

Historical Quotes on Vegetation in the Bluegrass and Some Adjacent Regions

Assembled by Julian Campbell, 1977-2008.

Things to check

check with Ruddel's mill road group

Eckhart the frontiersman

Ted Belue The Long Hunt Stackpile Publishers; bison book w/Johnston on Tecumseh.

check John Findley history; see Beckner 1927.

more of Nourse in J Amer Hist Vol 14 (Nos 2-4): etc...

more of Parry 1794... wilderness road ending to virginia...

More Draper—Daniel Bryan nephew of DBoone (see Beckner 1932).

Bryan's narrative about Boone etc.; see Life of Boone...

rest of Levi Todd?? 15CC157-62 1791 journal

letters of John Floyd 1780 from Beargrass Creek.

Gen William Halls letter; see p. 276.

First Land Court check Wilson 1923 more!!! 165 pages

depositions in county courthouses

Filson Club: 1928 2:129 etc. Isaac Cox papers???... Nelson Co.

Bluegrass Army Depot notes—the old Madison Co note of “blackjack” etc...

Tuscarawas book (Booth 1994) for ne Ohio valley from Fort Pitt to Sandusky...

Chaumiere de Prairie on Catnip Hill Road; Marcia Farris' son did thesis...

McMurtrie indicates beaver pond was at Cherokee park... check (Neal Hammon)

NH: he has evidence that surveyors had different tree preferences in same area... check

Wilson & Thornbrough (1940): check whole book...

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

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”—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 true history of Cantuckey, this editor has faithfully shewed the original words, including those imbued with very butyfull spelings;—but, confessedly, he has practised changes to the stunted writ of some hard travellers, or to the loft varyfied efulgence imbosomed in prose with more pretention, for to make an equal style. Capital letters are generally avoided in cases where they are against modern conventions. Also, in the case of disjointed sentences or lack of punctuation, a few additional commas, semicolons or long dashes (—) are sometimes inserted for minimal 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 followed 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 can get 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. Subsequent phases will 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 2008, in order to draw what conclusions we can about the original vegetation.

Another appended section to the basic thesis of “The Land of Cane and Clover” will provide a completely different set of observations from the same periods: to collect, summarize and analyze 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 sections will be completed on 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 review of place names. Together, these studies will lead to a considerable improvement in our understanding of the structure and function of native woodland in this region.

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 some 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 June 2nd and 4th).

p. 47-48: April 12th, 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. More reasonable interpretations of “bear-grass” could be cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*) or big bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*)—bears could have hidden in it; see also notes on Beargrass Creek in Jefferson Co. The interpretation by Johnston and others as *Yucca filamentosa*, though supported by common modern usage, seems less reasonable since that species is generally native to drier woods, barrens and dunes in warmer regions. Other plants that have been called beargrass include *Tradescantia subaspera* (Cherokee plants website; paws.wcu.edu).

p. 50: April 14-15th, 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: April 27th, 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 states: “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. 65: May 30th, 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. This is the only direct reference 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: June 2nd, 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: June 4th, 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.”

[horses sick from eating too much cane... check details of this quote in Walker?...]

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.

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

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

p.: Feb 17th, 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: Mar. 1st, along Great Miami River, near “Twigtwee Town” at the mouth of Laramie’s Creel, 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: Mar. 3rd, 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 Miamee 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 Miamee 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: Mar. 4th, 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: Mar. 18th, probably near Pilot Knob, in northern Powell Co., or some other knobs between “Salt Lick Creek” [Licking River] and “Cuttaway River” [Kentucky River].
“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: Mar. 19th, 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, 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.”

[add his notes from e Ohio etc.—see Tuscarawas Valley book.]

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

As well as supposed letters from “Mr. Croghan” to Trent, Trent’s letter of April 10th 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.

Lewis Evans. 1755. A General Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America. Engraved by James Turner, Philadelphia.

See also various other editions, including: 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. The latter is a revised version of Lewis (1775), but with some added features. It overlays, 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.

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 Eskipakithiki 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.

Colonel George Croghan. 1765. Journal. First printed in the Monthly American Journal of Geology and Natural Science, December 1831, by G.W. Featherstonhaugh, Philadelphia. 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: May 31st 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: June 6th 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.: June 18th-19th 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.: June 23rd 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: “a prodigious rich bottom, overgrown with reeds and wild hemp” (June 12th). The “grass” could have been big-bluestem (*Andropogon gerardii*); the “reed” could have been cane (*Arundinaria gigantea*); the “wild hemp” could have been giant ragweed (*Ambrosia trifida*).

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

p. 466: July 8th 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 buffalo, 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...”

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.

July 5th, 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."

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

Robert: "The lands seemed to be full of beech..."

July 9th, 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."

July 9th-14th.

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,"

July 15th, 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."

July 16th, 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..."

July 17th, 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.”

July 18th, 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.”

July 20th, near the Kentucky River probably between what became Tyrone (the US 623 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.”

July 23rd, 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...”

July 31st, 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.”

August 1st, 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.”

August 2nd, 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...”

August 3rd, 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]: May 3rd, 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: May 12th, 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: May 16th, 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: May 17th, 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: May 19th, 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: May 24th, 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: June 12th, 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: June 16th, 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: June 22nd, 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: July 1st, 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.

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

July 8th: “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.”

Jul 9th: “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 equal goodness, well watered. The we returned to Floyd’s Spring [later called Royal Spring on the west side of Georgetown].”

Nicholas Cresswell. 1774-77. Journal [entries for Kentucky in 1775]. Printed with foreword by Samuel Thornely. 1924 (American edition). Journal of Nicholas Cresswell. 1774-1777. Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, New York. 1925 (English edition of same). The 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: April 30th, 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 400 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. 76-87: May 19th-June 14th, down the Ohio and up the Kentucky River then back.

May 19th, 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*.

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

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

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

May 23rd: “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.”

May 24th: “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.”

May 25th: “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...”

May 26th: “beechey bottoms...”

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

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

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

May 29th: “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.]

May 30th: “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...”

May 31st: “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.”

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

June 2nd: “Land good, weeds as high as a man...”

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

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

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

June 9th-17th: 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.

June 11th: “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...”

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

June 14th: “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...”

June 17th: “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...”

Later notes in the upper Ohio watershed have much interest, but mostly not dealing with vegetation except the following.

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

August 25th: “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...”

August 26th: “...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*; *P. allegheniensis* occurs on drier uplands in Pennsylvania, but Cresswell was generally on lowlands; *P. munsoniana* is probably not native in Pennsylvania. 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 251-260, etc.). Reprinted in 1973. *The Filson Club History Quarterly* Vol. 47, No. 3 [check 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.

May 28th, 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 [probably *Baptisia australis*]—I made a bed under my tent.”

Interpretation. There are collections of river indigo (*B. australis*) from upstream on the river (Anderson and Mercer Cos.), but this species has virtually disappeared from the river 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.

May 29th.

“got to the buffalo crossing...”

May 30th, along or near the Kentucky River to a buffalo crossing upstream from Leestown, 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... Went on to a small island... land a good bottom and high land tolerable—came to the foot of a steep hill of 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 [probably on or near 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 [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.”

Interpretation. From the river, their route probably led from near Vaughn Branch (Trumbo Bottom) then up the hill to what became the intersections for US 421, US 60 and Ky Route 1681 (Old Frankfort Pike), then along or near 1681 to Nugent Crossroads and Lees Branch.

June 1st, 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.

June 2nd, 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.”

June 5th, from “Harwood’s Landing” [later known as Warwick then Oregon] to Harrodsburg.

“walked along 15 miles to Harrodstown... 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...”

June 18th, 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 o’clock, got excellent stew of buffalo and as much lettuce and young endive as could eat but no bread...”

June 19th, 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...”

June 20th, 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 cabin—where 3 men were killed in March...” [See also Felix Walker’s account of 1824.]

June 22nd, between Clays Ferry and what became Lexington.

“set off over Kentucke—rode thro’ a fine country, but little water—saw a buffalo—camped...”

June 23rd, 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. 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. 170: May 14th, 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: July 2nd-5th 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: July 7th (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 [July 8th-11th]. ’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...”

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.

p. ... [check details]: list of accepted items; details to be checked again, but there may be little further information about these proceedings.

“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.”

There is no evidence to support Roosevelt’s statement about fire. 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.”

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]...”

“Shawano 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.

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 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** (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, Polksville 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. Need more information; perhaps at the crossings of Stoner Creek or Hinkston Creek.

“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 was probably the remains of Eskippakithiki on North Fork of Upper Howards Creek. The trace was probably close to Ky. Route 15 and led between northwestern connections to the Blue Licks and southeastern connections to the Ouasioto passes; see discussion under Myer (1925).

“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 of Paint Lick, there is a small tributary of Silver Creek curiously named Elk Garden Branch (in the current 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), around the old Thomas horse-farm that has the large blue ashes (now owned by Heinline).

“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 was probably 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.

“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 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.

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.

1779, Nov. 10th: 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 thit 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.”

1779, Nov. 11th

“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...”

1779, Nov. 13th: from “Flat Lick” [also known as Bullitt’s Lick] to Falls of the Ohio.

“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...”

1779, Nov. 14th: 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...”

1779, Nov. 25th-29th: 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...”

1779, Dec. 17th: 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...”

1779, Dec. 31st: 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.”

1780, Mar. 3rd: 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.”

1780, Mar. 7th: 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*.”

1780, Mar. 20th: 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.”

1780, Mar. 20th: 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.”

1780, Apr. 11th: 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.

1780, May 27th: 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.]

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

1783, Jan. 8th: 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.”

1783, Jan. 16th: 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...”

1783, Jan. 17th: 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.

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 with Neal Hammon.

Mar. 8th: 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.

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

p. 44 [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...”

John Filson. 1784 (re: 1769). “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.

“...on the seventh day of June following 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... 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. 1784a. *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. Some notes in brackets indicate alternatives in some printings; originals to be checked. Other notes indicate suggest binomial names for plant species, *in italics*.

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”.

“...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 bordere 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 defoliated as if by a ravaging enemy, and hills reduced to plains; for the land near those springs is chiefly hilly.”

John Filson. 1784b. 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, attached to 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 is 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.

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:

(1) roads west to the Falls of Ohio (more or less modern Interstate 64);

(2) north down the west side of the Kentucky River to Drenon's Lick (rather obscure in modern highways);

(3) northeast to the Blue Licks and then Limestone Creek at the Ohio River (now US 68);

(4) 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);

(5) southeast via "Boonesburg" [Boonesborough] to Cumberland Gap (Ky. Route 338 to US 25);

(6) south to "Logan's" [later Stanford] and beyond (starting close to US 27 then to southwest between Green and Cumberland Rivers);

(7) 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").

"Byrd's War Road" 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.

Footnote. A mystery to be solved is the exact identity and location of the “Capt. 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), and 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, Colonel Johnson killed Tecumseh” but was not re-elected (with Martin Van Buren), partly because of his 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 she (the second “wife”) ran off with a different man, Johnson had her captured and sold at auction, and then began a relationship with her sister (via Wikipedia: Kyle McQueen in Keven McQueen (ed), 2001, “Richard Menter Johnson: Vice President,” *Offbeat Kentuckians: Legends to Lunatics, III*, McClanahan Publishing House, Kuttawa, Kentucky).

J.F.D. Smyth. 1784. *A Tour of the United States of America.* G. Robinson, J. Robinson and J. Sewell... [check details].

p. 338: general description of the “western” country at that time; he was at Boonesboro in 1775 (see 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, opossums, foxes and wolves. All these are found in the lofty woods, while in the savannahs or meadows buffaloes abound.”

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).

1788, February 9th: “*A remarkable instance of the intrepidity of savages.*”
“About the 28th ult. [perhaps 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 thieves] 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.”

1788, February 23rd: “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.”

1788, March 15th: “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.”

1788, March 29th: “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 our, 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.”

1793, April 6th: 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...

1793, April 13th: 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...

1793, April 20th: 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...

1793, Oct. 23rd: "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."

"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..."

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

1819, May 7th: letter to Hon. R.M. Johnson at Great Crossings [near Georgetown]; to check.

Jedidiah Morse. 1789. *The American Geography*. Shepherd Kollock, Printer, Elizabeth-town, 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."

William Brown. 1790. *Journal*. Printed in: Thomas Speed (ed). 1886. *The Wilderness Road*. Filson Club Publication 2. John P. Morton and Co., Louisville.

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 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..."

Levi Todd. 1791. *Journal* [including general historical reflections]. This was included within Draper's manuscripts (15CC, p. 157-162), but it was originally written in 1791; Draper's *Life of*

Boone (Belue 1999) 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 area, 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 Pennnsylvania 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 [perhaps meaning with beech trees] lands 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 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 [*Amphicarpaea 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*), white-snakeroot (*Eupatorium rugosum*) or other species.

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] “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 [perhaps *Poa pratensis*], blue [perhaps *Poa 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, and a profusion of daisies [perhaps *Erigeron philadelphicus*], appear on the approach of spring, which are succeeded by the daffodil, jonquil, hyacinth, tulip, and a multitude of other flowers, such as heart’s ease, lilies, red [perhaps *Lilium michiganense*] and white, hollyhocks, pinks [*Silene*], golden rod [at least *Solidago altissima*], cowslips, may-flowers, jessamine, columbine [*Aquilegia canadensis*], honeysuckles [*Lonicera*], rock honeysuckles [perhaps *L. reticulata*], tuberose [*Asclepias tuberosa*], 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.”

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." [*Apocynum cannabinum*]

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 tuberosa, 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*]

p. 264: "Barren, or red plum." [perhaps *Prunus americana*]

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 lucious to be agreeable; though, when boiled gree, 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 quoted here. He did not appear to add new observations on the

vegetation.

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* [*Oxydendron 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 subintegrifolia* [*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]: 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: June 6th: 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: June 7th, 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: June 12th, 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: June 13th, 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 to Tick Creek [east of Shelbyville], part of the waters of Salt River. On this stream there was good land timbered with beech, 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: June 14th, 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]: June 15th, 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: June 15th, 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, June 16th: 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 US31E]. 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: June 17th, 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: June 21-22ndst, 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. Rout 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 US460]. 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: June 23rd, 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. This was included 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 the ridge to its east (more or less Ky. Routes 1355 to 39), then to the Rockcastle River, joining the old wilderness road to Cumberland Gap.

The map does not show a trail 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 notes below under Joshua McQueen

(Draper 1842-1851, 13CC, p. 121). See also 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 June 14th to 20th 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: June 28th, 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: July 30th, written after returning into Virginia; summarizing the settled parts of Kentucky (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 [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 [ash] [probably *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 *Portulacca 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 thro 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 forbare 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] abd 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, chinchas,

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 to 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.

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: 1795, October 24th, 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: November 9th, 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: November 11th, 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: November 14th, 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: November 18th, 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: November 20th, at Big Bone Lick.

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

p. 383: 1797, September 15th, 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: September 28th, in Lexington area.

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

p. 390: October 3rd, 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: October 4th, 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 wwater 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: October 10th, 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: October 21st, 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 Alegeanys. It seems to be compounded of marine shells & lays so far below the surface as to be no interuption 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 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.”

“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. Check other version: to his sister, with 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 three.

"...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 Quarterly 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 ridicule

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 perceive 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], 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; this last resembles the chesnut, but is a large as a hickory nut of the largest size. The trees you have seen innumrated 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).

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]: July 20th, 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: July 23rd, 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: July 25th, 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: August 10-12th, 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: August 20th, between Harrodsburg and “Chaplain Fork” [near Perryville].

“In this space, which is uninhabited, the soil is excellent, but very unequal.”

p. 213: August 21st, 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, 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 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 cabbins 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 cabbins 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.” Wilson (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.”

Part Two: Reminiscences by Early Settlers written during 1805-1855.

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. 177: in 1807, July 31st, conversing with Captain 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. The History of Kentucky. Revised and extended. 1824. 2 vols. Henry Gore, Frankfort. [check details of pages and quotes below]

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 some notes on vegetation, and is cited above under Col. Levi Todd (1782), an original source.

Felix Walker. 1824 [approx. date]. Account of his journey with the Transylvania Company in 1775. Apparently first transcribed in Draper MSS, 3B, 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; clover does not bloom until April or May.

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.”

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 Bourbon 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 (1999).

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. [Drafted in 1842-1856]. The Life of Daniel Boone. Manuscripts in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. See also: C.A. Hanna. 1911. The Wilderness Trail. 2 vols. G.P. Putnam’s Sons. The Knickerbocker Press, New York. See also: 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 Evan's old map, they arrived at an Indian settlement situated a mile west of the oil spring on Lulbegrud 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 (1999) 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. 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 turkeys, 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. One 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..."

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 in the Archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

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.

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... [check].

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. 52...[?]: **Septimus Schull**, interviewed by John D. Shane in approximately 1842. [This family name is spelled "Scholl" in some other sources.]

p. 52: he was a grandson of Daniel Boone, and described travels of [brothers] Ned and Daniel Boone in February [?] 1778 to Grassy Lick, in western 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... 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 [loosely in places] by Lucien Beckner. 1928. Shane's interview with pioneer William Clinkenbeard. Filson Club History Quarterly. Vol. 2, No. 2.

p. 58 [p. 104 in Beckner]: in 1779-1780.

"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. 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. Burning 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 cuckleburr; 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 [location uncertain] and Somerset [perhaps a place on Somerset Creek, now in southern Nicholas Co.]. 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."

Interpretation. Rockbridge was probably a crossing over Hinkston Creek, perhaps where Ky. Route 57 crosses near the mouth of Somerset Creek (but there is another Somerset Creek further upstream). 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 Boone Creek. See Jillson's (1934) notes on licks in this area, plus interpretation below. Evidently, part of the old "Plum" name was retained for the southern tributary of Boone Creek, and the community today is still called Plum.

Erroneous Interpretations. "Rockbridge" [a branch of Boone Creek] 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). We have all got it wrong until now (!?!).

p. 67 [p. 128 in Beckner].

"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 elks did."

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 page references below].

p. 70-71: 1790, Dec. 6th-12th, 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 1932. The Filson Club History Quarterly 6: ...377...

p. ... [check original]: 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 [probably *Carya cordiformis*], 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. Shade in the 1840s.

p. 94: about Indian Old Fields in southeast Clark Co. and the old cabin of Eskippakithiki. “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. 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. 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] 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.”

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 [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 [the page references here].

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 buffaloe 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 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... [?]: **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. 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... [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 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.

“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.”

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 besieged—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 Flournoy 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 by date.

17CC, p. 120-187 [?]: **John Floyd. 1780**. Letters. Included in Draper Manuscripts but from original documents; listed above under 1780.

23CC, p. 25-26 [?]: **Spencer Records** interviewed by [?] Shane in 1840s [?].

p. 25-26: recalling a hunting party in December 1783, perhaps near Russell Cave 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.”

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 14U114 (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 chopped 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. Pioneer Life in Kentucky 1785-1800 [check details]. Reprinted in: E.FD. Horine (ed). 1848. Henry Schuman, New York. [More of Drake’s material needs to be checked.]

p. 13: recounting the settlement of his father and family during 1788 in Mason Co.

“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.

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. 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.

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.”

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.”

Part Two: Observations of the Changed Landscape, 1805-1850.

These are just some initial entries; Andrew Berry is also collecting material.

Thomas Hulme. 1828. Journal Made During a Tour of the Western Country. Originally in William Cobbett's "A Year's Residence in the United States of America". London. [publisher?]. Reprinted in R.G. Thwaites (ed.). 1905. Early Western Travels. Vol. 10. 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."

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 F. 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] *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. Albach. 1857. *Annals of the West*. 3rd edition... [check details; cited in Wilson 1927, *Filson Club Quarterly*, p. 46.]

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.”

Part Three: Initial Scientific Interpretations, 1850-1900.

These are just some initial entries; there is much material from Owen, Peter and other early scientists in the state.

Killebrew, J.B. 1878. Grasses, cereals and forage plants of Tennessee. [get details]

Regarding cane:

“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.”

“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.”

“...Several 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 constraint grazing.”

“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.”

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, probably based on the Bluegrass Region in particular.

“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 foothold 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 is still somewhat mysterious. I suggest that buffalo grass might have been *Panicum clandestinum* (see also *P. boscii*, *Tridens flavus*, etc.). 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 *Andropogon* spp., *Sorghastrum nutans*, *Tripsacum dactyloides*, etc.?

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.””

Part Four: 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. 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 or 460); then to Paris to Blue Licks to Maysville (on or near US 68). 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.

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.

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. Rothert claims that Beargrass refers to *Yucca filamentosa*, which he states “was plentiful in the Virginia colonies.” However, there is no evidence of such association of local history. Moreover, current botanical information indicates that this species is not native to Kentucky. Other reasonable interpretations of “bear grass” must be sought, perhaps cane (*Arundnaria gigantea*) or big blue stem (*Andropogon gerardii*); see also notes above under Walker (1749-50, April 12th). According to several sources, cane was certainly abundant in some parts of the Beargrass Creek area at the time of settlement. It is possible that big blue stem occurred locally along scoured banks of the river and even some drier uplands disturbed by burning and browsing. Rothert dismisses 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.

John D. Wickliffe. 1928. Pioneer Stations in Nelson County. The Filson Club History Quarterly 2: 129-163 [?].

p. 129: “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.”

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: concerning the message 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 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 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.”

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).

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.

[This book needs further study; also potential ideas 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.”

Neal O. Hammon. 1970...? Early roads into Kentucky. Register of the Kentucky Historical Society... ??: 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.”

CANE BACKGROUND

McHargue, J.S. (1941). Canebrakes in prehistoric and pioneer times in Kentucky. *Annals of Kentucky Natural History* 1:1-13.

He presented the following table 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.]

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
Silica Sio ₂	7.89	8.165	3.963	0.717	0.340	2.826
Iron Fe	0.019	0.032	0.025	0.007	0.056	0.047
Manganese Mn	0.016	0.001	0.001	0.0007	0.002	0.007
Calcium Ca	0.456	0.237	0.086	0.0002	0.124	0.138
Magnesium Mg	0.310	0.145	0.081	0.0003	0.622	1.820
Phosphorous P	0.207	0.230	0.114	0.073	0.305	0.200
Potassium K	1.100	1.720	1.100	0.954	n.e.	1.610
Sodium Na	0.174	0.270	0.248	0.064	n.e.	0.288
Sulphur S	0.313	0.187	0.083	n.e.	n.e.	n.e.
Nitrogen 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

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."

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.”

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 require 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.

[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 accessible 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 canbrakes. Stockmen applied fire widely on open ranges to encourage growth of new forage and prevent 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 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.

NOTE ALSO: the 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.

Selected comments extracted from above indicating vegetation in the Bluegrass.

See bibliographic details above.

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 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... 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...”

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."

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...”