to furnish water for their cattle. In our own State [Wisconsin] such has been the change in the flow of the Milwaukee river, even while the area from which it receives its supply is but partially cleared, that the proprietors of most of the mills and factories have found it necessary to resort to the use of steam, at a largely increased yearly cost, to supply the deficiency of water-power in dry seasons of the year. What has happened to the Milwaukee river has happened to all the other watercourses in the State from whose banks the forest has been removed; and many farmers who selected land upon which there was a living brook of clear, pure water, now find these

brooks dried up during a considerable portion of the year.”

John T. Campbell. 1886. Causes of forest rotation [Part II]. American Naturalist 20: 851-856.

p. 855. “In Ohio, on the east side of the Big Miami river and about a half mile south of the line between Hamilton and Butler counties, Old Major Cilley (a relative of the Cilley who fought a duel with Graves, in Jackson’s time) undertook to clear ten acres of land on the Miami hills. This was about seventy to ninety years ago, I am not sure as to exact date. He felled the trees when in full leaf, and after they were well dried, fired them and burned everything clear. The next spring the black locusts sprouted as thick as weeds in a field, wherever the fire had been. For some reason the ground was not plowed, and the trees soon grew to be valuable timber, as it makes the best of fence and gate-posts. There were a few parent black locust trees in the vicinity, but they were by no means the prevailing forest tree there. Their seeds resemble an apple seed, are very hard, and must undergo a process of scalding, scorching or very hard freezing and then have a clear field before they will grow. Their seeds being small are easily carried by the wind, and are so impervious to ordinary weather influences that they may lie among the forest leaves many years, and when some subsequent favorable condition transpires, as the burning of Cilley’s fallen, timber, they sprout into life and make a locust forest.”

William Young. 1910. Young's History of Lafayette County, Missouri. B.F. Bowen & Company. Indianapolis, Indiana.

p. 18-19. This remarkable passage was brought to this author's (JC) attention by John White, to whom I am most grateful; although from western Missouri, there is much relevance to the ecology of fire before settlement in central Kentucky.

“But the history proper of Lafayette county begins with the advent of the first permanent settler, in 1815, and it may be profitable to take a view of the country as it then appeared. The general appearance of the country at that time, except along the bluffs of the Missouri river, was that of a low rolling prairie, threaded east, west, north and south by narrow strips of timber which skirted the larger streams. The line of demarkation between prairie and timber was very sharply defined. Prairie fires occurred every spring before the grass began to grow, burned the grass up to the very edge of the timber, thus keeping the timber within its bounds. It may be wondered why these fires did not destroy the timber also. This is the reason: All the timber regions were covered with a heavy undergrowth of green pea vines [probably *Amphicarpea*] and weeds ten feet high. These grew so dense, I have been told by the old settlers, that the ground never froze in the hardest winter. The tops of the vines were killed for several feet and fell over in a mat, while underneath the vines continued green the whole winter long so that the mass was never dry enough to burn, but effectually stopped the fire.”

“All over the prairies the grass grew luxuriantly and the soil was loose and held water like a great sponge. When it rained the water did not rush off down the hills into the creeks, as it

does now, but was held by the grass roots and soil, whence it slowly trickled in tiny rivulets, keeping them and the streams running full the whole year round. The prairies were all full of dangerous bogs and wet-weather springs where the water seeped out along the hillsides continually. It was most difficult and occasionally dangerous to travel across the prairie on foot, and horseback riding across such a country, except along a few well marked lines, was all but impossible. The dense undergrowth of vines in the creek bottoms was impassable except along paths made by the elks, which here abounded. These animals, standing six feet high and over at the shoulder, with spiked and spreading antlers, almost as tall again, by their great strength made themselves paths through the bottoms and ranged over the country without fear of molestation by any beast of prey.”

August E. Foerste. 1913. The phosphate deposits in the upper Trenton Limestones of central Kentucky. Kentucky Geological Survey Ser. 4, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 387-440.

Other early accounts of geology and soils could eventually be cited here, but Foerste’s report is especially relevant; see also his references of earlier work of Robert Peter and Arthur Miller..

p. 391-395: “...Twenty-seven years later, while riding along the New town turnpike, north of Lexington, the attention of Dr. Peter was attracted to a somewhat friable, bluish-gray limestone fragment, brownish on the weathered surface, containing many minute gasteropod shells belonging to the genus *Cyclora*, which had been thrown out on a pile for road making, and which was found to consist of as much as 31.8 per cent of phosphoric acid, equivalent to 69.45 per cent of tribasic phosphate of lime...”

“...The failure of these discoveries to develop into any commercial enterprises may be readily understood when it is learned that nowhere were any of the richer layers found more than a foot in thickness, and, indeed, at only one locality had even this thickness been detected. As a rule, the samples consisted of very thin layers, often not exceeding half an inch in thickness, interbedded among much thicker layers of granular limestones in which the phosphatic content was very small... In his report published as chemist of the Kentucky Geological Survey, in 1890, Dr. Robert Peter states that the great durable fertility of the region occupied by the Trenton limestone, in Fayette and neighboring counties, is largely due to the phosphoric acid and other fertilizing materials which exist in notable proportions in this limestone. This was indicated by many analyses made by him from different layers of limestone from different localities in Fayette county, but the layer in one of the Newtown pike quarries, reputed to have had a thickness of one foot, still remained the maximum thickness known.”

“Interest in phosphatic limestones was enormously aroused in 1896 by the publication by Charles Willard Hayes of a report on the phosphatic limestones of western Tennessee. It was soon recognized that the richest deposits of phosphate rock in Maury County, in Tennessee, were of Trenton age, and had at least approximate stratigraphical equivalents in central Kentucky. Prof. Arthur M. Miller, of the State University, at Lexington, made numerous qualitative tests of the strata exposed in Fayette and neighboring counties and demonstrated the wide spread of phosphatic strata in the upper part of the Trenton section, but did not find phosphatic sections of sufficient thickness to warrant the quarrying of the rock for their phosphatic content.”

“Aside from the various Ordovician strata, found to be phosphatic in western Tennessee, rich phosphate deposits, though of comparatively small thickness, had been found also in the Devonian strata immediately underlying the Chattanooga Black shale. This led to a trip down the Cumberland river, in southern Kentucky, from Burnside to Burksville, during which Prof. Miller and the writer made numerous studies of the geological sections exposed along the steep cliffs. Prof. Miller gave especial attention to the phosphatic content of the strata at the base of the Devonian black shale section, and found numerous indications of phosphatic ingredients, but nothing of commercial value.”

“In his report on the Lead and Zinc Bearing Rocks of Central Kentucky, published in 1905, Prof. Miller identified as Bigby all the strata included in both the Bigby and Flanagan of the present publication. As forming the very top of the Bigby in many localities, especially in the counties of Woodford and Franklin, he placed the "gasteropod layer", now known as the northern equivalent of the Faulconer layer. In the immediately underlying strata, recognized as the principal phosphate horizon, and at present referred by him to the Woodburn beds, he found *Columnaria alveolata*, associated with *Constellaria teres*, a very abundant and characteristic fossil, occurring as silicified masses in the deep red soil resulting from the decomposition of the limestones at this horizon. The base of the section at that time regarded as Bigby is well established by the statement that, in western Woodford and in adjoining Anderson and to some extent in Franklin county, there is developed in the Trenton section, about 60 feet above the base of the Bigby, an argillaceous limestone bed having a maximum thickness in one place of 29 feet. Above this comes in the same locality about 30 feet of granular phosphatic limestone. This is the first identification, in geological literature, of the Trenton phosphate horizon to a definite division of the Trenton section. It is evident that the argillaceous limestone mentioned

by Prof. Miller is the horizon to which he now gives the name Brannon, while the overlying granular phosphatic limestone belongs to that part of the section to which he applies the term Woodburn. The various changes in the terms used to designate the various strata discussed were necessitated by discoveries made in more recent years. Between five and ten feet below the base of the Brannon bed Prof. Miller found a horizon at which *Stromatocerium*, in large hemispherical masses, often weighing several hundred pounds, ranged from Fayette into Scott and Franklin counties. *Hebertella frankfortensis* and *Rhynchotrema increbescens* were noticed to be fairly abundant from the base of the Benson to the top of the Woodburn beds, as defined in the present paper. Subsequent investigation has shown the presence of the latter fossils in abundance in the Cornishville layer, and occasional specimens occur within 20 feet of the base of the Wilmore bed. With these and other fossils as guides, Prof. Miller, during the summer of 1905, greatly extended his observations on the phosphatic limestones of Central Kentucky, and discovered the field which has since resulted in the only commercial operations so far undertaken. This is the territory lying between Versailles and Midway.”

“The phosphatic rock occurs here in the form of thin, rather porous-looking, yellowish brown plates, evidently the result of weathering of the upper layers of the Trenton limestone. The horizon, now known as Woodburn, was sufficiently identified by the presence of *Columnaria alveolata*. It was found that there is hardly a locality where this horizon has been exposed in upland situations, as the result of slow denudation of the overlying beds, where thin plates of this phosphate rock can not be found. Samples were collected from a locality in Woodford County, about three quarters of a mile east of Wallace station, running as high as 33 per cent of phosphoric acid, equivalent to 72 per cent of calcium phosphate. The samples first

collected consisted of plates of leached limestone, from half an inch to an inch and a half in thickness, and weighing from one to three pounds. These lay scattered very thickly over the surface of a roadside slope, and, on digging down, were found disseminated through the soil nearly to the bed rock—here from one to two feet below the surface. The locality was regarded as of very promising character, - and is in the first district mentioned by Prof. Miller as among those favorable for further prospecting. It should be noted in this connection that the phosphate rock at present quarried, southeast of Wallace station, lies less than three-quarters of a mile west of the locality which Prof. Miller recognized as warranting further prospecting. Had his services not been diverted during the summers of 1906 and 1907 to a study of the Lower Coal Measures of the Eastern Coalfield of Kentucky, and during 1908 to a study of the soils of south-central Kentucky, the commercial value of the phosphate fields near Wallace would no doubt have been recognized much earlier.”

“In the meantime, the phosphate fields in Maury and neighboring counties of southwestern Tennessee were being rapidly exhausted and the various companies there interested were searching for new territory. Various men familiar with the Tennessee phosphate rock began visiting the phosphatic areas of Central Kentucky. It is notable that all of these prospectors began operations in the Wallace area to which Prof Miller had attracted attention in his preliminary report, an extract of which was published in the Report on the Progress of the Survey for the years 1904 and 1905. From this central area, their investigations extended: in all directions, resulting in the discovery of promising localities between Wallace station and various points about a mile and a half eastward, and also several promising deposits between two and two and a half miles northwest of Midway. During the summer of 1910 and the spring of 1911 these investigations had advanced far enough to cause considerable excitement. Leases were

being taken in every direction, and on June 11, 1911, the Lexington Phosphate Company was formed, by three men from Birmingham, Alabama.

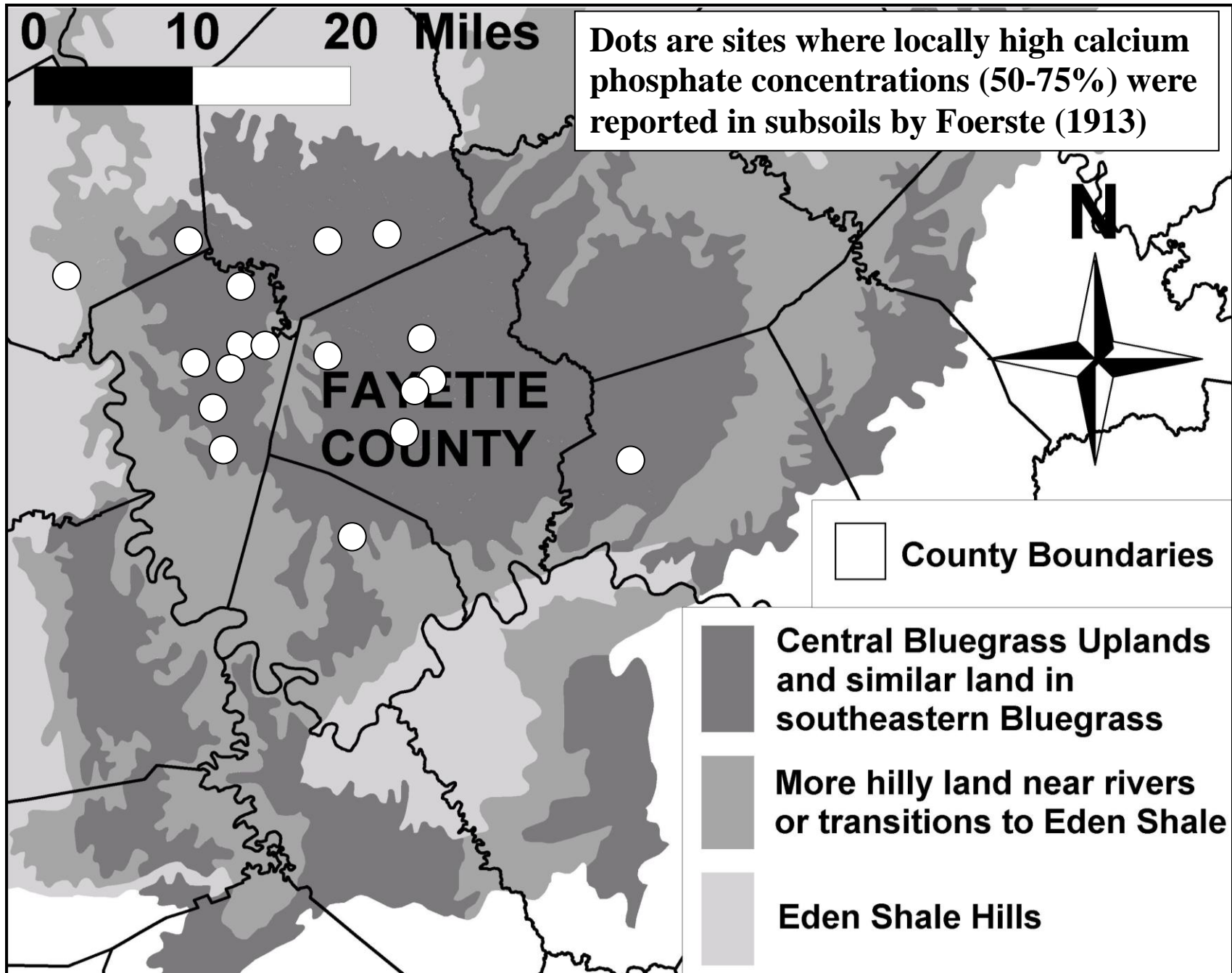
“In the meantime the writer had entered upon a special investigation of the field. The numerous notes and maps collected by Prof. Miller, and a special report on the Geology of Woodford Cuntty, were placed at his command, Prof. Miller accompanying him on various trips through the territory under consideration. From the preceding notes it will be seen that the general data had already been established, and only the more detailed work remained to be done.”

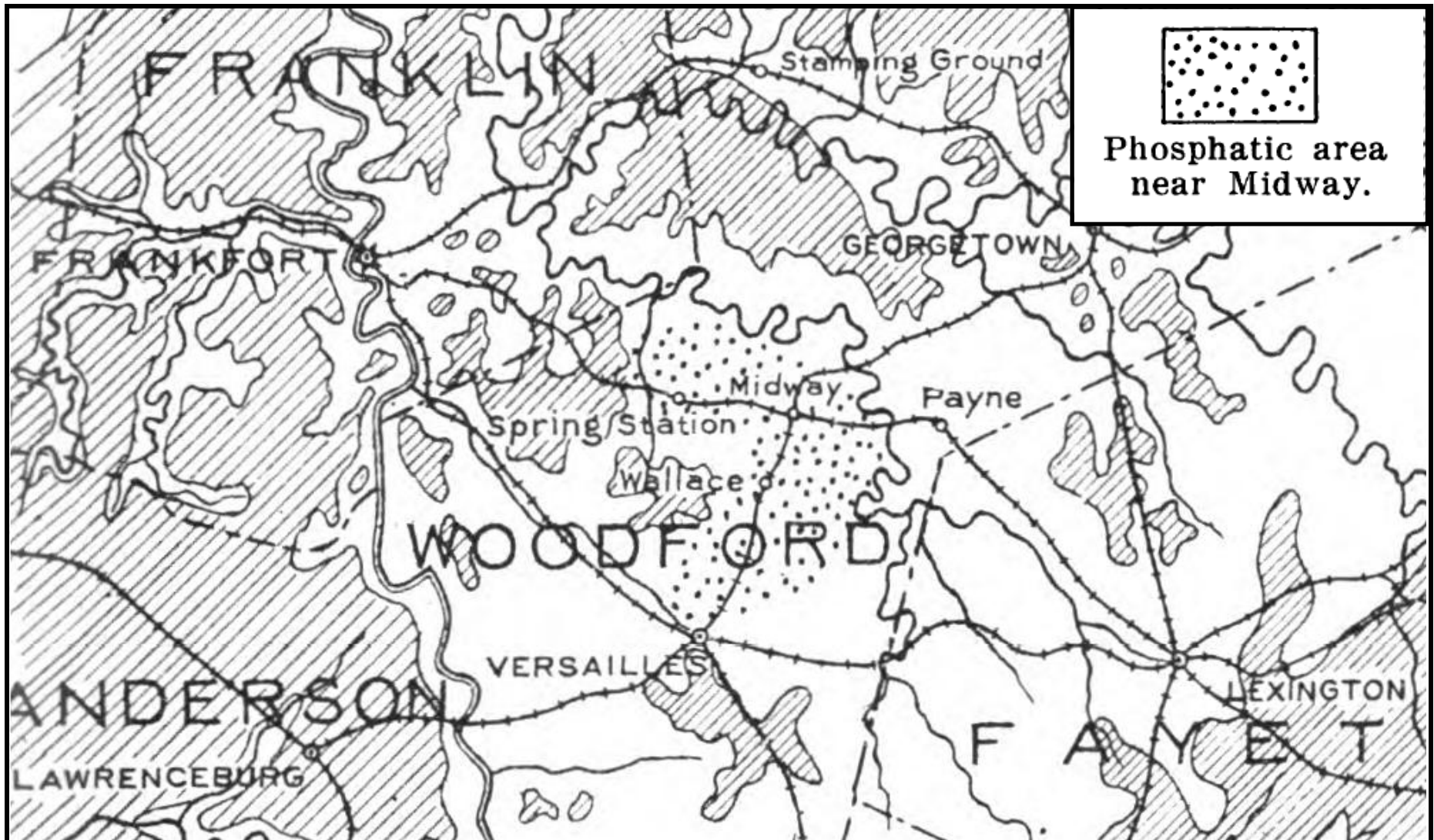
p. 412-413: Near Wallace Station. “From these data it is evident that the diggings so far made by the Lexington Phosphate Company, at their plant southeast of Wallace, belong to the upper part of the Benson or Bigby bed, and not to the Woodburn bed. This is confirmed by the latest diggings made at the plant. Here the basal part of the Brannon bed was exposed about half way up the hillslope, above the level of the first three strips of phosphate rock, fifty feet wide, so far removed. Here *Dinorthis itlrichi* and *Stromatocerium* occurred in the upper part of the phosphate rock, beneath the base of the Brannon layer, clearly indicating the geological horizon. The phosphate rock struck northeast of the house on the Steele farm, about a mile and a quarter east of Wallace station, however, belongs to the lower part of the Woodburn horizon.”

“It is evident that, locally, weathering away of the Woodburn bed has resulted in the concentration of phosphatic material at the top of the next underlying limestone, which in this case is the Benson or Bigby bed. It is interesting that, at the only locality at which so far any actual commercial development of the phosphate field has been undertaken, the only workable

rock so far exploited should belong to the Benson and not the Woodburn horizon. Aside from this limited area in the neighborhood of Wallace, there are also other localities at which phosphate rock occurs in the upper part of the Benson bed, but by far the greater number of occurrences of phosphate deposits, taking the held as a whole, occur in the Woodburn bed, and this is especially true when the unweathered rock is taken into account. This suggests the origin of most of the phosphatic deposits in Central Kentucky is the Woodburn horizons, although locally concentration may have extended downward into the upper part of the Bigby.”

W.C. Phalen. 1915. The Central Kentucky Phosphate Field. Kentucky Geological Survey, Frankfort, Kentucky. 133 pages. This is a more detailed report than Foerste (1913), with emphasis of economic aspects. It provided a map of the Midway bed; see next pages. Extending “through a considerable stratigraphic interval....[the] beds cannot be represented on the map by a single line, and not very readily by a band, as in ordinary geologic mapping.”.





Main bed of phosphatic deposits within the Middle Ordovician of central Kentucky, as mapped by Phalen (1915). Cross-hatching indicates rocks of Upper Ordovician age (Eden Shale etc.). Phalen, W.C. 1915. The Central Kentucky Phosphate Field. Kentucky Geological Survey, Frankfort, Kentucky. 133 pages.

McFarlan (1943)		McFarlan and White (1948)		Nosow and McFarlan (1960) ¹		This report		
Eden Shale	Million	Eden		Eden	Million	Clays Ferry Formation		
	Fulton		Fulton		Fulton			
Cynthiana Formation	Rogers Gap	Cynthiana Formation	Rogers Gap	Cynthiana	"Cynthiana"	Tanglewood Limestone Member	Nicholas Limestone Member	
	Greendale } Sulphur Well }		Nicholas Greendale Millersburg					Millersburg Member
	Perryville Limestone		Devils Hollow				Devils Hollow	Devils Hollow Member
Lexington Limestone	Woodburn	Lexington Limestone	Woodburn	Lexington Limestone	Woodburn	Lexington Limestone	Sulphur Well ² Member	
	Brannon		Brannon		Brannon		Brannon Member	
	Benson		Perryville Benson		Perryville Benson		Perryville Member ³	
	Jessamine		Jessamine		Jessamine		Grier Limestone Member	
	Hermitage		Hermitage Jessamine Logana		Hermitage Jessamine Logana		Logana Member	
	Curdsville		Curdsville		Curdsville		Curdsville Limestone Member	
Tyrone	Tyrone Limestone	Tyrone Limestone	Tyrone Limestone					

¹ Synthesized from Nosow and McFarlan (1960, figs. 3 and 14 and p. 37-42)

² Of McFarlan (1943)

³ Of Nickles (1905) as used by Foerste (1912, p. 32)

FIGURE 3.—Comparison of nomenclature of this report with some past usages.

From: Black, D.F.B., E.R. Cressman & W.C. MacQuown. 1965. The Lexington Limestone (Middle Ordovician) of Central Kentucky. Geological Survey Bulletin 1224-C. United States Geological Survey, Washington D.C.

Lucien Beckner. 1924. The Last Wild Pigeon in Kentucky? Transactions of the Kentucky Academy of Science 2: 55-56.

“So much of our native flora and fauna are vanishing that it behooves any of us who knows aught of it to put that knowledge on record that the coming generations may have an idea of what they were and the causes of their disappearance to the end that in the future such calamities may be avoided. In my short life I have seen vanish from the north American continent and its islands a number of interesting species and from the state of Kentucky the bear, the panther, the wolf, the otter, the deer, the beaver, the prairie chicken, the wild pigeon, the swan, the crane, the ivory-billed woodpecker, and many others, and see approaching extinction for the beautiful wood-duck, the ruffed grouse, the eagles, and perhaps others of which I can not now think. History records the passing of the bison and wapiti or elk as we called it, two of the noblest of creatures. On or about the 20th of November, 1898, Mr. Seth S. Beckner, my brother, went dove hunting in a hemp field south of Winchester, Kentucky, about three miles and, while watching the limbs of a dead tree in which the doves were wont to perch, shot what he at first thought was a dove but which, when he picked it up and observed its size, he saw at once was a wild pigeon. Delighted with having shot a bird which he had not seen for many years he hastened home and had it plucked and cooked as a surprise for his sister-in-law, my wife, who was lying at home sick in bed. After it was all done the realization of the mistake made came over every one acquainted with the facts, and time and again the feathers have been wished back on the bird that was accidentally killed and thoughtlessly served as a lunch, which might have graced the case of the richest museum in the land. I have been induced to read this short paper for the sole reason that I deem it proper that this bit of pigeon history be preserved as it is possibly the last wild pigeon to be killed in Kentucky and one, at least, of the last to be seen alive anywhere.”

Next page: image from www.scilogs.com/maniraptora/before-there-were-none/
[passenger pigeons flying home]



Part Five: Twentieth Century Reconstructions and Interpretations

To be developed further; these are initial entries.

W.E. Myer. 1925. Indian Trails of the Southeast. Bureau of American Ethnography, Annual Report 42: 727-900. Reprinted 1971. Blue & Gray Press, Nashville, Tennessee.

Interpretations below will also refer to Jillson (1934), who produced his own maps of early traces in Kentucky.

p. 54: under “Alanant-o-wamiowee (The Buffalo Path) (Trail No. 1).”

“The Alanant-o-wamiowee, which sweeps in a semicircle through north central Kentucky, is one of the oldest roads in America... When the Indians came into this country they adopted the path from the buffalo, and the abundance of game about the licks induced them to establish their villages in the neighborhood. The white man succeeded, and Frankfort, Lexington, Paris, and some of the other leading Kentucky towns sprang up along the old trace. Its aboriginal name has been explained already.” [Check his citation of Collins, p. 780]

Interpretation. Rather than a distinct road, much of this travel may be better termed a migration route. Various mappings are possible, but this route generally followed—or paralleled—connections from the mouth of Licking River to Big Bone Lick to Drennon’s Springs (mostly on back roads to be determined); then to Frankfort to the Georgetown-Lexington area (on or near US 60, 421 or 460-to-25 or various other connections); then to Paris to Blue Licks to Maysville (on or near US 68 or various other connections). Jillson (1934) also shows major

early route used by pioneers, from Louisville to Frankfort to Lexington (now US 60); from Louisville to Bardstown to Harrodsburg; and diverse interesting ways for exits to the northeast.

The mapping of James Sames [check] and Hammon (2005), based on early surveys, suggests that the major buffalo road between the Frankfort and Lexington areas was close to modern US 421 (“Leestown Road”), but Ky. Route 1681 (“Old Frankfort Pike”) is probably close to a frequently used alternative (see: Nourse 1775; May 30th). Hammon also shows a trace along US 460 to Great Crossing (just west of Georgetown) then southeast between Cane Run and North Fork of Elkhorn to Bryan Station (just north of Lexington). There is no direct modern road from the Georgetown area to Bryan Station, but the old survey lines of Ironworks Pike and Lemon’s Mill Road may reflect turns to the southeast, as buffaloes or humans sought connections to the southeast (to the areas of Boonesborough, or Eskipakkithiki and beyond).

p. 58: under “The Licking Route (Trail No. 3).”

“There was an ancient land and water route from the Indian settlements on the lower courses of the Great and Little Miami Rivers, reaching central Kentucky and continuing on to the south through Ouasioto Pass to East Tennessee and Georgia... From Falmouth the land route continued southward [along or near US 27] to an important Indian town near the present site of Cynthiana, and another at Paris, where it connected with trails leading in many directions. While it is well established that this route ran on southward to Ouasioto Pass, its exact location between Paris and that place is uncertain.”

“The country along this portion of the route was so easily traversed that the Indian, not finding any animal trails leading toward Ouasioto Pass, did not confine himself to one beaten trail.

However, it is quite probable that the most traveled way was along the course later followed by the old State road [US 460] as far as the Indian town at Mount Sterling and thence south to the Shawnee town of Es-kip-pa-ki-thi-ki, in Clark County, where it connected with the old Warriors' Path leading southward through the Ouasioto Pass into East Tennessee and Georgia.”

“A considerable portion of the travel on Licking River from the Ohio to the forks of the Licking at Falmouth appears to have been by water when the stage of the river permitted. Probably the land trail along Licking River was rough. At times Indians bound south from the western Ohio towns are known to have floated down the Great or Little Miami and then to have paddled up the Licking to Falmouth or beyond. At the head of canoe navigation they concealed their canoes and followed the land route, and on their return took to their canoes again, floated down the Licking, and paddled up the stream which they had earlier descended.”

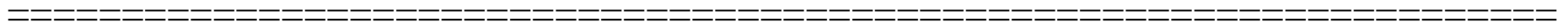
Interpretation. There are various interpretations; perhaps this was not a precisely defined route on the land but a general way to get from the central Ohio Valley (Shawnee lands) to the upper Tennessee Valley (Cherokee lands) and beyond as fast as possible. This may have been an ancient direction for the Indians that was somewhat neglected as a continuous route by the settlers. Myer cites Evans's 1775 map (see above), John Johnston's notes (1814; Trans. and Colls., Amer. Antiq. Soc. 1:297-299), and the account of Byrd's expedition in Collins's History of Kentucky (2: 325-329). See also notes above under Filson (1784) and Barker (1795). Barker's map does not show a connection along US 460. Instead Barker shows a trace from Mill Creek [now in central Harrison Co.] to the south along or near Russell Cave Road [Ky. Route 353] then connecting [perhaps close to Hughes Lane or Harp Innes Road, then Ky. Route 1973, then US 60, then Ky. Routes 89 or 15] across to the divide between Licking and

Kentucky Rivers then down to the mouth of “Howards upr. Cr.” [Upper Howards Creek], above where the Indian Old Fields and Eskippakithiki were located.

p. 59: under “The Big Bone-Blue Lick Trail (Trail No. 4).”

“This led from Big Bone Lick, in Boone County, Ky., to both the lower and upper Big Licks on the Licking River in Nicholas County. It is shown on Louis Evans’s “1775 Map of the Middle British Colonies in America with Pownall’s 1776 Addition,” [see also Evans, 1755] and J. Stoddard Johnston [p. 742 and First Explorations of Kentucky, p. 184] says: “From Big Bone Lick buffalo roads led to Blue Licks.” This meager information makes it certain that such a trail existed, but leaves its exact location in serious doubt. In placing it on our map we have been guided as to its general direction by Louis Evans’s map, and in other respects by the ridges and the higher and more open lands, such as would be preferred by wild animals and moccasin-clad savages. This trail was not a very popular one with either the red man or the early whites.”

Interpretation. Myer shows this running between main Licking River and South Fork, crossing South Fork between Cynthiana and Falmouth, then up over the Dry Ridge area to Boone County. Reasonable alternatives might have been: (1) partly close to Ky. Route 36, between Cynthiana and Williamstown; or, more likely, (b) close to Ky. Route 1054 and the “Old Cynthiana Road”, linking the communities of Hells Halfacre, Colemansville, Durbintown and Marcus (in the southwest corner of Pendleton Co.). See also discussion under Filson’s (1784) mapping of “Byrd’s War Road” and Barker’s (1795) mapping of the trail south from Mill Creek in Harrison Co.



Middleton, A. R., W. R. Jillson, F. T. McFarland and W. A. Anderson. 1926. Kentucky. In V. E. Shelford (Editor). Naturalist's Guide to the Americas. Pages 349-354. The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Maryland.

This account is copied here in full, because it provides the first scientific summary of the whole state's vegetation. It also present perhaps the first outline of a conservation plan for the state. They drew on many sources, with additional contributors noted after some sites, but they did not cite all details.

“I. GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Climate. Kentucky extends 400 mi. in an east-west direction, from the Cumberland Mountains of its eastern border, to the lowlands of the Mississippi River at the west. Some differences in temperature and rainfall are evident in different parts of the state. The mean annual temperature is 56, slightly lower in the east, higher in the west. The mean summer temperature of the western section, 75 to 80, is 5 higher than that of the eastern plateau section. The temperature range is about 140, from -28 to over 100. Rainfall is heaviest in the Cumberland River basin (45 to 51 in.) and lightest in the Licking River basin (37 to 48 in.). This is fairly evenly distributed throughout the year; March and July are months of heaviest precipitation; September and October are the driest months. The Bluegrass Region is more subject to droughts than the other parts of the state; here a minimum rainfall of 26.5 inches is recorded.

Topography and biota (F. T. M. and W. A. A., Jr.). Kentucky may be divided into five well defined physiographic areas.

1. That portion of the state lying east of a line beginning at Portsmouth, Ohio, and extending southwestwardly to about Monticello, Ky., is very mountainous. It is a part of the maturely dissected Allegheny and Cumberland Plateaus. The vegetation on the more mesophytic slopes, is a characteristic beech-maple-chestnut-hemlock formation (*Fagus grandifolia*, *Acer saccharum*, *Castanea dentata*, *Tsuga canadensis*). Among the predominant trees of this mountainous section are: beech, sugar maple, chestnut, hemlock, tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), bigleaf magnolia (*Magnolia macrophylla*), cucumber tree (*Magnolia acuminata*), umbrella tree (*Magnolia tripetala*), in very mesophytic areas; red oak (*Quercus rubra*), chestnut oak (*Quercus prinus*), Spanish oak (*Q. falcata*), white oak (*Q. alba*), shingle oak (*Q. imbricaria*), walnut (*Juglans nigra*) and sourwood (*Oxydendron arboreum*) on slopes and shaly uplands; scrub pine (*Pinus virginiana*), pitch pine (*Pinus rigida*) and yellow pine (*Pinus echinata*) on sandstone summits. Some of the shrubs and herbaceous plants are: *Rhododendron maximum*, mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia*), oilnut (*Pyrolaria pubera*), several species of blue-berry (*Vaccinium* spp.) and huckleberry (*Gaylussacia* spp.), and in the southern part, muscadine grape (*Vitis rotundifolia*); bird-foot violet (*Viola pedata*), *Clintonia umbellata*, climbing fern (*Lygodium palmatum*), wintergreen (*Gaultheria procumbens*) and trailing arbutus (*Epigaea repens*). In this region are red fox (*Vulpes fulva*), skunk (*Mephitis nigra*), gray squirrel, and a great variety of birds, including both northern and southern species. Rattlesnakes are numerous. The larger mammals which formerly inhabited this area black bear (*Ursus americanus*), cougar (*Felis couguar*), bob-cat (*Lynx rufus*), Virginia deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) are now extinct with the exception of black bear.

2. The second region which is quite well defined is one underlain by limestones of the Cincinnati Series. It is a region of low relief, rolling to hilly, and lies about 500 ft. lower than

the mountain section to the east. In this is the so-called Bluegrass Region of Kentucky. The boundary of this region begins near Maysville and extends to Stanford in Boyle County and then circles around to near Louisville. The fertile Bluegrass Region was originally entirely forested. Several forest types could be distinguished: (1) bur oak (*Quercus macrocarpa*}, chinquapin oak (*Q. muhlenbergii*), white oak (*Q. alba*), shellbark hickory (*Carya ovata*), black walnut (*Juglans nigra*); (2) tulip tree, beech, white oak, red oak, hickory; (3) white oak, sweet gum (*Liquidambar styraciflua*, red maple (*Acer rubrum*); and (4) on the best soils, sugar maple, blue ash (*Fraxinus quadrangulata*, black walnut, pignut hickory (*Carya glabra*) [this was really *C. cordiformis*], mulberry (*Morus rubra*), Kentucky coffee tree (*Gymnocladus dioica*}. Chestnut, hemlock and pines, so plentiful in the mountainous section to the east, are absent here. Little of this forest now remains. The remnants are open forests of blue ash, bur oak, chinquapin oak, black walnut and sugar maple. Grasses now carpet the floor of grazed forests, the most important being Kentucky blue grass (*Poa pratensis*} and orchard grass (*Dactylis glomerata*}. The little red fox is quite common in the hillier portions of the region, especially near Falmouth.”

Interpretation. The notes on forest types seem to be based partly on earlier work of Owen (1857), but with some uncertainty in species of oaks and hickories. Typical localities would be as follows: (1) on subxeric or disturbed sites in the Eden Shale hills; (2) on more mesic or mature sites in Eden Shale and Garrard Siltstone; (3) on subhydric flats in transitions to the Knobs; (4) on rolling uplands of the central and eastern Bluegrass.

“3. A region lying to the west of these two regions and extending west to the Tennessee River is underlain by limestones of Mississippian age. In this area, there is found an open region specially in the lower portion which is known as the barrens. This was originally covered with

prairie grasses and low and stunted trees of black jack oak (*Quercus marilandica*), post oak (*Q. stellata*), and black oak (*Q. velutina*). Since the cessation of prairie fires and of grazing by bison, a forest of small and poorly developed trees has grown up, made up of the following species: black jack oak, Spanish oak, red cedar (*Juniperus virginiana*), black gum (*Nyssa sylvatica*), sweet gum and sugar maple.

4. West of the Tennessee River one finds a region belonging to the Quaternary age, and the country is generally more or less rolling. The forest of this region is made up of shingle oak, red oak, overcup oak (*Quercus lyrata*), and scattered beech and sugar maple on the richer lands. The smaller plants are: *Bidens aristosa*, *Helenium tenuifolium*, *Hedeoma pulegioides*, *Solidago* spp., *Aster* spp., *Vernonia fasciculata*, *Vernonia missurica*, *Ambrosia tridentata*, and *Silphium*.

Present biota (W. R. J.): [Footnote, from] "Primeval Tracts of Kentucky, by W. R. Jillson. Reprint from Pan-American Geologist, Vol. XLI, April, 1924."

There are no large regions in Kentucky remaining today in which the fauna and flora are in their natural condition. There are, however, widely separated and restricted areas in which natural conditions nearly obtain. The flora of these regions simulates the original condition, but the fauna in most instances is either greatly reduced in number and species, or reduced and otherwise altered by additions of new groups. The principal areas which approach a natural condition are:

1. A few swamps and lowlands bordering the Mississippi River in the "Purchase Region."

2. A few recently discovered or undiscovered caves in central, southern, and eastern Kentucky.
3. The topmost craggy ridges of the Pine and Cumberland Mountains.
4. A few timber tracts in Harlan, Perry, Leslie, Knott, Breathitt, Pike, and Martin Counties. These tracts are for the most part small.
5. A few dissociated but geologically contiguous dells, coves, and hollows along the outcrop of the Pottsville Conglomerate (Pennsylvanian) in eastern Kentucky and on the western edge of the eastern coal field.
6. A very few hollows in the vicinity of outcrops of the Cypress sandstone (Mississippian) in western Kentucky, notably in Grayson and Breckenridge Counties.
7. Widely scattered throughout the State, notably in Elliott, Pulaski, Rockcastle, Laurel, Edmonson and Clinton counties, there are restricted areas in the box canyons of entrenched streams which simulate natural conditions. These canyons were in the beginning too small to permit extensive lumbering and the timber now found in them is not much different from what it was originally. The streams in many cases occupy the entire floors of the canyons, especially at high water, and do not allow cultivation. Streams on which such conditions occur are the headwaters of the Little Sandy in Elliott County, headwaters of the Cumberland River, headwaters of the Rockcastle River in Rockcastle County, and streams in Powell, Wolfe, Lee, Jackson, Laurel, Pulaski, and Whitley Counties, and on Nolan River and Deer Creek in Gray-

son and Edmonson Counties and Will Creek in Clinton County. The greatest change in all of this region, and in fact in the state generally, has been the removal of the larger native forest trees and the extinction of certain species in the local fauna.

8. Original aquatic biologic conditions of western Kentucky in the Mississippi River bottoms, and in some portions of the western Kentucky coal field adjoining the Ohio River, simulate original conditions.

9. The caves still retain their natural fauna and flora.

Location of unpolluted waters. Unpolluted waters really do not occur in Kentucky due to the fact that the state is almost entirely inhabited. However, if the term "unpolluted" refers to such waters as are in a nearly natural condition with only mountain farms affecting their drainage basins, the following may be listed:

1. Head of the Middle and South Forks of the Kentucky River.
2. Head of Green River, in Knott County.
3. Head of Johns Creek in Pike County.
4. Head of Beaver Creek in Knott County.

Besides these which are really in a class by themselves, there are hundreds of small creeks and

branches in Kentucky which are unpolluted by city, manufacturing or mining drainage. Instances of this sort of stream which is always short and small, can be found in almost every county of the state. The water strictly speaking, however, is not unpolluted since it is sometimes used for watering animals.

5. Kentucky caverns. Kentucky is famous for its cavernous regions which afford not only the largest of caves, Mammoth Cave (D5) in Edmonson County, but also a very large number of caves distributed over a wide area of central and southern Kentucky. This is the region where the Mississippian limestone is exposed or close to the surface. It includes certain areas within the Bluegrass Region. West of the Bluegrass Region, Mammoth Cave, Colossal Cavern and Hidden River or Horse Cave are the largest and best known. The fauna of Mammoth Cave includes twenty-eight species, among which are blind fish, salamanders, crayfish, crickets and beetles. The caves of the Bluegrass Region are smaller and not so well known. Several Boone's caves, in Highbridge limestone, have considerable local interest. In the plateau section of eastern Kentucky, a few caves occur in the Mississippian limestone. Among these are Oligonung in Carter County, and the small caves at Natural Bridge. The best known caves of this section are on the western margin and are not real caves but rock shelters or rock houses hollowed out beneath resistant conglomerate sandstones of the basal Pennsylvanian. Such is the "cave" at Torrent, one of the finest of these overhangs. A waterfall 160 ft. in height drops over this during wet seasons. There are no caves in Kentucky west of the Cumberland River

6. Natural bridges. Several natural bridges of different types occur within the state. The sandstone bridges of the western margin of the Allegheny Plateau are represented by the one at Natural Bridge, Powell County, a picturesque bridge at the plateau summit.

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Jillson, W. R. 1924. Kentucky State Parks. Ky. Geol. Survey, Frankfort, Ky. Also Primeval Tracts of Kentucky, Pan-American Geologist, Vol. XLI, ap. 1924.

II. NATURAL AREAS (A. R. M.)

Kentucky. At the present Kentucky has no completed state parks, but tracts of land for State Park purposes have been given to the Commonwealth near Pineville, Harrodsburg, Elkton, Craborchard Springs and elsewhere. These are proposed State Parks and will be considered by the State Legislature in 1926. The Mammoth Cave (D5), in Edmondson County is being proposed as a National Park. The place where Stephen G. Foster wrote the Old Kentucky Home near Bardstown and Lincoln's birthplace at Hodgenville in Larue County are respectively State and national shrines. The State expects the next Legislature to make appropriations to establish several parks, the last General Assembly having created a State Park Commission of which the

State Geologist is the chairman.

Natural Bridge. (A4.) Area of virgin forest, mixed deciduous and evergreen; very beautiful. Limestone on the lower slopes and cliffs of sandstone on the upper slopes. Cliffs and flat summits. Beech-hemlock climax below, chestnut, white pine higher up on east and north slopes. Pine on south slopes, pine barren summits. Small sphagnum swamps, caves, rockhouses, sandstone natural bridge, mountain streams, flat alluvial valley. 760-1180 ft; dissected area of the Allegheny Plateau. Winchester, 27 mi. southeast, Lexington and Eastern R. R.; at Natural Bridge Station, Powell County, Ky. E. Lucy Braun.

The Lloyd Library Forest Reservation. (A4.) This consists of two tracts of about twenty acres each that have never been touched with the ax. It represents the natural woods as it existed originally in the Blue Grass region of Kentucky. The trees are mostly beech, maple, walnut, oak, tulip and other trees. Lying on the crest of the ridge they are not subject to wash and the soil is the accumulation of the humus of ages. Trees that blow over or fall down are not removed and the rotting logs are characteristic of a primeval forest. Crittenden, Grant County, Kentucky on So. R. R. and Dixie Highway. Chas. A. Skull.

University of Kentucky Zoological Experiment Station. (D4.) Tract cut over a number of years ago (480 acres). Now second-growth of a larger number of the species that were less valuable at the time the hardwood timber was cut. Series of ridges with narrow valleys, watered by a number of small springs and branches. The wild life is being protected so far as possible and every opportunity afforded for investigation of the native plants and animals; also instruction in summer. Quicksand, Tenn. Thomas Cooper.

Berea College Forest Reserve and Adjacent Territory. (A3.) This tract includes a territory 10 mi. in length north and south and 6 mi. in width. East of Berea about 6 mi. and southeast of Richmond some 16 mi., Madison, Rockcastle and Jackson Counties.

Woolper Creek Glacial Moraine. (D5.) (Split Rock.) A deposit of glacial conglomerate locally called "Split Rock." Woolper Creek has cut through this mass and there are now two sections, the upper "Split Rock" and the lower a cliff of conglomerate 185 ft. high paralleling the channel of the creek on the south side. (See page 216, "Geology of Kentucky," Prof. A. M. Miller, published by the Department of Geology and Forestry, Frankfort, Ky., 1919.) The interesting part of this area lies on the south side of Woolper Creek between the Ohio River and the Bellevue and Petersburg Road. The distance along the creek is about a mile, the width varying from one-eighth to one-half mile. A meadow of possibly 50 acres is flanked on both sides by ravines in which a large number of ferns are found. These ravines are steep and the sides are covered with second-growth timber. There is a large variety of wild flowers in the ravines, along the base of the cliffs, etc. The best way to reach this locality is (a) from Cincinnati, crossing the river at Anderson's Ferry to Constance, then to Hebron, Bullitsville, Gainesville, Petersburg, turning south along the Ohio River a distance of about 3 mi.; crossing Woolper Creek on iron bridge, a total distance from Cincinnati of 30 mi. Morten Carlisle.

Middle Creek Glacial Moraine. (B3.) A large area of glacial gravel and conglomerate probably higher than "Split Rock" but not so precipitous* Part of the area is cultivated, but numerous wooded ravines have out-cropping conglomerate with a very interesting flora, columbine, ferns, hepatica, etc. This is a well-watered section, the conglomerate resting on

sedimentary strata permits the rainfall to percolate to the strata whence it emerges in numerous springs. Highest parts about 800 ft. above sea level. Area about 3 mi. by one mi. in dimensions, but broken up by occasional cultivated fields. On Middle Creek, Boone County, Ky., about 6 mi. west of Burlington, the county seat. Distance about 25 mi. from Cincinnati. Reached (a) from Cincinnati through Covington, Erlanger, Florence, Burlington, automobile may be driven on a side dirt road for short distance into this region. Morten Carlisle.

The Hillman Land and Iron Company Reservation. (A3.) This area comprises 65,000 acres in Lyon and Trigg Counties, Ky., nearly all of which is in virgin timber and which is already set aside as a game preserve. There are at least 150 deer and 18 or 20 droves of wild turkeys on this preserve. Lyon and Trigg Counties, Ky. C. J. Meredith.

Tight Holler Forest. (A3.) A virgin forest occupying a branch of Mill Creek or Middle Fork of Red River known as "Tight Holler"; extends from head of ravine about 3 mi. down. Bordered by high sandstone cliffs which completely hem in the valley, making entrance to its head impossible except in one place. Forest of hemlock, tulip tree, magnolias (*M. macrophylla*, *M. tripetala*, *M. acuminata*); dense rhododendron and mountain laurel thickets. Rich rock flora of north and south facing cliffs and dry and wet cliffs. Clear small permanent stream. Fauna said to include black bear and probably all of the animals native to this section. 800-1300 ft.; abrupt.

Torrent. (B3.) 3 mi. north, Lexington and Eastern R. R.; Glencairn, north to Mill Creek, east to lower end of "Tight Holler" (w). Or, Torrent, 5 mi. north, L. & E. R. R.; Campton Jet.; east, about 15 mi. on narrow gage to Pine Ridge; the one mile across upland to faint trail leading into head of "Tight Holler." Wolfe County, Ky. E. L. Braun."

Lucien Beckner. 1927. John Findley: first pathfinder of Kentucky. The Filson Club History Quarterly 1:111-122. John Findley was one of the first documented English-speaking fur-traders in Kentucky, but there is little direct information about his activities and observations in the state. See also Beckner (1932) below.

p. 114: regarding Findley's presence at Eskippakithiki in what became eastern Clark Co., near the community of Indian Fields.

“His gate-posts and cabin were still standing when the whites came in 1775. A story has come down to the effect that he packed his goods at Lancaster [Pennsylvania] with English or Bluegrass—a seed which had been brought by European colonists to that rich limestone region—and when he unpacked his goods at Eskippakithiki, he threw the hay out in his yard, where it sprouted and spread throughout our central limestone region. (Japanese clover, *Lespedeza [striata]*, also had such a history.)”

Otto A. Rothert. 1927. Origin of the names Beargrass Creek, the Point and Thruston Square. The Filson Club History Quarterly 2: 19-21.

Interpretation. The first record of this creek was as “Rotten Cr. or Bear Grass C.” on Evans’ (1755) map; see above. Rothbert dismissed the idea that beargrass was a corruption of the French “La Barre Grosse Crique” for “The Big Bar Creek”; this has been suggested since the creek’s mouth is just above the Falls of the Ohio River. There appears to be no documentary evidence for this French origin, but neither is there for the Yucca theory. Rothert claimed that Beargrass refers to *Yucca filamentosa*, which he states “was plentiful in the Virginia colonies.”

However, there is no evidence of such usage in the Louisville area during settlement. Moreover, current botanical information indicates that this species is not native to Kentucky. It is much more likely that “beargrass” referred to wild hyacinth, *Camassia scilloides*; see notes above under McBride (1869). [Note: previous interpretation of “beargrass” as cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*), big blue stem (*Andropogon gerardii*), gama-grass (*Tripsacum dactyloides*) or other tall grasses has now been abandoned by this author (JC).]

John D. Wickliffe. 1928. Pioneer Stations in Nelson County. The Filson Club History Quarterly 2: 127-133.

Extracted notes as follows; see also footnote 12 in McDowell (1956). ““In April, 1775, Colonel Isaac Cox, with seventeen others, left Red Stone on the Monongahela River in a flatboat, and floated down that stream and the Ohio River to the mouth of the Kentucky River, where they left their boat and marched through the unbroken forest to Cox’s Creek in what is now Nelson County, Kentucky... In the summer of 1775 Eaton or Heaton... struck the headwaters of Pottinger’s Creek, and went down that stream until they reached the rich cane land in the bottoms, where Heaton made his settlement [along Rolling Fork near New Haven]...”

Edna Kenton. 1930. Simon Kenton: His Life and Period, 1755-1836. Double Day, Doran & Co., New York.

p. 5-6: summarizing the landscape of the Bluegrass region in about 1775-80.

“It was a land of cane whose stalks were only lesser trees, of wild grasses that sprang to an enormous height, of nettles from whose fibers cloth might be spun. Its forests embraced an

infinite variety of trees big of girth and of gigantic growth—the elm and oak, the ash and willow, the huge-bellied sycamore and cottonwood, the honey locust and the catalpa# and the redwood tree [inexplicable], the fragrant spice wood [*Lindera*] and the walnut black and white, the pawpaw and the chesnut*, the iron wood [*Carpinus* or *Ostrya*] and the hoop wood [perhaps hackberry], the hickory and the sugar maple. Its fruits were flavorsome and splendid—the wild strawberry and blackberry and raspberry, black and red, the wild cherry and hackberry and wild goose plum [perhaps *Prunus munsoniana*], the persimmon# and mulberry—and every forest festooned with the wild grape vine.”

“It was carpeted with wild rye [*Elymus* spp.], with prairie [perhaps *Trifolium reflexum*]# and buffalo clover [*Trifolium stoloniferum*], with the deep “blue grass” [presumably *Poa pratensis*]* and with “Rich Weed,” [*Eupatorium* or *Pilea*] and it was spread with flowers strange and lovely and with familiar blooms so extravagant that they seemed strange—the trumpet creeper [*Campsis radicans*], Indian turnip [*Arisaema triphyllum*], Solomon’s seal [*Polygonatum* spp.], toad-flax [*Linaria vulgaris*]*, and phlox [*Phlox divaricata, paniculata*], the May apple [*Podophyllum peltatum*], fire pink [*Silene virginica*] and wintergreen [*Chimaphila maculata*]#, the blue wild lupine [perhaps *Baptisia australis*] and spiked moth mullein [*Verbascum blattaria*]*, the bignonia vine [*Bignonia capreolata*] and the poison ivy [*Rhus radicans*], the blue larkspur [*Delphinium tricorne*], and the great laurel [*Rhododendron maximum*]#. Even the forest became a giant’s garden and perfumed land and river when the horse chestnut [*Aesculus glabra*], the locust, the pawpaw, the willow, and the fox grape [*Vitis vulpina*] were in bloom.”

Interpretation. This account is somewhat romanticized and botanically questionable, apparently

being derived from various original sources to be determined, plus the author's own knowledge. This is the perhaps the first mention in historical literature of some species. However, some are largely alien species (*) or largely restricted to peripheral valleys or hills (#).

Lucien Beckner. 1932. Eskippakithiki: the last Indian town in Kentucky. The Filson Club History Quarterly 6:355-382.

p. 372: concerning the arrival of John Findley at Eskippakithiki in the fall of 1752.

“A story about this unpacking has been handed down by the mouth of his comrade of later years, Daniel Boone, who told it to his nephew, Daniel Bryan, who in turn told it to Lyman C. Draper. It is to the effect that he packed his trade goods at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with hay made of English grass or, as we now call it, bluegrass. It had been imported to that rich limestone region from farms of the motherland across the sea. When Findley threw this packing aside on the rich limestone land at Eskippakithiki, it generated and spread and was the first bluegrass to grow in Kentucky. Twenty-five years later, when the whites came to settle, they found no bluegrass in central Kentucky, save at Grassy Lick in Montgomery County and at Indian Old Fields [the later name for Eskippakithiki].”

p. 374: regarding letter from Croghan to Trent to Hamilton in 1753; see Trent (1753) above.

“Kentucky is spelled in this report just as we spell it now and is used as a name for Eskippakithiki... As this was twenty years before Dragging Canoe, at the Watauga Treaty, called the Transylvania Purchase a “Dark and Bloody Hunting Ground,” it disposes of those sinister words as the supposed meaning of “Kentucky.” Since Trent received his information indirectly

from the Conewagos, who were Iroquoians, he calls the “place” by its Iroquoian name, Kentucky. *Kenta* is an Iroquoian root-word, seen in many combinations and various spellings, which means “level”; and those who have seen the 3,500 acres of level, prairie country at Indian Old Fields, can appreciate the relevancy of the name to that place... The same root, kenta, occurs in the word “Kentayenton-ga,” which was the Iroquois name for the more level country reached by the traveler down the Ohio—about Adams County, Ohio, and Lewis County, Kentucky—after breaking through the rough sandstone hills and narrow bottoms of the coal-bearing country. Kentuckians of today describe these two topographic provinces by the words “Mountain” and “Bluegrass.”

Willard Rouse Jillson. 1934. Pioneer Kentucky. The State Journal Company. Frankfort. Chapter III. First Routes, Trails, and Traces. Chapter IV. Springs, Licks and Stream Crossings. This is an invaluable collection of early references to various places; those with special botanical, ecological or local geographic interest are noted here. Notes on the Lower and Upper Blue Licks are collected elsewhere...

p. 116: “Clover Bottom—on Haggin’s Trace, about 2 or 3 miles from Kentucky River and mouth of Shawnee Run; involves land claimed by Uriah Garton—a well known locality in 1780.”

Interpretation. This is in southern Jessamine Co. Note that the site of Haggin’s Station was 4 miles northeast of Harrodsburg in Mercer Co., near US 68 southwest of Shakertown.

p. 118: “Bramblett’s Lick is in Clark county on a fork of Stoner’s Fork originally 1775-1782 called Gist’s Creek [now upper Stoner Creek]. It was during the period of settlement a well

known watering place and was close to an original corner of a 6000 acre military survey made for Nathaniel Gist by James Douglas in 1775. It also marked the 1000 acre improvement survey of George Caldwell made in 1780 at which time much cane grew in this neighborhood.”

Interpretation. This place was probably near the modern community of North Middletown in Bourbon Co.

p. 118: “Clay Lick was located on North Elkhorn Creek near the dividing ridge between the waters of North Elkhorn and the head of Cooper’s Run of Licking River. It was on the Old Buffalo Road from the Lower Blue Licks to Riddle’s Station [Ruddell’s Station between Shawhan and Lair] and thence to McClelland’s Station [now Georgetown]. In 1780 it was a well known locality.”

Interpretation. This place must have been near the modern communities of Centerville (on the watershed divide) or Loradale (on Harps Fork of Goose Creek). It could have been a significant intersection between east-west traffic (on or near modern US 460) and northeast-southwest traffic (on or near modern Ky. Routes 353 and 1876-1893). But Barker’s 1795 map shows only a north-south trace in this area, curving up from near modern US 68 between Lexington and Paris, then perhaps close to 353, then north through the Leesburg area to Mill Creek; see also notes under “Lee’s Lick.” Filson’s (1784) map shows no traces into this potential area of intersection. However, Myer (1925) indicated that there was a major east-west “buffalo path” through this area, from Great Crossing and the Georgetown area to the Paris area, probably close to the current US 460; it is not clear what Myer’s sources were.

p. 119: “Eastin’s Lick was on the head of one of the branches of Little North Elkhorn Creek and close to the divide separating same from the waters of Eagle Creek. At the northwest corner of

Augustine Eastin's 500 acre survey made on May 11, 1780, it was on the route of March—an old Buffalo trace—of Colonel John Bowman and Captain John Holder made in 1779 and 1780 against the Shawnee Indians on the Little Miami River. This trail was sometimes called the Shawnee Trace. Little North Elkhorn was a pioneer name apparently for that branch of North Elkhorn Creek known today as Dry Run in central Scott Co.”

Interpretation. Several traces presumably led north from the area between “Stamping Ground” and “Great Crossing”, near Georgetown, on or near the route of US 25 to what became Cincinnati (Myer 1925). The modern community “Longlick” is on Lyles Fork of Eagle Creek, perhaps a few miles northwest of “Eastin’s Lick.” The remarkable population of Prairie Mimosa (*Desmanthus illinoensis*) on and near Lyles Fork, south of Biddle on Ky. Rte. 620 may have been along traces between the two licks. See also modern place names: “Longlick Road” (Ky. Rte. 32 from Georgetown to NNE); “Sulphur Well Road” off the preceding; “Sand Lick” (SW of Stamping Ground); and “White Sulphur” (at west end of Ironworks Pike at US 460).

p. 120: “Grassy Lick is at the Forks of Grassy Lick Creek and Hinkston’s Fork [at mouth of Somerset Creek] of Licking River in northern Montgomery county. It was preempted in 1776 and has at various times been called Blue Lick and Parkins Lick. It was improved by Aaron Higgins in 1776 and was then an area remarkable for its quantity and quality of “English” or Native Bluegrass. Buffalo and deer came there to feed in large numbers in the open grassy meadow.”

Interpretation. See other historical notes about this place above (e.g. Clinkenbeard in Draper 1842-51). Another name for this lick, or perhaps a distinct nearby lick on Grassy Lick Creek was “Buck Lick” (see Jillson, p. 118). This place was apparently quite unusual within the neighborhood. There are no other modern place names with “lick” in Montgomery, Clark or

Bourbon Counties, except for “Plum Lick Creek” (near the community “Plum”), about 5 miles north of Grassy Lick (see “Plumb Lick” below); see also “Bramblett’s Lick” above. These licks were along the south side or near the southeastern end of Cane Ridge, and might have connected that ridge with traces into the main “Warriors Path” (Athiamio wee in the native language) that ran along foothills and valleys in the transition from Bluegrass to Knobs.

p. 120: “Hinholen’s Lick is shown by Barker adjacent to an unnamed northeast flowing tributary of the south fork of Licking River below the mouth of Stoner’s creek. This would correspond generally to an unnamed tributary of Silas Creek on a modern map of the State and thus place this lick in what is now southern Harrison county.”

Interpretation. Close inspection of Barker’s map indicate this site could have been in the neighborhood of Huskens Run of Silas Creek [of Townsend Creek], or Edgewater Creek, or perhaps between them. It could have been on or near the “Bird’s War Road” mapped by Filson (1784) from “Riddle’s Station” [Ruddell’s Station], crossing Gray’s Run and Mill Creek, then north along the Licking River. The station was located on the east side of South Fork Lick, between the mouths of Townsend Creek and Edgewater Creek; it was attacked in June 1780 by Captain Henry Bird, Simon Girty and various forces from the Detroit area (Coleman 1951; see quote below).

p. 121: “Lee’s Lick. A white sulphur saline spring on the head of West Creek in southwestern Harrison county. A hunter’s trail lead from the Licking by Lee’s Lick to Georgetown—formerly McClelland’s Station.”

Interpretation. This “hunter’s trail” was probably on or close to current Ky. Route 1842, from Leesburg on US 62 to Breckinridge on Ky. Route 36, then north to near Hells Halfacre,

Robinson or Berry in northern Harrison Co. There are only a few modern place names with “lick” in the county: “Mud Lick Branch” and “Snake Lick Creek” of South Fork Licking River, on the northeast side of Berry; and “Mud Lick Creek” of Beaver Creek of main Licking River (eastern corner of the county). See also “Hinholen’s Lick” above.

p. 122: “Mud Lick a group of small brackish springs located on the Shawnee trail where it crosses Mud Lick Creek in central Johnson County. Prior to settlement it was at infrequent intervals the site of an Indian village.”

Interpretation. Based on unknown sources; see also notes on Barker’s (1795) map.

p. 122: “Plumb Lick is shown by Barker on his map of 1795 as situated on the upper waters of Hinkston Fork of Licking River close to the waters of Plumb Lick Creek near the present Montgomery—Bourbon county line.”

Interpretation. See notes on other nearby licks under “Grassy Lick” above. There may have been another “Plum Lick” that became the site for Boone’s Station on Boone Creek (now on Gentry Lane near Athens); check surveys with Nancy O’Malley, but see interview with Clinkenbeard in Draper (1842-51).

Charles.R. Staples. 1939. History of Pioneer Lexington 1779-1806. Transylvania Press, Lexington. Reprinted in 1973 by Lexington-Fayette County Historic Commission.

p. 1. “The extravagant reports of the early surveyors and hunters were more than borne out by the first views of the dense woodlands of locust, black walnut, hickory, sugar maples, buckeyes and blue ash.”

George R. Wilson and Gayle Thornbrough. 1940. The Buffalo Trace. Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

p. 249-261: based on the original surveys during 1805-07, these authors have mapped this major buffalo trace across southern Indiana. This trace crossed the Ohio River at the Falls and connected with traces from the Louisville area east to the Frankfort area then across the Blue Licks, etc., and also south to the Shepherdsville area (especially Bullitt's Lick) and beyond. Further historical work is still needed across east-central states, in order to improve our understanding of these animals' migration patterns.

Note. This book needs further study; also to develop concepts about dispersal of *Solidago shortii*, found only along this trace or nearby—Blue Licks—Falls of Ohio—Blue River.

J. Winston Coleman. 1951. Kentucky. With an account of the capture of Ruddell's and Martin's Stations, June, 1780. Winburn Press, Lexington, Kentucky.

“On June 20th, the invaders reached the forks of the Licking, now the present site of Falmouth, in Pendleton County. There was then no settlement in this part of Kentucky. Here the entire force, because of shallow water, was obliged to disembark, where they erected temporary huts and shelters for their boats and stores. Then the army began a slow and tedious overland march to Ruddell's Station, distant forty-five miles, laboriously cutting as they went, a wagon-road sufficiently wide over which the two pieces of cannon were dragged. Judging by the speed of the movement after the 20th, this project along the south fork of the Licking was executed with tremendous vigor.”

Robert E. McDowell. 1956. Bullitt's Lick. The related saltworks and settlements. Filson Club History Quarterly 30: 241-267. This paper provides a very useful map of the area around Bullitt's Lick and Mann's Lick, with topographic and historical features of 1773-1830. Both of these licks became important for producing salt in the pioneer era. McDowell provided copious footnotes for original sources to be checked.

p. 244: "Bullitt's Lick was the hub of a great system of buffalo roads leading into to it from all directions like the spokes of a wheel." It was one of a cluster of licks to the north, west and south of what became Shepherdsville, in Bullitt Co. These included Blue Lick, Iron's Lick, Dry Lick, Long Lick and Parakeet Lick (or McGee's Lick). Downstream from Bullitt's Lick Run, "Fort Nonsense" was by the crossing of "a great buffalo road" that led from the Salt River here to Long Lick and what became Ky. Route 245. "Brashear's Fort" was at the mouth of Floyd's Fork by a "buffalo ford" across Floyd's Fork (leading along Ky. Route 44).

"The route mapped by Filson (1784) from the Falls to Bardstown crossed Town Fork of Salt River, with a ferry, near "Bashare's" then ran near what are now called Cedar Creek (and "Pine Creek Barrens"), to Cedar Grove, to Ky. Route 1604, joining Ky. Route 245 at Deatsville. However, McDowell notes another popular route after 1781, when the ferry was installed: "Now they could ferry across at Dowdall's [Station] and take another buffalo path that went up the south side of Salt River, ford Cox's Creek at the mouth of Rocky Run, and go up the east fork of Cox's Creek to Harrodsburg" [along Ky. Routes 480 to 48, etc.]. This "other buffalo path" from Bullitt's Lick probably crossed the Salt River near what became the "Shepherdsville Ford" and then up "Buffalo Run" (a small tributary still called this on modern maps) into what

became Ky. Route 480.”

p. 260: “About a half mile above Shepherdsville was a pretty little lick on the north bank of Salt River known variously as McGree’s Lick or the Parakeet Lick from the flocks of these colorful birds that frequented the place... [this became] the famous Paroquette Springs, one of the most fashionable spas of the old south.”

“Mann’s Lick was on the south side of “Oldham’s Pond”—the larger of the “Fish Ponds” marked on Filson’s (1784) map. “Ash Pond” was adjacent to the east. Remnants of the two largest ponds, now swampy woods and fields, are located in Jefferson Co. along the L&N Railroad south of the airport (Standiford Field) and north of the Gene Snyder Freeway. Several other smaller “ponds” or “pools” are marked in this watershed: called “Pond Creek” by Filson (1784), but now known as “Mill Creek” downstream (with much artificial modification), with upstream branches, Fern Creek and Fish Pool Creek.”

p. 254: “From Mann’s Lick on the north to Long Lick on the south, the forest was falling before the wood choppers. The furnaces devoured wood at a fearsome rate. The sound of ax strokes filled the air... Bullitt’s Lick must have taken on something of the nature of a boom town—a startling, unbelievable sight to the hunters in from the deep woods, to the settlers from their lonely clearings... As wood grew scarce about the licks, the furnaces were moved further and further off. The water was conveyed to them through wooden pipes made from gum or sassafras logs... Some of these strings of pipes went on for miles... Poor Benjamin Stansberry, who owned 500 acres close to Bullitt’s Lick, testified that the saltmakers had broken his arm when he had tried to stop them from cutting and carrying off his wood. Moreover, they added

insult to injury, reviling and abusing him whenever he was forced to go into the lick on business...”

Edna T. Whitley. 1958. What was Bettywood? Kentucky Folklore Record 4: 175-176.

She stated that bettywood is “a sappy, resinous wood useful for kindling fires quickly”.
Interpretation. The name “bettywood” was only used during the pioneer era, ca. 1783-1820 (especially 1797-1809), in Deed Books for the following counties: Bourbon, Montgomery, Fleming, Mason Counties. An initial inventory shows that it was recorded with sugar 1-2-1-1-1, ironwood 1, buckeye 1-1-1, mulberry 1, beech 1, dogwood 1 & white walnut 2: “large black walnut standing nearly in the Center between three angular Mark’d Bettywood saplins...”, “two Bettywood Saplins near a Mark’d Honey locust in a Cane Leavel”. After much further investigation, the identity of this tree remains uncertain. It was probably either coffee tree (*Gymnocladus dioicus*) or hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*), based on the fact that “bettywood” is never listed at the same survey corners as “coffee” (or the other common names for coffee, mahogany, etc.) or “hackberry” (or the other common names for hackberry, “hoopwood” and “hoopash”). I have found a few surveys where “bettywood” is used in the same tract (but never at the same corner). Both species would have been largely unknown to surveyors from Virginia, especially the coffee tree.

Neal O. Hammon. 1970. Early roads into Kentucky. Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 68: 91-131. This is an invaluable source for mapping the original routes, and references to original documents.

p. 117: “The use of a road in the wilderness is important for its survival, since this is the only way it will retain its identity. By 1785, Boone’s Trace, like the buffalo paths it followed, was probably overgrown with cane and brush from lack of use.”

Neal O. Hammon. 1972. The Fincastle Surveyors in the Bluegrass, 1774. Register of the 287 Kentucky Historical Society 70: 277 – 294. Details need to be checked.

H. E. Everman. 1977. The History of Bourbon County, Kentucky, 1785-1865. Bourbon Press, Paris, Kentucky.

See also extracts at: http://www.frontierfolk.net/ramsha_research/evermansite.html

From Chapter One: “Pastoralists soon learned that buffalo and cattle fattened on the native Bourbon cane.[3] Sporadic patches of wild rye, clover and buffalo grass augmented the diet further.[4] The tangled wilderness, however, was no pastoral dream. Cane was thick and the undergrowth obstructed all but the packhorse.[5] At times even the packhorse foundered along the rough journey into Canaan.[6]... In the 1770s cane, dense forests, and undergrowth of all kinds covered the farmland. Clearings were scattered like popcorn along the streams. Cane, with its leaves resembling the willow, was three to twelve feet high. Thickets were deep and hot with growth overhead and little air down under.[10] Blue and black ash, honey locusts, walnuts, wild cherry, buckeye, burr oaks, maple, laurel, hickory and bettewood trees choked the landscape.[11] The bettewood tree, a sappy, resinous wood useful for kindling fires quickly also served as a survey marker in Virginia and Kentucky.[12]. Trees provided the early farmer-settler with more than shelter. Honey locusts had large thorny spikes but bore pea-like pods that tasted sweet and made excellent beer.[13] Clean hickory ashes served as a salt substitute at

times and sassafras from the laurel tree made tea the common beverage. Finally, the maple supplied molasses and sugar.[14] Orchards were rare but Indians had often rested along the traces in the Flat Rock Region and thrown out seed that developed into a plum grove prior to settlement.[15]”

- His references are as follows. [1] William B. Allen, *A History of Kentucky* (Louisville: 1872), 114-115. William H. Perrin, (ed) *History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison and Nicholas Counties* (Chicago: 1882), 28-31. Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville: 1874), 68-70.
- [2] Rogers, *Autobiography*, 1-4. John Filson, *Kentucke* (Wilmington: 1784), 16-27.
- [3] *Jessee Kennedy Journal* (Paris, Kentucky: 1850), 7-8.
- [4] *Filson: Kentucke*, 23-27.
- [5] Rogers, *Autobiography*, 1.
- [6] *Kennedy, Journal*, 7-8.
- [7] *Filson, Kentucke*, 16-23. *Kennedy, Journal*, 7-8. Perrin, *County History*, 21-27.
- [8] *Filson, Kentucke*, 16-23. Perrin, *County History*, 21-27, 83, 121, 131, 134.
- [9] *Filson, Kentucke*, 23-27.
- [10] *Ibid.*. Rogers, *Autobiography*, 1-4. Draper MSS, 14cc, 4.
- [11] *Filson, Kentucke*, 16-27. Draper MSS, 14cc, 4. Perrin, *County History*, 21-27, 83, 121, 131-134. See the Bourbon Survey Books.
- [12] Edna T. Whitley, "What was Bettywood?" *Kentucky Folklore Record*, IV (December, 1958), No. 4, 175-176.
- [13] *Filson, Kentucke*, 20-23.
- [14] Rogers, *Autobiography*, 1-4.
- [15] Whitley anecdote.

From Chapter Two: “The new courthouse opened in October, 1767.[28] It served the community for a decade. The Hill, as it was called, was a logical choice for the new community because of the large spring of fine water near the mouth of Houston Creek. The old buffalo trace or wagon road provided a natural, easy way across Stoner and up the Houston cliffs. By using rough and marshy land they avoided sacrificing agricultural farmland. Too, wagoners had long camped here enroute to Lexington or the Blue Licks. As early as 1764, John Reed of Maryland pre-empted land in the Hill area. Shortly thereafter, Lawrence Protzman bought part of the pre-emption. The Virginia Legislature, in 1769, at Protzman's request, ordered that "two-hundred and fifty acres of land, at the courthouse in Bourbon County, be laid off into town lots and streets by Lawrence Protzman, the proprietor thereof.. and a town by the name of Hopeweil be established." It also designated town trustees and required that purchasers of lots build a "sixteen square foot house with brick or stone chimney." [29] “

[28] Order Book A, 82.

[29] G.R. Keller and J.M. McCann, *Sketches of Paris, Bourbon County, Kentucky* (Paris: 1876), 4-5. The town was probably named after Hopewell, Maryland.

From Chapter Three: “Land surveyors, as late as the turn of the century, noted the survival of small clumps of cane as well as virtual forests of white, black, and blue ash, hickory, hackberry, wild cherry, beech, buckeye, elm, and sugar trees. The plum orchard seeded by Indian hunters passing through the Cane Ridge area decades earlier had become a local landmark.[7]. Undoubtedly, early pioneers wasted timber because of its abundance. Farmers disliked hackberry trees and simply burned them to rid the landscape of their presence. They used ash for agricultural implements, harness work, carriage shafts, boat oar, and for flooring in

carriages and the finer homes. Several families of the Cane Ridge area possessed blue ash floors. Pioneers used beech trees for furniture, especially chairs, and the cherry wood for cabinets and woodwork.[8]. Throughout the 1790s, wolves often traveled the Bourbon area in ferocious packs. Under Virginia law and later Kentucky law, citizens turned in scalps of wolves which they had killed and the county paid a bounty of 100 pounds of tobacco for a full grown animal and half that amount for smaller ones. Magistrates confiscated the scalps. Numerous Bourbonites took advantage of this proposition. Samuel Blackburn, in 1787, turned in seventeen scalps which forever remained the oneyear record.[9]. At the close of the century, livestock grazed in the disappearing woods or ran loose. Enclosures were illegal. Consequently, Bourbonites turned to the traditional ear-marking for identification of their cattle, hogs, and sheep. Owners registered ear marks at the Courthouse. The swallow fork, underkeel, rounding crop, and a hole were popular marks.[10]. From 1788 onward, farmers recorded their markings. Jacob Spears used a swallow fork in each ear. This mark, perhaps the easiest and simplest, was a cut like the deeply forked tail of a swallow.[11]”

[7] Bourbon County Land Entry Books, 1786-1791.

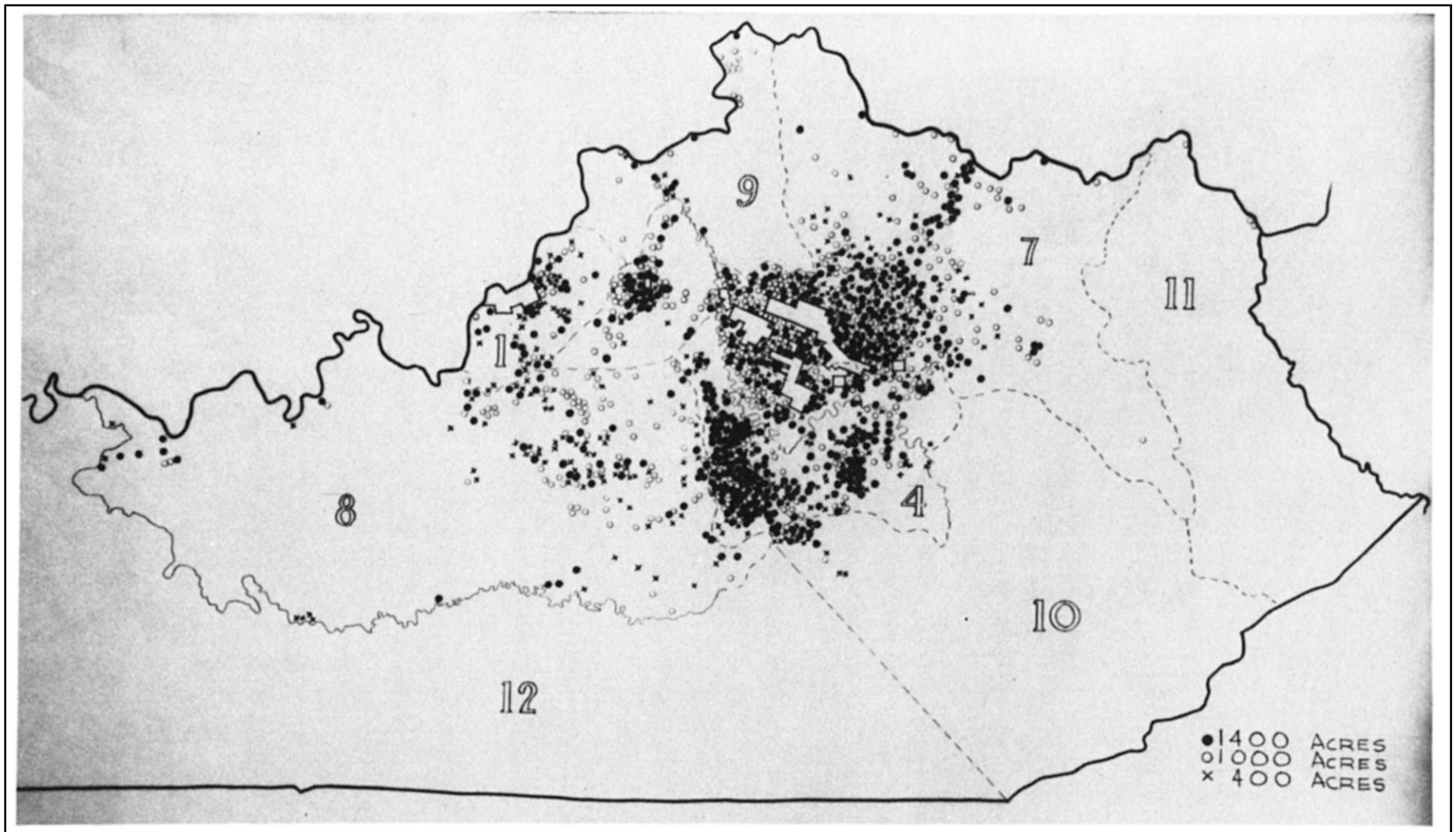
[8] Whitley, Footnote No. 36, November 1, 1957.

[9] Ibid., No. 38, November 15, 1957. Order Book A. B, C.

[10] Whitley, Footnote No. 52, March 14, 1958.

[11] Order Book A, 123, 294, 311.

Neal O. Hammon. 1986. Settlers, land jobbers, and outlyers. A quantitative analysis of land acquisition on the Kentucky frontier. Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 84: 241-262.



Map of Hammon (1986): “Individual Claims, 1774-1791” He summarized as follows: “Most of the claims fall within a circle drawn through Frankfort, Perryville, Crab Orchard, Berea, Mount Sterling, Maysville, and Cynthiana. Other concentrations can be observed near Shelbyville, Bardstown-Springfield, Owensboro, and Louisville.. Perhaps the strangest fact of all is that no settlement or preemption claims were made along the Wilderness Road, between the Cumberland Gap and Dicks River.”

Fred Logan Simpson. 1992 [2nd printing by author in 1993]. Back of the Cane. Early Virginia Surveys in Today's Garrard County, Kentucky. 1775-1789. Lancaster, Kentucky. This is a remarkable compilation of all known surveys in the county from the pioneer period. The author provides the following summary of vegetation, under the heading "The Extensive Dividing Ridge", but referring to the whole county (p. 14).

"Though it was a wilderness it was not untouched by the hand of man. Many evidences of an earlier occupation by Indian peoples remained such as piles of stones, called "Indian Graves" by the early settlers, burial or ceremonial mounds, and overgrown clearings where they had engaged in primitive agriculture. The region of "Bald Hills" [dolomitic foothills of the Knobs] that stretched from Gilbert's Creek to today's Preachersville is perhaps best explained as a result of fires set by earlier Indian inhabitants to increase the carrying capacity of the range for buffalo. Though no Indians had lived here for decades it had remained an area used for occasional hunting parties wqhen laying in a store of meat for the winter.

"The landmarks most mentioned by the earlier settlers were the various licks, connected by a network of buffalo traces which became the first roads into the region. Some were indeed salt or mineral springs but most were just a clay bank or flat where wild game had destroyed the vegetation by congregating and licking the mineral laden earth. Most disappeared along with the buffalo & elk. The most noted of these in Garrard lay in a row along the foot of the Knobs but another line of smaller licks ran across the Eden Shale lands of Buckeye and Sugar Creek.

“...Along and below the northern rim of this dividing ridge [between Dick’s River and Sugar Creek or Paint Lock Creek] lay a vast cane brake. The hills and hollows of lower Back Creek and Buckeye [NE of the ridge], where so many of my own ancestors first settled, were called the land “Back of the Cane,” hence the title of this book. This [middle Ordovician Garrard Siltstone & Eden Shale] was a densely forested area of many sugar maples, beech, poplar and other tree types. The land to the south of the dividing ridge [upper Ordovician limestone/shale] was also forested but contained more walnut and oak in the richer lands. Chestnuts and pines were restricted to the knobs of the southeast. The cedar and locust, so prevalent today, were much less common. The cedar appeared mainly atop the high cliffs along the Kentucky and lower Dick’s River. The locust usually appeared in thickets that had sprung up in old clearings or canebrakes.”

The author also provides a summary of early traces, under the heading “Boone’s Trace” (p. 12). “The first road to cross today’s Garrard was a bridle path that branched off the Wilderness Road at St. Asaphs [near Stanford] in a direct line to the fort at Boonesborough. It was in use by late 1775 and served as a line of communication between Logan’s Fort [Stanford] and Boonesborough. It ascended the main branch of Gilbert’s Creek and crossed the dividing ridge near today’s Hyattsville. It then went down Long Branch to the lick at the mouth of Back Creek where it forded Paint Loick Creek. By 1780 this “Boone’s Trace” was already falling out of favor due to increased use of the “upper trace” that forded Paint Lick Creek and Silver Creek at the Bull Lick, following the approximate route of today’s Hwy. 52. The “lower trace” was reserved for times of Indian danger or for use by the hunters who supplied the stations with meat. Another “old trace” mentioned in the records ran from St. Asaph’s to the mouth of Hickman Creek by way of the mouth of Hanging Fork and Boones Creek. It intersected an

early trace coming from Harrodsburg near today's Bryantsville. These traces along with the "hunting paths" and game trails served as the pathways into this area for the first settlers." In addition, "Downing's Trace" is shown (p. 31) under surveys for John and James Bryant: "These surveys lie along Jack Turner Branch Road and Sad Lane which roughly follow the route of the old Downing's Trace." This seems to have been a hunting trace between Downing Station (near modern Lancaster) and the lick of Boone's Trace at forks of Paint Lick Creek.

The author also provides a map (p. 15) showing natural features, include a "buffalo road" between Harmon's Lick and White Lick. This runs approximately west to east along the dolomitic foothills.

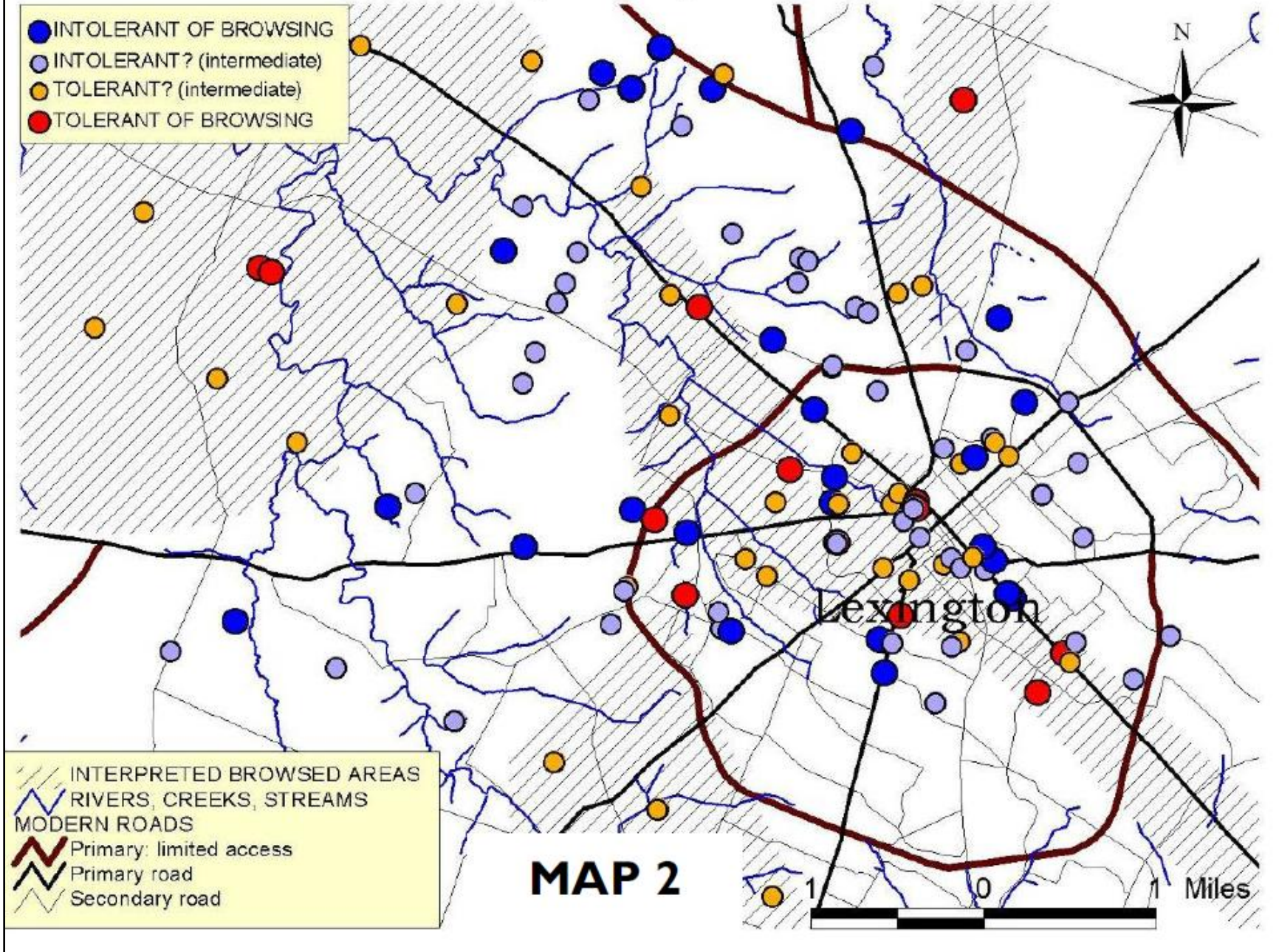
Neal O. Hammon. 2000. Pioneer routes in central Kentucky. Filson Club History Quarterly 74: 125-143. Details to be checked.

Neal O. Hammon. 2003. Pioneer Forts and Stations. Filson Club History Quarterly 76; check. Details to be checked.

Neal O. Hammon. 2005. Daniel Boone and the Defeat at Blue Licks. The Boone Society, Inc. Details to be checked; see especially maps.

Next page. Map from: Campbell, J.J.N. 2010. Rebuilding the concept of Bluegrass Woodland. The Lady Slipper (Newsletter of Kentucky Native Plant Society) 25 (1): 6-9. This work can be extended to explore several questions; for example, did large herbivores concentrate effects around the areas with higher phosphate content (as documented by Foerste 1913)?

Witness Trees of Central Bluegrass (1774-1786): Indicators of Browsed Woodland



Appendix A. Selected comments from Parts One and Two with some of the best insights

See bibliographic details above.

From Part One

Thomas Hanson. 1774. On North Branches of Elkhorn Creek: “The land is so good that I cannot give it its due praise. Its undergrowth is clover pea vine cane & nettles.--intermixed with richweed. Its timber is honey locust, black walnut, sugar tree, hickory, iron wood, hoop wood, mulberry, ash, & elm, & some oak.”

Edward Harris. 1797. Around Washington, Mason County: “To enumerate all the natural herbage & flowers in the woods would be too tedious & I should want names for them; buffaloe clover, rye grass--pea vine & a broad leaf grass & what is call’d rich weed is what the cattle most delight in, but there is in the month of march a great variety of food all over the woods; the under brush is what you call fever bush [spice bush] which grows large with a red berry, some haws or thorn; the natural fruit is the custard apple [pawpaw], cherrys, mulberrys, & a variety of plum like damsons, blackberries, rawsberries, may apples, resembling an orange, goosberries, & crab apples, (nuts) hickory, black walnut, chesnut, beachnut, coffee nut & buck eye.”

Col. William Fleming: 1779-83. Around Harrodsburg, Mercer County: “The soil every where in this country is surprisingly shallow as appears from the trees every where blown up by the roots. The roots of each tree is matted like hazel with scarce earth enough to cover it and as they cannot penetrate in depth they spread in distance insinuating betwixt the loose rock and

when overturned always bringing up flags of the rock with it. The richest soil is reckoned the black, the timber black walnut, cherry, honey locust etc. I have observed the richest soil to bear the shortest timber and to be the shallowest in the mold. I would therefore prefer a good timbered tract tho not quite so rich, to a richer tho worse timbered tract as there is a great probability of the ground being lasting [i.e. holding water?] not so subject to drought and where springs of their [sic—meaning, springs of these tracts?] being constant.”

John Filson. 1784. In the vicinity of modern Powell County: “We [D. Boone, John Finley et al.] found everywhere abundance of wild beasts of all sorts, through this vast forest. The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves on the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundred in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practised hunting with great success...”

John Filson: 1784. Describing the Bluegrass region in general: “Here is great plenty of fine cane, on which cattle feed and grow fat... There are many cane breaks thick and tall that it is difficult to pass through them. Where no cane grows, there is an abundance of wild-rye, clover and buffalo-grass, covering vast tracts of country, and affording excellent food for cattle...”

Anonymous. 1791. Based on travels between Limestone [Maysville] and Lexington: “The stories told of the abundance of grass in the woods are in many instances true. You frequently find beds of clover to the horse's knees, sometimes a species of rush-grass commonly called wild rye, from the similarity of it's stalk to the rye so called among us; in other places we meet

with tracts of wild cane, very much esteemed by the wild and tame cattle, it continuing in verdure all the winter. There is also a species of vine called the pea vine, from which its producing a small pod, resembling that of the garden pea, of which both horses and cattle are extremely fond. These are scattered generally through the country, according to the different soils, but are not to be met with universally.”

David Meade. 1796. Describing land around Lexington, Fayette & Jessamine County: “An oak tree is as scarce in this country as a black walnut or ash is upon high land with you. The growth here is sweet maple [sugar maple], walnut, ash, both kinds of locust, particularly the fruit bearing [honey locust], which is extremely high & large. Poplar [yellow poplar] only in some places & these of vast size, scaly bark hickory [shagbark/shellbark] not uncommon. Buckeye (differing materially from your horse chestnut being only a species or variation of the same genus); cherry tree, mulberry, &c with but few of the common kinds to the eastwards. The undergrowth, usually the spice bush & frequently a young growth of sugar maple, wherever the woods are a little open or a piece of cleared ground not in cultivation, the whole is covered with elder bushes mixed with a high weed call’d devils bit or iron weed [*Vernonia gigantea*], well known to me at Maycox to be eradicated only by the grubing hoe. The only wild grass in the settled parts is what is here call’d the nimble-will [*Muhlenbergia schreberi*] more resembling the wire grass [*Poa compressa* according to Gill & Curtis] than any other in Virginia. It is rather finer... In the very earliest settlements as about Danville, the nimble-will, a very good pasture grass, has taken place of the weedy growth which first succeeded the primitive cane brake. This will be the case in four or five years every where on this side [of] the Kentucky River.”

“We are now arrived at the pleasant month of October, which as to weather is much as with you—but the new [illegible] which our woods have put on, is much more beautiful than those of Virginia—some has yet retain[ed] the Summer green—but the greater part are clear bright yellow & some indeed red—the sweet Maple stands amongst the for[e]most of those which have changed a fine green for a yellow—the woods now afford most delightful walks, and riding on horseback in the crossroads & private ways is not less so—[t]here are indeed small obstacles produced by trees laying across the path—but such as are not easily surmounted by step[p]ing or leaping over are to be avoided by going round, for the woods are very open and clear of underbrush.”

Francois Andre Michaux. 1805. Summarizing geography of central Kentucky: “In all the fertile parts covered by the forests the soil is completely barren; no herbage is seen except a few plants, scattered here and there; and the trees are always far enough apart that a stag may be seen a hundred or a hundred and fifty fathoms off. Prior to the Europeans settling, the whole of this space, now bare, was covered with a species of the great articulated reed, called *arundinaria macrosperma*, or cane, which is in the woods from three to four inches [check units] diameter, and grows seven or eight feet high...”

From Part Two

Fortescue Cuming. 1807. Conversation with John Waller about the settlement era in central Kentucky: “He said that the whole country was then an entire cane brake, which sometimes grew to forty feet high, but that the domestic animals introduced by the settlers have eradicated the cane, except in some remote and unsettled parts of the state. He described that plant as

“springing up with a tender shoot, like asparagus, which cattle are very fond of.”

Humphrey Marshall. 1812. Speaking of the pioneers in Kentucky during 1775(-79?): “Their arrival on the plains of Elkhorn, was in the dawn of summer; when the forest composed of oaks of various kinds, of ash, of walnut, cherry, buckeye, hackberry, sugar trees, towering aloft to the clouds, overspread the luxuriant undergrowth, with their daily shade; while beneath, the class of trees--the shrubs, the cane, the herbage, and the different kinds of grass, and clover, interspersed with flowers, filled the eye, and overlaid the soil with the forest’s richest carpet...” Speaking of the Indian conflicts over the land: “In consequence of which, and because these combats were frequent - the country being thickly wooded, and deeply shaded - was called in their expressive language, THE DARK AND BLOODY HUNTING GROUND.”

Timothy Flint. 1832. Describing the Bluegrass region in general: “In the first periods of the settlement of the country, it was covered with a thick cane brake, that has disappeared, and has been replaced by a beautiful grass sward of a peculiar cast even in the forest...”

John Bradford's Notes on Kentucky. 1827. Simon Girty’s (1782) speech to the Indian reported: “Brothers, the fertile region of Kentucky is the land of cane and clover - spontaneously growing to feed the buffaloes, the elk and the deer; there the bear and the beaver are always fat... Brothers, the intruders... are planting fruit trees and ploughing the land where not long since were the cane break and clover field...”

Anonymus. 1834-35. From Georgetown to Lexington: “Within the memory of living witnesses, the region which is now so splendidly embellished, and which support a numerous

and highly refined population, was covered with savage forests and vast cane-breaks...”

Draper, Lyman C. (ed.). ca. 1842-51.

Shane's interview with William Clinkenbeard about the area around Winchester, Clark County, during pioneer years: “We went 1/2 mile from the fort to get rid of the cane. Every bit as good soil and easier cleared. No cane to cut. Trees grew in the cane, the same as elsewhere. Most all cane in this high country with some shaune [= shorn?]*] ridges. Monstrous place to travel thro' once, grape-vines, thorn-bushes, cane and everything. Where the soil was very rich there was a good deal of locust. Cane-ridge [Bourbon Co.] was also the greatest place for plumb-bushes. We always called it the plum orchard. Grubbed with our axes, them times; nothing to grub hardly, but paw-paws and spice-bushes, and they had very little root. Could not burn this country; always too damp. Burning out in the poor barrens, it did [?]. But never could here, or would [..have..] been all burnt up, so many hunting fires. Wet damp soil under the grass, kept it wet.”

Shane's interview with Samuel Matthew about land around Bryan's Station in about 1783: “There was a great deal of walnut about Bryan's Station. Land that had not cane on it, was grown up with white blossoms, and the trees were tall ash, sugar-trees, elms, hackberry, tall and very thick. What locust there was, was very high and wind broken. Locust, walnut, low scrubby hackberry, and some elm, and sometimes sugar trees, vast quantities of buckeye, where cane grew abundant. Soil much better where cane was. Buckeye outlasts [perhaps meaning that it persists in settlement?] sugar tree. Plums, haws, wild-cherry, pawpaw, hackberry, grass nuts, turkeys fed on. Mistletoe grew on walnut and elm. No chestnut N of Kentucky River: all S and

W of that River.”

Shane’s Interview with Asa Ferrar after arriving in Lexington on December 19th, 1788 [?]:
“There was one burr oak so large we couldn’t get a saw long enough to run through it. Had to cut out on each side to let the saw in. Have no doubt the tree was four feet over. Forest of burr oak and black walnut.”

Levi Todd’s account of land around Lexington in 1776: “...the face of the country was, at the times I have been speaking, delightful beyond conception, nearly one-half of it covered with cane, but between the brakes, spaces of open ground as if intended by nature for fields. The ground appeared fertile, and producing amazing quantities of various kinds, some wild grass, wild rye and clover.” [JC: “open ground” probably referred to the ground vegetation not the associated trees--other descriptions indicate that this was generally a wooded area, with and without cane.]

William Stickney. 1872. Autobiography of Amos Kendall: “Originally, the site of Lexington and the surrounding country was covered with heavy timber, under which was a thick growth of cane so intertwined with pea-vine as to be almost impenetrable to man and beast.”

William Renick. 1880. “The soil of Kentucky was originally heavily clothed with large timber, that part now known as the Blue Grass Region, densely, in that there were no prairies, no plains, and but little of it that was sparsely timbered. Consequently it was manifestly impossible for the bluegrass to flourish there... I do not believe it could have obtained foot-hold in the now blue grass region, because cane, that effectual exterminator of all grasses, weeds, or

anything else of more diminutive growth than itself, was indigenous to the soil.”

Peter, Robert. 1882. Synopsis of the Blue Grass region: “The introduction of live stock by the white settlers caused the gradual extermination of the cane, which was almost the only undergrowth on these rich lands, and its place was soon monopolized all over the region by Kentucky blue grass so that at this time the cane is found only in spots which are inaccessible to grazing animals, which are fond of its leaves and young shoots - a forage said to be very nourishing and fattening to them... The primeval forest on these rich lands, as given by the late Dr. Owen, are, pignut hickory [*Carya cordiformis*], sugar tree, hackberry, ash, walnut, mulberry, buckeye, box elder, etc., etc. Prof. Shaler states: "The best soil may be known by its growth of blue ash, large black locusts and black walnuts. These are characteristic," he says, "and never to be found together, save on the best soils."”

James R. Rogers. 1910. In 1790, relating the story of Rev. Robert. W. Finley's settlement in the Cane Ridge area, Bourbon County: “The suggestion is tendered that the canebrake occupied by Finley and his companions was 8 to 10 feet in height, and was an unbroken stretch to Little Mountain, the present site of Mt. Sterling [Montgomery Co.], fifteen miles in an air line, and perhaps half as wide...”

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Next page. [image from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/tgpotterfield/12120007836/>]:
Dichanthelium clandestinum: “deer-toungue grass” now or perhaps “buffalo-grass” in 1770s



Appendix B. “Blue Grass” or “Buffalo Grass” in early accounts from the Ohio Valley.

A. Much *Poa pratensis* was introduced to North America from Europe, and it was often called “English Grass” during the period of Kentucky’s settlement; other names for this species appear to have included “sprear grass” or “blue grass”. However, it remains possible that a native race of *Poa pratensis* sensu lato did occur in Kentucky before settlement. Old fields often have a narrow-leaved form that could be native and may be referable to the subspecies *angustifolia* (Flora of North America Vol. 24).

B. References to “buffalo grass” clearly did not refer to *Buchloe dactyloides*, a species of the Great Plains that was not native to Kentucky. Some African panicoid grasses have also been called “buffalo grass” in various sources (*Panicum coloratum*, *P. maximum*, *P. schinzii*). Daniel Boone (of Cincinnati) has informed me that “buffalo grass” could well have been *Dichanthelium clandestinum*; this grass is common at Shawnee Lookout in Hamilton County, Ohio, growing in unmowed areas adjacent to the path with running buffalo clover.

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Gist 1751: “All the way from the Shannoah Town to this place (except the first 20 miles which is broken) is fine, rich level land, well timbered with large walnut, ash, sugar trees, cherry trees, &c, it is well watered with a great number of little streams or rivulets, and full of beautiful natural meadows covered with wild rye, blue grass and clover, and abounds with turkeys, deer, elk and most sorts of game particularly buffaloes, thirty or forty of which are frequently seen feeding in one meadow; in short it wants nothing but cultivation to make it a most delightful country... The grass here grows to a great height in the clear fields, of which there are a great number, & the bottoms are full of white clover, wild rye, and blue grass.”

Nourse 1775: “About twelve mile the further we went the richer the land, better though of the same sort of timber, the ash very large and high, and large locusts of both sorts—some cherry—the growth of grass under amazing—blue grass [perhaps *Poa pratensis*], white clover [probably *Trifolium stoloniferum*], buffalo grass [perhaps *Dichanthelium clandestinum*] and seed knee and waist high: what would be called a fine swarth of Grass in cultivated meadows, and such was its appearance without end—in little dells in this [probably on or near Ky. Route 1681 in northern Woodford Co.]. We passed several dry branches but no running water our course S.E. At about twelve miles came to a small run and soon after I discovered a pretty spring that joined its waters—here we resolved to dine, being both hungry and thirsty [perhaps Lees Branch]. We had in our walk seen about 5 herd of buffaloes.”

Monison. 1789. “Travellers observe, that countries generally abound in grass and other articles of forage, in proportion to their necessity, which though perhaps true, is by no means the sole in this country: the soil, from its nature and richness, is extremely well calculated for grass and other articles of herbage, the chief of which are, buffalo grass, buffalo clover, which nearly resembles our English clover, but is larger, and a kind, which, from its similarity to it, is called rye grass: and where these do not prevail, the country abounds with cane, which, continuing green during the winter, affords an excellent food for stock, insomuch that our cattle in most parts of the country, will be excellent beef every day in the year, without ariy care or labour of the owner.”

Morse 1789: “Elkhorn River, a branch of the Kentucky from the southeast, waters a country fine beyond description. Indeed, the country east and south of this, including the headwaters of Licking River, Hickman’s and Jessamine Creeks, and the remarkable bend in Kentucky River,

may be called an extensive garden. The soil is deep and black, and the natural growth, large walnuts, honey and black locust, poplar, elm, oak, hickory, sugar tree, etc. Grape vines, running to the tops of the trees, and the surface covered with clover, blue grass and wild rye. On this fertile tract, and on the Licking River, and the head waters of Salt River, are the bulk of settlements in this country.”

Imlay 1792: “We have a variety of spontaneous kinds of grass, for many of which we have no name. I have spoken of the cane and its properties in a former letter, which the farmer may consider as a grass, since it will answer every purpose of grass to him. I have also mentioned our clover and rye-grass. Besides which, we have, of the grass kind, the pea-vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], which in a small degree resembles your pea-vine. It has the same kind of tendril, and runs up the cane, shrubs and rye-grass, which frequently grows interspersed with it. Its blossoms are of a reddish hue, and it produces a small and imperfect pea. In very rich soil, it grows from 3 to 5 feet high; but in general it does not exceed 18 inches or 2 feet, and is not so luxuriant a growth as the vine of the cultivated pea, but it has a much nearer resemblance to grass... Our other principal sorts of natural grass are, the buffalo [perhaps *Dichanthelium clandestinum*], orchard [*Dactylis glomerata*], spear [perhaps *Poa pratensis*], blue [perhaps *Poa compressa* or *P. trivialis*], and crab grasses [*Digitaria* spp.]. The buffalo grass is rather coarse, grows from 9 to 18 inches high, and is generally found most plentiful in a middling soil. It has a broad leaf, and seems unworthy of cultivation. The latter kinds generally spring up after the land has been cultivated, and form excellent pastures; and are also capable of being made into hay, particularly the spear and blue grass.”

Toulmin 1793: “The sorts of grass are white clover, of a kind peculiar to this country [*Trifolium stoloniferum*]; rye grass [*Elymus macgregorii* etc.]; a sort of blue grass, or greensward [perhaps *Poa sylvestis*, or in open land, *P. angustifolia*]; fern [*Cystopteris protrusa* etc.]; the gall of the earth (containing in the stalks and leaves a juice which is esteemed a valuable application for the bite of a snake) [perhaps a species of *Prenanthes*, based on Fernald 1950]; wild ginger [*Asarum canadense*]; a vegetable called the Shawnee cabbage [perhaps *Hydrophyllum appendiculatum*; see also, notes of Braun 1950]; and another called the Shawnee lettuce [perhaps *Campanula americana*; see also, notes under Filson 1784]. After a settlement has been established and stock has been turned into the woods, a high, white-blossomed weed puts ip in a few years [probably *Eupatorium rugosum*], which keeps down the pasture and consequently destroys the summer range...The cultivated grasses are clover, timothy, and blue grass of a different kind from that which is natural to the soil... To prepare the land for the Indian corn, they grub the small trees, belt the large ones, and such as are not immediately killed by belting, viz. hackberry, white elm, sugar tree, beech, they grub, burining the brush and timber which is cut down. They then plow without harrowing, though some have contented themselves with hoeing...”

Barrow 1795: “The herbage is very plentiful in the uninhabited parts (tho’ as usual it is mostly devoured in the settlements) as wild pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], wild rice [ryes] [*Elymus* spp.], buffalo grass [perhaps *Dicanthelium clandestinum*], Kentucky nettle, a weed peculiar to those countries and a sign of great fertility [perhaps *Urtica chamaedryoides*], and many others too numerous to mention.”

Smith 1795: “Leaving the rivers a high hill skirts the low ground. Here the land is still amazing fertile, covered with a heavy growth of timber, such as white and red oak, hickory, ash, beech, sugar tree, walnut, buckeye &c... Grass of the meadow kind grows all over this country and white clover [*Trifolium repens*] and blue grass [*Poa pratensis*] grow spontaneously wherever the land is cleared.”

Meade 1796: “In the mean time it behooves the farmer to cultivate grass & all those who have lands enough opened to spare, sew them in blue grass or clover. No farm ever so small is without a timothy meadow. Vast quantities of hay are made here. Many good farmers make extensive wood pasture by clearing up the under brush & small trees and sewing blue grass seed sometimes mixed with timothy. Of that number is your acquaintance Col. G. Nicholas [first attorney general of Kentucky].”

Fayette Circuit Court. 1804: concerning Grassy Lick in western Montgomery Co., which may have had an unusual early patch of *Poa pratensis*; only the first example is quoted here; “Deposition of Moses Thomas, taken 27th July 1804 at a Grassy lick in Montgomery county before Jacob Coons, J.P., deposes:—In the year 1779 he came to this country with Enoch Smith to get land for ourselves and others. We lodged at Boonesborough—and went out to explore the country in company with Richard Spurr, Charles Beal, Enoch Smith, Cooper Chancellor and two of the Drakes, and we came to the waters of a creek now called Grassy Lick creek. We went down the creek to the lick, which we are now at and in the fork of the creek, we turned out our horses to feed on the blue grass or English grass which was the first we had seen in the country. Enoch Smith was our leader and he called the creek Pasture Lick creek because we turned our horses out to feed on this blue grass. I know Enoch Smith had a land warrent of John

Darnell's and that he located it on Pasture Lick creek now called Grassy Lick... this bottom was the most remarkable for blue grass, more so than any other within the distance of half a mile below the lick..."

Hoffman 1835: "Leaving the road, we entered at once upon a large and beautiful park or chase.* (*Called "cattle-range," if I mistake not, in Kentucky). It was enclosed by a common worm-fence, but afforded some charming vistas among its noble clumps of trees, where a large herd of deer were browsing unmolested. This was the grazing portion of the farm, and the hardy *blue* grass, even thus early, afforded a rich sward beneath the boughs that were just putting forth their leaves. Passing completely through this wooded pasture, we entered a square enclosure of some eight or ten acres of garden, lawn and orchard combined..."

Risk 1840 [interviewed by Shane in Draper Manuscripts]: about the settlement of Indian Old Fields, formerly Eskippakithiki, in southeast Clark Co. near the mouth of Lulbegrad Creek; "I heard one of the partners, Gen. [Marquis] Calmes, say the Old Fields were all covered with bluegrass when he first saw it [in 1775]. And when I first saw it, it was very high with grass, as high, some, as a horse's back, and with a head on it. I believe this was a white oak valley, at 1st, and [then] cultivated. There were sprouts of white hiccory [perhaps *Carya ovata*], and cherry tree, and black locust, and black walnut, all through the Old Field."

Clinkenbeard 1842 [interviewed by Shane in Draper Manuscripts]: "[Captain John] Constant had been over in Madison [County] and given \$1 for a quart of bluegrass seed, to sow in that pasture. It was the 1st Bluegrass I ever heard of on this side of the [Kentucky] river."

Drake 1845: “Within 3 miles of where we lived, on Johnson’s Fork of Licking [at edge of Eden Shale Hills along Mason-Fleming county line], there [were] no settlements, and consequently, there was a luxuriant herbage consisting largely of what was named pea vine [*Amphicarpaea bracteata*], with a full growth of Buffalo grass [probably *Panicum clandestinum*]. The months of May, June & July were selected for this resort to the untrodden wilderness.”

Young 1857: “Our only chance to raise bread was to clear the forest in the wilderness. The reader will say this was a gloomy prospect. And so it was, but we were all in good health and fine spirits, and went to work, my father furnishing us with meat, from the woods, with his gun. Buffalo grass and pea-vine were then nearly knee-high in every direction. We bought some milch cows, and made a large quantity of sugar early in the spring.”

Renick 1880: “The soil of Kentucky was originally heavily clothed with large timber, that part now known as the Blue Grass Region, densely, in that there were no prairies, no plains, and but little of it that was sparsely timbered. Consequently it was manifestly impossible for the bluegrass to flourish there. Blue grass could only flourish in its wild state, or, rather, in the country’s wild state, on very rich timberless lands, that were relatively retentive of moisture, so that its almost perpetual verdure, when growing on such lands would in a large measure protect it from the autumnal fires that swept over the country annually. Blue grass could not withstand repeated burnings like the sedge and other wild grasses, hence it was never found in its wild state on light and dry soils. But even had all else been propitious to its growth, I do not believe it could have obtained foot-hold in the now blue grass region, because cane, that effectual exterminator of all grasses, weeds, or anything else of more diminutive growth than itself, was indigenous to the soil. Hence the pioneers found no blue grass there. Indeed, I have had it from

the mouths of some of the earliest settlers themselves, that they knew of but two kinds of grasses that were natives of Kentucky, called respectively, the buffalo and the bear, both coarse and almost worthless, but would grow where cane would not.”

Peter 1882: “The introduction of live stock by the white settlers caused the gradual extermination of the cane, which was almost the only undergrowth on these rich lands, and its place was soon monopolized all over the region by Kentucky blue grass so that at this time the cane is found only in spots which are inaccessible to grazing animals, which are fond of its leaves and young shoots - a forage said to be very nourishing and fattening to them...”

Beckner 1927: regarding Findley’s presence at Eskippakithiki in what became eastern Clark Co., near the community of Indian Fields; “His gate-posts and cabin were still standing when the whites came in 1775. A story has come down to the effect that he packed his goods at Lancaster [Pennsylvania] with English or Bluegrass—a seed which had been brought by European colonists to that rich limestone region—and when he unpacked his goods at Eskippakithiki, he threw the hay out in his yard, where it sprouted and spread throughout our central limestone region. (Japanese clover, *Lespedeza [striata]*, also had such a history.)”

Beckner 1932: concerning the arrival of John Findley at Eskippakithiki in the fall of 1752; “A story about this unpacking has been handed down by the mouth of his comrade of later years, Daniel Boone, who told it to his nephew, Daniel Bryan, who in turn told it to Lyman C. Draper. It is to the effect that he packed his trade goods at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, with hay made of English grass or, as we now call it, bluegrass. It had been imported to that rich limestone region from farms of the motherland across the sea. When Findley threw this packing

aside on the rich limestone land at Eskippakithiki, it generated and spread and was the first bluegrass to grow in Kentucky. Twenty-five years later, when the whites came to settle, they found no bluegrass in central Kentucky, save at Grassy Lick in Montgomery County and at Indian Old Fields [the later name for Eskippakithiki].”

Jillson 1934: “Grassy Lick is at the Forks of Grassy Lick Creek and Hinkston’s Fork of Licking River in northern Montgomery county. It was preempted in 1776 and has at various times been called Blue Lick and Parkins Lick. It was improved by Aaron Higgins in 1776 and was then an area remarkable for its quantity and quality of “English” or Native Bluegrass. Buffalo and deer came there to feed in large numbers in the open grassy meadow.”



“Daniel Boone looks out upon Kentucky and a great herd of buffalo”
From Z.F. Smith’s (1895) History of Kentucky

Appendix C. Buffalo Summary: year (with original source), dates, numbers, locations

This is an attempt at objective analysis of seasonal patterns in observations of buffalo.

“<” indicates that buffaloes had been present within a few months before the observation.

For an initial display of the seasonal trend, see “The Herbivore Hypothesis for Bluegrass Woodland” (posted at bluegrasswoodland.com and copied in figures below).

1750 (Walker 1749-50)

Feb 17-Mar 3, often 30-40, OH: Lower Shawnee Town to Little Miami Rv

Mar 3, sometimes 40-50, OH: down Little Miami Rv, ca 30-50 miles N of Cincinnati

Mar 4, a fine barren cow-buffaloe, OH: SW from Little Miami Rv to mouth of Scioto Rv.

1765 (Croghan 1765)

<May 31, large road which the Buffaloes have beaten, Big Bone Lick (Boone Co.)

June 18-19, full of buffalo, IN: Pyankeshaw’s Hunting Ground, along the Wabash River

<July 8, beaten roads, Big Bone Lick

1769 or close (Filson 1784); relating stories of Daniel Boone and associates about arrival in central Kentucky Jun 7, ... “we found ourselves on Red river, where John Findlay had formerly been trading with the Indians, and from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the most beautiful level of Kentucky... The buffaloes were more frequent than I have seen cattle in the settlements, browsing on the leaves on the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains, fearless, because ignorant, of the violence of man. Sometimes we saw hundred in a drove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this forest, the habitation of beasts of every kind natural to America, we practised hunting with great success, until the 22^d

day of December following. ... I have heard a hunter assert, he saw 1000 buffaloes at the Blue Licks at once; so numerous were they before the first settlers had wantonly sported away their lives. ... At Knob Lick: The amazing herds of buffalo which resort thither, by their size and number, fill the traveller with amazement and terror, especially when he beholds the prodigious roads they have made from all quarters, as if leading to some populous city; the vast space of land around these springs desolated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near those springs is chiefly hilly.” [This material of Filson may all be derived from conversation with Boone or people associated with the “Long-hunters” of the 1760s and 1770s.]

1769 or close (Draper 1842-56): in C.A. Hanna (1911), based on Draper’s research.

“Buffaloes were in their best order in the fall, after feeding on wild grass, buffalo clover, and pea vine, and to some extent also, upon acorns, beech-nuts and chestnuts.”

1770 (Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51).

Summer. “He visited the Upper and Lower Blue Licks on the Licking River. At the latter place he saw thousands of buffaloes, with other animals resorting there to lick the ground and drink the water.”

1770-71 (Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51): about discovery of Knob Lick

“Reaching the summit of one of the Knobs overlooking the Lick, some of which attained an altitude of two hundred feet, they beheld what they estimated at largely over a thousand animals, including buffalo, elk, bear, and deer, with many wild turkies scattered among them, all quite restless, some playing, and others busily employed in licking the earth; but at length

they took fright and bounded away all in one direction, so that in the space of a couple of minutes, not an animal was to be seen.”

1770-71 (Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51): hunting by Boone et al. in upper Pond River area
“They at length crossed over the ridge and pursued down Bledsoe’s Creek within four or five miles of the Lick, when the cane became so thick in the woods that they concluded they must have mistaken the place until coming to the Lick and discovered the cause. A party of French hunters from the Illinois country had been there, slaughtered the buffaloes simply for their tongues and tallow, loaded a keel boat which lay at the mouth of Bledsoe’s Creek, and descended the Cumberland. “Bledsoe told me,” says General Hall, “that one could walk for several hundred yards in and around the lick on buffalo skulls and bones, with which the whole flat around the lick was bleached.” This great slaughter of buffaloes sufficiently explained the sudden growth of cane within a few miles of the lick.”

1774 (Hanson 1774)

May 17, about 300, around Drennon’s Lick (NE Henry Co.)

1775 (F. Walker 1824): relating arrival at Boonesboro

Mar 25, “we were fired on by the Indians, in our camp asleep, about an hour before day... At length I was carried in a litter between two horses, twelve miles, to Kentucky river, where we made a station, and called it Boonesborough, situated in a plain on the south side of the river, wherein was a lick with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated. On entering the plain we were permitted to view a very interesting and romantic sight. A number of buffaloes, of all sizes, supposed to be between two and three hundred, made off from the lick in every direction;

some running, some walking, others loping slowly and carelessly, with young calves playing, skipping and bounding through the plain. Such a sight some of us never saw before, nor perhaps may never again.”

1775 (Cresswell 1774-77); traveling up the Kentucky Rv from mouth to Leestown, then back

<May 22, several Buffalo tracks, probably below Drennon’s Lick

May 24, surrounded 30 buffaloes as they were crossing the River

May 25, shot a buffalo bull, saw several cross the river

May 28, saw a great many Buffaloes cross the River above us

May 29, great buffalo crossing, where we intend to kill some meat (Leestown area).

Jun 1, saw a gang of Buffaloes cross the river

Jun 11, several salt springs I am told... an immense number of buffaloes frequent them...

Jun 13, down the river to a great lick where we intend to kill some meat

Jun 14am, to lick in the morning but found no buffaloes there

Jun 14pm, herd of two hundred odd, Drennon’s Lick (below previous)

Jun 17, saw some buffaloes but killed none, Big Bone Lick.

1775 (Nourse 1775); traveling with Cresswell (see above)

May 28, saw a great quantity of Buffaloes of all sizes, above mouth of Elkhorn Cr

May 30, in 12 miles saw about 5 herd of buffaloes, from Leestown area towards Midway area

<Jun 18, got excellent stew of buffalo, Harrodsburg

June 22, saw a buffalo, between Clays Ferry and what became Lexington

June 23, saw some buffaloes and shot one down, probably in the area of what became

Lexington

1775 (Henderson 1775)

<Jul 7, lick and stamp near 100 acres, Knob and Flat licks (Lincoln Co.)

<Jul 8-11, Buffaloe had abandoned this range and gone to other parts (more or less Madison Co.)

1775 (Fayette Circuit Court 1804): regarding Grassy Lick (Montgomery Co.)
...much more frequented by Buffalo than any of the other licks on said creek

1776 (Draper 1842-56): reflections of Major Nathan Reid, as narrated to his son, Nathan Reid Jr.; Reid Sr. hunted and traveled widely in the Bluegrass region during 1776.

“Our time was mostly spent in locating and surveying lands, or in hunting the buffalo and deer, of which there were vast herds.

1778 (Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51): about Daniel Boone’s hunting at the Blue Licks
Feb, “The buffalo seldom visited the licks in the winter; they then would keep near the cane as the best winter’s range and lived in summer mainly on grass... At that time the nearest cane of consequence to the Lower Blue Licks was about five or six miles off, in the rich cane lands towards Mays Lick.”

1776 (Jillson 1934): his source to be checked.

“Grassy Lick is at the Forks of Grassy Lick Creek of Hinkston’s Fork of Licking River in northern Montgomery county. It was preempted in 1776 and has at various times been called Blue Lick and Parkins Lick. It was improved by Aaron Higgins in 1776 and was then an area

remarkable for its quantity and quality of “English” or Native Bluegrass. Buffalo and deer came there to feed in large numbers in the open grassy meadow.”

1778 (Draper 1842-56): Septimus Schull, interviewed by John D. Shane.
Feb (?), Grassy Lick (w. Montgomery Co.): “Ed. and D. Boone had gone down to the Blue Licks in pursuit of game (buffaloes) which fattened earlier and better about the Blue Licks, where they could get salt, than elsewhere... [check sequence]... At length they came to a spot on Grassy Lick Creek where the indigenous blue-grass sprung up pretty fresh and here it was proposed that they should stop...”

1779 (Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51): about Boone’s Station in eastern Fayette Co.
“...its locality was on the northeast side of a small stream, a fork of Boone Creek, about half a mile east or northeast of Athens, then called the Cross Plains... Father said that they would see buffalo on the opposite side of the little stream from the fort.”

1779 (Fleming 1779-83)

Nov 10, ...kild the buffaloes..., from Harrodsburg to Brashear’s Station [Shepherdsville]

Nov 11, kild a buffalo, on the Town Fork [East Fork of Salt River]... shot an elk a three year old 4 feet high, so poor we could not use any of it. Kild a buffalo cow very fat, but so old her horns wrinkled from the top down

Nov 25-29, kild numbers of deer, buffalo, raccoons and turkeys, returning to Harrodsburg

1779 (Draper 1842-56): John Wymore, Jr., recalling events in Lexington during settlement.
Fall, “Buffalo would pass the station of Lexington every day and sometimes all day long.”

1780 (Fleming 1779-83): at Harrodsburg

Mar 20, last night it was cold and froze hard, severe winter... even the buffalos starved to death

1780 (Nourse 1779-80); in Cane Ridge area between Winchester, Paris and Lexington

<Feb 17, vast cane breaks... during the winter a great resort of buffalo, as we judged from the quantities of dung, but the snows now wetted off the ground, they have now left it

1780 (Draper 1842-56): William Clinkenbeard interviewed by Rev. John D. Shane.

Clark Co. and presumably much in Strode's Valley [north of Winchester].

“One of the men off a piece shot a buffalo. Strode took the alarm, rushed through the prickly ash that grew very thick on Green Creek [in southeast Bourbon Co.] at that time, and never stopped until he got into Strode's Station [which became Winchester]... Ravens used to be very plentiful about here in this country when buffalo were so plenty; they went off as well as the buffalo.”

“We picked nettles in the spring to make the chain [warp] and got buffalo wool in the spring for the filling [woof]. Made the buffalo wool into hats, too. The buffalo wool was the longest in the spring, and longest we called best. Yearlings and two year olds always had the best wool on. Four of us went out once and got tw[e]nty-four; killed them and go all the wool off. They did destroy and waste them then, at a mighty rate. If one wasn't young and fat, it was left, and they went on and killed another.”

1781 (Draper 1842-56): Joshua McQueen, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.

“Killed buffalo up at Station Camp after I came to Ky.; to hunt when they were beseiged—

brought in their [?meat along?] roads at night. Was at Drennon's Lick when the buffalo came in from every side so constantly you couldn't possibly have driven them all out.

1784 (Draper 1842-56): Ben Guthrie, interviewed by John D. Shane in the 1840s.
Apr, ... Col. Robt. Jonhson went out surveying in Fleming County. Daniel Boon was pilot.
Crossed at the Upper Blue Licks, where we saw 600 buffaloes..."

1785 (Sudduth 1845): at or near "Hoods Station" in what became northwest Clark Co.
"From the first of April to the end of the year I had killed Sixty Buffaloe beside deer, bear, elk & turkees.

1786 (Sudduth 1845): in early stages of settlement at Mount Sterling, Montgomery Co.
Sep 3, "A plain hunting trace led up the hollow passing by the Little Mountain [now Mt. Sterling]. Just before we came to the mountains we discovered a fresh trail in the weeds... I would take my blankets & go into the cane & lay by myself without fire... The weeds and cane were verry high & thick... We then went a small distance into the cane & weeds & stayed all night... We collected our buffaloe hides and about half a mile below where Mountsterling now stands we came to a larg Indian camp where they had choped into a sugar tree & stuck a painted arrow towards the settlement."

1785-90 (Nathan & Olive 1842-51)

...Buffaloes are best when eaten in the fall, as they feed upon grass, buffalo clover, and pea vine, and feed some upon acorns, chestnuts, and beechnuts.

1787 (Draper 1842-56): Jesse Graddy, recalling the settlement on Glenn's Creek
<<“When we came to this country in 1787, the buffalo were gone.—Never saw a wild one.”

1789-91 (Draper 1842-56): John Hedge interviewed by John D. Shane in 1840s.
<“When I first came here, the buffaloe bones covered all the grounds. Said that men used to come down from Stroud's [later Winchester] and the interior [perhaps Lexington area], when the buffaloe were poor, and kill them for sport, and leave them lie...”

1790 (Roger 1910): Robert W. Finley's settlement in Bourbon Co. in 1790.
<“The suggestion is tendered that the canebrake occupied by Finley and his companions was 8 to 10 feet in height, and was an unbroken stretch to Little Mountain, the present site of Mt. Sterling, fifteen miles in an air line, and perhaps half as wide; that is was the favorite lair of every known variety of game, from the common gray squirrel to the buffalo, and that the water courses abounded with fish.”

1791 (Anonymus 1791)
<<The buffaloes have entirely quitted the cultivated parts of Kentucky

1793 (Toulmin 1793), regarding central Kentucky
<<...the few inhabitants who were there fifteen years ago were obliged to make their cloth out of the hair of the buffalo and their linen from the thread of nettles

1795 (Smith 1795-97)
<<“We soon reached the Blue Licks, the country around which remains a monument of

barrenness. The amazing resort of buffalo to the Licks in former times is supposed to be the cause of this barrenness. As you approach the Licks [from the north], at the distance of 4 or 5 miles from it, you begin to perceive the change. The earth seems to be worn away; the roots of the trees lie naked and bare; the rocks forsaken of the earth, that once covered them, lie naked on the neighboring hills, and roads of an amazing size, in all directions, unite at the Licks, as their common center. Here immense herds of buffalo used formerly to meet and with their fighting, scraping etc., have worn away the ground to what it is at present... We left the Lick and pursued our journey to Lexington following one of the old buffalo roads, which I suppose was generally 200 feet wide. After we got from the Licks 5 or 6 miles the lands became good and surprizingly fertile.”

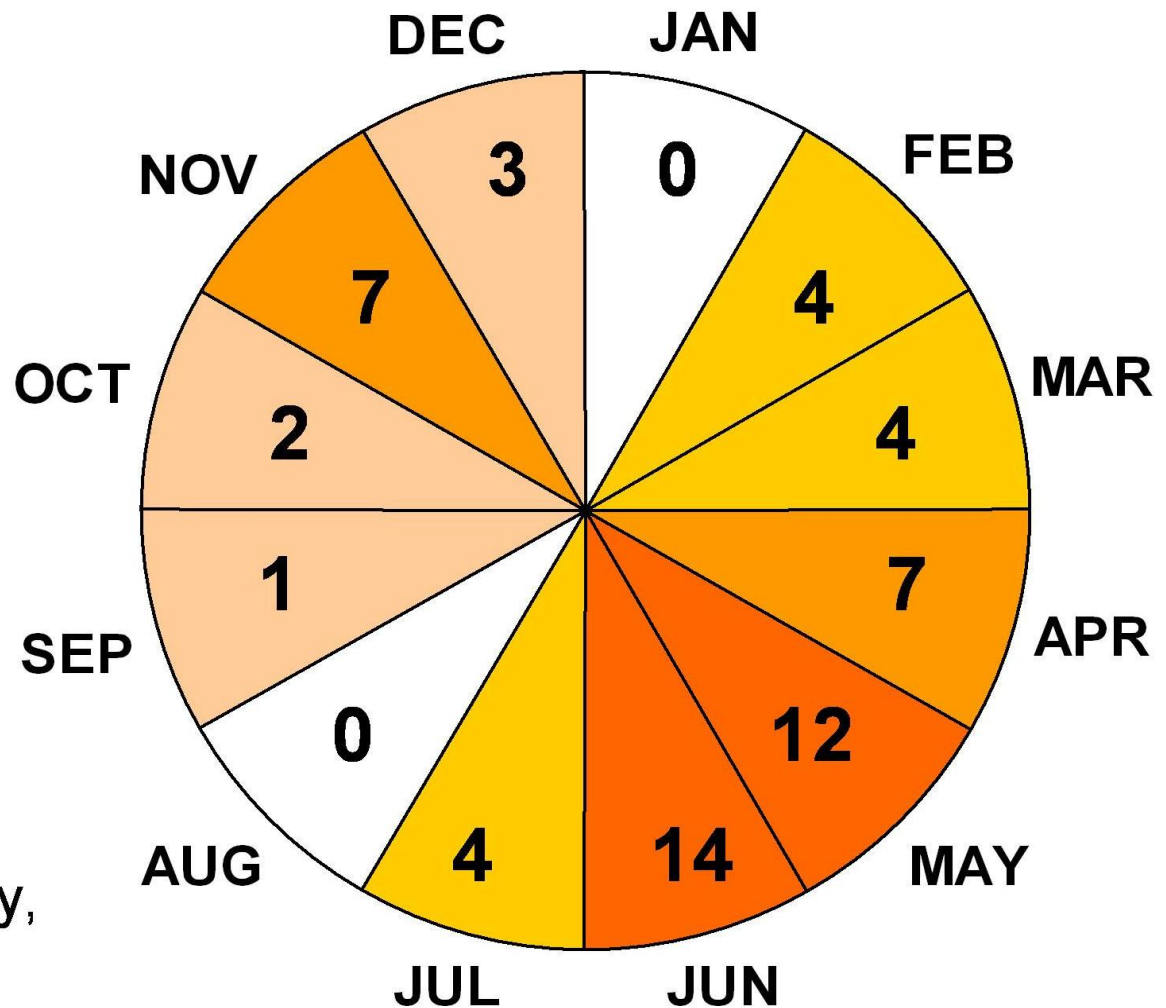
1795 (Smith 1795-97), at Big Bone Lick

Nov 20, Deer about the lick are very plenty, and a few buffalo yet remain

Monthly numbers of recorded buffalo sightings in the central Ohio Valley during 1750-86, as reported in all available accounts.

Darker red indicates clustering of records.

The largest herds were reported during Apr-May, with 100-1000+.



Can some return to the original browsing-regime reduce alien plants?

Most of the common aliens during Oct-Dec do provide good forage.

For further development of this concept, see:

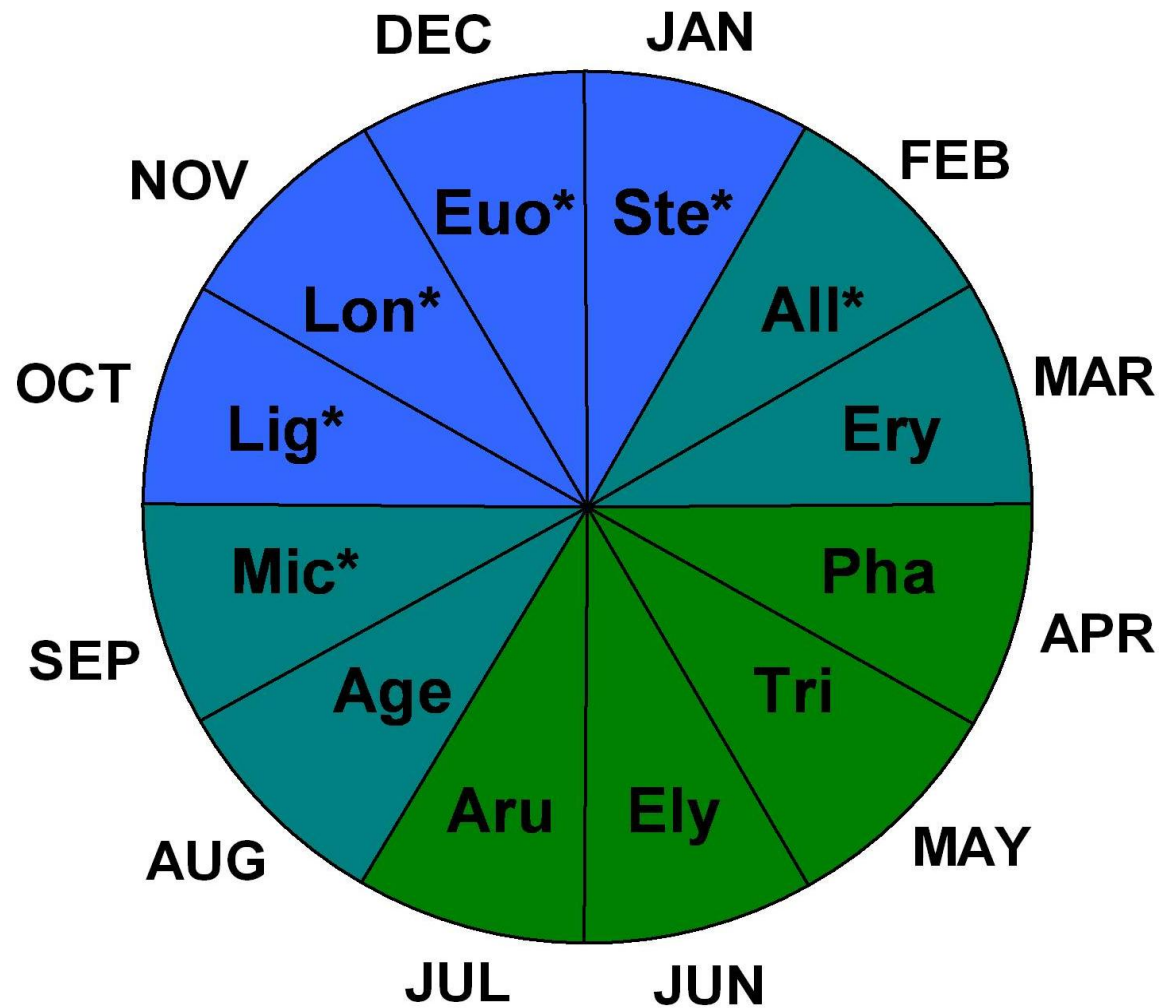
Campbell, J.J.N. 2012. The herbivore hypothesis for Bluegrass Woodland.

<http://bluegrasswoodland.com/uploads/Herbivore_Hypothesis.pdf>

Green: season with most new growth of native forage plants in Bluegrass Woodland.

Blue: season with most exposure of alien plants* relative to native plants.

Cane (Aru) was the only abundant native forage persisting into Oct-Jan.



Abbreviations indicate typical natives and aliens (*) in each month:

Stellaria media (chickweed); **Alliaria** (garlic-mustard);
Erythronium spp. (trout-lilies); **Phacelia purshii** (Miami mist);
Trifolium spp. (buffalo clovers); **Elymus** spp. (wild ryes);
Arundinaria (river cane); **Ageratina** (snakeroot);
Microstegium (Japanese grass); **Ligustrum** spp. (privets);
Lonicera spp. (honeysuckles); **Euonymus** spp. (winter-creeper etc.).

OBSERVATIONS SORTED BY MONTH

* Asterisks indicate estimates of at least 10 animals in the observation. Numbers after each month are first for asterisked observations, then after / the total number of observations.

JAN: 0/0

Jan: none!

FEB: 2/4

<Feb 17, vast cane breaks... during the winter a great resort of buffalo, as we judged from the quantities of dung (1780, Nourse)

Feb: hunting at Grassy Lick (1778, S. Schull in Draper 1842-56).

Feb: hunting at Blue Licks; "The buffalo seldom visited the licks in the winter; they then would keep near the cane as the best winter's range and lived in summer mainly on grass (1778, Nathan & Olive Boone 1842-51):

*Feb 21, plenty about Maysville (1786, Anon. in DM 3U: 207)

*Feb 17-Mar 3, often 30-40 (1750, Walker)

MAR: 2/4

*Mar 3, sometimes 40-50 (1750, Walker)

Mar 4, a fine barren cow-buffaloe (1750, Walker)

*Mar --, 300 lb Buffalo Beef (1783, Clark in Belue)

Mar 20, even the buffalos starved to death (1780, Fleming)

Spring: poor miserable buffalo would come to drink the sugar water and could hardly drive them off, they were so poor (1780, Denton in Draper)

APR: 3/7

Apr 1-Dec, 60 killed (1785, Sudduth 1845)

Apr 18, kill 2 Bofelos (1775, Calk)

Apr 19, kill 3 Bofelos (1775, Calk)

*Apr 20 – May 12, Sterling 12-10&4 pence for buffalo and bear (1782, Clark in Belue)

*Apr 20, 200-300 (1775, F. Walker 1824)

*Apr: 600 buffaloes (1784, Draper 1842-56: Ben Guthrie)

Apr ?? killed and saved 54 buffaloes, Lee's Cabin OH (1781, Floyd).

MAY: 6/12

*May: 29 lb, 405 lb [est 100 lb per week] (1779, Clark in Belue)

May 1, Saw 4 Bofelos (1775, Calk)

May ?? hunting with DBoone from Maysville (1786, Hanks in Draper/Shane/Enoch)

*[Apr 20 –] May 12, Sterling 12-10&4 pence for buffalo and bear (1782, Clark in Belue)

*May 17, about 300 near Big Bone Lick (1774, Hanson)

May 17, shot first buffalo, near mouth of Scioto (1775, Cresswell)

<May 22, several Buffalo tracks (1775, Cresswell)

*May 24, surrounded 30 buffaloes (1775, Cresswell)

May, 25, shot bull, saw several (1775, Cresswell)

*May 28, saw a great many Buffaloes (1775, Cresswell and Nourse)

May 29, great buffalo crossing (1775, Cresswell)

*May 30, in 12 miles saw about 5 herd of buffaloes (1775, Nourse)

<May 31, large road which the Buffaloes have beaten (1765, Croghan)

May ?? (latter), incident with buffalo on Bowman Campaign (1779, Dandridge 1909 etc)

JUN: 5/14

?*Summer: 10,000+ Blue Licks (1774, Poage 1853)

*Jun 1, saw a gang of Buffaloes (1775, Cresswell)

Jun 2, shot a some buffaloes (1775, Cresswell)

*Jun 7, sometimes we saw hundred in a drove... (1769, Filson 1784)

*Jun 11, killed a cow... I am told... an immense number (1775, Cresswell)

*Jun 14pm, herd of two hundred odd (1775, Cresswell)

Jun 14, eat buffalo (1775, Nourse)

Jun 16, killed another buffalo (1775, Cresswell)

Jun 17, saw some buffaloes but killed none (1775, Cresswell)

<Jun 18, got excellent stew of buffalo (1775, Nourse)

*Jun 18-19, full of buffalo, IN (1765, Croghan)

Jun 22, saw a buffalo (1775, Nourse)

Jun 23, saw some buffaloes and shot one down (1775, Nourse)

[Dec 8 –] Jun 24, 643 lbs Buff. beef (1780, Clark in Belue)

Jun 25, killed a fatt buffalo (1775, Nourse)

Jun 28, killed wild cow (1775, Nourse)

JUL: 1/4

Jul 2-4 approx., a buffalo (1774, Draper 1842-56 Life of Boone)

Jul ?? (<16), wounded a buffalo bull (Draper 1842-56 Life of Boone)

<Jul 7, lick and stamp near 100 acres (1775, Henderson)

<Jul 8, beaten roads (1765, Croghan)

<Jul 8-11, Buffalo had abandoned this range and gone to other parts (1775, Henderson)

Jul 10, Indians paused to shoot a buffalo (1776, see Belue p. 118 sources)

*Jul 13-Oct 6, meat laid in (1778, Trabue in Belue...)

AUG: 0/0

Aug: none!

SEP: 0/1

Sep: hunting near Mt. Sterling (1786, Sudduth 1845)

OCT: 2/2

*[Jul 13-]Oct 6, meat laid in (1778, Trabue in Belue...)

**Oct 23 – Nov 23, Sterling 1-2&11 pence (1782, Clark in Belue)

*Fall: “Buffalo would pass the station of Lexington every day and sometimes all day long.”
(1779, Draper 1842-56: John Wymore)

NOV: 1/7

Fall: Buffaloes best in the fall (1785-90, Nathan&O 1842-51); see Apr1-Dec Sudduth, 60 killed.

Nov 2, killed 5 buffaloes and wounded some others, Kanawha (1769, Washington in Belue)

Nov 10, ...kild the buffaloes (1779, Fleming)

Nov 11, kild a buffalo... Kild a buffalo cow very fat (1779, Fleming)

Nov ??, six buffalo with six shots near Estill’s Station (1779, Records in Draper 1842)

Nov 20, a few buffalo yet remain, Big Bone Lick (1795, Smith)

**[Oct 23 –]Nov 23, Sterling 1-2&11 pence (1782, Clark in Belue)

Nov 25-29, kild numbers of deer, buffalo (1779, Fleming)

DEC: 1/3

Dec 8 – Jun 24, 643 lbs Buff. beef (1780, Clark in Belue)

Dec 25, Boone killed a young buffalo cow (1779, Denton in Draper 1856)

*Dec 25, sixty-eight marrow bones for the family meal (1779, Clinkenbeard in Draper/JDS)

Dec: see also possible numbers from Sudduth (1845).

Winter: see also Daniel Bryan's 31 horse loads to Martins and Ruddles (1779, Belue ref).



Author in canebrake he replanted at Cane Run north of Lexington in 1999-2000 [Tom Eblen]

Appendix D. Additional material on cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*).

McHargue, J.S. 1941. Canebrakes in prehistoric and pioneer times in Kentucky. *Annals of Kentucky Natural History* 1:1-13.

McHargue presented the following tables based on analysis of a "sample...in the summer of 1927...obtained from near Irvine, in Estill County...of half a dozen or more young shoots about two feet long which represented the growth attained from springtime to the time they were collected." [At only two feet tall, this may have been relatively short overgrazed or otherwise stressed material.]

With these data, he noted:

"It is quite feasible that abandoned farm lands might be advantageously recovered from further erosion and their fertility improved by growing cane as a forage crop on them.

"It is therefore apparent that the cane plant afforded a highly nutritious food, particularly in the leaves, and to a lesser extent in the branches and young shoots, and because of this fact large numbers of wild herbivorous animals were attracted in prehistoric times to the cane lands in the region south of the Ohio River."

TABLE I. [Various constituents of cane in percent of the moisture-free material].

	Leaves Samp. 1	Leaves Samp. 2	Branches	Stalks	Young stalks	Sheaths of young. stalks
Ash	8.56	10.80	6.09	2.546	6.570	6.776
SiO ₂	7.89	8.165	3.963	0.717	0.340	2.826
Fe	0.019	0.032	0.025	0.007	0.056	0.047
Mn	0.016	0.001	0.001	0.0007	0.002	0.007
Ca	0.456	0.237	0.086	0.0002	0.124	0.138
Mg	0.310	0.145	0.081	0.0003	0.622	1.820
P	0.207	0.230	0.114	0.073	0.305	0.200
K	1.100	1.720	1.100	0.954	n.e.	1.610
Na	0.174	0.270	0.248	0.064	n.e.	0.288
S	0.313	0.187	0.083	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.
N	2.200	2.280	0.963	0.288	n.e.	n.e.
Protein (Nx6.25)	13.75	14.25	6.020	1.800	n.e.	n.e.
Ether extract (fat)	[e.e.]	3.440	1.730	0.842	n.e.	n.e.

TABLE II. A COMPARISON OF THE ANALYSIS OF CANE LEAVES WITH OTHER IMPORTANT FORAGE CROPS [percentage of dry weight].

	Cane	Blue Grass	Timo- thy	Red Top	Orchard Grass	Corn Stover	Red Clover	Alfalfa
Ash	8.56	7.61	4.45	6.31	5.29	5.54	8.48	9.62
Iron	0.019	0.032	0.011	0.011	0.017	0.016	0.25	0.014
Calcium	0.456	0.390	0.313	0.321	0.239	0.390	1.890	2.340
Magnesium	0.310	0.250	0.199	0.164	0.243	0.280	0.278	0.259
Phosphorus	0.207	0.240	0.111	0.143	0.130	0.120	0.167	0.516
Nitrogen	2.20	2.22	1.18	1.10	1.04	0.79	2.27	2.27
Potassium	1.10	1.94	1.47	1.69	2.10	1.17	1.55	1.81
Protein	13.75	13.88	7.37	6.87	6.50	4.95	14.18	17.00

Hughes, R.H., E.U. Dillard & J.B. Hilmon (1960). Vegetation and cattle response under two systems of grazing cane range in North Carolina. North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 412.

Following is their summary.

“Alternate yearlong and summer-winter systems of grazing were studied for 5 years on native cane range at the Frying Pan Experimental Range in the Coastal Plain of North Carolina. In the alternate yearlong system a range was grazed yearlong in alternate years, and in the summer-winter system cattle grazed one range in summer and another range in winter each year.”

“Cattle production was about equal under both systems of grazing. On an annual basis, dry cows gained 159 pounds, but those suckling calves lost 64 pounds. Calving percent averaged 47% over all [but see footnote below*], and calves at 6 months of age weighed 229 pounds. Crossbred Brahman and crossbred Africander cows produced calves which were 67 and 93 pounds heavier, respectively, at 6 months of age than calves from grade Hereford cows. The Africander crossbreds gave best all-round performance. During the first 2 years of the study, the six cow herds were fed 2 pounds of cottonseed meal and 1 to 4 pounds of crushed corn per head per day during the winter. Increased winter supplementation after the first 2 years of the study improved the average calf crop by 20 percent and weaned weight of calf by 70 pounds.”

“Cattle grazing had little effect on the cane-type vegetation grazed in winter, generally was not detrimental to range grazed yearlong in alternate years, but hastened the decadence of cane grazed continuously in summer. Decrease in cane height was the most reliable indicator of grazing damage. Cane grazed each summer (8 to 11 years after burning) averaged 1.5 feet shorter than ungrazed stands. In continuously grazed summer range, leaf length decreased. Foliage utilization varied from 51 to 65 percent in summer and 13 to 28 percent in winter. The impact of grazing on vegetation was greatly reduced on open summer range that was rested until August 15 in alternate years. Under this system, height of old cane stems was maintained. Relief from grazing in late summer in alternate years enabled the cane to maintain relatively high vigor.”

“Plots not burned or grazed after 1942 contained 21 percent fewer cane stems in 1953 and in 1950. Stems were approximately 20 percent taller, had 60 percent more branches per stem, and had leaves which were 10 percent longer. Declining vigor of the cane was indicated by loss of

stands through disease and by failure to reclaim areas devoid of competing understory vegetation. To keep stands most productive, fire should be introduced at intervals of about 10 years.”

“Growth of shrubs was not significantly affected by grazing system, although density of both palatable and unpalatable shrubs increased gradually on both grazed and protected range. Miscellaneous grasses and grasslike plants were sparse in fully stocked forested range. Conversely, a mixture of grasses, sedges and rushes readily invaded openings in nonforested range heavily grazed in summer. In this type of range, density of these plants increased from 6 to 17 percent in grazed plots, and decreased from 6 percent to 2 percent in ungrazed range between 1950 and 1954. Total flammable fuel in the cane type was reduced 43 percent by 4 years continuous summer grazing and 37 percent following two cycles of alternate yearlong grazing. Fuel accumulation was not affected by continuous winter grazing.”

Footnote by JC. These North Carolina studies were done in pine woodlands with *Arundinaria tecta* (perhaps better known as a subspecies of *A. gigantea*), where soils are generally much poorer than the typical rich interior canebrake soils of Kentucky and Tennessee, and where the cane is generally shorter. We need some up to date research on cane grazing in this region, where even better results may be expected.

Hughes, R.H. 1966. Fire ecology of canebrakes. Proceedings Fifth Annual Tall Timbers Fire Ecology Conference, March 24-25.

[Regarding *Arundinaria tecta*] “Because new cane growth is particularly sensitive to grazing

damage, use by cattle requires careful regulation. Grazing should be withheld for a part of the first growing season to assure full development of a sufficient number of new stems to replenish the stand. Beyond the first year and continuing for about a decade, foliage production may be maintained at a high level, without further renovation. Thereafter, if the major management objective is to keep the cane most productive, fire should be introduced at intervals of about 10 years.”

Platt, S.G., & C.G. Brantley. 1997. Canebrakes: an ecological and historical perspective. *Castanea* 62:8-21. Following are extracts of interest.

[Near Indian villages] “cane was an important food resource and shoots were boiled and eaten in spring and early summer (McHargue 1941, Swanton 1946, Banks 1953).”

“Indians may have purposefully managed cane stands with fire to encourage the expansion of bison (*Bison bison*) herds, a preferred game species (Rostlund 1960, Roe 1970)... Cane is considered the highest yielding native pasture in the Southeast, providing excellent grazing for bovines (Biswell and Foster 1942), Biswell et al. 1945), and historic accounts frequently mention bison in association with cane (Marquette 1673, Tonty 1693, Dunbar 1749-1810, Wesley 1737, Michaux 1805, Stickney 1872).”

“Cane was an important forage, more so because it provided grazing and shelter throughout the winter (Killebrew 1878, Lamson-Scribner 1896). Cane is the highest yielding native pasture in the south and comprised the bulk of cattle diets whenever plentiful (Biswell and Foster 1942, Shepherd and Dillard 1953). Cane foliage contains up to 18% crude protein and is rich in

calcium and phosphorous (Shepherd et al. 1951, Smart et al. 1960). Cattle grazing on cane exhibit significant weight gains (0.18 kg/day), produce a 95% annual calf crop (Shepherd et al. 1951)*, and are reputed to produce superior milk and butter (Imlay 1792, Flint 1828). Horses fed cane were able to work nearly as well as those fed on corn (Imlay 1792). For these reasons, canebrakes were highly sought after as pastures (Cramer 1818, Evans 1819, Ogden 1823, Mohr 1901).”

“The large numbers of livestock present on the southern range were not compatible with the continued existence of canebrakes. Cane is particularly sensitive to overgrazing, especially during the growing season, and continuous grazing leads to rapid decline (Shepherd et al. 1951, Hughes 1957). Shepherd et al. (1951) found 80-100% of readily accesible cane as defoliated after a single season of grazing, and further grazing lead to decreases in foliage production, the number and size of new culms, and eventually death of existing culms.”

“Numerous references to overgrazing cane are present in historic accounts. Drayton (1802) stated continuous grazing by cattle kept cane closely cropped and eventually destroyed it. Michaux (1793-1796) noted additional damage when cattle broke down culms to graze on foliage that was otherwise out of reach. Cuming (1810) and Audubon (1897) both attributed the demise of canebrakes in Kentucky to overgrazing by domestic stock. According to Long (1819-1820) stockmen "confined themselves to one spot no longer than the range continues to afford a sufficient supple [sic] of the articles most necessary for life. When the canes are fed down and destroyed...the squatter goes in search of a place where all the original wealth of the forest is yet undiminished." Swine also destroyed canebrakes by uprooting and consuming rhizomes (Michaux 1805), which are rich in carbohydrates (Lindahl et al. 1949).”

“Altered fire regimes acted in concert with grazing to hasten the destruction of canebrakes. Stockmen applied fire widely on open ranges to encourage growth of new forage and percent encroachment of woody species (Wells and Whitford 1976), Pyne 1982). Culms which resprout following burning are high in digestible cellulose and consequently heavily grazed (Shepherd et al. 1951, Smart et al. 1960). Range burning was conducted annually and few areas escaped burning at least once every two years (Pyne 1982). This burning regime results in conversion of canebrakes to open savanna (Wells and Whitford 1976), and when combined with heavy grazing, rapidly eliminates cane (Biswell et al. 1945, Shepherd et al. 1951). Conversely, fire suppression in some regions allowed woody vegetation to become established leading to an eventual decline of cane settlers ([Hughes 1966], DeVivo 1991).”

* Footnote by JC: closer reading of this source (Shepherd et al. 1951) is needed; it is not clear where they found the figure of 95%; there is much literature on grazing cane from North Carolina in the 1940s and 1950s, which needs to be more thoroughly reviewed by experts on livestock.

Appendix E. Extracted notes on springs, mills and other hydrological matters.

James Nourse. 1775. 23 Jun: probably in the area of what became Lexington.

“rode through a fine land and fine timber and with running creek, considerable in wett seasons—several near dry. Col. Harrod missed a little the tract he wanted but soon recovered—saw some buffaloes, the Col. soon shot one down. I made the fire and to cooking we went—a finer country can not be conceived. Springs are the only thing that it can be said to be deficient in.”

Richard Henderson. 1775. p. 170: 7 Jul (Friday): from Harrodsburg to St. Asaph [later Stanford], then to Boonesborough.

“On our way, saw the Knob and Flat licks, the former of which is a great curiosity, containing within the lick and stamp near 100 acres of land. Saturday, Sunday, Monday and part of Tuesday, on our way home [8-11 Jul]. ’Twas our intention to have hit Boone’s Trace about twenty miles south-west of Boonesborough, but crossed it inadvertently, and got out of our way. We suffered in this journey a little for want of provisions. The weather very dry and the springs being scarce, water was rarely to be gotten,—Buffaloe had abandoned this range and were gone to other parts...”

Colonel William Fleming. 1779-83. 20 Mar: presumably at Harrodsburg but describing the country in general, apparently including some rockier land or sandy terraces near the river.

“There is generally a rich soil on the top under which a greasy clay of different colours and sometimes mixed sand frequently impregnated with nitrous vitriole, sulphurous or saline particles. [Footnote in MS is included as follows.] The soil every where in this country is

surprisingly shallow as appears from the trees every where blown up by the roots. The roots of each tree is matted like hazel with scarce earth enough to cover it and as they cannot penetrate in depth they spread in distance insinuating betwixt the loose rock and when overturned always bringing up flags of the rock with it. The richest soil is reckoned the black, the timber black walnut, cherry, honey locust etc. I have observed the richest soil to bear the shortest timber and to be the shallowest in the mold. I would therefore prefer a good timbered tract tho not quite so rich, to a richer tho worse timbered tract as there is a great probability of the ground being lasting [perhaps meaning ‘holding water’] not so subject to drought and where springs of their [sic, perhaps meaning ‘springs of these tracts’] being constant [end of footnote]. ...this loose layer of rock gives free passage top water betwixt the strata... for this reason too we may account for the large quantity of corn which delights in a moist soil growing so plentifully here on dry uplands as it appears to be, as well as the beach [beech], sycamore and other growth delighting in a moist soil, and for the sudden rise and fall of the water courses.”

Levi Todd. 1791. p. 157... [in Draper 15CC]: his account of Boonesborough in 1775. “Boonesboro’... the southside, where there is a remarkable sulphur lick, and strongly impregnated with salt... delightfully set... and clover...[illegible—check original] The dews were very heavy, the nights in the heart of summer cool, and the land [!]—appeared more land than at present, as the thickness of the growth prevented one from discovery [of] the diversities as they travelled. We expected our country would always furnish us with iron, sugar from the trees and salt. We then thought springs of water scarce and that the country would be thinly inhabited...”

Harry Toulmin. 1794. p. 135 (in Tinling & Davies): “Seventhly, another considerable objection to Kentucky is the want of water. This objection is partly founded upon an imperfect knowledge of the country. Those who visited it, through the thickness of the herbage and the impenetrability of the canebrakes, were not aware of the many springs which water the country. Experience has, however, in a great part removed the objection. It is found that springs which are always dry a month or two have in consequence of clearing the timber and the cultivation of the land become permanent and that the number of springs is amazingly increased. And even when the springs are still irregular, it is found that wells may be sunk at a small expense to springs which never fail.”

Rev. David Barrow. 1795. p. 24: “In the winter and wet seasons, their creeks which are numerous are flush, sweetly gliding over rocky bottoms, and appear to be never failing; but in mid-summer if the season should be dry, [the creeks] disappear for miles together, and then perhaps break out again, which subterranean passages giving vent to their springs in this secret manner renders water scarce for mills, etc. in very dry seasons. But I am informed by good authority that as the country becomes cultivated numbers of springs are brought to run on the surface that were unknown before, but if this were not the case wells may be sunk thru this rock that would be never failing; there remains no doubt with me.”

Rev. James Smith. 1795-97. p. 373: 9 Nov: at “Bryant’s Station” north of Lexington. “The summer and fall hitherto having been uncommonly dry in this country, has created an alarming scarcity of water... Stock of all kinds have suffered very much. Horses to my knowledge have not drank a single drop of water for many days together, and cattle could only loll out their tongues where they once drank the refreshing stream. The far greater part of the

springs were stopped running and not a few entirely dry. Even the bottoms of the mill ponds were as dry as an hearth, and numbers of people had then to fetch [water] several miles [away]. A day or two past the whole face of the country was as dry as tinder, and considerable rivers had ceased to flow in their channels. But this morning the scene is agreeably changed. The springs, creeks, and rivers flow in their usual channels...”

Simon Kenton. 1800-1805 (approx.). About Blue Licks: “When I first saw it, it was a deep pond of salt water and sand—the dryer the time the deeper the pond; the buffaloes tread it up all into a mire and prevented it running into the river... at different times the waters would overflow and leave a considerable quantity of sand in the places where the pond stood, when numerous small springs burst up all [a]long... when the buffaloes by treading it would soon make it a pond again.”

Thomas R. Joynes. 1810. “This part of the country is in a very high state of cultivation, and is elegantly improved. In the vicinity of Lexington, particularly, there are some superb country seats. It is a remarkable fact that when this country was first settled, springs were very small and scarce, and as improvement and settlement have progressed and the annual quantity of vegetable putrefaction diminished, the springs have considerably increased both in number and size. This part of the country is now plentifully supplied with very excellent water, and the climate is very salubrious. The inhabitants now turn their attention almost entirely to the cultivation of hemp, for which they find their soil adapted, and which is more profitable than anything else they can cultivate... In speaking of Kentucky in general terms, it may be remarked that the soil is very fertile, and the climate tolerably salubrious, but the country is badly watered. I do not mean that the water is of bad quality, but that mill-ponds are scarce,

and in some places water is scarce for answering the ordinary purposes of life. Horse mills are generally used in the greater part of the State. In and about Lexington and Frankfort there are a number of men of very handsome talents, and extensive literary acquirements, particularly the gentlemen of the bar; but in the country the mass of people are extremely ignorant and illiterate. In hospitality and politeness the inhabitants are greatly superior to the citizens of their mother State.”

Brown, Samuel Right. 1817. p. 81-85, Parallel to the Ohio, and in the rear of the bottoms, lies a strip of country from five to twenty miles wide, and as long as the state, which is cut into deep vallies and high hills, by the numerous creeks and runs entering the Ohio. This soil, however, is rich and the greater part capable of improvement. Between this strip, Big Sandy and Green rivers, and the eastern counties, lies the garden of the state, if not of the world. It is about 150 miles long, and from 50 to 100 miles wide, and comprises the counties of Mason, Fleming, Montgomery, Clarke, Bourbon, Fayette, Scott, Harrison, Franklin, Woodford, Mercer, Jessamine, Madison, Garrard, Logan, Casey, Lincoln, Washington, Green... This part of the state is not so well watered as the hilly strip near the Ohio and the broken country near the Virginia boundary line, yet almost every farm is blessed with a durable spring.”

C.W. Batterfield and George A. Ogle (eds). 1884. History of Crawford and Richland Counties, Wisconsin. Union Publishing Company. Springfield, Illinois.

p. 488. “The Blue-Grass region of Kentucky, once the pride of the west, has now districts of such barren and arid nature, that their stock farmers are moving toward the Cumberland mountains, because the creeks and old springs dried up, and their wells became too low to furnish water for their cattle.”

B.H. Young and S.M. Duncan. 1898. p. 148-149: notes on Jessamine Creek (with photo of spring at head). “Two large oaks trees grow immediately over the spring, and rise out of the cliff overhanging it. While the stream has never gone dry within the memory of the young men, the current of water has very much decreased in the last fifty years...”

Back cover: woodland remnant along Cane Run, with much running rue-anemone (*Enemion biternatum*) and replanted cane; this is almost the only known patch of *Enemion* in Lexington.

