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TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

HELD AT PHILADELPHIA
FOR PROMOTING USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

NEW SERIES—VOLUME 53, PART 4
1963

THE WESTERN JOURNALS OF
DR. GEORGE HUNTER
1796-1805

Edited by
JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT
Washington University

THE AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA 6

JULY, 1963

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OF
The American Philosophical Society

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To
GILBERT CHINARD
cher ami et collègue

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Library of Congress Catalog
Card No. 63-17662

PREFACE

The journals of George Hunter of Philadelphia and New Orleans, here published for the first time, are exactly and completely reproduced from the originals in the Library of the American Philosophical Society with one exception: his record of the survey of the Ouachita River has been omitted because it merely duplicated that of William Dunbar published in 1904. Hunter's survey, in fact, was less complete and a passage covering several weeks was actually, owing to an accident Hunter suffered, copied from Dunbar's. There seemed no good reason, therefore, for printing Hunter's separate record of courses and distances.

As usual my debts are many. First of all, I am indeed grateful for the generous grant from the American Philosophical Society which made possible the editing of these diaries.

The transcription of a very difficult text I owe to Mary Stephanie McDermott, my wife and exacting assistant. For standing sponsor to my project I thank the late Solon J. Buck, Howard H. Peckham, and Savoie Lottinville; and, most of all, Gilbert Chinard for many kindnesses in a friendship of more than a quarter of a century.

In my search for information about my elusive author I was in the first place greatly aided by the late William E. Lingelbach, Librarian Emeritus of the American Philosophical Society, and several members of the present Library staff.

In Philadelphia I had the kind help also of the staffs of the reading room and of the manuscripts division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; of the Librarian of the College of Physicians and Surgeons; of Mrs. Elizabeth W. Johnson, Librarian of the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science; of Emerson Greenaway, Director of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

In Washington the staffs of the War Department, Fiscal, Interior, Cartographic, and Foreign Service branches of the National Archives were helpful as

usual. Particularly do I want to mention Oliver W. Holmes and Herman R. Friis, qualified members of that small, select group who, too, had heard of Dr. Hunter. At the Library of Congress I leaned on the staff of the Division of Manuscripts. At the Smithsonian Institution, George Griffenhagen, Curator of the Division of Medical Sciences, gave thought to my problems.

In New Orleans Mrs. Mary Ferguson Greene Weis, the last private owner of the Hunter journals, and Mrs. Duke Babin, both descendants of Dr. Hunter; Samuel Wilson Jr.; Mrs. Rosa M. Oliver of the Louisiana State Museum; W. D. Postell, Librarian of the Rudolph Matas Medical Library of Tulane University; Garland Taylor, formerly Director of Libraries at Tulane; and Mrs. Connie C. Griffith, Director of Archives at the Tulane University Library all came to my aid.

In Kentucky I pursued Hunter through the Courthouse at Frankfort and the Kentucky State Historical Society there; in Lexington, the Public Library; in Louisville, the Filson Club; and everywhere received friendly help.

Ranging elsewhere over the country I recall obligations also to Mrs. Helen Olivier, Lands Administrator at the State Land Office, Baton Rouge; Paul Angle, Director of the Chicago Historical Society; James Babcock, Chief of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library; Carl Ray, research assistant at the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi.

At home in St. Louis (as ever) I could accomplish little without the constant aid of the Missouri Historical Society, the St. Louis Mercantile Library, and the Washington University Library—and the succession of interlibrary loan librarians at my university who borrowed many books for me from many libraries.

J. F. McD.

THE WESTERN JOURNALS OF DR. GEORGE HUNTER, 1796-1805

Edited by

JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

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INTRODUCTION

I

When John James Audubon in 1821 was thinking of bird-exploring on the Red River, one of the persons in New Orleans he was eager to see was Dr. George Hunter, "the renowned *Man* of Jefferson," as he called him in his diary.¹ The fame that had come to the Philadelphia chemist and mineralogist from his share in the exploration of Louisiana still clung to him. Though he had not published his journals and though his report of the War Department lay untouched in the manuscript collections of the American Philosophical Society, the world was well acquainted with his activities and William Dunbar's in 1804-1805, for they had been described at length in a paper accompanying President Jefferson's message of February 19, 1806, and the account had found publication not merely in congressional documents but also in the *Washington National Intelligencer* and had been reprinted as well in widely respected periodicals of the day.² Since this

¹ Audubon, John James, *Journal made during his trip to New Orleans in 1820-1821*, 115, 149, Cambridge, The Business Historical Society, 1929.

² Observations made in a voyage, commencing at St. Catharine's landing, on the east bank of the Mississippi, proceeding downwards to the mouth of Red river, and from thence ascending that river, the Black river, and the Washita river, as high as the hot springs in the proximity of the last mentioned river, extracted from the journals of William Dunbar, esquire, and Doctor Hunter.

For reprintings of this document see Camp, Charles L., *The Plains and the Rockies* (3rd ed.), 8-10, Columbus, Long's College Book Company, 1953. To this list should be added the *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, October 15, 27, 31, November 10, 12, 1806; *The American Register* 5: 311-345,

was the first authentic and reliable information about Louisiana to come before the American public, we can well understand that the leaders of the expedition up the Ouachita became known names in the young nation. They had been fortunate, too, in that their story had been published before it was overshadowed by the reports of the more exciting explorations of Lewis and Clark and of Pike.

But within two years after Audubon met him, Hunter died³ in New Orleans and sank into an obscurity so dense that no more than a handful of people today will recognize his name. Yet he can be lifted from the limbo of the forgotten, for his original journals, preserved by his family, came one hundred and eighteen years after his death to the archives of the American Philosophical Society. They have proved more extensive and of broader interest than the revised and unpublished journal-report he made to the Secretary at War (as that title used to be written) in April, 1805. In addition to the two journals detailing the 1804-1805 mission to the Southwest, two others preserve the record of earlier trips westward: to Kentucky and the Illinois Country, as far as St. Louis, in 1796 and to Kentucky in 1802.

Hunter's private story is that of the poor but industrious boy, alert to his opportunities, who achieves some professional success and modest wealth. Born in Edinburgh in 1755, the son of a cooper, at sixteen he was "put to an Eminent Druggist." Three years later (1774) he came to America with his younger brother, his mother, and her second husband, and in Philadelphia he "engaged" with the noted firm of Christopher and Charles Marshall, druggists. In the winter of 1776 the three young men (the stepfather, a coachmaker, was sixteen years younger than his wife) served as volunteers in the Philadelphia militia and "were present at the Engagements of Trenton & Princeton." The following year George "joined the American Army in the Hospital Department" and served for three years as an assistant apothecary. Resigning from the army, he

1909. It is most generally available in *American State Papers: Indian Affairs* 1: 731-743, Washington, 1832.

Dunbar's original "Journal of a voyage commencing at St Catherine's landing" and his "Journal of a geometrical survey" were first published as written in *Documents relating to the purchase and exploration of Louisiana*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1904.

Hunter's unpublished report (Manuscript journal of Geo. Hunter up the Red & Washita Rivers with W^m Dunbar 1804 by order US. & up to Hot Springs) was given to the American Philosophical Society in 1817 by Inspector General D. Parker.

³A descendant has given February 25, 1824, as the date of his death; probate proceedings in New Orleans, however, make certain that he died a year earlier.

went as Surgeon on board the ship *Betty Bound* to Teneriffe in which Capacity I remained for three years & made several voyages, with different Captains. My first adventure was very small; I never received any Prize money, was twice taken Prisoner, was six weeks on board the English Prison ship at New York; All my gain was fair Trade, & upon the whole I was very successful, having increased my first Capital Sixtyfold.

Hunter now left the sea and by ill luck lost most of his capital. With a partner he erected a large distillery on Rancocas Creek in New Jersey, but within a few months after it was finished the building was totally destroyed by fire, "which terminated our partnership & three fourths of my Property." He began life again by entering into the drug business in Philadelphia on a small scale and "was now very successful." In 1785 he formed a general partnership with his brother William and their stepfather, Alexander Quarrier, who "had carried on successfully the Coachmakers Trade on a large scale" in Philadelphia since 1778. The following year it was discovered that Quarrier had "an avowed connection" with a woman. The brothers forced him out of the partnership, paying him for his share. Hunter now found it necessary to sell off his stock of drugs to enable them "to carry on the Coachmaking to a greater extent" and continued in business with his brother until 1792. They then dissolved their joint concerns in trade and George apparently went back to the drug business.⁴ The city directory in 1794 classified him as "chemist," in 1797 and 1798 as "chemist and druggist," and from 1800 through 1809 as "druggist," in 1813 and 1815 listed him as Dr. George Hunter, and in 1818 announced that he had "gone to New Orleans."⁵ On December 28, 1786, he was married at the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia to Phoebe Bryant, a Friend.⁶ Through his service as Surgeon's Mate in the Pennsylvania Hospital Depart-

⁴ Details of Hunter's early life thus far are from notes he wrote down January 1, 1795, found with his journals, and printed in full in the appendix to this edition.

⁵ In 1785 George Hunter, druggist, lived on Market between Second and Front Streets; in 1791 George Hunter, coachmaker, lived at 323 High Street. Between 1794 and 1809 he was listed as living at 114 South Second Street.

⁶ *Records of Pennsylvania Marriages prior to 1810*. Phoebe Bryant Hunter was born February 1760 and died in New Orleans January 3, 1844. Through references in the journals we discover that she had a sister, Mrs. Andrew Hare, in Kentucky, a sister and a niece (Mary Starr) in Virginia, and a nephew, T. Y. Bryant, in Kentucky. The Hunters had seven children, of whom five survived infancy: (1) Mary Ann, born December 9, 1787; must have died before her father since she was not listed among his heirs. (2) George Heriot, born August 26, 1789; died August, 1831; major, 32nd Infantry, May 6, 1813–July 19, 1814. (3) Phoebe G., born August 31, 1794; married at New Orleans Peter Laidlaw. (4) Deborah S., born August 10, 1798; married at New Orleans Samuel B. Bennett. (5) William Wallace, born April 16, 1803; died New Orleans, 1893; passed midshipman, USN, 1828; commander, 1853; resigned 1861; commodore in the Confederate Navy.

ment, he became an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati.⁷

Hunter's life in Philadelphia is obscure to us today but it is clear that he was not then an obscure person or an unsuccessful one. From references in his papers and in official correspondence it is evident that he carried on a considerable wholesale and, probably, a retail drug business. He also built up a reputation as a chemist. Principal among Jefferson's reasons for appointing him to an important mission of exploration was his "fort" of chemistry: "in the practical branch of that science he has probably no equal in the US.," the President declared in 1804.⁸ Qualified as a doctor, how much he practiced is not known. As one who had been apothecary-trained, he seems not to have mingled in the medical society of the time. But from all sources of activity he must have been fairly prosperous to be able to leave his wife and children for ten months in 1804–1805, for the allowance of three dollars a day made by the government to the explorers was no temptation to leave home.

II

What specific occasion sent Hunter out to Kentucky and the Illinois Country in 1796 is not to be discovered in his diary of that year, but knowing his practical bent we can be certain that it was a matter of business, not one of pleasure or curiosity or scientific concern. Probably he was infected by the virus of speculation which was sending thousands upon thousands of Americans over the mountains in pursuit of fortune, not as poor men seeking a bit of farm land, but as enterprising businessmen searching out investment for capital. So far as his daily notations show, he and his companion, Anthony Atkinson of Philadelphia, were most interested in the value of western lands.

On July 14 the travelers set out on horseback from Philadelphia for western Pennsylvania, the first stop worth notice being in Fayette County, where Hunter looked up four hundred acres of land he had bought on Salt Lick Creek. Thence they rode to Redstone (now Brownsville) on the Monongahela, seventy miles above Pittsburgh, where they "took water" in a boat built to their order—in flatboat days a very common procedure. With an eye to business they loaded the *Illinois*, as they named it, with five tons of cargo, the chief portion being "3 Tons Nail Rods & a quantity of nails in Cags," for which the freight charges to Limestone, Kentucky, paid in advance, came to two dollars more than the cost of the boat. They picked up two hands who agreed to work their passages to Kentucky, loaded on their horses, provisions, and other necessities, and began to float down the river. One of the

⁷ Metcalf, Bryce, *Original members and other officers eligible to the Society of the Cincinnati, 1783–1938*, Strasbourg, Virginia, 1938.

⁸ Jefferson to Dunbar, April 15, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

men deserting at Pittsburgh, Hunter, Atkinson, and the remaining man, Nathaniel Blackford, a blacksmith, managed the boat by standing regular three hour watches, at tight moments all hands on deck. Floating day and night, stopping occasionally to buy sweet milk, butter, eggs, and hay, or to hunt game, they made Limestone in twelve days from Redstone.

Their diversions were the novelty of the journey, the glimpses of many new towns springing up along the river, the howling of wolves in the night, the sight of a floating mill. Below Pittsburgh they passed "a large Long Keell Boat manned with Indians & one white man from the Illinois country laden with skins.—They sett it up against the stream along the shore with great rapidity & kept time with their setting poles dextrously." Looking at them through his spyglass, Hunter saw the Indians were naked except for breechclouts. "As we approached their boat they perceived my Glass & immediately two of them lifted up their breechclout & stuck out their bare Posteriors."⁹ Though there was occasional difficulty with navigation, there were no excitements during the river voyage. At Limestone (Maysville) they delivered their freight and sold the boat for six dollars.

They now took the well-worn road from this principal port of Kentucky towards its metropolis, stopping for dinner the second day at the Blue Licks, where Hunter inquired into the operations and costs of salt-making. At Lexington they stayed for six days with Mrs. Andrew Hare, Mrs. Hunter's sister, and met not merely many old friends but almost everybody of importance in the neighborhood. Still without confiding his intentions to his diary, Hunter set out with Atkinson for the Illinois Country, passing through Frankfort to Louisville.

Crossing the Ohio to Clarksville, with a companion from Kentucky, they struck out on what was in effect an unguided tour first to Vincennes and thence to Kaskaskia over the faintest of unmarked roads. Lack of water on the route over this uninhabited country, inadequate provisions, droves of mosquitoes and gnats, horseflies "as large as the largest bumble bees" infesting the prairie grass and weeds that often rose "two or three feet higher than a man on horseback" made the ten-day trip to Kaskaskia a matter of some endurance. After a side trip across the Mississippi to Ste. Genevieve, they followed the road through Prairie du Rocher and St. Philippe, old French villages now almost entirely deserted, to Cahokia. Crossing to St. Louis, they were "politely received" by Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, who invited them to visit any part of the country they wished and offered to grant them each one thousand acres wherever they liked and more if they brought in other families.

After a night in St. Louis, the two Philadelphians

began to retrace their route to Lexington. Four days sufficed for the one hundred and seventy miles between Kaskaskia and Vincennes but they were now seized with bilious fever, for which Dr. Hunter prescribed emetics and cathartics and bled them both. Eight days passed before they were well enough to resume travel and two more were lost on the way to Louisville when their horses strayed away one night. A return of their fever kept them a week at Lexington (again at Mrs. Hare's). At last on October 3 they set out for home over the Wilderness Road through eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. By October 16 they were in Lexington, Virginia, where Hunter's record ends. The notations found at the close of Journal No. 1 seem to show that the expenses of this tour of more than three months came to \$269 for the two travelers. But the results as well as the reasons for making the trip remain hidden from us.

III

The story of Hunter's life we pick up again six years later when he undertook another journey to Kentucky. Though this journal begins as abruptly as the first, in the course of time we discover that the principal reason for the trip was to settle the estates of the Andrew Hares, both of whom had died recently, their property falling into the control of Mrs. Hare's nephew T. Y. Bryant to the detriment of her little son John. The legal arrangements for a proper settlement of these affairs were to occupy much of Hunter's attention while he was in Kentucky.

Accompanied this time by his thirteen-year-old son George, Hunter left Philadelphia by horseback on August 19, 1802. The route across Pennsylvania is reported in some detail. He stopped at Lancaster, then the capital, to enter a claim for a donation tract of land due him as surgeon's mate during the late war. Thence they rode westward through Carlisle, Shippensburg, Bedford, and Berlin, entering in turn comments on the quality of the inns and the face (mostly mineralogical) of the country. They visited the four-hundred-acre tract in Fayette County, still claimed by Dr. Hunter and still occupied by others. From this point they pushed past Redstone to Washington to arrange the settlement of a debt due Hunter. The following day's journey brought them to Wheeling where they discovered that extreme low water in the Ohio would compel them to continue their voyage to Kentucky by land. After a glimpse at Ebenezer Zane's place on Wheeling Island, they followed the road recently cleared by Zane through Newellstown (St. Clairsville) to Zanesville and Lancaster. There they headed south to Limestone, with the doctor making notes about the quality of farmlands awaiting settlers and listening with interest to every scrap of information he could pick up about salt springs and ore deposits.

Crossing into Kentucky, he again visited the Blue Licks and noted in detail the procedures followed there

⁹ All quotations not otherwise identified are from the Hunter journals here published.

in salting—a very important industry in the new country. (So eager were they to find salt that some men even employed water wizards to locate salt springs, Hunter noted.) His eye was ever practical. The firing of the kettles, he observed, was “done in such a clumsy manner so as to lose much of the heat & waste double the quantity of fuel necessary.” With some modifications he decided that he could produce more salt faster and an operation that barely paid for itself could be made really profitable.

The clarifying of ginseng was another business that attracted the attention of Dr. Hunter. This root, so much in demand in the Orient, was found in profusion in Kentucky and a thriving trade in it had recently developed. The profits were large: it could be clarified for twenty or thirty cents a pound, transported to Philadelphia and there sold for perhaps six dollars and resold in India or China for fifty dollars or more, another traveler asserted.¹⁰ On the road to Lexington, Hunter met a man who offered to sell him a share interest in a ginseng operation in the developing of which he had expended one thousand dollars, provided another thousand were added for profit. Not one to miss a promising deal, Hunter agreed to give this offer serious consideration on his return to Philadelphia.¹¹

Most interesting of business opportunities to Hunter were the saltpeter caves of central Kentucky. Kincaid's Cave he visited with Dr. Samuel Brown of Lexington. With a present daily yield of one thousand pounds of crude nitre and a potential total of one thousand tons, the cave with two thousand acres of land could then be bought for twelve hundred and fifty dollars plus four hundred more to quiet conflicting claims. “It appears to me that it would be an object of consequence to purchase the proper title to that large salt petre Cave & a quantity of land adjoining & also Maxwels [still larger] Cave on the waters of Cumberland,” he wrote in his journal. He saw that great improvements might be made in the mode of working, “particularly that some other manufactory that would consume much fuel & thus produce the Ashes necessary to form the salt petre, should be connected with it.” So promising was the prospect that the two doctors considered very seriously buying the property in partnership.

Ores—iron and particularly silver—fascinated Hunter. Everywhere he was examining specimens. One tract of one hundred and seventy acres with a vein of iron he considered buying at forty shillings the acre. The last stop he made in Kentucky was to look for a reputed silver mine on the Big Sandy. For this eagerness to search for precious metals he was apparently notorious: Jefferson two years later was to warn Dun-

¹⁰ Michaux, F., *Travels to the west of the Alleghany mountains*, 231–233, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark, 1904.

¹¹ We never learn whether he accepted the offer, but in a list of expenses in one of the journals is a freight charge (\$14.27) for shipping ginseng to Philadelphia.

bar that “the thing to be guarded against [with Hunter] is that an indulgence to his principal qualifications may not lead to a diversion of our mission to a march for gold and silver mines.”¹²

How many of these deals Hunter carried through after his return to Philadelphia we do not know, though from other sources we learn that it was Dr. Brown and another Kentuckian who two years later bought Kincaid's Cave.¹³ But probably it had been with a view of determining the prospects of this Kentucky speculation that Hunter had written to the Secretary of War on March 12, 1803, expressing “his wishes to supply the public with Salt Petre in the Western Country & requesting information relative to Salt Springs &c.” Unfortunately for this narrative, only the abstract of his letter can be found in the War Department archives and no reply by the Secretary.¹⁴

Unsuccessful in developing the Kentucky project, Hunter did obtain in the following March an army contract for purifying in Philadelphia one hundred tons of saltpeter.¹⁵ Soon after this, however, he had to suspend operations, for President Jefferson appointed him one of the leaders of the proposed party of exploration in the newly acquired Southwest.

IV

One of Thomas Jefferson's first concerns after Louisiana was purchased was to discover what had been bought. So far as books could aid him he had prepared a memoir on the limits of the territory,¹⁶ but actual reconnaissance was of first importance. The expedition up the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean, which he had planned before the purchase of trans-Mississippi Louisiana had even been thought of, lay waiting at Wood River above St. Louis for the moment when the Missouri would be clear of ice. In the Southwest it was highly desirable to know more about the course of the Red River, in part one of the boundaries of the territory. For advice and aid in planning and directing the exploration of this watercourse Jefferson turned to his philosophical correspondent at Natchez, William Dunbar, a member of the American Philosophical Society for four years, with whom he had established a scientific rapprochement.

Congress will probably authorise me to explore the greater waters on the Western side of the Missisipi & Missouri, to

¹² Jefferson to Dunbar, April 15, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹³ Padgett, J. A., *The letters of Dr. Samuel Brown, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 35: 124, 1937.

¹⁴ NA/WD/SW/Letters Received.

¹⁵ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, December 31, 1803, March 14, 1804.

¹⁶ Jefferson inclosed a copy of this memoir with his letter to Dunbar, March 13, 1804 (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). It was published in *Documents relating to the purchase and exploration of Louisiana*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1904.

their sources [Jefferson wrote from Washington on March 13, 1804]. in this case I should propose to send one party up the Panis river to it's source, thence along the high lands to the source of the Padoucas river and down to it's mouth. another party up the Arcansa to it's source, thence along the highlands to the source of the Red river, & down that to it's mouth, giving the whole course of both parties corrected by astronomical observations. These several surveys will enable us to prepare a map of Louisiana, which in it's contour and main waters will be perfectly correct & will give us a skeleton to be filled up with details here after. . . . as you live so near the point of departure of the lowest expedition and can acquire so much better the information which may direct that to the best advantage, I have thought if Congress should authorise the enterprise to propose to you the unprofitable trouble of directing it. the party would consist of 10. or 12. picked soldiers, volunteers with an officer, under the guidance of one or two persons qualified to survey & correct by observations of latitude & longitude, the latter lunar, and as well informed as we can get them in the departments of botany, natural history & mineralogy. . . . to take this trouble no inducement could be proposed to you but the gratification of contributing to the promotion of science. . . . you would be the center for the communications from the party to the government. still this is a matter of speculation only, as Congress are hurrying over their business to adjournment, and may leave this article of it unfinished.¹⁷

The matter did move rapidly. Long before Dunbar could reply, Congress had approved the President's request, granting, however, only three thousand dollars for the purpose. Writing to Dunbar from Monticello on April 15, Jefferson pointed out that,

as this is a very scanty provision, even for a single party, I have concluded to apply it to the most interesting part of the country, the Arkansa & Red rivers. this is exactly the portion, relative to which from your vicinity to it comparatively with ours, I proposed to ask your aid and superintendance. altho' time has not permitted me to await your permission, yet presuming on your attachment to science, & attainments in it, and the dispositions to aid it necessarily flowing from these, I have made out the instructions now inclosed, for the person who is to direct the mission, on the ground of your consent to become our co-operator. . . .

You will perceive by the instructions that a Doct^r George Hunter of Philadelphia is appointed to go as coadjutor & successor in case of accident to the principal. his fort is chemistry. in the practical part of that branch of science he has probably no equal in the US. and he is understood to be qualified to take the necessary astronomical observations. the thing to be guarded against is that an indulgence to his principal qualifications may not lead to a diversion [?] of our mission to a march for gold and silver mines. these are but an incidental object, to be noted if found in their way, as salt, or coal or lime would, but not to be sought after. referring therefore what now remains to be done to your kind assistance, I tender you my friendly salutations & assurance of great esteem & respect.¹⁸

Neither the circumstances nor the date of Hunter's appointment has been discovered but the matter must have been settled very soon after Jefferson's first letter on the subject to Dunbar, for on March 30 Secretary of War Dearborn sent to Hunter specific orders:

It is the wish of the President of the United States that you should request M^r Patterson, Professor of Mathematics at Philadelphia to inform you what instruments are in his Opinion necessary for exploring the interior of Louisiana in order principally to ascertain the following points, viz. The Latitude & Longitude of the most important sources & junctions of the largest rivers below the Missouri & their courses—It is also the wish of the President that (after having obtained of M^r Patterson the above information) you will be pleased to purchase such instruments as shall be deemed necessary and repair therewith to Natchez, for the purpose of accompanying such persons as shall be appointed by M^r Dunbar of that place to explore the Red & Arkansas Rivers &c to their Sources—You should be at Natchez by the 15th of June—You will be pleased to inform me as early as is practicable what will be the probable cost of said instruments, and when you have purchased them you will draw on this Department for the amount thereof—M^r Dunbar will receive particular instructions from the President of the United States on the subject generally—Your compensation will be three Dollars p^r day for the time you shall be actually employed in said business, after your arrival at Natchez.¹⁹

The statement of general duties assigned to Hunter in the instructions drawn up by Jefferson the doctor probably did not see until he met Dunbar, but it would be certain that they had been discussed before the appointment. Addressing the yet unknown leader of the expedition Jefferson wrote:

Doct^r George Hunter of Philadelphia will accompany you, as a fellow-labourer & counsellor in the same service, while the ultimate direction of the expedition is left to yourself. he is to make observations, to note courses, and to enquire into the same subjects recommended to you, but separately; as it is supposed that the two different accounts may serve to corroborate or to correct each other; he is to participate with you in the conveniences & comforts provided, and to receive from you whatever aid & facility you can yield for his pursuits, consistently with due diligence in the prosecution of your journey. Should the accident of death happen to you, he is to succeed to the direction of the expedition, and to all the powers you possess. . . .²⁰

Now Hunter's days were taken up with preparations. The Secretary roughed out a budget, allowing fourteen hundred and sixty dollars for two-thirds of a year's pay for the two gentlemen to be employed, five hundred for necessary instruments, three hundred for outfit, six hundred for presents for the Indians, and one hundred and forty for cash for the leaders to carry.²¹ Hunter was instructed to make the necessary purchases:

In exploring the interior of Louisiana it will probably be found necessary to conciliate the friendship & good disposition of such of the Nations as inhabit the Country through which you may pass—For that purpose it will be necessary & expedient to carry such light articles (Judi-

¹⁹ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent.

²⁰ From the instructions to the unnamed leader of the expedition, April 14, 1804, inclosed with Jefferson to Dunbar, April 15, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

²¹ Dearborn to Jefferson, Washington, April 3, 1804 (Parker Papers, Box 6, Historical Society of Pennsylvania). Slight variations in these sums appear in Dearborn to Jefferson, April 4, 1804 (NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent) and in the letter next quoted.

¹⁷ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁸ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

ciously selected & assorted) as can be conveniently procured—You will therefore be pleased to procure such trinkets & other light articles as will be suitable for the occasion to the amount of 550 Dols, & have them put up in small Kegs or Boxes & have them forwarded to Pittsburgh, from whence you will be pleased to take them with you to Natchez—with the Instruments & other articles—It will be proper for you to take a small set of Tools as may be useful on the expedition, for repairing & constructing boats &c also eight strong tight quarter Casks of Gun Powder & three or four Hundred flints—Lead you will be able to procure on the Mississippi—One or two dozⁿ of good steels for striking fire should not be neglected—As soon as I receive your answer to my letter of the 30th Ult. If you conclude to accept the proposals & to undertake to procure the Articles mentioned in my former letter & this, I will transmit the money necessary for the purpose.²²

On reporting that the necessary instruments would cost less than had been estimated, Hunter was instructed to add one hundred dollars to the sum for Indian presents and to “procure & have put up a small assortment (not exceeding fifty Doll^s worth) of the most important Articles of Medicine.”²³ Some silver trinkets, he was informed, “which happen not to suit the Cherokees” would “be suitable for presents for your expedition.” If they arrived in time from the Tellico Factory, the Secretary wished him to “purchase such of the Broaches, Ear Jewells & other articles as may be proper for your assortment.”²⁴ Early in May the Secretary “cheerfully acquiesce[d]” to Hunter’s wish to take his son George with him but warned him that Dunbar would be the sole judge whether the young man’s services would be entitled to compensation.²⁵ Preparations dragged on so long that the Secretary on May 21 requested Hunter “not to delay your departure on this expedition longer than is absolutely necessary.”²⁶

V

Having forwarded the presents, medicine chest, tools, and mathematical instruments by wagon, Hunter and his son on May 27 rode out of Philadelphia on the “expedition to explore Louisiana” and crossed Pennsylvania in eight days, “much exposed to wet weather in passing over the mountains.”²⁷ En route the doctor collected a few outstanding accounts and left at Greensburg in Westmoreland County a power of attorney to sell the four-hundred-acre tract which had been so long, and still was, in dispute.

Finding no conveyance to Natchez available at Pittsburgh, Hunter directed the building of a boat in the “Chinese style”:

This Boat is fifty feet long on deck, 30 feet straight Keell, flat bottom somewhat resembling a long Scow in use to ferry over waggons. . . . the sides are about 3½ feet wide

upon deck where broadest. . . . She is covered with light boards from the Stern 32 feet foret, so as to give good accomodations to the passangers & furnished with a Stout Mast 36 feet long [&] a Sail 24 feet by 27, in the Chinese stile, fastened to a yard 24 feet & a boom 29 feet & spread by 5 sprits the whole width of the Boom, Has 2 large Sculls 50 feet long each, fixed in the Chinese way, 6 setting poles & 2 side oars.²⁸

All this for \$159.20. “I pay nothing for hands,” he informed Secretary Dearborn, “having engaged enough to work their passage finding only some of them in provisions.” But when the moment came to leave Pittsburgh, “three of our hands left us being afraid to go in our boat.”²⁹

On June 15 the Hunters set out with two passengers—an infantry lieutenant ordered to Fort Massac and an army doctor to Arkansas Post—and a crew consisting of an old Spanish fencing master, a Swiss shoemaker, and a German. When the wind favored, they would sail and then “went on at a great rate,” grounding only three times on the way to Limestone. At this place Hunter went off into Kentucky on private business (the Hare Estate principally), the boat continuing on to Louisville. Now they lost the Spaniard and the German, who deserted to boats that offered them wages—“we did not regret as they were grown saucy & Lazy.” Later the poor Swiss fell sick. The doctor gave him the customary ounce of Glaubers Salts and drew the customary sixteen ounces of blood, but in a fit of delirium the man walked off the boat into the Mississippi and was presumably drowned. For a day the father and son had to manage the “Chinese stile” boat by themselves.

On July 24 they reached Natchez and the next day visited William Dunbar at his farm eight miles from town, “an elegant Situation & finely improved,” which produced, he added in his report to the Secretary, about a hundred bales of cotton a year.³⁰ William Dunbar had been settled on his plantation called “The Forest” since 1787 and from the relatively small capital he had brought to America from Scotland in 1771 he had become a rich man. He lived, declared Thomas Rodney in 1803, like a little nabob. The Hunters were to enjoy on a number of occasions the hospitality of this frontier gentleman.³¹

²⁸ Hunter had mentioned such a boat in a letter to the Secretary from Philadelphia, May 25, 1804 (NA/WD/SW/Letters Received, abstract only).

²⁹ Hunter to Secretary of War, Pittsburgh, June 14, 1804, original rough draft included in Journal No. 3; in SW/Letters Received, abstract only.

³⁰ Hunter’s official report, 5.

³¹ Gratz, Simon, Thomas Rodney, *Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* 43: 334, 353, 359, 360, 1919. The lengthiest account of his life is Franklin F. Riley, Sir William Dunbar—the pioneer scientist of Mississippi, *Pubs. Miss. Hist. Soc.* 2: 85–111, 1899. His papers have been published in Eron Rowland (ed.), *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar, 1749–1810*, Jackson, Miss., Nat. Soc. of Colonial Dames, 1930. My forthcoming article, Philosophical outpost in the wilderness: the library of William Dunbar of The Forest, will present fresh material.

²² NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, April 3, 1804.

²³ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, April 12, 1804.

²⁴ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, April 13, 1804.

²⁵ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, May 7, 1804.

²⁶ NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, May 21, 1804.

²⁷ Hunter’s official report, p. 1.

On viewing the boat Dunbar had some doubts of its practicality. He thought it best for Hunter to proceed with the craft to New Orleans and, if Lieutenant Colonel Constant Freeman, commanding there, had "not already provided a more suitable boat [, then] to fit up this one I have brought down & bring up as soon as possible the escort &c in it to this place."³² The Indian presents and other heavy baggage were left in Dunbar's warehouse at St. Catherine's Creek below Natchez, and the boat was freighted with twenty-seven bales of Dunbar's cotton. With the assistance of the boatman whom they had picked up at Walnut Hills (Vicksburg) after the disappearance of the Swiss, the Hunters set out for New Orleans on the thirty-first, ran day and night, and arrived on August 7.

Freeman had not prepared any other craft. It was a week before Dr. Hunter could even get the bottom of his boat caulked but from this moment he was "occupied from Morning to night in superintending the work done to the boat & having but very indifferent workmen [the soldiers from the garrison assigned as escort], tools, & materials am obliged to attend personally & frequently tear to peices what they have done." On the twenty-fifth the boat was completely fitted out for the expedition up the Red River and on the same day Hunter received a letter from Dunbar announcing that by order of the President the expedition was postponed until the next spring.

VI

The disruption of the plans for the exploration of Louisiana had been brought about by a chance of hostile action by the Arkansas branch of the Osage. Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis had taken twelve Osage chiefs to visit the President, among them the head chief of the whole nation. In conversation with the latter, Jefferson mentioned the mission destined for the Red River and learned that some difficulty might develop:

it seems [Jefferson wrote from Washington to Dunbar on July 17] there is a schism in their nation; about 400 warriors of it and their families under the direction of a chief called the Great track, having drawn off about two years ago to the Arkansa river. These will undoubtedly oppose the passage of our party and perhaps do worse. White Hairs (the great chief) therefore earnestly desires the mission to be suspended. he has solicited our mediation to heal this schism. we accordingly shall engage Capt Choteau (who is to be our agent with the Osages) to go to the seceders in the winter or spring, to establish a good understanding with them on our part, and prevail on them to rejoin their nation. he will engage their consent to our mission and to furnish guides for the whole course of it. in the meantime we shall be able to remove Spanish impediments. on the whole therefore we conclude to suspend this expedition till the spring.³³

³² Hunter to the Secretary of War, July 31, 1804, rough draft of original included in Journal No. 3; abstract only in NA/WD/SW/Letters Received.

³³ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

By this time Jefferson had received an interesting letter from Dunbar about the Ouachita River and the Hot Springs, in which he spoke of making some little excursion of his own. In part Dunbar wrote:

The Washita river is supposed to offer many Curious objects, it diverges considerably from the red river, of which it is a branch at about 160 leagues [by water] from its mouth, it is supposed to be 200 miles from the red river, here is a Curiosity which I am apprehensive will be too far out of the tract of our party, otherwise would merit to have its position ascertained; it is called the boiling Spring or fountain; the Country is there mountainous & covered with chrystalizations of various kinds with indications of metals & mineral productions hitherto not much explored; here is . . . Natural caldron, in which a vast . . . petually boils; a spring issues out, the . . . is literally . . . this Bath or watering place already . . . reputation for supposed Cures performed on some invalids who have bathed in its waters; at this time two or three inhabitants from Natchez are gone in hopes of being cured of paralytic disorders. I shall probably visit this spot after the party setts off. & shall ascertain its position as to Lat. & Long. by the help of a good pocket chronometer & excellent Circle of reflection. Quarries of free stone, slate, mineral Coal are said to abound—wonderful stories of wonderful productions are said to exist, with which I shall not presume to amuse you, untill they can be better ascertained. I think it probable that if the party goes up the red river I shall attend them as far as the Natchitosh & shall after their departure take a little time to acquire information & make some excursions.³⁴

Here was a lesser mission which could occupy the exploring party until the principal one could be undertaken the following year. Jefferson was quite willing that his Natchez friend should make any arrangement he thought good for the party or of interest to himself.

. . . as you had proposed to go yourself some distance up the Red river, it is very desiriable that you should make use of any part of the men or matters provided for the expedition, and go to what distance, and in what direction you please, return when you please, but in time to report to us the result of your researches, which report will probably induce Congress to enlarge the appropriation, and in the spring the party may start under better prospects. this delay gives us an opportunity too of appointing a person fully qualified to head the expedition. should this find you at home, & the party departed, you will be so good as to send after them any orders you think best, either to return immediately, or from such point in their course as will enable them to get back to winter at Natchez, and report their progress in time for the consideration of Congress. . . .³⁵

As we have seen, Dunbar acted as swiftly as possible in getting letters south to Dr. Hunter and Lieutenant-Colonel Freeman. To Jefferson he wrote on August 18:

I have received the honor of your letter of the 17th Ult^o which suffered a small delay by being inclosed to M^r

³⁴ Dunbar to Jefferson, Natchez, June 9, 1804, in Rowland, Eron (ed.), *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar*, 134-135, Jackson, Mississippi, Nat. Soc. of Colonial Dames, 1930. The elisions are Rowland's; evidently the manuscript was in bad condition.

³⁵ Jefferson to Dunbar, July 17, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

West & prevented my reply by last post. Fortunately the Expedition had not taken its departure, nor had I positively engaged any one as Geographer to the party, so that no person can feel disappointment by the suspension, unless it should prove so to D^r Hunter.

In consequence of the permission you are pleased to grant me, I have determined to make an Excursion up the Washita river and to the hot springs; this interesting part of Louisiana cannot be seen by the party in the spring, I therefore give it the preference; the springs are supposed to be (by the sinuosities of the rivers) upwards of 500 miles from the Mississippi; they are situated near a smaller branch of the Washita not always navigable, so that there may be 40 or more miles to travel by land. Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I wrote to Col^o Freeman to suspend preparations for the principal expedition, and in lieu of the larger boat to provide only a good strong, flat-bottomed, broad & safe Canoe or piraugue, fitted up in the plainest manner, and such as may be impelled rapidly against the stream by six oars, which I have requested him to dispatch with all convenient speed manned by a discreet non-commiss^d officer and six privates with 3 months rations. By my letter of the 4th inst. to the Secretary at war, you will have seen that D^r Hunter was gone down to New Orleans to expedite the preparations & bring up the Escort: since that time I have further intelligence that if the Expedition had gone up the river, there is no doubt it would have terminated a little beyond the American post of Nakitosh by Spanish opposition. I have now written to D^r Hunter to put on board the small boat a proportional part of the matters provided, not doubting that he will himself accompany me on this excursion; it will fill up his time agreeably, and will present objects to exercise his talents in his favorite line: at the Washita Settlement we shall meet with old hunters and others capable of giving interesting details of the Countries high up the western rivers, which added to our own researches, will form a mass of information, which I have no doubt will induce Congress to make a more liberal provision for the more important Expedition of the ensuing season.³⁶

Though Hunter must have been disappointed that the "grand expedition" was postponed, he was nevertheless "pleased with M^r Dunbar's arrangement of the small excursion." On September 2 he left New Orleans. By rowing, tracking (cordelling), or sailing, they reached Dunbar's landing at St. Catherine's Creek on the twenty-fourth to find Dunbar recuperating from serious illness. Dunbar three weeks later reported the new arrangements to Jefferson:

Col^o Freeman was unable to find a small boat and dispatched Lieu^t Wilson with a Serjeant and twelve in the large boat with four months provisions from the 1st of September: Extreme bad weather with rain and contrary winds rendered the passage up tedious, and to add to our retardment I was extremely unwell at the time of the boats arriving: a few days were necessary for recovery & a few more were given to the writing of letters and transacting of business preparative to our expedition.

I did not find myself authorised to deprive the Service of a Commissioned officer upon this little expedition, M^r Wilson therefore returns to New Orleans, but as there was now no remedy respecting the boat & dispatch being our object, we have kept the Serjeant and twelve [men], and placed 12 oars upon the boat so that all the men may row.

³⁶ Dunbar to Jefferson, Natchez, August 18, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

—I shall carry several instruments in addition to those provided for the party.—the season being advanced, it is not my intention to loose any time by making astronomical observations on the way up, excepting only when this can be done without any retardment of the boat; we shall take the courses & distances of the river, so as to be able to form a sketch of it: we shall make all haste we can to the hot springs, which we look to as our principal object; we shall endeavour to get all the information we can procure at the Settlement on the River Washita; a rumor at present prevails that the Indians on that side begin to threaten the Americans & that they are set on by the Spaniards at Nakadoches. . . . Tomorrow we set off. . . .

Doctor Hunter is well & is much pleased with this little excursion, he proposes to visit his family immediately on our return, as he will still have time to return here for the grand expedition.³⁷

VII

At last, four months after the date originally planned, the expedition set off to ascend the Ouachita River. On October 16 Hunter moved the boat from Natchez to St. Catherine's Creek and on the next day, after passing Fort Adams, where only a corporal's guard was now being maintained, they entered Red River late in the afternoon. On the eighteenth they entered Black River, as the lower part of the Ouachita was then called. The first point of interest reached was the junction of the Ouachita, the Bayou Tensas, and the Little or Catahoula River, where they stopped at a house built on an Indian mound by a Monsieur Cadet or, rather, Hebrard *dit* Cadet, who maintained the ferry. They had now come about thirty leagues from the Mississippi. Hunter dutifully noted the courses of the river, the quality of the soil, the kinds of trees on the banks, the fish and shellfish in the river, the first pelicans seen, the diminishing number of alligators, the state of the weather, and kept his eyes open for "the mineral productions most worth notice . . . particularly metals, limestone, gypsum, pitcoal, salt petre, rock-salt & salt springs, and mineral waters," in accordance with the original instructions drawn up by Jefferson.³⁸

The principal excitement and the greatest annoyance was the difficulty of working such a heavy boat up so shallow a stream. November 4 was a typical enough day:

Set out before sunrise as usual but had proceeded but a little way when we found ourselves surrounded by shoals & fast on a gravel bar, we sounded the water in all directions to find a channel deep enough for the boat, which we last effected by moving some of the loading forward to bring the boat on an even keell, all hands then wading in the water & forcing thro it; This took till breakfast time; set out again & pushed forward, some times rowing, some times wading & dragging the boat over the shallows & then again tracting according to circumstances. The greater part of this day were embarrassed by rapids & shoals very often getting aground, & then delayed till a person would

³⁷ Dunbar to Jefferson, Natchez, October 15, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

³⁸ Jefferson's instructions to the leaders of the exploration, dated Monticello, April 14, 1804, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

wade forward & across the river, a head of the boat in all probable directions in order to find the deepest water, before we could venture to proceed again. The men, or rather some of them often grumbling & uttering execrations against me in particular for urging them on, in which they had the example of the sergeant who on many occasions of trifling difficulties frequently gave me very rude answers, & in several instances both now & formerly seemed to forget that it was his duty in such cases to urge on the men under his command to surmount them rather than to show a spirit of contradiction & backwardness.—In the same spirit this day when at the helm he steered inshore too much[,] altho I cautioned him to keep out[,] & run under a projecting Tree & carried away our Mast which had cost me so much pains to procure at Pittsburg & to fix to strike at Orleans.

By the time the expedition reached Fort Miro (Ouachita Post—today Monroe, Louisiana) Dunbar was thoroughly dissatisfied with the boat and decided to hire a more suitable one. Writing to Jefferson from this town on November 9, he reported:

After a voyage of trouble and retardment we are at last arrived at this place: Doctor Hunter's boat constructed after his chinese model has proved to be an unprofitable vessel, being extremely heavy & making bad headway against the Current; her rate of going is not one half of what it ought to be for an expedition of the nature on which we are engaged; we have made a great sacrifice of time in getting to this post, & in order that we may retrieve as much as possible our past loss, we are now changing our boat for one which is handsomely formed for advancing against the Current; and is built flat & light, so as to draw as little water as possible, which probably will not exceed 12 inches, whereas our first bark exceeded double that depth; for the use of this boat we are obliged to pay 1¼ dol: p^r day, but the rapidity with which we expect to advance will prove an ample compensation; having reason to hope that exclusive of the frequent detentions upon shallows, rocks, gravel-bars &c we shall now advance with double our former velocity. The Common reckoning makes this post from the mouth of the red river about 80 leagues, some call it more, but by our measure by log and time makes it only 196 miles & 256 perches. From hence to the hot springs is computed to be 150 leagues, we shall hope to find this distance as much shortened by our measurement as the first part of the voyage; in which case we may possibly arrive near to our destination about the end of this month; we take a guide or Pilot here to whom we shall pay 1 dol: p^r day.

Hitherto we have not seen any thing interesting which is worthy of being particularly communicated to you at this moment, altho' I have got to the 36th quarto page of my Journal exclusive of the Courses & distances of the river with astronomical observations; those I could have wished to have copied & forwarded, but an afraid time will not permit; it has been so constantly cloudy here since our arrival, that I have not been able to make a lunar observation for the determination of the Longitude, but I had a good Meridian Altitude of the Sun to fix the Latitude; the Longitude may for the present be estimated with very little error at 92° west of Greenwich—The Latitudes of the most remarkable points of this river are as follows. Mouth of Red river 31° 1'—Mouth of Black river 31° 15' 48"—Mouth of Washita river 31° 37' 57" Post of Washita 32° 29' 57"—the situation of Fort Miro is about 350 yards higher on the river (north) & appears to be the private property of the former Civil Commandant under the Span-

ish Government. We shall I hope soon be able to make Satisfactory lunar observations for the ascertainment of the Longitude, if not at this place, in its neighbourhood; I have a most excellent instrument for this purpose, being a Circle of reflection supported upon a pedestal, which last facilitates greatly correct observations on land; this is wanting to the Sextant brought by Doctor Hunter, we have been endeavouring to supply the want by a wooden support—The Doctor has never been in the habit of using instruments of that nature, otherwise his assistance in the lunar observation would be of great advantage, by taking the moon's altitude, at the same instant that the moon's distance is taken from the Sun or Star; at present we must depend solely upon calculation of the altitude of the two bodies regulated by the time kept by the Watch; probably a little practise will render us all a little more perfect.³⁹

The explorers had arrived at Ouachita Post on November 6. The preparation of the new boat, the transfer of the load, and other necessary arrangements—interrupted by a muster day of the militia—kept the party at the Fort until the eleventh and gave both journalists opportunity to gather a few impressions of the settlement. On departure both continued to fill their pages with records of the courses taken, the appearance of the countryside, the position of inflowing streams and landmarks, the names of which must go back to the earliest days of exploration by the French and to the first wandering traders with the Indians. Here they noted the names of explorers such as the Mallet brothers who attempted to open up a route to Santa Fe and of the engineer Fabry de la Bruyère as well as of *bohèmes* such as that Champignole who is set down in Spanish records as a troublesome vagabond living among the Indians and of still others who are no more today than names on the land.

On November 15 the party crossed the line between the present states of Louisiana and Arkansas. The passing days differed little one from another, but occasionally they came on other white men: a house carpenter and cotton engine maker, who was leading a small hunting party; a German with his three sons and a hired man out hunting bear—the old man had been forty years in the Ouachita country and was full of gossip and information. They were interested in a *cache* of deerskins in a tree. They stopped to examine some "Indian Hieroglyphics":

The bark was taken off a cypress tree about breast high, for about 18 Inches, & two thirds round it, & on the bare place was painted black in a rude manner, the figure of a person a horseback with one hand extended to the water & the other towards the woods, two other persons whose figures were a little defaced seemed to be shaking hands, one of whom had a round hat on: on both sides of these persons were the figures of about a dozen of large & small four footed animals apparently feeding, some thing like deer without horns.

Near the Ecor à Fabry (today Camden, Arkansas) "an unlucky accident happened, which was very nigh being extremely serious." Dr. Hunter in the cabin was

³⁹ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

ramming a ball down a pistol held between his knees when it was discharged accidentally:

the rammer and ball passed thro' the fingers & thumb of the right hand & also thro' the brim of the hat within little more than an inch of the Doctor's forehead; his thumb & fingers were much torn, but no bone was broken, the concussion of the head was most severely felt: the bottom of a new powder horn (not well secured) which lay upon the table was forced outwards & the powder partly spilt upon the table, which providentially did not take fire altho' the wadding was found smoking upon the table. . . . The Doctor's wounds were dressed; he felt great pain and debility, but after some repose felt better in the evening.⁴⁰

For the next two weeks, his hands and eyes disabled, Hunter was dependent on his associate for astronomical observations and the record of courses.

On December 6 they debarked at Fourche à Calfat (today Gulpha Creek) and transported the necessary equipment and supplies nine miles to a point beside the Hot Springs where they found a log cabin and some sheds. Here they made not too uncomfortable a camp for a month while, handicapped by cold weather, by rain and snow, they inspected the springs and the neighborhood. Exery day that weather permitted they were out at their work, Christmas excepted. For that occasion the men had saved up their liquor ration and "made themselves very merry, dancing, Hooping in the Indian Manner & singing alternately, nor forgetting to serenade us from time to time with a volly from their riffles, wishing us an happy Christmas—with all the compliments of the season." Hunter filled many pages with notes on the minerals of the area and with data of chemical tests of waters and minerals.⁴¹

The day came when they could do no more. On January 8, "having put every thing on board the boat, we struck our tents & took our departure from Ellis[']s Camp on our way back to the Mississippi to the no small joy of all hands, as their provisions, especially of flour & whiskey were for some time past expended." The water was now higher and their passage downstream was rapid. One day they met a M. LeFevre, out with ten Indian hunters, who gave them news that a party of Osages from the Arkansaw had killed ten Cherokees. Provisions were running very short. Within a week Hunter noted in his journal, "The Soldiers have already expended all their pork & venison. We gave them a temporary supply out of our own rations having before given them all the flour we had left, which is also now consumed." But the next day (January 16) they arrived at Fort Miro, delivered up the rented boat, and took possession again of their own. The men cleaned her out, cut more oars and a new

mast, reloaded it with the baggage left behind, and Hunter drew one month's rations for the soldiers.

In haste to get back to Natchez, Dunbar set off early on the nineteenth in a canoe with one hand and his servant, planning to hire horses at Catahoula and to ride over the road direct to Concordia, opposite Natchez. Hunter left Ouachita with the boat the same midday and by and by had a little conversation with an elderly gentleman from Baton Rouge who was on his way to the Hot Springs for his health. At Catahoula, Hunter found Dunbar, who had been delayed by a storm and by the necessity of waiting while horses ranging the prairie were caught for him. Continuing his separate way, Hunter left the house of Hebrard *dit* Cadet on the twenty-fifth and reached St. Catherine's Landing on the last day of January.

VIII

Dunbar had been home for five days but had not yet found leisure for a letter to Washington. Now on February 2 he wrote briefly to Jefferson:

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that D^{or} Hunter and myself are just returned from the Washita: time does not permit the preparation of a short report of our researches before the departure of this mail. The objects which have presented themselves to us, are not of very high importance; it must however be acknowledged that the hot springs are indeed a great natural curiosity; the temperature of their waters is from 130 to 150° of Farheneits' thermometer; the heat is supposed to be greater in summer, particularly in dry weather. In water of 130° which was comparatively in a state of repose to one side of the spring run, I found by the aid of an excellent microscope, both Vegetable and animal life, the first a species of moss, the latter a testaceous bivalve of the size of the minutest grain of Sand; I do not despair of being able to reanimate these as soon as I can procure a little leisure. The meanders of the rivers have been carefully taken as high as we went; the latitude was ascertained every favorable day & the Longitude was not neglected at convenient or important points.—A journal of occurrences occupying 200 q^{to} pages, (exclusive of the Courses & distances with astronomical observations) will be forwarded as fast as it can be transcribed: next post I shall transmit a short abstract of the outlines of our researches and of the information we have obtained respecting the more interesting adjoining rivers, in form of a report. I am concerned that the rigorous season and other circumstances have so much retarded our return that I fear this report will only arrive just before the breaking up of Congress: at Lat. 34° ½ our thermometer was several times at 9 & 10° and once as low as +6°: we had snow above 12 inches deep. The Season was unfavorable for botanical researches, had we been better qualified in the practical part of the Science; it is believed nevertheless, that something new has been found: a species of mountain dwarf Cabbage was discovered upon the ridges, which partakes of the nature of both Cabbage and raddish; & is very agreeable to the taste, the root is white & tastes like horse raddish but much milder. There are some other objects, the description of which I shall not anticipate, as you will receive the whole as speedily as transcripts can be made: I shall only mention that from our analysis of the water of the hot springs, it appears to contain lime with a minute portion of iron dissolved by a

⁴⁰ Dunbar, William, *Journal of a voyage*, 61–62, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1904.

⁴¹ For a later report on the Hot Springs see Owen, David Dale, *Second report of a geological reconnaissance of the middle and southern counties of Arkansas made during the years 1859 and 1860*, 18–25, 101–107, Philadelphia, 1860.

small excess of Carbonic acid: this is indeed visible upon the first view of the Springs; an immense body of Calcareous matter is accumulated upon the side of the hill, by the perpetual depositions from the hot waters, & the bed of the run is coloured by red oxid of iron or rather Carbonated iron. Every little spring which rises up in a favorable situation, forms its own calcareous Cup, considerably elevated in form of a Crater.⁴²

But it was not possible for Dunbar to get his report to Jefferson as quickly as he had expected. On February 15 he had to write to the President:

The great irregularities and delays which the mail has experienced to and from this territory for some time past, has rendered it impossible that any report I might have prepared could possibly reach you before the end of the sessions of Congress, which I presume must necessarily terminate by the 4th day of March: I am much concerned at this delay, as the information we have collected respecting the neighbouring rivers would have served to awaken the subject & induce more liberal provision by Congress for the important object of exploring rivers much more interesting than the one we have visited: our excursion might certainly have been completed with a saving of one month in time, if our boat had been properly constructed: Doctor Hunter's ideas were not correct upon that subject. Our voyage has furnished us with experimental knowledge which may be useful to future Explorers, on this subject I will take the liberty of conveying my thoughts hereafter.

Having given up the idea of forwarding a report, for the reasons above mentioned, which would be only anticipating the prin[cipal] outlines of the information you will receive from the Journals, I have therefore given my attention wholly to the transcribing of my Journals and to Calculating the Longitudes which the want of Conveniency induced me to postpone untill my return. My progress has been much retarded by almost perpetual interruptions by friends and acquaintances curious to inquire news of the western country: having found an amanuensis (tho' of small experience) we shall I hope proceed with more speed. The present is accompanied by the first sheets of the geometrical Survey, which will soon be followed by the remainder. . . . The few Sheets of the Journal now Sent have been carefully compared and corrected.⁴³

⁴² Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

⁴³ Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. Dunbar sent further installments of the "geographical survey" and the "journal of occurrences & remarks" on February 23, March 9, and March 16 (Rowland, Eron, ed., *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar*, 145, 146, 147, Jackson, Miss., Nat. Soc. of Colonial Dames, 1930). On May 25 Jefferson informed him that "Your several letters, with the portions of your journals, forwarded at different times have been duly received; and I am now putting the journal into the hands of a person properly qualified to extract the results of your observations, and the various interesting informations contained among them, and bring them into such a compass as may be communicated to the Legislature. Not knowing whether you might not intend to make a map yourself of the course of the river, he will defer that to the last part of his work, on the possibility that we may receive it from yourself" (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress).

Dunbar was slowly at work on a map of the river; he wrote from Natchez on July 9: "I should have, ere now, completed my sketch of the Course of the Washita river, but I shall certainly get it prepared & forwarded long before the meeting of the Legislature" (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress).

In the meantime Hunter, having delivered to Dunbar everything not needed for the boat on its way to New Orleans, drew ten days' rations at Natchez, visited old friends in the town for a day, spent a night at The Forest, and then headed downstream at 3 P.M. on February 4. Five days later he delivered the boat and the men to Colonel Freeman at New Orleans. The Hunters dined by invitation with Governor Claiborne and the doctor was interviewed by the *Orleans Gazette*:

The doctor gives a flattering account of the country, generally, through which he passed. He found a great variety of soil and situation—sometimes a low flat country, whose whole surface is overflowed by the river in the wet season—sometimes high and eligible, and at others broken, and tolling—but generally fertile and capable of the highest cultivation. He ascended the river about five hundred miles, and found it uniformly gentle and beautiful. . . . The doctor, who is a chemist and mineralogist, found few objects worth notice—Iron could not be found in sufficient quantities to justify the erecting a furnace, and no other mineral of sufficient consequence to be named—Coal was found in places, but not in abundance, and of a very inferior quality—The country abounds in salt springs, some of which are of equal strength with the water of the ocean.—He visited the hot springs of Ouachitta, and found them amongst the greatest natural curiosities in the country. . . . The doctor is of opinion that they possess extraordinary medical virtues.

From the information we have obtained from Doctor Hunter . . . we are induced to believe that there are few parts of Louisiana, that hold out greater temptations to emigrants. . . .⁴⁴

The doctor himself was one of those tempted by the attractions of Louisiana. Writing to his wife as he returned to Natchez late in January, he said that he had "as yet made no agreement to purchase any land in this country" and assured her that he would buy none unless conditionally on her approval of it.⁴⁵ But in New Orleans he talked seriously to a member of the Legislative Council of the territory about the Attacapas and Opelousas country and discussed with him and with a leading merchant the kinds of goods generally salable there. He was advised not to purchase any

Finally, he wrote from Natchez on November 10, 1805: "An apology is due for the late appearance of my sketch of the Washita river, and I have not a good one to offer; I was not aware that upwards of twelve hundred courses and distances would require so much time to reduce from time to measure in length & into latitude and departure; I had counted only upon a few days labor & therefore delayed too long to commence, and now it is not completed as I intended, which was to mark out the valley within which the Washita describes its meanders, and the alluvial Country below, subject to the inundation of the Mississippi, but I expect every instant the Post rider to call returning from Fort Adams, and I think it better to send it in its present state, than to delay another week, fearing already that it may arrive later than it was your desire to receive it" (Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress). The original map is here published for the first time.

⁴⁴ *Orleans Gazette*, February 14, 1805, as reprinted in the *Lexington Kentucky Gazette*, April 2, 1805.

⁴⁵ Draft of letter, January 28, 1805, included towards close of Journal No. 3.

place for a residence until he had time to make a choice after due deliberation and accepted the idea that "it would be better to bring my family to that country & hire or purchase a small place for a short time than hazard a large purchase which I might afterwards repent seeing a more eligible situation."

After two weeks spent on private business matters, the Hunters on February 24 sailed on the brig *Julian* for New York. Except for being boarded by a British frigate looking for money on Spanish ships—and being "Politely treated"—they had an uneventful voyage. On March 27, wrote Hunter, "we arrived at New York after an absence of ten months, during which time I have gone over a distance of about 7000 miles including the land & water passed." Five days later he was once more in Philadelphia. He now set about transcribing his rough notes, but an inflammation of the eyes prevented him from completing his report until April 20, when he dispatched it to the Secretary of War with a covering letter, which he concluded with an expression of regret "that our course was not through a mineral Country, that my profession might have been more usefully employed."⁴⁶

IX

When Hunter left New Orleans it had been with the idea simply of visiting his family in Philadelphia. At that time he was still expected to share in the major exploration scheduled for the spring of 1805. But that plan called for a voyage up the Red River and back down the Arkansas (or *vice versa*) and Dunbar in May thought it doubtful whether "Dr. Hunter will consent to make the tour of the two rivers; had the determination been to explore each river apart, the agreeable accounts we received of the arcansa river appeared to dispose him in some measure to incline to visit it." It was only on May 24, however, that Dearborn informed Dunbar that Hunter would not be of the party.⁴⁷

Presumably Hunter made up his mind to drop out when in mid-May he went to Washington to settle his accounts with the War Department.⁴⁸ Not a rich man,

⁴⁶ NA/WD/SW/Letters Received. Printed in McDermott, J. F., *The western journals of George Hunter*, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 103: 772-773, 1959.

⁴⁷ Dearborn to Dunbar, War Department, March 25, 1805; Dunbar to Dearborn, Natchez, May 4, 1805; Dearborn to Dunbar, War Department, May 24, 1805 (Rowland, Eron, ed., *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar*, 150, 149, 153, Jackson, Miss., Nat. Soc. of Colonial Dames, 1930).

⁴⁸ His expenses in "exploring Louisiana," as settled on May 16 and 17, 1805, were:

For disbursements made by him pursuant to instructions from the Secretary of War for sundry articles purchased for presents to Indians, Ironmongery Mathematical Instruments Medicine Gun Powder & \$1062.71

For expenses traveling to Pittsburg, remaining there descending the river to New Orleans, while there &

possibly he decided he could not afford to be away so long from his business. Whatever his reasons for withdrawing, while in the city he obtained a War Department contract for the purifying of three hundred tons of salt peter on the same terms and in addition to the one hundred tons of the contract of March, 1804—"the whole to be completed within eighteen months."

Hunter's time was now devoted to his laboratory.⁴⁹ By September extensive preparations had been completed for the contract work and a quantity of crude nitre had been delivered from the arsenal. "Altho' the yellow fever has made some progress yet I intend to remain in the City & go on with it," he wrote to the Secretary. To assist him he had taken a partner, Dr. John White. Not everything went well. In January the Secretary suspended the contract because specimens delivered did not compare favorably in purity and dryness with samples. But these difficulties were overcome, the War Office was convinced, and a new contract was issued April 17, 1806.

In 1807 Hunter found it necessary to buy a lot adjoining the laboratory on which to place a kiln. Late in the year a large boiler in the laboratory, containing six and a half tierces of crude nitre, burst. The solution ran into the fire, "which it increased to such a degree as made it dangerous to approach it, it then exploded with a great noise & burst the furnace. However we found means to quench it & save three quarters of the contents." He had his plant repaired, he reported, and was going on again as usual. But during this winter apparently he suffered a more serious accident, for which he petitioned Congress for relief. The Secretary of War reported to the House that in the course of Hunter's operations "a considerable quantity" of saltpeter had been

returning to Washington City and thence to Philadelphia	532.31
For disbursements made for Building a boat at Pittsburg to descend the River	159.31
For Files, Saw, Barrel Flour & for Canoe to lighten the Boat over the Shoals of Ouchita & Repairing Boat	24.38
His compensation from 24 July 1804 to 13 Feby 1805 at 3 d ^{rs} p ^r day	615.00

On balancing what Hunter had previously drawn and what he owed, the Treasury issued a warrant for \$927.40 in Hunter's favor. (NA/Fiscal Branch/Gen. Accounting Off./Journal L, 1804-1805, pp. 5726-7; Report Book D, 1802-1805; Register of Warrants, No. 5, 1803-1805.)

⁴⁹ On July 22, 1805, the War Department sent to Hunter for analysis a small specimen recently received from Major James Bruff at St. Louis. Bruff called it "natural borax" and said it was to be obtained in large quantities. Hunter, however, reported it to be epsom salt. "I have never yet found Borax native of the U. States," he wrote on July 27, "the Epsom & Glaubers Salts are often met with in the western country, particularly in Kentucky. Sal. Epsom is not so much in use with us as formerly being superceded by Glaubers Salt, which is less nauseous. It is still preferred by the French & Spaniards." (NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, Letters Received.)

destroyed by Fire, together with the building and other property. And altho the Secretary of War believes this Misfortune not imputable to carelessness or inattention in M^r Hunter yet he does not consider himself authorized to relieve M^r Hunter, from the operation of the Contract, by giving him credit for the quantity of Salt Petre destroyed; but submits it to Congress to decide, whether under such Circumstances, it may not be advisable to relieve an industrious individual Citizen, from the effect of an unavoidable misfortune, as far as relates to the public Property lost by the Conflagration.⁵⁰

Since in the final settlement of accounts Hunter was allowed a credit of ninety-four hundred pounds of refined saltpeter "for salt petre burned in his warehouse & for sweepings &c delivered him as salt petre." Congress must have acted favorably on his petition.⁵¹

For want of documents, little remains to tell of Hunter's life. In 1809 the two Georges made yet another trip into the West, this time to Upper Louisiana, or at least they set out on such a voyage. The fragment of diary kept by the son, however, covers only four days and takes them only a few miles beyond Baltimore, though the few details entered show that they intended to go first to Washington and then by way of "Chillicothe" to Kentucky. Again, there is no hint of the nature of their business.⁵²

In 1815 Hunter, with his entire family, removed permanently to New Orleans. Mary Ann, the eldest daughter, described to a friend in Philadelphia her first impressions of the city and spoke of her father's plans:

You say you "vainly endeavor to imagine the situation of Orleans," if you could succeed in figuring it as it is, the picture would give you no satisfaction, except as far as respects the gratification of your curiosity; you would see nothing striking or elegant; I mistake, to a Philadelphian the first view of the city of Orleans is *strikingly* ugly; narrow unpaved streets, low houses with roofs projecting over the edges, and full of doors are presented to your view in all directions—this style of building is most convenient, as it is adapted to the climate, and although the external appearance is very gloomy, the interior of the houses is much better than the outside promises, almost every house is provided with a gallery, which is as useful and pleasant as almost any part of the building in the warm season—Many of the planters' mansions are elegant, with good gardens, but there has been but little attention paid to the cultivation of fruits; a spirit of improvement seems now to have arisen, and I hope will continue—I am told that for the last few years there has been a very considerable alteration for the better; untill lately there were no foot pavements, nor brick houses, now both are common—The

climate is far more agreeable than any I have known, even in the month of June, which is the warmest in the year, it is delightful for those who are not exposed to the sun, as there is always a fine air, often more than is agreeable; the nights are particularly pleasant, there are none of those close, sultry evenings such as we have frequently to the North, or, to use the language of the people here, "in the States"—this phrase was at first very grating to my ear, as I could not bear the idea of being out of the U.S. but I am now so much accustomed to the words that I only laugh, or repeat it after them—I am determined however not to acquire it, as in the States I positively will be.

As for the people, we have every reason to be pleased with them as they have been extremely polite to us—there is a pretty extensive american society here: it is the Creole custom for strangers to pay the first visit, but as we could not, or would not, break through our rules, many of them have given up their custom to make an acquaintance with us—the pursuit of wealth and love of dancing seem to supersede almost every other thing—there are no public amusements except the theatre, which is very handsome I am told, for we have never yet visited it—the performances are in french, and the company not good, therefore a sight of the house would be the only inducement for us, and that we shall postpone untill a more pleasant season when there are fewer musquitos—these little worrying animals are the greatest trouble we have, as it is impossible to do any thing in the evening but keep them off. There is a small library here, consisting chiefly of french books, I do not imagine it meets with much encouragement as reading is not fashionable in New Orleans, we feel the want of books very much, Ann Bryant now and then treats us with the perusal of a new publication, which she receives from Philadelphia—Our house is a mile from the city, near our sawmill, of course very conveniently situated for Papa, and very pleasantly for us—it was owned by an old French lady, who, with a house full of servants, has suffered every thing about the grounds to go completely out of order. I suppose it will require a year or two to set every thing to rights. There is a large lot on the river directly opposite to us where my father intends to erect his machinery, we are on the street back of it—You and I, my dear Eliza, have often viewed together and enjoyed the beauties of the setting sun, how often are those moments recalled to my remembrance, when I gaze on the same bright object; almost every morning I sit at my [house?] door and contemplate his no less glorious rising, on the opposite [bank?] of the river—the interest of the scene is heightened by the constant succession of boats which are floating down that noble stream, which has been this year remarkably high, but is now every day falling—You will judge upon the whole I am tolerably pleased here, this is the fact, were it not for the loss of the society of those friends whom I can never, never cease to regret, I should feel very happy—Mama is pleased with Orleans very much, when my cousin Starr arrives, which I expect will be by the return of the Orleans, she will not have the slightest wish to leave it.⁵³

Hunter continued to engage in his profession of "practical chemistry"—with sidelines. With his older son, he set up Hunters Mills, in which they employed

A Steam Engine of Twenty horse power complete comprehending a rolling mill for Sheet lead, a rolling mill for Sheet Iron, a rolling Machine for Sheet Copper, a boring mill, a mill for grinding white lead, and other paints, a mill for grinding drugs and Barks; with power to work a

⁵⁰ Secretary of War to House of Representatives, March 5, 1808, NA/Legislative Papers/Reports to Congress Vol. I.

⁵¹ This operation is summarized from correspondence between Hunter and the Secretary of War, 1805–1808, NA/WD/SW/Letters Sent, Letters Received. The final report on the contract, May 11, 1808, showed that Hunter received 819,527 pounds of crude nitre and delivered 662,612 pounds of refined saltpeter (there being an allowance of 18 per cent for water and crystallization). Treasury warrants issued to him totaled \$11,753.65 (NA/Fiscal Branch/Gen. Accounting Off./Letter Book M; Ledger C, 1792–1809).

⁵² This fragment is printed in the appendix.

⁵³ Mary Ann Hunter to Mrs. C. Y. McAllister, New Orleans, July 30, 1815 (Ms., Tulane University Library).

distillery by Steam, which machinery may at option may be separated for any of said purposes. . . .

The nature and extent of their operations is further indicated by some of the supplies on hand at the time of Hunter's death (February 23, 1823): 8 cisterns containing 2,380 gallons of paint oil and 350 gallons of spirits of turpentine, 1,800 pounds of copal gum, 200 tons of chalk, 500 pounds of tin in pigs, 2,000 pounds of copper, 300 pounds of borax, 300 pounds of peruvian bark in damaged state, 10,000 pounds in good condition, 50 pounds of pulverized bark, and 50 pounds of calomel. In addition to the mill Hunter owned (with his son and Peter Laidlaw, a son-in-law) a wooden building used as a soap factory, a brick building occupied as a forge, and another brick building occupied as a distillery.

The plot of ground that he had purchased a little above the Vieux Carré he subdivided in 1820. Besides the business properties described, he owned at 401 Tchoupitoulas Street (corner of Hunter Street) a "dwelling house of Five rooms front & back gallery & rooms on the lower floor, also kitchen outhouses, servants rooms &c" and nine building lots. By the time of his death, he had accumulated through his various business enterprises a modest fortune, for the appraisal of his estate totaled \$49,117.67.

Among the furnishings of his house, it is interesting to notice that he had an engraved likeness of Thomas Jefferson and a library of two hundred and fifty-one volumes which included an eighty-two volume set of *Rees Encyclopedia* and a collection of sixty-four volumes on chemistry and mineralogy. One of the six maps in his possession, I expect, would have been the Nicholas King map of that sinuous Ouachita River which he had known so intimately.⁵⁴

X

There are, of course, more dramatic figures in the history of the exploration of the United States than George Hunter, but no adequate account can be written of the opening of the West without studies of such men as he who contributed small but highly important details to the total picture. He disrupted his private life, as many another man has done, to perform a national service, only to be overshadowed by more glamorous explorers, his experiences forgotten in the recital of their more exciting adventures. His story, however, has value for the historian of the frontier.

⁵⁴ This information about Hunter's business in New Orleans and his possessions is drawn from the inventory of his estate made March 25-April 9, 1823, on file in the Civil District Court, New Orleans. Unfortunately the books were not listed individually. Paxton's *New Orleans Directory for 1822* gives his address. His son George H. lived at 415 Tchoupitoulas Street. Mrs. Hunter is credited with founding the Poydras Orphan Asylum in 1817; she and her two daughters directed it for many years (Kendall, John S., *History of New Orleans* 2: 644-645, Chicago, Lewis Publishing Company, 1922).

Both Hunter and Dunbar had been attracted by the expedition proposed for the Red River, the opportunities of which were comparable in significance to those of Lewis and Clark up the Missouri. Neither principal regarded the Ouachita excursion as one of first importance. At best they saw it as an interim activity worth performing only because nothing of more consequence could then be done. Though officially designated an "exploration of Louisiana," the trip was not thought of by its leaders as a voyage of discovery. The Ouachita was known and used by traders and hunters, as the remarks set down by Hunter and Dunbar make clear. Twenty years earlier Filhiol at Fort Miró had made a report on this country to the governor of Louisiana.⁵⁵ The very names of the affluents and of the landmarks were indication that white men had been roaming these parts for many decades.

Nevertheless, the excursion had been a useful one. It resulted in the mapping of a large, navigable river hitherto uncharted. Though the country was generally known, none of that knowledge had been organized and published. The diarists, as instructed, reported in detail on the soil and the face of the country, on the animals, birds, reptiles, the ancient remains, the mineral productions, the climate. It was no fault of theirs that the Ouachita Valley provided little that was new or exciting in natural history save only the hot springs which had hitherto been known only by hearsay. They had performed their duties thoroughly; their mission was accomplished. But it must be remembered that for the public of that day the substance of their reports as issued by Congress was significant news about a recently acquired section of frontier country.

What importance we finally assign Hunter today rests on the records he kept during his travels in the western country. Half a century ago Professor Cox found Hunter's unpublished report to the Secretary of War "more readable" than Dunbar's. "As a picture of frontier life at the opening of the nineteenth century," he declared, it "well merits publication."⁵⁶ Now we can go farther and say that the private field diaries which came to the American Philosophical Society twenty years ago present a still better picture of life on the frontier. In them the story of Hunter's travels from Philadelphia to Natchez and the Ouachita is related in greater detail. These volumes together with the diaries of the earlier trips to Kentucky in 1796 and 1802 form a worth-while addition to the literature of the Ohio-Mississippi frontier.

Hunter made no pretense of being a writer. He was only an ordinary sort of person making notes of what was to him interesting or important. His diaries con-

⁵⁵ Hardin, J. Fair, Don Juan Filhiol and the founding of Fort Miro, *La. Hist. Quar.* 20: 476-485, 1937.

⁵⁶ Cox, Isaac Joslin, The exploration of the Louisiana frontier, 1803-1806, *Amer. Hist. Assn. Annual Report for 1904*, 156 n., Washington, 1905.

tain many details which recreate for us the pains and penalties of travel in that day when men undertook lengthy and uncomfortable journeys almost casually. The building of a flatboat to carry one down the western rivers for a thousand or two thousand miles, the rough experience of riding across the Indiana-Illinois prairies over an unmarked road through grass that often waved two or three feet above one's head, the difficulties of navigating a shallow stream like the Ouachita, the reports on inns and innkeepers, the views of the towns add to our knowledge of life on the road at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Hunter was a businessman traveling on business. When he undertook a trip, his thoughts turned not to philosophy but to practical matters. Scientific phenomena were of interest to him when they could be put to practical use. The proper manner of working a saline, the efficient exploitation of deposits of crude nitre, the possibilities of the market for clarified ginseng occupied his thoughts. And since they occupied the thoughts of a great many of his fellow Americans it is interesting to follow them in Hunter's mind.

In these journals, too, we glimpse something of the spread of commercial enterprise in a day when the great mass of population still lived east of the mountains. Consider Hunter's business affairs so far as we can inform ourselves about them from the notations in the diaries about collections (and remember that these slow payers would represent only a small portion of his accounts). Hunter was not a wealthy man or a big operator. Yet we find that this wholesale druggist and manufacturing chemist had customers—even before he made his first trip to the western country—all the way from Philadelphia to New Orleans. In 1796 a merchant and a newspaper publisher in Lexington, Kentucky, owed him more than \$500. In 1802 he collected overdue bills at Carlisle, Redstone (Brownsville), and Washington, Pennsylvania—a doctor in the latter town owed him \$1,246.06. In Kentucky one doctor was in his books for a like sum (which Hunter collected in horses). A druggist in Lexington owed him \$200 “on account sundry medicines.” From another doctor and five other persons in that town he obtained about \$700. In 1804 he made small collections at Carlisle and Washington and extracted \$500 from four doctors in Lexington. At New Orleans one man paid him \$75; another paid \$100 on account, claimed credit for \$200 in cotton that he had remitted to Hunter at Philadelphia, and still owed \$1,741. The Baron de Bastrop was indebted to Hunter for \$822, which with interest came to \$970 before Hunter agreed to take land in Louisiana in settlement of the obligation.⁵⁷ A man living on the Wilderness Road in eastern Tennessee owed Hunter at this time \$1,000 for drugs. And there are hints and echoes of other debts. Now these were

⁵⁷ According to Hunter, Bastrop owed in all \$25,457 to fourteen Philadelphia houses.

not insignificant sums in that day. I cite them, however, not to show the extent of Hunter's business but as a sampling of the widespread and considerable activities of an entrepreneur of 1800.⁵⁸

Let us say, then, that if Hunter did not make any notable discoveries in Louisiana, this “Man of Jefferson” still has his modest claim to a useful, minor share in the explorations of the Southwest. His papers, added to those of Dunbar, Jefferson, and others, will make possible the writing of a definitive account of the President's interest in the vast territory which he added to the United States in 1803. Beyond this we are indebted to Hunter for the revealing glimpses his private journals give us of life on the Ohio-Mississippi frontier at the turn of the eighteenth century.

1. JOURNAL KEPT BY GEORGE HUNTER OF A TOUR FROM PHILAD^a. TO KENTUCKEY & THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

Journal kept by George Hunter of a Tour from Philad^a. to Kentuckey & the Illinois Country.

July 14th. 1796. at Six P.M. left Philad^a. on horseback in company with Anthony Atkinson, & after laying by one day at Berlin on acc^t. of the rain, we pursued our rout towards Redstone by Johnson's mill & afterwards by the Turkey foot Road, where at the distance of about 30 miles from Berlin we came to my 400 Acres Tract of Land which I had bot^t. of W^m. Perry & warranted in the name of Jacob Frailey,¹ This Land is in the possession of Michael Entlich who keeps a Tavern there, has about 70 Acres Clear, has built a Log House & Barn.² He claims 200 Acres by virtue of a

⁵⁸ In Hunter's references to meeting old Pennsylvania friends wherever he went in the West or Southwest, the reader gets an interesting glimpse of the flow of population—or at least of Scots—westward from Philadelphia across Pennsylvania, to the flourishing towns of the Blue Grass, to Natchez, and to New Orleans.

¹ A sufficiently confusing sentence. Apparently the travelers left Philadelphia by the “Pennsylvania Road,” passed through Lancaster, Carlisle, Shippensburg, and, beyond Bedford, took the Glade Road on the left hand to Berlin (Somerset County). Thence they proceeded beyond Johnson's Mill and up the Turkey Foot Road (so called because it passed the turkey foot or triple-branching of the Youghiogheny River) to Salt Lick (Indian) Creek in Fayette County some thirty miles west of Berlin and ten miles east of Connelsville. In his second journal Hunter describes in some detail the road from Philadelphia via Berlin to Wheeling.

Anthony Atkinson has remained elusive: he was not listed in the Philadelphia city directory for 1796 nor is his name to be found in any of the other keys to the history of Philadelphia. Jacob Frailey apparently was straw man for Hunter in the recording of his deed.

² Here and in Journal No. 2 Hunter wrote Michael Entlich. This was probably the Melchior Entling who was “a pioneer in the northwestern part of the [Springfield] township, on the old State road, where he kept a public house as early as 1796” (Ellis, Franklin, *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania*, 753, Philadelphia, 1882).

Purchase from Isaac Mason.³ This Land is on the waters of Salt lick Creek;⁴ my warrant includes the 200 Acres in the possession of Entlich & as much more to the eastward thereof, which last part contains the millseat & is claimed by Canel of Canels Town⁵ which is about 9 or ten miles to the westward on the Yougha-gaheny River.—At Canals Town we met Isaac Mason who promised to accomodate matters, & to write to me his sentiments & proposals & I agreed to answer him at my return; having left matters thus I went to Union Town,⁶ saw Col. McClean Deputy Surveyor,⁷ who had done nothing yet in the Business.—We arrived at Redstone⁸ on the Monongahela on 22nd. Inst. & next morning having ordered a Boat to be built, I left M^r Atkinson there to superintend matters & proceeded on to Washington a neat little Town inland,⁹ 25 miles from Redstone, to Visit my Friends D^r & M^{rs} Baird,¹⁰ whom I saw, was kindly received staid with them 2 days & returned on the 25th. & on the 26th. about 6 p.m. having got in our loading consisting of 3 Tons Nail Rods & a quantity of nails in Cags, 2 Crates one Trunk one Still several barrels in all about lbs¹¹ 10,000, at 2/- p^r cw^t. put on board by M^r Bowman¹² of Redstone to be delivered to M^r Jacob Boone¹³ at Limestone Ken-

³ James Meason (1742–1818), pioneer ironmaster west of the Alleghenies, living at Mount Pleasant in Fayette County. In 1803 he built a house on Mount Braddock (*Dictionary of American Biography* 12: 487).

⁴ Better known as Indian Creek.

⁵ Connellsville, Fayette County, had been laid out by Zachariah Connell in 1793 (Day, Sherman, *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*, 344, Philadelphia, 1843).

⁶ Uniontown, incorporated under this name in 1796, had been laid out as Beesontown in 1776.

⁷ Alexander McClean (1746–1834), from York County, Pennsylvania, had been deputy surveyor in western Pennsylvania from 1772; he settled permanently in Uniontown in 1783 and died there in 1834 (*Nelson's Fayette County, Pennsylvania*, 487, Uniontown, n.d.; Veech, James, *The Monongahela of old*, 131–137, Pittsburgh, 1858–1892).

⁸ Rather, Brownsville, at the mouth of Redstone Creek, laid out by Thomas Brown in 1785 and famous at this time as the principal place "to take water" for the western settlements. Earlier it had been the location of Redstone Old Fort and of Fort Burd (Day, Sherman, *Historical collections of Pennsylvania*, 342–343, Philadelphia, 1843).

⁹ Thomas Chapman, traveling to Kentucky in the fall of 1795, noted: "Washington contains about 100 Houses, all wch, except the Court H^o, a very Neat Building, & 2 or three others, are Frame & Log Houses. The Town is pleasantly Situated upon an Eminence . . . & promises in time to be a place of Consequence" (Journal, 1795–6, *Historical Magazine*, n. s., 5: 359, 1869). The town had been laid out in 1781 as the county seat of the newly established Washington County, Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ Boyd Crumrine (*History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 491, Philadelphia, 1882) gave his first name as Absalom.

¹¹ Throughout his journals Hunter used a symbol for pounds, for which I have substituted the abbreviation lbs.

¹² Jacob Bowman had settled at Brownsville in 1787 (Day, Sherman, *History of Pennsylvania*, 343, Philadelphia, 1843).

¹³ Jacob Boone of Limestone, Kentucky, cousin of Daniel Boone and one of the original trustees (1787) of Limestone

tucky[.] The Freight was paid before hand by M^r Bowman & amounted to 2 dollars more than the price of the Boat.¹⁴ As we were ready to push off Nathaniel Blackford of Limestone & William [blank in ms.] by trade a Blacksmith agreed to work their passage; we were two nights & one day coming from Redstone to Pittsburg, 70 miles by water yet only 25 by Land.—

on 28th. July) at 8. a.m. came to Pittsburg, We took in some more River Stores. found D^{rs} Benneville & Jones¹⁵ had left it two days before us. Saw Guy Bryan¹⁶ at M^r Marrie's,¹⁷ he was waiting for his Boat from Kaskaskies, which had already detained him 2 weeks.—Staid at Pitt 2 hours; Put a Letter in the post office which I wrote in the boat for M^{rs}. Hunter.¹⁸—As we were putting off William —, left us & we were under the necessity to go down without him—Cast out a fishing Line to try our luck.—but caught no fish these

(Clift, G. Glenn, *History of Maysville*, 73, Lexington, 1936; Collins, Lewis, and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 557, Covington, 1882; Rogers, Belle M., Jacob Boone, *Kentucky Historical Society Register* 2: 49–59, 1904).

¹⁴ Such boats, Francis Baily wrote three months later, were "generally from 30 to 40 feet long, and about 12 feet broad, and consist of a framework fastened together with wooden pins, which constitutes the bottom of the boat, and to this is fastened a flooring which is well calked to prevent leaking; the sides are about breast high, and made of thin plank; and sometimes there is a rude kind of covering, intended to keep the rain out. These boats draw very little water, not enough to sink the framework of the boat under the water, and are generally furnished with a pair of oars, not so much to expedite their progress, as to keep them from the shore when they are driven towards it by the current, and there is a pole projecting from the stern, to steer them with. . . . The common charge for boats of this kind is a dollar, and sometimes 1½ dollars, for 12 square feet, that is, as to her bottom: thus a boat 40 feet long and 12 feet wide would cost 40 dollars at 1 dollar per 12 feet" (*Journal of a tour in unsettled parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*, 146–147, London, 1856). General Victor Collot, at Pittsburgh six weeks before Hunter, gave the cost as \$1.50 per foot and cautioned travelers to start from one of the ports on the Monongahela rather than to go to Pittsburgh where neither boats nor men could be had except at exorbitant prices (*A journey in North America* 1: 33–34, Paris, 1826).

¹⁵ George de Benneville, Jr., physician of Philadelphia, and David Jones, of Chester County, Pennsylvania, Quaker army chaplain. They had left Philadelphia on July 13, arrived at Pittsburgh on the twenty-second, Jones preached there on the twenty-fourth, and on the thirtieth they "took water" at Wheeling (Jones, David, *Diary, 1794–1801*, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit). For Jones, consult *Dict. Amer. Biog.* 10: 165–166.

¹⁶ Guy Bryan of Philadelphia was the uncle and partner of William Morrison of Kaskaskia, Illinois (Philbrick, Francis S., *Illinois Historical Collections* 21: cclxvi, Indianapolis, 1931).

¹⁷ From at least as early as 1787 Jean Marie kept an inn at Pittsburgh on Grants Hill; F. A. Michaux stopped there in 1802 (*Travels to the west of the Alleghany Mountains in 1802*, 155, Cleveland, 1904). Baily reported Pittsburgh as containing about four hundred houses at this time (1856: 144–149); Collot allowed the town but one hundred and fifty at the utmost (1924 1: 37). These eyewitnesses never agree in their estimates of population in the western towns.

¹⁸ None of the private letters of Dr. or Mrs. Hunter have been recovered.

2 days when we took it in again. We struck the ground twice between Redstone & Pitt.

29 & 30th. We were employed night & day coming to Wheeling¹⁹ where we arrived at 2 p.m. on the 30th. Here we found D^r Benneville & the Rev^d. M^r. Jones Chaplain to the army who in a boat of 35 feet Long which cost 40 Dollars set out in company with us after waiting about an hour to take in a fresh stock of hay for our horses. The whole way from Redstone to Wheeling we found the banks of the River interspersed with new Settlements.²⁰ where we occasionally put ashore in a small Batteau which we bought for 1½ dollars to supply ourselves with sweet Milk, Butter, Eggs & Hay &c &c which we made water tight by working half a day at it—This place is 96 miles from Pitt Yesterday we were met with a large Long Keell Boat manned with Indians & one white man from the Illinois country laden with skins.—They sett it up against the stream along the shore with great rapidity & kept time with their setting poles dextrously; I examined them with my spy glass & found them all quite naked except an handkerchief tied round their heads & a breachclout round their middles; as we approached their boat they perceived my Glass & immediately two of them lifted up their breechclout & stuck out their bare Posteriors—I supposed this to be the boat which Guy Bryan expected.—

31st. By 8 a m we had got down thirty miles below Wheeling; The waters being on the whole rather low & running slow. Struck the ground twice between this & Pitt in the night & each time got out waded about for the deepest water, & as our boat was purposely loaded about 6 Inches deeper by the head than by the stern, we with handspikes pushed about the stern towards the deepest water & so got afloat again. As we proceeded on we found that the water was always getting higher, for there had been a very high fresh in the river about 4 days before we started, which when we left Redstone was almost entirely expended leaving us barely sufficient to float over the Rocks,²¹ & here we found it cover the banks up to the Grass.

It is a curious fact that a Boat like a tub without rowing or Sails should sail so much faster than the Current in which it floats; also that a deep loaded boat actually sails, or rather floats considerably faster than a light one.—I account for it thus. That from Redstone to Kentucky their [*sic*] is a considerable descent in the river; Therefore by the Laws of gravity an heavy Body falls down it faster than a light one.

¹⁹ Baily (1856: 156) thought Wheeling "may contain about fifty houses. It was settled some years back by Mr. Lane [i.e., Zane], who has a house in the town built of stone." Collot (1924: 1: 61) reported it to have twelve to fifteen habitations, a small fort, and two small stores, scantily furnished.

²⁰ Collot's map of the Ohio shows Beavers-town, Bird's-town, Little Beaver-town, Mingo's Bottom, Mingo's Town, Buffalo, and Carpenter's Station.

²¹ Probably McKee's Rocks just below Pittsburgh.

From Redstone to Wheeling the Land on each side of the River appears very hilly, & with here & there only a narrow strip of Bottom Land on the side of the River before you come to the hills. Almost every town we visited from about 200 miles distance from Philad^a. the People are preparing to remove down the River to the new Countrys; they are miserably lodged, yet appear to have plenty, of every thing essential to life & above all, every house seems full of healthy rugged children.

Aug^t. 1st. at 12 a m We were within 15 miles of Muskingum. having come 45 miles since yesterday morning.—Last night lost company with our Consort, Benneville's Boat, they having stopped by the way to take in hay &c & this afternoon saw them again about 4 miles behind rowing to come up with us, which they could not effect altho we had quit rowing ever since they left us to let them come up.—This night ran ashore on a barr of gravel & got off in about half an hour by our former mode—The river Bottoms or rather the level Ground on each side of the river now encreases in width & continues to do so as we go down;—We have passed many grape Vines along the brinks of the river this day; they make a fine appearance, hanging very thick in wild & beautiful festoons upon the Trees; if Milbourn was here now he would have great variety of fine patterns for Rural Scenes.²²—about 9 p.m. we passed Muskingum which is settled by New England men, being dark we could not view it,²³ we tried to land with our boat, but could not, on acc^t. of the darkness & the rapidity of the current & danger of getting aground. This night we were amused by the howling of the Wolves, & the night before serenaded by the screech Owls.—I remark that we always go faster in the night than by day, as it is generally calm all night, & the wind rises after the sun, & blows commonly up the river, which retards our progress. Our Boats crew consists of 3 persons²⁴ & we keep watch 3 hours each, day & night alternately, & on the appearance of any riffle or dangerous place we call all hands.²⁵—The latter part of this day the lands appear very rich & level on both sides of the river. I went ashore this day with my Riffle & walked along the bank for 5 miles but met with no game, whilst Nathaniel attended me in our battau & M^r Atkinson remained on board the Illinois, (the name we gave our floating Ark) whilst I was ashore an heavy

²² Cotton Milbourne, English landscape painter working in Philadelphia, 1794–1795, noted for his stage scenery showing Philadelphia views; he was one of the founders of the Columbianum in that city (Groce, George C., and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's dictionary of artists in America, 1564–1860*, 443, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1957). By this date he had possibly returned to England.

²³ Marietta. Its appearance at this time was described by Baily (1856: 188) and Collot (1924: 1: 69–73).

²⁴ I.e., Hunter, Atkinson, and Nathaniel Blackford, the hand they had picked up at Brownsville.

²⁵ Baily, who left Pittsburgh at a time of low water, had much to say of these riffles (1956: 149ff.).

gust of Rain & wind came on, Mr Atkinson had hard work to prevent being drove ashore & we were wet to the skin, & mutually pleased to be all on board again.—

Aug^t. 2nd. at half past 4 a m. Came to little Kanaway River 12 miles from Muskingum where we went ashore & got a gallon milk for our breakfast, at 5^d. virginia Curr[enc]^y pr quart.—A quarter of a mile below this River on the Ohio there is great store of excellent stone of which they make all the grindstones & whitestones used in Kentuckey, where they have little else besides Limestone. This stone is soft, cutts very fast & is itself wore fast away by toolls. The Lands on both sides of this River are good for a great way up,—At the mouth there is a small settlement on each side of it.²⁶ Five miles below this we passed a mill in the Ohio which floated on two boats, is movable at pleasure from one side of the River to the other, or to any place where the water runs the swiftest, it was now fixed on a small riffle,—We were informed that it ground one bushel pr hour when the water runs fast, & sometimes it takes 5 hours to perform it.²⁷—washed my shirts & Jacket. which last the wind blew away, whilst drying.—about miday passed Hockhocking River, opposite to which are the Lands of Gen^l. Washington on the Virginia side now advertised for sale²⁸—& about dark passed a Creek called Devils Hole,²⁹ where the Indians sometimes concealed their canoes & suddenly rushed out upon the unwary Boats on their way to Kentucky.—As I was going ashore in our little boat for spring water I fell overboard but soon came up again, having wet my watch which caused it to stop, till next day. 3rd—about 5 A.M. came to a Creek on the Virginia side about 15 y^{ds}. wide.—since yesterday at this time came

²⁶ Andrew Ellicott noted below the Little Kanawha “a miserable village by the name of Belle Prae” (*Journal [1796-1800]*, 11, Philadelphia, 1803).

²⁷ Ellicott (1803: 11-12) also saw this mill: “The ordinary streams of water in that part of the western country so universally fail in the summer, and beginning of autumn, that the inhabitants are under the necessity of having recourse to floating mills, or others driven by the wind, or worked by horses to grind their corn. Those floating mills are erected on two, or more, large canoes or boats, and anchored out in a strong current. The float-boards of the water-wheels dip their whole breadth into the stream; by which they are propelled, and give motion to the whole machinery. When the waters rise, and set the other mills to work, the floating ones are towed into a safe harbour, where they remain until the next season. Although floating mills are inferior to permanant ones driven by water, they are nevertheless more to be depended upon than wind mills, and may be considered as preferable to those worked by horses.”

²⁸ On February 1, 1796, Washington advertised in Philadelphia that he had for sale four tracts on the Great Kanawha: one of more than ten thousand acres on the west side of the river, stretching back for seventeen miles, and others east of the Kanawha amounting more than twelve thousand more. The lands were not sold at this time (Fitzgerald, John C., ed., *The writings of George Washington* 34: 438-439, Washington, 1940).

²⁹ Collot gave the name of this stream as Trou de Diable or Devil's Creek (1824: 1: 76-77).

by estimation about 50 miles, our largest days Journey—headwind now hinders our progress, went ashore to a new settlement bought about lbs 7 excellent Jerked Buffalo meat for $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar & one Gall milk for the same price. Land, very fine on both sides, few hills, in our Vciw; The Banks of the river are generally from 20 to fifty feet perpendicular height, & sloping, then the Country is mostly level yet has sufficient hill & dale for pleasant farming land; the Settlers seem all healthy. Mr Atkinson who at first was rather disordered by drinking the river water, is now perfectly recovered.—Our Horses feet swell a little by constant standing in the boat in one place. Yesterday it appeared to us that there are very few good springs near the river as we could not get any good water—no appearance of Bonneville's Boat yet. Settlements very far apart here & yesterday.—As the wind blew fresh up the river we were obliged to make fast to the shore & wait 3 hours till it abated; during which time Mr Atkinson with his knife cut some grass on the bank for our Horses, whilst I in company with Nathaniel Blackford went into the Country with my rifle to look at the Land & Game; we went $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the river along rich level Land, after that, ascended the river Hill as it is called, which generally in this Country runs parrallel to the river at various distances from it. This was covered with various Trees, shrubs & plants, such as oak Hickory, Red Cedar & also Virginian snake root. It is composed of Sand Stone or whetstone such as those at little Kanaway. The bottom has Buck Eye, Dogberry, papa[w] &c. Having fatigued ourselves without meeting with any game we returned to our Boat near where we saw a large Deer come to the river to drink, when my rifle went off by accident & frightened it away.—

Aug^t. 4th. at 5 A.M. came to Great Kanaway river³⁰ having only gained 30 miles these last 24 hours the wind being against us.—This day the wind changing fair after breakfast we fastened our 3 blankets together & made shift to get up a mast & with our blankets as a sail we endeavored to regain the lost time of yesterday. however the wind proved but light & in pufs & very variable it did not do us much good & in the evening took all down again & floated on as usual. This day at 8 a m passed Gallipolis the French settlement,³¹ but as the wind was then fair we made no stop. few or no houses now along the river.—passed two more Keell boats laden with skins bound up the river—indeed scarce an hour passes in which we do not meet a boat of some kind going up.—

Aug^t. 5th. at 10 A.M. passed Big Sandy River 47 miles from great Kanaway, wind now a head. Near

³⁰ Hunter fails to mention Point Pleasant, established just above the mouth of the Kanawha.

³¹ The most extended account of Gallipolis is that of Hélène Fouré-Selter, *Gallipolis*, Paris, Jouve et cie., 1939; for contemporary descriptions of this town founded in 1790 consult McDermott, John Francis, Gallipolis as travelers saw it, *Ohio State Arch. and Hist. Quart.* 48: 283-303, 1939.

the Mouth of this river is a fine Situation for a Town on the lower side of it with good Land for a considerable distance on both sides of it,³²—This River divides Virginia from Kentucky. few or no settlements or springs by the river side to be seen.—Rained & blew a storm in the night.

Aug^t. 6th. at 11 a.m came to Sioto River, 46 miles from Big Sandy; There are a considerable number of Cabbins built at or rather below its mouth on the Territory on the land allotted for the military rights of the Virginia Line.³³—generally fine bottoms on both sides of the River tho here & there Rocky Hills. at this time the Wind grew favorable & we immediately set up our Mast & fixed our blankets for a sail & as the wind continued for 7 hours I suppose we must have gained about 10 miles by it.

Aug^t. 7th. The land on both sides the Ohio, now as before irregular, sometimes narrow bottoms & Hills near the river & at others wide bottoms & no hills in view. at 8. A M passed Masseys Station, where I counted 34 Houses or Cabbins from our boat [;] perhaps there may be as many more, we could not see. This place is on the Territory on a fine large bottom taken up by Military rights, & belonged to a M^r Massey a Surveyor where he had fixed a block House & cleared a considerable quantity of Land.—There are here 3 Islands in the Ohio by which name it is better known than any other.³⁴—This is distant from Siota 40 miles. & we are now about 10 miles from Limestone the place of debarkation. We have been now on the water 12 days & nights from Redstone; & 24 days from Philadelphia in the whole. at 5 p.m. came to Limestone³⁵ & delivered the Letter with the Bill Lading to

John Taylor³⁶ agent for Jacob Boone, who in 2 hours (altho it was Sunday) had the boat unladed, which we immediately sold for six dollars.—Here we met with George Mitchel³⁷ who lives here, doing very well, & being an old acquaintance of M^r Atkinson insisted upon us staying the night with him which we did & were kindly entertained. 8th. next day we set out for Lexington & came 4 miles, to Washington a thriving little Village;³⁸ here I was known by D^r. Connyngham³⁹ who is thriving & was pleased to see me, After breakfast proceeded to Millersburg⁴⁰ a new Village where we staid for the night & is 30 miles from Washington; having dined at a place called the Blue Licks where they make a considerable quantity of salt, They have here two salt springs which the workmen say afford one bushel of salt pr thousand Gallons of water; In one of these works they had imployed 4 fires over each of which they had placed in a double row twenty Kettles & each fire yeilded 3 bushels salt pr 24 hours & consumed an immense quantity of wood, I suppose 2 Cords at least. They must use at least 20 Cords wood pr Day

husbandry or of the household, and transport them to their distant settlements in waggons which they either bring with them, or hire at this place. It may contain from thirty to forty houses, situated on the western side of the mouth of a creek, and at the bottom of a hill. There is a place about a mile above (which we passed by) called the upper landing. This was a settlement formed prior to that of the town, and was meant for its site. Here a number of boats stop to unload, owing to there being convenient warehouses and cranes; but it has greatly fallen to decay lately. Limestone appeared to us a very dirty place when we came to it; the houses are chiefly log-houses, and presented a much more pleasing prospect on our approach from the water than when close to it. Provisions of every kind were very dear when we were there, owing to the number of boats lately come down."

³² Catlettsburg, Kentucky, is immediately below the mouth of the Big Sandy; Hunter may have been looking at the site of Ashland, a few miles below.

³³ Collot (1924: 1: 86-87) noted that "Within six months, several American families, coming from Kentucky, have established themselves on the right side of the Great Scioto, and at its mouth. . . . Thirty houses are already built, and the plan of a small town is marked out." Baily on February 24, 1797, however, credited the place with only eighteen or twenty houses (1856: 192). F. A. Michaux five years later found no more than twenty houses in this town of Alexandria (1904: 186). The Virginia Reserve extended west from the Scioto to the Little Miami.

³⁴ Two miles below the Three Islands, Collot (1924: 1: 93) noted on the Ohio shore "the little town of Manchester, built in a straight line, parallel to the bank of the river, and about a mile in length. The first house was built five years since, and there are already more than an hundred great and small. . . . Manchester is a town full of mechanics; such as wheelwrights, carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, and taylors." It had been founded by Nathaniel Massie in 1791.

³⁵ Limestone, later Maysville, at the mouth of Limestone Creek in Mason County, Kentucky, settled in 1784, was in 1796 a place of little attraction but much importance. Ellicott (1803: 16) dismissed it as a "miserable village." Baily (1856: 194) described it at some length: "Limestone is called the landing place to Kentucky; and is generally made the resort of all the emigrants who are bound to the interior of this state. Here they land their goods and domestic implements, whether of

³⁶ Probably the John Taylor who in June, 1797, began operating a ferry across the Ohio at this place (Clift, G. Glenn, *History of Maysville and Mason County*, 130, Lexington, Transylvania Publishing Co., 1936).

³⁷ In 1798 George Mitchell was clerk of election in Mason County (Clift, 1936: 141, 367).

³⁸ Washington had been laid out as a county seat in 1788; by 1796, according to Collot (1924: 1: 98), it had between two hundred and fifty and three hundred inhabitants. From a letter dated February 17, 1797 (quoted by Clift, 1936: 129), we learn that it was "about a square mile laid out in three main streets north and south, between the two streets are house lots of half an acre each, measuring each way from the center street: the rest of the land is laid out in five acre lots on each side of the back streets: there are three streets running east and west at such distance with a number of alleys as to make it convenient to come at the lots, we have a court house built with stones, a Gaolers house of brick and the jail of billets of wood about 12 inches square and 2 and 2½ feet long placed so as the ends to make the inside and outside of the room, a thick stone wall 15 feet high surrounds the Gaol. There is a considerable number of large Stone and Brick houses in the main street, there is but one meeting house and that is a Baptist, the Presbyterians are but few in number and meet in the court house. . . ."

³⁹ One of the sons of Redmond Connyngham, merchant and shipping magnate of Philadelphia.

⁴⁰ Millersburg had been located in 1784 on lands pre-empted in 1775 by John Miller, who came from Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

in the whole & the Ashes are all lost being thrown out in the rain & no use made of them. The whole was managed in such a slovenly manner that I beleive those who pay rent which I am informed is 150*l* Virg^a. p^r Ann for 80 Kettles, make little or nothing by the business.⁴¹—

9th. at 12 a.m. came to Bourbon⁴² where we met with John Nancarrow Sen^r.⁴³[.] he was glad to see us; his eldest daughter seems a fine young woman⁴⁴[.] manages his house[;] the youngest with the boy go to school[.] they seemed all pleased & asked kindly after M^{rs} Hunter to whom they desired to be remembered, & the old Gentleman contr[ar]y to my wish would and did follow us to Lexington⁴⁵ where we arrived same day in the

⁴¹ The Blue Lick was at Licking River, about halfway between Washington and Millersburg. Collot (1924: 1: 99–100) also commented on the inefficiency of salt-making there: “We found a poor salt manufactory at Blue Lick . . . it requires a thousand gallons to make a bushel of salt weighing fifty pounds, which sells on the spot for twenty shillings of Virginia (three dollars and a half). We may conceive what must have been the consumption of wood to obtain so considerable an evaporation, and thereby judge of the little value of the spring, since the forests around must be speedily wasted: the mode of manufacturing, too, is extremely vicious.” On the importance of salt in the frontier world consult Clark, Thomas D., *Salt, a factor in the settlement of Kentucky*, *Filson Club Quart.* 12: 42–52, 1938.

⁴² Now Paris, Kentucky, established 1789. Again there is wide discrepancy in travelers’ reports. Chapman in 1795 said it contained “about 60 Houses of Stone, Brick & Frame Work, not one of wch are finished” (1869: 361). Collot a year later: “there are already two hundred houses built of stone, and thirty or forty stores or warehouses” (1924: 1: 102).

⁴³ John Nancarrow, Sr., of Philadelphia, on September 2, 1779, married Susanna, daughter of Owen Jones, who had been provincial treasurer. In April, 1789, he left Lexington, Kentucky, for Philadelphia to purchase heavy equipment and in September opened a brewery at Petersburg (Boone County), Kentucky (*Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* 24: 385, 1900; 56: 43n, 1932; 58: 179, 1934).

⁴⁴ Tarleton Bates, at Cincinnati, October 31, 1798, “Spent the evening & 2 or 3 hours of the next morning at Jesse Hunt’s House warming. where there were 10 or 12 married Ladies, 4 or 5 single Ladies and upwards of 20 gent.—Miss Brown & Miss Nancarrow danced minuets together with tolerable grace & a degree of self-confidence entirely captivating. . . .” (Seely, Frederick F., ed., *Tarleton Bates’ Journal*, 1798, *Western Penna. Hist. Mag.* 34: 207, 1951).

⁴⁵ Chapman (1869: 363) described Lexington as containing “200 Houses, 40 of which are brick, nearly the same number of Stone, and the remainder framed & Heughed logs. . . . Here is upwards of 40 Shops or Stores, filled with Imported Goods of all kinds & for wch the Poor Natives are Obliged to pay upon an average 100 Cent. upon Philadelphia and Baltimore Prices. It is also a great through Affair, & this circumstance tends very much to the Advantage of the Tavern keepers, who have their Houses full every Night. Indeed I never saw a Town of the size of Lexington, where there is more the appearance of Traffic & Business carrying on.” Lewis Condit at this time declared Lexington “the largest town in the western Country, being about the size of Newark in Jersey. . . . An immense deal of business is transacted in this town, it being the Philadelphia of Kentucky” (*Journal of a trip to Kentucky in 1795*, *Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc.*, n. s., 4: 120, 1919). Collot gave Lexington three to four hundred houses and noted

evening 27 miles from Millersburg having except about 16 miles near the salt works passed over some of the richest land I have seen; The Corn of a very great length. M^{rs} Hare⁴⁶ rec^d us with emotion & kindness Tommy is a fine young man about the size of his brother John rather fatter, has the charge of the store, M^r Hare being absent on business & not expected to return for 3 weeks, M^r & M^{rs}. Steward, M^r January & his wife & sons, M^r Barr, M^r Levi⁴⁷ & in general every body in Lexington rec^d us with the greatest kindness

its distance from Bourbon Court House (Washington) as nineteen miles (1924: 1: 103). A great many details about early days in Lexington are to be found in the reminiscences of William Leavy, established there as a merchant in 1788 (Leavy, William A., *A memoir of Lexington and its vicinity*, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40–42, 1942–1944).

⁴⁶ Mrs. Andrew Hare, born Margaret Bryant, sister of Mrs. Hunter. Four grants of land in Kentucky are recorded for Andrew Hare: an Old Kentucky grant for 170 acres on Salt River in Lincoln County was surveyed November 19, 1785; a Virginia grant in Fayette County for 10,000 acres surveyed April 14, 1785; and two other Virginia grants of 863 and 1137 acres, both located on the Licking River in Fayette County and surveyed March 13, 1786 (Jillson, Willard R., *The Kentucky land grants*, 60, 186, Louisville, Filson Club Publication No. 33, 1925). In the First Census of Kentucky, Andrew Hare was listed (March 20, 1789) a resident of Mercer County. It has not been determined who Tommy and John were—possibly brothers of Hare. At the close of the next paragraph we discover that Andrew and Margaret Hare have a nine-months old son named John.

⁴⁷ All of these people apparently Hunter had previously known in Philadelphia.

James H. Stewart was printer and publisher of *Stewart’s Kentucky Herald* at Lexington, 1795–1803 (Brigham, Clarence, *History and bibliography of American newspapers, 1690–1820* 1: 168, 1947).

Peter January, wife, Margaret, and sons, Thomas and Peter, Jr., were Huguenots who went to Kentucky from Pennsylvania in 1780. Peter, Sr., and Thomas were in the mercantile business in Lexington, their advertisements appearing in the *Kentucky Gazette* in 1787; later they were manufacturers of rope and bagging. Peter, Sr. built one of the first brick residences (about 1788–1789); Gratz Park is on land once owned by him; he died in 1805. Thomas was one of the founders of the Lexington Library in 1795. Peter, Jr., was also a merchant (Dupre, Huntley, *The French in early Kentucky*, *Filson Club Quart.* 15: 97, 1941; Leavy, William, *A memoir of Lexington and its vicinity*, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 118–119, 1942; Hopkins, James F., and Mary W. M. Hargreaves, *The papers of Henry Clay* 1: 314n., Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1959).

Robert Barr went from Philadelphia to Lexington in 1784 and was a trustee of the town as early as 1785. According to Leavy (*A memoir of Lexington and its vicinity*, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 253, 1942), he “resided on his elegant estate of six hundred acres commencing at the edge of town on the Paris road”; in his next paragraph Hunter mentions this country place.

William A. Leavy, native of Ireland, came to the United States in 1775, served as sutler in the Pennsylvania line, afterwards lived in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and was in the mercantile business in Lexington from 1788 until his death in 1831 in his seventy-sixth year (Leavy, William, *A memoir of Lexington and its vicinity*, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 129–130, 1942; Peter, R., *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 275, Cincinnati, 1882).

& seemed to vie with each other in their invitations; but I must break off[;] at present M^{rs} January & Stewart are below having invited themselves to tea with M^{rs} Hare on purpose to see us—

From this time to the 14th we spent our time very agreeably in Lexington; yesterday dined with Col^o. Hart who is one of the first people here; He lives in a fine new house he has built near that of M^r January situate[d] on a beautiful rising ground and in an improving part of the Town, where he carries on largely a nail Manufactory & Rope work.⁴⁸ I have been out to see Col. Campbell who keeps Bachelors Hall in a truly hospitable & gentile Stile, indeed it may be said that he keeps open house for all his freinds & acquaintances. is very rich—⁴⁹ I have also been to visit Rob^t. Barr's Farm near Lexington, he is burning Bricks to build a mansion House, His principal object seems to be raising Stock[;] he has also there a Distillery, & at a few miles distance a Mill.—To morrow morning we propose to set out for Frankfort on the Kentucky River to see Cap^t. Gano in our way to the falls of Ohio. I have staid here these six days with M^{rs}. Hare, who as I expected has treated us with the greatest degree of affectionate friendship & regard, She seems to be longing very much to see her freinds in Philad^a. Her son John is about 9 months old is a fine Boy.—We arrived 4 days before M^r Cox—⁵⁰

To morrow I expect a Letter from M^{rs} Hunter by post, the pleasure of reading which has been the principal cause to reconcile me to my long stay here, added to the good hearty welcome of M^{rs}. Hare &c. As soon

⁴⁸ Colonel Thomas Hart from Hagerstown, Maryland, commenced business as a merchant in Lexington in 1794 and died there in 1808. He had been one of the proprietors in Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company and was the father of Thomas, Jr., and Captain Nathaniel G. S. Hart and the father-in-law of Henry Clay and James Brown (Peter, R., *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 276, Cincinnati, 1882; Dunn, C. Frank, Captain Nathaniel G. S. Hart, *Filson Club Quart.* 24: 28-33, 1950).

⁴⁹ Colonel John Campbell settled in Kentucky in 1789 and lived on a farm near Lexington where he died in 1799; he owned much land in Louisville (Leavy, William, A memoir of Lexington and its vicinity, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 117, 1942).

⁵⁰ Benjamin S. Cox on August 27, 1796, advertised in the *Kentucky Gazette* that, where he had formerly kept a saddlers' shop on the corner of Main and Cross Streets, he had just opened a new store in which he had for sale "A Handsome assortment of Dry Goods and Hard Ware. . . . A most elegant assortment of Milliner's work, such as Bonnets, Hats, Caps, Feathers, and a number of other handsome pieces of Ornament for Ladies . . . a few lady's Watch Chains and Gold Ear Rings. . . . A large and general assortment of Patent Medicine. . . . also Madder, Allum, Whiting, Ink-powder. . . ." He announced also that he had for sale "some valuable tracts of land in different parts of this Statc; as well as upwards of one hundred thousand acres in the great bend of the Tennessee . . . the titles indisputable." On October 8, 1796, he advertised in the same paper 1,000 acres on the north branch of Beech Fork, thirteen miles from Harrodsburg, four miles from Springfield, and five miles from Walton's Fork.

as the Post comes in we proceed on our journey.—15th. According to expectation I rec^d. a Letter from M^{rs} Hunter dated 30th. July which gave me much pleasure & then immediately set out for Frankfort⁵¹ where I saw M^{rs}. Kitty Muray M^r Murray being absent on a journey to Natchez to collect what his Father had left at his death.⁵² Visited Cap^t. Gano's Farm⁵³ & next day 16th set out after dinner for the Falls of Ohio about 50 miles from here.—Whilst at Frankfort M^r Atkinson exchanged his Mare conditionally with Cap^t Gano for 35 Dollars boot, which he pays Gano if he likes the Horse at his return; if Atkinson does not like the horse he is to have back his Mare & pay Gano 7/6 Virginia Curr[enc]^y pr week for the time he keeps his horse, & so get back his Mare again.—In the mean time I have desired Cap^t. Gano to charge me with 35 dollars on Acc^t. of Atkinsons bargain with him, least we should not return this way again.—

Aug^t. 18th. Yesterday came to the Rapids of Ohio, about 20 miles from this met M^r Bacon of Philad^a. on a Visit to Lexington, He keeps a store at the Rapids (Louis Ville⁵⁴) where as he sells very cheap he does

⁵¹ Moses Austin on his way from Virginia to Missouri arrived at Frankfort late on December 24, 1796: "the Town stands on a flat spott of ground and has some good Buildings. the State Hous is a good Convenient Hous but not Elegant the Other Publick Buildings are not worth Notice. the Town Contains about 60 Houses in all Eight of which are Brick and Stone. Whicker keeps the best Tavern and the acomodations are good. The situation of Frankford cannot be call.d pleasing it beeing incircled with high nobbs and Hills at Every point" (Memorandum of M. Austin's journey . . . 1796-1797, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 5: 526-527, 1900). According to the list of taxable property in June, 1797, Frankfort then had 441 people, of whom 90 were white tithables and 112 were negroes (Collins and Collins, 1882: 1: 407).

⁵² The Murrays must also have been old Pennsylvania acquaintances. William Murray was a representative from Franklin County in the Kentucky Legislature in 1798; in 1802 he moved to Natchez and died there in 1805 (Collins and Collins, 1882: 2: 277; Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 5: 180, 1937).

⁵³ Captain Daniel Gano (1758-1849) with James Wilkinson and others laid off Frankfort in 1787; in 1797 he had a retail store there. In 1809 he moved to Scott County (Collins and Collins, 1882: 1: 407; 2: 707). Many details about Daniel, Isaac, and John S. Gano are to be found in William Stanley, *Diary of Major William Stanley, 1790-1810, Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Ohio Quart. Pub.* 14: 17-32, 1919.

⁵⁴ Moses Austin (Memorandum of journey, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 5: 527, 1900) found the situation of Louisville "beautiful and I think this place may in time be of Consequence altho its now an inconsiderable V[i]llage. Louis Ville has about 30 Houses but there is not an Elegant Hous in the place. the Court Hous is of Stone and built with some Taste. at this place I see a Number of Indians from the Nations over the Ohio, Piankishas Delawares and Wyatenas. Notwithstanding Louis Ville is the landing place of all Boats that Come Down the Ohio and Bound to any place below the Falls in consequence of which there is a great resort of Company yit there is Not a Tavern in the place that deserves a better name than that of Grog Shop." Collot, however, reported Louisville to have sixty to eighty houses (1924: 1: 149); and C. F. Volney in this same year about one hundred (*Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis d'Amérique*, 395, Paris, 1803).

a great deal of business, & takes much money.—We have waited here all this day to recruit our Horses & get the necessary provisions for our journey, which we have at last accomplished with some exertions. At Frankfort we were introduced by Cap^t. Gano to a Cap^t Le Croft⁵⁵ who intends to go along with us as far as Post St. Vincent, where he is acquainted & by whom I expect to be introduced to some Gentlemen there, by which we may be recommended to the Illinois & on the 19th, in the morning we start on our Journey thro the Wilderness: after we shall have crossed the Ohio at Clarksville; two miles below this on the other side.—I have rec^d. of D^r Tate on Acc^t. of Delany & M^c Clure £9. 12. 10. Penns^a. Curr[enc]^y at this place on their order. for which I am to give them credit.—

As the Cap^t. did not make his appearance agreeably to promise we set out this morning in company with three men from Kentucky armed with Rifles, who were going the same way. We rode down the banks of Ohio two miles till we came below the Rapids, then waded our horses to an Island where a Boat came to take us over, to Clarksville which consists only of a few scattered Cabbins, with one indiferent farm;⁵⁶ here we made no stop & for about 4 or 5 miles went thro toller-able Land, then for about 2 or 3 miles it was hilly & broken, afterwards for about 12, what is called 2nd rate Land, that is good for wheat but not equal to the prime Kentucky Land; altho heavier Timbered[.] the stone consists now of sand cemented together, white, & good for buildings, but by no means equal to those at Frankfort where altho limestones, they are all in regular strata of various thicknesses & very easily quarried. This Land is in small risings & large good bottoms. good for farms & sufficiently watered. After this we went thro about 10 miles of 2nd rate Prairies or Meadows with here & there a Cops of Woods the Soil Gravel & sand mixed with black mold, which according to circumstances shot forth a vast quantity of Pea Vine, of which Cattle are very fond, grass & an infinite variety of herbs, & flowers very pleasing, & fragrant, & capable to support Millions of Cattle.—It now grew dark, we had rode 10 miles without water & to encamp without it would be uncomfortable; to add to our embarrassment it began to rain very fast, with thunder & lightning it continued so to do for 3 hours after night, & grew so dark that I could not see my horses head as I rode on him, & as for the path it was also invisible; I rode on foremost laid the reins on my horses neck & left it to him to find the way as well as he could, which he did pretty well for three or four miles, when a large Tree with a very big top fell across the road which entirely put us to a stand; Here we were, in the middle of the wilderness in a thunder Storm, a dark

⁵⁵ I have not been able to track down Captain Le Croft.

⁵⁶ "Clerks Ville is a poor place hardly deserving Notice consisting of Six Cabbins and One Logg Hous with a Stone chimney. its 3 Miles from Louis Ville" (Austin, Moses, Memorandum of journey, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 5: 527, 1900).

night as ever was, & having made several turns to find the path without effect, it was at last proposed to dismount & grope with our hands for the path which we fortunately at last found, & proceeded on for about another mile where [we] came to a Creek called Blue River⁵⁷ and an Indian old encampment; Here we found large pieces of Bark as big as a long cradle of which we turned the wet side down & each man made his bed thereon by wrapping himself up in his blanket. Lukily about 12 o clock at night the rain ceased, we were then able to kindle a fire; & having in the day as we came along shot a wild Turkey & a Raccoon, we all set to work, one picked the former, whilst Another skinned the latter, then stuck a stick in the ground before the fire & fixed them thereon & in a short time we had an excellent supper. I ommitted to mention that in the forenoon Cap^t. Le Croft overtook us, having pushed his horse very much to effect it.—We this day came about thirty five miles[.] having given our horses some grain which we carried along with us we turned them loose to feed in the woods & in the morning mine at my calling him by Name came trotting to me, & Anthonys followed after.

20th. We started at break of day & travelled for nine miles to a spring where we breakfasted & turned our horses loose, having first washed their backs under the saddle with cold water which by experience I found very good to brace the skin, wash off the acrid salt sweat, & thereby prevent them being galled by hard riding; This has been my constant practice every time I stopped since I left Philad^a. & altho I have now rode 600 miles my Horses back is as sound as ever.—nine miles further we came again to water where we dined; here the Horse Flies as large as the biggest bumble bees were so thick biting our Horses that they could not eat, we were under the necessity to wrap their backs around with our blankets & fasten them on with the surcingle, & stand all the time they were eating, continually beating them off. we then went on about 15 miles further to a spring run called Petoka creek⁵⁸ where we slept—All this day we passed good Land for farms, altho but indifferently watered; The soil kindly, well timbered, good mold on a sandy bottom which absorbs the water as it falls. at an Indian encampment we found here, we took up our quarters, & as before evening, we had shot another wild Turkey, it served us for supper, but proved very Tough.—21st. We pushed on this day for 20 miles without stopping, having passed water in 9 miles which we had cause to repent the not making use of it at breakfast, for we

⁵⁷ Blue River enters the Ohio between Harrison and Crawford Counties, Indiana. Austin calculated the distance to his crossing the Blue at thirty miles (Memorandum of journey, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 5: 528, 1900).

⁵⁸ Patoka River flows west to enter the Wabash a few miles below the mouth of the White River. It is not possible to reconcile Hunter's daily mileages with the streams he names. His total mileage to Vincennes is not unreasonable.

were at length obliged to dine in the midst of a Meadow full of Horseflies & which so pestered our Horses that we made a very short stay, & eat our dinner without water—however in about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles further we came to water in a small Run & pushed on about 13 miles further to fine cool spring in a hollow a little to the right of the path; All this day very badly infested by the Large Flies, which bitt the Horses[,] the Gnats & Mosquitoes which so tormented ourselves that we were obliged to build fires all round us to smoak them away[.] Yet it was past midnight before I could get asleep—One of our company stripped himself to his shirt & stood for some time over the smoak—afterwards he lay down & slept quietly whilst I was so terribly bitt—all this days Journey thro *Excellent Land*—

22nd. At day break got up & on calling Dobbin he soon made his appearance with Anthonys Horse at his healls & trotted up to our encampment, yet it took us near two hours search thro the woods of all hands to find Cap^t. Le Crofts Horse, which was all over bloody by the bites of the large Flies.—we set out at 7 A.M. & in about 4 miles came to White River, a principal branch of the Wabash; here we crossed in a Canoe which carried our saddles, but were under the necessity to swim our horses over;⁵⁹ This River is as big as Schuylkill at Philad^a. & navigable for boats 150 miles above this. We here met the first family of Indians, who were very friendly—From this to Vincennes 15 miles, thro I think as good Land as I ever beheld; here the Settlers have got their donation of 400 Acres each which Congress granted to each head of a family who were at this place in 1782; also 100 Acres to every Militia man who was enrolled & did duty on 1790.⁶⁰—which grants they have generally parted with for almost nothing to a few Speculators.—We arrived at Vincennes at 3 o'clock p.m. It is a very beautifully situated Village on the River Wabash a large branch of the Ohio in the heart of a fertile Country, & navigable for boats 150 miles below & 250 miles above this post without any rocks or falls & by a portage of only 6 miles communicates with Lake Erie by the Maumi [Maumee] of the Lakes. It is fixed upon the east side [of] the river on a fine high dry gravelly bank. Laid out in squares about 2 Acres each the streets very narrow being only 25 feet wide, & full of Apple & peach orchards. The soil is a blackish sand mixed with good rich mold & produces very great crops of everything without manure. Here is clay for

⁵⁹ The White River was two hundred and sixty yards wide where Austin crossed: "there is a good Boat at which you may pass at any time. . . . this river may be Forded in Summer At the Delaware Village about a Mile and half above the road but its attended with great Danger the whole of the River from side to side beeing a quick sand" (Memorandum of journey, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 5: 528, 1900).

⁶⁰ These grants were made by Acts of Congress of August 29, 1788, and March 3, 1791 (Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States*, 2: 5-8, 1934). On this subject consult Lux, Leonard, *Vincennes donation lands*, Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

Bricks, & free stone of a soft sandy sort & a dirty yellowish colour; They have hitherto used Muscle shells to burn their lime of[f] altho they have limestone at the distance of ten miles. Their Houses are all of wood & generally of Logs—The U. States have on the River at the upper end of the Village a Square Fort which has a blockhouse at each Angle & the intermediate spaces picketed.⁶¹—Those who have land to sell ask from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 dollar p^r Acre—we have staid here one day to refresh our Horses & get information & intend to set out for Kaskaskias tomorrow. I this day got in Company with Mons^r. Le Coin the Kaskaskias Cheif, half a Frenchman⁶² & from him got the directions to travel thro the Praires as follows, viz as the principal difficulty consists in being able to find water to drink at the places it may be necessary to stop at. the whole merit of this information is when & where to expect to find water on the road. from Vincennes to Embaras Creek 3 french Leagues.⁶³ To La Cross 3 leagues further, a little to the left of the road—Thence to a pretty little Prairie with water in the middle 2 leagues—Thence to the Piankeshaw Camp two—Thence 3, take the big righthand road.—Thence 3 to a big Creek—Thence two to a little Prairie—Thence four to little Wabash with two forks thereof half a league asunder—Thence 3 to the big Raccoon Prairie—Thence four, to kind of woods near half way to the Village—Thence three, across a large Prairie.—Thence four, to Salt River which divides the Land of the Piankeshaws from that of the Kaskaskias. Thence 4, to the large prairie of the white Cow, pass nine points of woods at the tenth is water.—Thence two, to same Prairie—Thence nine, or ten leagues to Kaskaskias Creek thro a very large Prairie—Thence two, to good water—Thence two,—thence three.—

⁶¹ "Vincennes may Contain 200 Houses in all but they are small and generally One story and badly finished. the Streets are Narrow and Verry irregular. at this time not more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Houses are inhabited. the inhabitance since the Treaty Made by General *Wayn* are gon onto there farms. this place . . . was always a place of Considerable Tread and wealth untill General Clark took possession of it in the Year 1778 for the United States, from which time untill within the last 18 month it has been on the decline. . . . after the Town came into the hand of the United States many of the Most respectable and Wealthey famelies left the place and Either went to Detroit or the Spanish side of the Missisipi, but the Natural advantage of the place and the beauty of the Country will if the Indians are peaceable soon make Vincennes a place of Consequence. the Garrison . . . Consists of 50 men. the fort or Citadel Commands the Town and River Wabash, in which is four six pounders. the Wabash may be number.d among the beauties of Nature. its about 350 Yards wide at the Town" (Austin, Moses, Memorandum of journey, *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 5: 529, 1900). The "log houses" of Vincennes were built in the French style of hewn timbers placed upright with the spaces between solidly plastered.

⁶² Jean Baptiste Ducoigne, for whom the town of Duquoin, Illinois, is named.

⁶³ The French league equalled 2.42 English miles, but Hunter decided later that Ducoigne's league was actually about two miles.

Thence two & an half. Thence two & an half—Thence six,—Thence to Mons^r. Le Coin's encamping ground four—Thence to a pretty little long prairie four—Thence Six leagues to Kaskaskias Village—⁶⁴ General observation—When in need of water look for horse tracts off the Path which often lead to water. The whole of which being added together make 80½ french Leagues, when I travel it, I will be perhaps able to judge the difference between a french & an english League.

23rd Aug^t. Spent this day at Vincennes to rest ourselves & Horses; were presented with a small peice of Bacon Boild, by the Surgeon D^r Tinsdale⁶⁵ of the Garrison, as we could not get any to purchase for provisions on the road thro the wilderness; which with a couple of Boild Fowls & our Canteens full of Taffia, we started for Kaskaskias Village after Breakfast on the 24th having bought a bushel of Corn for our Horses which we divided & carried in our Wallets.—Here we left Cap^t. Le Croft, who promised to stay untill our return, & then go back with us to the Ohio. We walked our horses about 1½ miles down the banks of the Wabash where we met some Indians who showed us the Ford, & who were very thankfull for a dram a peice which I gave them out of my canteen. After we had crossed the Wabash, which took us up to the Skirts of our Saddles, we found some difficulty in finding the path, for the one we were in happened to be the wrong one, & it was fortunate for us that before we had gone on above two miles thro a large meadow we were met by an Indian Squa and two children, who altho they could not speak english yet made us to understand by signs that we were out of our way: She sent her oldest Son across the Prairie with us to pilot us into the right way, for which I gave her & her children a dram; he walked across for about a mile & brot us to a path & then left us; when we looked behind us we observed the old Squa running after us as fast as she was able, the Liquor by this time having had a little effect on her, she wished for another taste; but as the quantity I had was very limited, & they had reduced it a little already, & had they got another swig at it, would perhaps have left me little or none behind, & there being no possibility of purchasing a fresh supply, we pushed our horses & pretended to take no notice of them.—The three Kentucky men were still in company with us; We came six miles to Driftwood Creek, or Troublesome River or as it is called by the French Inhabitants Embaras,⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Austin (1900: 531-533) traveled over this "road" in January, 1797. Volney (1803: 406-407) published an itinerary of the route which he obtained in Vincennes. Neither is helpful in tracking Hunter across the Illinois prairies. Some of the landmarks mentioned by Ducoigne will be noticed as Hunter comes to them.

⁶⁵ Elijah Tisdale, from North Carolina, surgeon's mate, 1st Infantry. He resigned December, 1797.

⁶⁶ *Embaras* was the French equivalent of the American *raft*, a mass of brushwood in a stream (McDermott, John Francis, *A glossary of Mississippi Valley French*, 72, St. Louis, 1941).

chiefly thro Prairie with here & there a little scattered woods. Thence to La Coss six miles, a little to the right of the road, this is only at this time a hole with some stagnant water, which we were glad to drink of; we found generally only that sort of water except here & there, all the way—We since heard that this summer, three men who had been the same road several times, & yet made the same mistake as we did & at the same place where the Indians put us right, & who afterwards lost their way, & wandered 19 days in the wilderness, lost one of their horses by the bite of a Snake, which died in 15 minutes after; & who almost perished with hunger & thirst.—This day came thirty four miles to a Creek now very small,⁶⁷ where we encamped; Here the large black Horseflies as big as the small joint of ones little finger, tormented our horses, till near dark, when the smoke of our fires drove them off; The large green flies very like Cantharides seemed now worse; they are very plenty in these Prairies, I am informed the Inhabitants of the Spanish country a little to the southward make use of them to blister with. 25th. At break of Day set forward again, Dobbin as usual came before it was light at my call.—We found that Mon^s. Le Coin the Indian Chief was pretty accurate thus far in his directions, with this allowance, that his League is to be counted only two miles.—

In travelling sometimes thro woods & sometimes Prairies we came to little Wabash⁶⁸ in 12 miles; here it [is] very small, & in little better than one mile further, came to the other branch of it, small also; I observe that our road is chiefly on a dividing ridge, altho generally very level the heads of the waters rise here—The soil is generally very deep & rich the grass & weeds in many places being two or three feet higher than a man on horseback; tho the bulk of it is up to the saddle skirts of our horses, yet here & there where the Ground is Parched & very dry, the Grass & Herbage are thin & very short.—The soil is composed of a mixture of Clay sand & loam, The whole well mixed; & fertilized by the decay & annual burning of the vegetables [vegetation] for [from] time immemorial. Under this is a bed of sandstone at the distance of from 3 to 20 feet from the surface according to circumstances; altho where the current of waters have gullied out the ground, there the stone shows itself, & the depth of the soil also.—The Prairies require no clearing, they produce hay sufficient for an innumerable quantity of Cattle, & altho mixed with weeds, the Cattle eat some & separate the rest & get fat upon it. They may be ploughed at once for they have not a single bush upon many of them. & where the experiment has been tryed for upwards of sixty years constant cultivation without intermission or

Austin (1900: 531) gave the width of this creek (which he called Ambro) as one hundred yards.

⁶⁷ Possibly Boupas Creek; more likely Fox River, a principal branch of the Little Wabash.

⁶⁸ South of U. S. 50, in the southeast corner of Clay County.

Manure, they continue to produce amazingly great crops of Corn or other grain, with very indifferent management, as the ground about Post S^t. Vincent & Illinois show to demonstration.—Twenty three miles further we encamped for the night at the end of a Prairie in a bottom amongst long Grass, pea vine & where we found some stagnant water for our drink.—The greatest part of this day our way was thro Prairies with but little scrubby woods here & there[.] almost every tree has the marks of fire upon it. 26th Got up by moon light & by Daybreak had our horses collected saddled fed &c & then set out. in 9 miles came to Salt River,⁶⁹ very small & choaked up with drift-wood; it was very perceptible that it was running water, we drank of it, as much as we could, expecting to find nothing but stagnant water all this day, which was the case for 16 miles farther, thro the prairies. After this about 2 p.m. we entered the long Meadow, & went on for about 20 miles thro it during the scorching heat of the sun without water; the horses of our Companions being very much exhausted they went very slow. I pushed Dobin on before & he left them, Anthony's excepted who followed me; we were soon out of sight; as it was a matter of urgent necessity with me who had not tasted water since we left salt river, living upon Salt Bacon my thirst was very extreme. We went on after the setting of the sun for ten miles further, when we came to a point of woods, & there in the dark about 10 at night we lost the path and got into a swamp of high weeds, from which with some difficulty we extricated ourselves. we unsaddled our horses & laid ourselves down at the roots of a clump of 4 trees & attempted to go to sleep without effect for the night was very hot & my thirst still encreasing, it was almost intolerable; I stripped myself naked expecting to inhale the dew by the pores of my skin but was so terribly pestered by the bites of the mosquetos that I was soon obliged to cover myself with my blanket; Being very much fatigued, I would sometimes get into a momentary dose & dream of being just going to drink of cooll water when I would in an instant awake & find my mistake, & that would increase my disappointment; at last after repeated attempts to sleep, about 2 in the morning I got up, the moon shone bright, we could not see any thing of our Horses, I called as usual upon Dobbin, no Dobbin appeared; M^r Atkinson was more than ever I saw him, vexed at me because I did not on his solicitation the night before hopple him & attributed the loss of his horse to me, saying his horse followed mine; that we would perish in the wilderness &c to which I was obliged to answer him with some asperity in order to silence him.—We concluded our horses were gone back, mine in particular after the mares belonging to those people we had left behind.—I went out to search for the path, alone by moon light, found the dew had wet the grass. I then took pile by pile of it &

⁶⁹ Possibly Skillet Fork of the Little Wabash.

stripping it thro my mouth sucked in the drops of water thereon, this I did for an hour till the roughness cut the skin off my lips, yet what small water I procured that way somewhat alleviated the extremity of my thirst, I continued going on when to my great satisfaction I saw M^r Atkinson's horse feeding & Dobbin laying down by him asleep: I let him lay & went back to our encampment acquainted Anthony therewith & we went to sleep till an hour before day when 27th. we set out & after travelling about 10 miles came to water; here we drank very largely altho it was only a stagnant pudle & filled our canteens least we should want in future; We came to water several times this day of which we always drank & largely too, the dread of wanting water had left such an impression on our minds; that we drank when we were not dry. This morning we were surprised to find the three men we had left behind in the large Prairie; they had gone on almost all night & had passed us in the dark & got ahead of us by 10 miles, never stopping till they came to water; however they were so jaded that when we met two men of their acquaintance who were returning from a tour thro the Illinois Country, they took their word for it & went back along with them.—We two went on by ourselves again for about 40 miles farther when we came to land differing in its appearance from what we had seen before. It has hill & dale & springs of water, is sufficiently timbered, the trees so far apart that an immense burden of long grass grows between, & I think would produce every kind of grain as it now stands without destroying the Timber which in this Country must be valuable—This sort of Land is where we crossed it about 10 miles broad & by the Grass upon it exceeds everything I have yet seen.—Not expecting that we were so near the Village of Kaskaskias we encamped for this night after dark under three trees after having kindled two fires to drive away the Flies; This night we slept very comfortably having our Canteens well filled with good water; o[u]r Horses lived in clover. 28th. At 8 A.M. arrived at the Ferry opposite the Town of Kaskaskias, which we found indeed a deserted Village. It had been built upon a large flat plain upon the side of the Kaskaskias River about 3 miles from where it joins the Missisipi; This plain has been frequently overflowed by the spring freshes; has in it a number of small stagnant Ponds, & as they dry up towards the close of the Summer, Autumnal Agues & fevers are produced very plentifully; at present there are many of the inhabitants sick of Quotidian Agues. This Village has been settled nearly as long as Philad^a.⁷⁰ but now there are few of the Houses in any tollerable order. they consist of a few miserable remains of the former plain tho neat & useful mansions for the inhabi-

⁷⁰ Kaskaskia was founded in 1703. The date of the first mission among the Kaskaskia Indians on the Illinois River has sometimes been confounded with the founding of the town at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River.

tants. The Houses in the Illinois country generally are built of one storey, & a garrot, with a celler under about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole, & no back buildings. They have a very large front with considerable depth, all their rooms are on one floor; some are built of Stone, & others of Logs & placed upright & tenanted [tenoned?] into a plate at top & bottom, the joints filled up with stone & mortar; all with a Piazza from 6 to 12 feet wide all round; which gives them a very airy appearance, like the Chinese Taste or Stile—Each house has a lot of about half a square belonging to it, part of which is occupied for a yard, which contains a barn & stable, hen house, smoke house & the rest is used for a kitchen Garden, in which Fruit trees are interspersed, which grow very fast & yield abundantly.⁷¹—The French inhabitants not being pleased with the American Laws have chiefly gone over the Missisipi to the Spaniards & sold their possessions here for a trifle; The Spanish government gives them 400 acres each man & a proportionate quantity for each son & daughter of age & each negro, they bring along with them, gratis—Many Americans have gone over to them on that acc^t. Staid here 29th. & 30th. went over the Missisipi to visit St. Geneveive a Village on the Spanish side where after having paid our respects to the Command^t. who used us politely we took a view of the Town, which appears to be in a flourishing state; the principal trade is in furs with the Indians of whom there is a settlement of bark huts in the midst of this place, & they have taken pains to gain their affections & thereby their Trade which is of considerable value to them.—

These inhabitants are all Canadian french who have left the American side, & are here very comfortably & handsonly lodged, their houses are in the same Stile but much better built than at Kaskaskias.—This Village is situate about 3 miles from the Missisipi on the sides of some fine rising ground.—It was formerly like Kaskaskias, built on the plain but being sickly & frequently overflowed by the Missisipi, the Inhabitants abandoned it & moved to this place.⁷²—We returned

⁷¹ Kaskaskia "is a place of the most Consequence of any on the American side of the Missisipe. . . . It was formerly populous and in a Flourishing Condition. at present no more then from 5 to 600 Souls are in the Town and its much diminished in Wealth as well as population. . . . the Houses are much reduced in number. its said when in its Glory to have contained 350 or 400 but at this time there is no more then 250 and many of them much out of Repair" (Austin, 1900: 537–538). André Michaux in 1795 reported its population at fifty-five families (*Journal of travels into Kentucky*, 71, Cleveland, 1904).

⁷² Moses Austin, too, called on François Vallé, the commandant. "The Town of St Geneveive is about 2 Miles from the Missisipe on the high land from which You have a Commanding Vew of the Country and River. the old Town Stood immediately on the bank of the River in an Extensive plain but it being Some times over-flow.d by the Missisipe and many of the Houses washed into the River by the falling of the Bank. It was thought adviseable to remove the Town to the hights. the Place is small not over 100 Houses, but has more

same day to Kaskaskias Village where we remained 31st. Aug^t. & Sept^r. 1st. & on the 2nd. we set out thro the Missisipi Bottom to veiw the rest of the American settlements; we first came to the Prairie de Rochers 11 miles from Kaskaskias. This place is an old French Village, & built in the same stile.⁷³ The Hills rise almost perpendicular with steep craggy Rocks, behind which the Land for a short way is thin, stoney & irregular, with here & there a sink hole, where all the water that falls in rain is absorbed. & sometimes there are ponds of stagnant water of various dimensions, which as they lie so high may very easily be drained, then This Land will be healthy. After you go back into the Country about a mile or two, you come to better Land & the farther the better; but it is generally very sparingly watered which is the principal deficiency of all this Country. The Timber upon the high Country is light & placed very far apart not unlike an orchard where the trees are planted at a great distance apart, in order that they may cultivate the ground in the intermediate spaces. The Grass grows here very long, & this upland meadow altho at least 150 feet above the Meadows on the banks of the Missisipi yeilds very good grass & a great quantity of it. The ground is very level for many miles back & of an excellent soil, The trees chiefly Oaks whose grougths have been repeatedly stinted by the annual burning of the long Grass & weeds as they get dry in the fall of the year.—At the foot of the forementioned Steep Rocks is built the Little Village of Prairie de Rochers or Meadows of the Rocks; These charming meadows extend from the rocks to the bank of the Missisipi generally about three miles in breadth; but the length from Kaskaskias to Cahokia is about 60 miles, nearly all level, & covered with an immense quantity of Grass in some part as high as a man can reach with his whip when he sits on horseback—⁷⁴ This is a general description of this fine Vale in which there are several Villages, & a great number of ponds which afford both fish & fowl. The soil of this Valley is equal to any perhaps on Earth in fertility: it yeilds immense crops of Fruit & all sorts of grain, I have seen the soil in a well ten feet deep—

We passed this place⁷⁵ & came to St. Philip another deserted Village, has now only three families⁷⁶—From

Inhabitants then Kaskaskia and the Houses are in Better repara, and the Citizens are more Wea[1]they. It has some Indian Trade, but what has made the Town of St Geneveive is the Lead and Salt that is made Near the place" (Austin, 1900: 540–541). The removal to the new location began after the flood of 1785.

⁷³ Austin (1900: 536) said Prairie du Rocher had about sixty houses, but André Michaux in 1795 allowed it only twenty-two to twenty-four families (1904: 71).

⁷⁴ "We measured some stalks, which were twenty-one feet high" (Collot, 1924: 1: 239).

⁷⁵ On leaving Prairie du Rocher, Hunter kept to the right hand road and so did not pass the ruins of Fort Chartres.

⁷⁶ According to André Michaux (1904: 71) the families living at St. Philippe, eight miles north of Prairie du Rocher, were Americans.

this to M^r Hulls Station (a Block house, with some Cabbins round it) An American new settlement; here they have every thing in abundance, especially milk, butter fruit, Cheese, grain, Meat, &c, which is by no means the case with the French, who are in general very indifferent Farmers, & who starve in the midst of plenty.—At this place we staid all night, had a supper of Peaches & milk which I much wanted⁷⁷—Sept^r. 3rd. set forward, in company w^t. M^r Hull for Cahokia, where we arrived in the evening, we put up at a Frenchmans—This place like Kaskaskias is also a Deserted Village, the Situation is not unlike it.⁷⁸ Here we were kindly invited to drink tea by M^r Arundel⁷⁹ the principal dealer in the Town, & were there introduced to Mess^{rs}. Sinclair,⁸⁰ Mc Intosh⁸¹ & DeMoulin⁸² the principal American Inhabitants.—4th. After dinner crossed the Missisipi, in a Canoe; swimming our horses after it, & came to the Town of S^t Louis, on the Spanish Side, here we also paid our respects to the Commandant⁸³ & were politely received; & desired to go & visit any part of the Country we chose, & he said he would give us a grant of one thousand Acres for ever wherever we liked & more if we brought more families—This Town is built on the banks of the Missisipi upon high ground with a fine gradual descent to the water.

⁷⁷ Hulls Station, five miles farther on, was "composed as yet but of two houses, inhabited by Americans" according to Collot (1924: 1: 241). It was named for Nathaniel Hull, who was living there as early as 1790 (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 2: 274, 1934; Philbrick, 1931: cclxvi–cclxvii).

⁷⁸ "Kahokia [Cahokia] is situated with in a Mile and half of the Missisipi on a beautifull plain which Extends for many Miles back of the Town. it has been a place of wealth and did When under the English Government Command an Extensive Indian Trade. Its not the case now. since the Americans have held the Country it has been shamefully Neglected, and many of the best families have Cross.d the Missisipi and with them the Indian Trade. Kahokia Covers a large space of ground but is badly built and the Houses out of Repair. the Church which is a Frame building and not large is dedicated to the Holy Famely. there is not a building in the Place that can be call.d Elegant. there may be about 200 Houses in all, but not more than half of them Inhabited" (Austin, 1900: 534). André Michaux estimated the population at one hundred and twenty families (1904: 71).

⁷⁹ On September 20, 1796, William Arundell was appointed clerk of the Circuit Court of St. Clair County—he died in 1816 (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 464, 1934).

⁸⁰ William St. Clair, cousin of Governor Arthur St. Clair, was justice of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions and lieutenant colonel of militia in St. Clair County (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 439, 440, 1934; Philbrick, 1931: cclxii–cclxiii).

⁸¹ William McIntosh, merchant at Vincennes as early as 1788 (Thornbrough, Gayle, *Outpost on the Wabash, 1787–1791*, 90, Indianapolis, 1957).

⁸² Jean Dumoulin, a Swiss who settled at Cahokia in 1786 and died there in 1808; he served as Judge of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions in St. Clair County (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 439, 1934; Philbrick, 1931: cclvi–cclvii).

⁸³ Zenon Trudeau, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana, 1792–1799.

Is very healthy to appearance. The Children seem ruddy & water is good & everything puts on a better appearance than on our side—⁸⁴ 5th. Left S^t. Louis & began our journey homewards, having seen the farthest of our settlements.—This day we came about thirty miles over the hills mentioned formerly to a new American Settlement called the new Design;⁸⁵ Here the people have sat down without any tittle & began to work the Land, as it is so fine; they have lived here thro all the late Indian war, they have now by their industry both peace & plenty. Of them the old French settlers are always obliged to purchase grain & many other things to keep them from starving.—we were not charged any thing here for our provisions or pasturage or grain for our horses—6th. set out for Kaskaskias, & after having rode nine miles bo^t. each one bushel Corn for our horses, as a supply to last us thro the wilderness, & which we were obliged to carry thirty miles to this place as we could not get any here for money. We arrived in the evening & next day 7th. Sept^r. set out for Post Vincent without other company thro the wilderness of 170 miles without any sort of house—

Each of us carried upon his horse one bushel of Corn, lbs 2 Cheese, lbs 2 Bread & lbs 2 Jerked Buffalo Beeff with about 1 quart of Taffia in his Canteen.—The weather proved fine the first two days, & as we remembered what we had suffered in the long Prairie on our coming this way before, we filled one of our Canteens with water having put all our remaining spirit into the other; this enabled us to encamp where we pleased without inconvenience; & by the same means, with our knowlege of the road we did not want water during this part of our journey.—When we were about half way & had turned out of the path to search for water, [we] were in the Woods in a bottom an almost impenetrable thicket, when An armed Man came upon us, he appeared to be by colour half french, half Indian[;] his Language was a french Jargon scarcely intelligible; As soon as he saw us he turned from us &

⁸⁴ "St Louis is Prettily Situated, on a riseing spot of ground, and has a commanding prospect of the Missisipi, for some distance up and Down the River, and also the American Side. the Town of St Louis is better built then any Town on the Missisipi, and has a Number of wealthey Merch^t and an Extensive Trade, from the Missouri Illinois and upper parts of the Missisipi. its fast improveing and will soon be a large place; the Town at this time Contains about 200 Houses, most of which are of Stone, and some of them large but not Elegant. The Exports of St Louis is suppos.d to amount to 20,000 pounds p^r annum. . . . Back of St Louis is a small Fort Mounting four four pounders. its not of much strength, has a guard of Twenty men onely. the Church is a Frame building and make but an indifferent apprence has neither Steeple or Bell" (Austin, 1900: 535). Collot also described St. Louis at this time (1924: 1: 247–252).

⁸⁵ New Design had been settled by James Lemen in 1786 (*History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, Illinois*, 330–331, Philadelphia, 1883; Philbrick, 1931: cclviii–cclix). Hunter had traveled up the Bottoms to St. Louis; he returned to Kaskaskia by the road on the bluffs.

gave a loud Yell, which he repeated several times during his stay; as it seemed strange behavior, we immediately collected our horses which were eating Grass, saddled & set off; he, who at first dismounted, did the same & set out after us, now & then giving a Yell so shrill that it might be heard for a mile thro the woods. As nobody yet answered him, he turned off from our path and we soon lost sight of him; we afterwards heard that there was a gang of horse thieves that had been lately heard of who infested that part. It was lucky for us he did not meet his companions, for had we lost our horses there, we would have been ready to perish before we could have got to the Settlement. However to avoid being followed & overtaken we rode on always for three hours after night before we went to sleep, which we generally did under a clump of trees a small distance off the path.—On the 9th. in the night towards morning it rained, we got up at 4 a.m. put on our Cloths & went to search for our horses for they did not answer our Call as usual & we got wett going thro the long grass & did not find them for 3 hours, altho they were not above 200 yards off laying down in the long Grass, so that we could not see them had we not gone up a Tree & at the same time they chanced to get up being drove by the big Flies; we mounted & set out again & travelled fast as we were wet & wished to get in this day being the 10th. which we accomplished with some difficulty, for we had to ride 4 hours in the night, & the last 2, in so deep & thick a glade that it was impossible to see the paths. I had to let the reins lay on the horse's neck & let him take his own way, which I found by a glimpse of the moon now & then thro the thicket, that we we[re] going a general true course.—at length we came to the river Wabash much fatigued & found the huts of some Indians. We made signs to them to show us the ford; It was between 10 & 11. p m, they were gone to rest, but an Old Man got up to whom I gave $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar, he conducted us to a path & pointed with his hand, then made a long noise or sound; which we interpret[ed] that it was a long way down the path to the ford; he then left us, altho I tried to induce him to come along with us, but all in vain. We followed the little path which was sometimes scarce visible[.] at length in about 1 mile came to the River; (it is about as big as Schuylkill at the middle Ferry,) we rode in & got safe over & soon came to M^r Smalls⁸⁶ at Vincennes our former lodging, a good deal exhausted & we called up the Family, drank some milk & went to bed, but did not rest were very uneasy & in the

⁸⁶ "I was directed to go to Colo Smalls for quarters, to which place I went and found good accomedations. . . . Colo Smalls Keeps the onely Tavern in Vincennes at which good accomedations can be had" (Austin, 1900: 530). From 1790 to 1793 John Small served as Sheriff of Knox County, Indiana (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 313, 414, 1934).

morning of the 11th. were both of us attacked by the Bilous Fever—we took Emetics, & Cathartics & I bled first myself, then M^r Atkinson; This had the desired effect & we began to recover. after 3 days illness. We did not think it prudent to travel thro the rest of the Wilderness 120 miles in length, untill our strength was a little restored, to enable us to sleep in the night in open Air without much danger.—

Here is a considerable resort of Indians[.] they are constantly thro & about this house at all times, like as many pet Lambs, at present there is a Man, his Squa & child sitting by the kitchen fire. The squa has a peice of her nose about $\frac{3}{4}$ Inch long cut off by this very husband now sitting peacably by her side, in a fit of Jealousy; she wears a peice of Tar [?] bent over the part to make out the nose. It seems with them that for the first offence this way with another man, the Squa is punished with a sound drubbing, for the next, he cuts off the end of her nose, & for the third he either kills her or turns her away.⁸⁷ I wished to purchase a little horse as a poney for my little son George,⁸⁸ but found it not very easy to effect as I could not speak to the Indians; There came to trade with M^r Small an Old Indian, who was a small, or petty Cheif, an Active man who loved Whiskey, I desired M^r Small to tell him that I would give him a bottle of whiskey if he would find me a small horse to buy. he thereupon promised his exertions—This Indian had lately three wives at once. After some time one of them quarrelled with & stabbed the other to death upon the spot; he took no notice of it: It happened that the deceased wife left a daughter nearly grown up; & in about one year afterwards as they were all together in a frolic, the daughter above mentioned, suddenly stabbed her fathers second wife, saying that is for Murdering my Mother. There was no more notice taken of this crime than of the former & the daughter lives with her father as if nothing had happened. Thus the poor disconsolate Cheif is obliged to live with only one wife in his old days, & to *supply* the deficiency, he has recourse to the Bottle when he can get it.—

I at length bought while I was very sick a small Horse, about 5 years old, of which I got only one look; he proved to be not at all handsome. I paid thirty dollars for him, & gave $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel corn for the saddle; This saddle was stollen out of M^r Smalls shop in an unaccountable manner. I have been much taken notice of here by M^r Bunting⁸⁹ who was bred as a Clerk to

⁸⁷ Such mutilation was common punishment in many of the tribes.

⁸⁸ George Heriot Hunter, born Philadelphia August 26, 1789. He accompanied Dr. Hunter on his later trips to the West.

⁸⁹ Robert Buntin, after some time in Cincinnati, arrived in Vincennes in June, 1793. He served in numerous appointive offices in Knox County (Carter, *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 384, 412, 414, 443–444, 464).

Col^o. Patton⁹⁰ Acts here as Clerk of the Court & Issuing Comm^r. to the Garrison; he spent much of his time with us when we were unable to go out. He sent us a present of 2 bottles wine & when we were on the recovery invited us to his house to tea, dinner &c. The Surgeon of the Garrison Dr Tisdale also was very attentive & useful to us. Major Vanderberger⁹¹ a storekeeper & principal Land dealer here was also very polite; as was the Comm^t. Pasture, of the Fort.⁹²—

Here I sold my spyglass for 8 Dollars. M^r Atkinson recovering but slowly, we cannot expect to set out until Sunday the 18th. Sept^r. In the meantime I received of Major Henry Vanderburgh at Vincennes Eight dollars to pay for him to Benjⁿ. F Bache as one years subscription for the Aurora, (Baches Newspaper).⁹³ at the same time rec^d of Rob^t Buntin of the same place Eight dollars, to be paid to Andrew Brown as one years subscription for his Gazete;⁹⁴ These Newspapers are to be forwarded to the care of the Post Master at the Rapids of Ohio, who will forward them to Vincennes.—I also received of Col^o. John Small of Vincennes twenty Dollars to be laid out for him in Tamboured Muslin of the best quality; this is to be sent to the care of John Irvin⁹⁵ Merch^t. Pittsburgh to be by him forwarded to M^r Small.—

18th. Sunday set out at 7 a.m. in company with Cap^t. Le Croft & M^r Atkinson, having the pack horse to carry our Luggage; we proceeded on our way to the Rapids of Ohio till evening about 33 miles, when we encamped on a rising ground where the range was good for our horses as we had taken the precaution to fill our canteen with water, we made choice of the place the most suitable for feeding our horses with pea vine &c 19th. We arose by moonlight, drest ourselves, breakfasted & then about 5. A M. set out to look for our Horses as usual; we soon found the pack horse,

⁹⁰ At his death in 1814 Colonel Robert Patton had been post-master of Philadelphia for more than twenty years.

⁹¹ Henry Vanderburg, born Troy, New York, 1760, served as captain in the Revolutionary War, married Frances Cornoyer in Vincennes, 1790, served there as major of militia, justice of the Peace and Quarter Sessions, and in various other local offices, died 1812 (Philbrick, 1931: ccxxxv–ccxxxvi). A county in Indiana is named for him. Volney (1803: 396) miscalled him a Hollander: "J'étais adressé à l'un des principaux propriétaires né Hollandais, parlant bien français; et j'y reçois pendant dix jours, tous les bons offices d'une hospitalité aisée, simple et franches."

⁹² Captain Thomas Pasteur, 1st Sublegion (later 1st Infantry).

⁹³ For the Philadelphia *Aurora*, founded in 1794, see Brigham, Clarence, *History and bibliography of American newspapers* 2: 891–895, 1947. Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, died in 1798.

⁹⁴ *The Federal Gazette and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser* published by Andrew Brown, founded in 1794 (Brigham, 1947: 2: 911–912).

⁹⁵ John Irwin had been a captain in the Pennsylvania Line; at this time he was a merchant of some prominence in Pittsburgh.

which as it was strange to us we had tied around its neck a Bell, which enabled us to find him before it was light. we returned to the search for the other horses, but to our extreme mortification, after having each of us, in different directions, made the most careful scrutiny of the woods all round for seven hours, we could come to no other conclusion but that they were stolen by the Indians; We were much at a loss what to do, how to proceed; M^r Atkinson & myself having just come out of a fever were of course weak & very unfit to undertake the journey of 80 or 90 miles afoot, if even we had a sufficiency of provisions; & as we had barely [enough] for 4 days at first this made it the more distressing. It was concluded on for one of us to go upon the packhorse[']s back to White river (about 17 miles) where we had seen the last Indians & endeavor to engage them to hunt for them, according to the old proverb, "set a thief to catch a thief"; as I had heard that the savages frequently stole horses with a Veiw to be hired to search for them. We determined this matter by Lot, which fell upon Cap^t. Le Croft. The Cap^t. accordingly set out about half past 11. A M. promising to return same evening. In the meantime we staid by our encampment & now & then one of us would take a cruise some distance round to see if he could find the lost horses, but all in Vain; Our Horses that for near six weeks had been used to the woods & allways came to us every morning at our call, & who never strayed above 300 yards off, never now appeared, altho during our frequent excursions after them we bawled till we were hoarse.—about 2 p m. five Horsemen passed our camp on their way from the falls of Ohio to Post Vincent, they had not seen any thing of our horses; & shortly afterwards we saw four more Horsemen (one of whom we had been one day in company with at Dunns Tavern⁹⁶ in Kaskaskia, & who had rid with us about 12 miles from thence to Prairie de Rochers). These men had not seen any horses on the path between this & Vincennes; Thus we were assured that our horses had not taken the road to the settlements either way. Therefore they must be stolen. Night came on, we continued to sleep by the fire at the same camp expecting the return of the Cap^t. but as he did not, we were at a loss what to think. 20th. Got up early had another fruitless search. The men who last passed us yesterday said that it must be the Delaware Tribe⁹⁷ to which the party that stole our horses belonged, as they were now hunting on this ground.—

About 12 oclock at noon, the Cap^t. returned with an Indian named Gillaway, whom he had brought from their Village: & who said that there was a small run

⁹⁶ Probably the John Dunn who was appointed Justice of the Peace in Randolph County, Illinois, on July 5, 1796, and sheriff on September 8 (Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 446, 460).

⁹⁷ Delaware Indians had been settled in Indiana between the Ohio and White Rivers as early as 1770.

of water at a little distance behind our camp & that he supposed the horses were gone that way to search for water. This Indian was lame in the knee could scarce walk, he came on horseback & after he had refreshed himself & his horse had eat grass for half an hour, he mounted him; we promised him 2 dollars for each horse if he should find them; Accordingly he set out in search of them, only asking which way we turned them out.—The Indian had not been gone above 20 minutes before we heard him hallow & in 5 minutes more he bro^t. us all our horses; we cheerfully paid him the 6 dollars, immediately saddled mounted & took our leave of this freindly Savage not without reflecting that he was as much our superior in matters relating to the woods, as we thought he was inferior in those relating to the Town. We travelled about 24 miles this day & encamped at night upon high ground, where after letting the horses feed for an hour we tied them up, lest they should give us the slip again.—

Sept^r. 21st. We started this morning by the light of the Moon at 2 in the morning & got on this day upward of 50 miles till we overtook 5 men that passed us the day before when we were stopped for want of our horses. We all slept on the ground round their fire & got up by three in the morning, & after some time we found by moonlight all the horses except the Cap^{ts}. mare which was a very untoward beast & which we blamed for leading ours astray on the former occasion; —After we had almost given over search[ing], at lest till day light I found her in a thicket to his great joy; We inmeadiately started, & by 9 in the morning arrived at Clarksville ferry⁹⁸ opposite the rapids of Ohio, we crossed immediately & pushed on to the Tavern of M^r Harrison where we had put up formerly; here we concluded to stay the remainder of this day to rest our horses & refresh ourselves.—

22nd. Set out with the Cap^t & M^r Atkinson for Frankfort, where we saw again Cap^t Dan^t. Gano, who in our absence had been sick; was now recovered but very weak yet. He informed us that one week after o[u]r departure; the Mare left by M^r Atkinson Died; They agreed to divide the Loss, viz 32½ dollars each & Atkinson gave Gano a new silver watch for 30 dollars & a credit with me for 2½ Dollars for his part of the Loss. & so he (Atkinson) kept the Horse he had formerly rec^d. of Gano, who gave me his order on Cap^t. John Mills near Beals Ferry on James River in Virginia for £18. 6. 8 Virginia Currency—to be placed to his credit if received—We dined with Gano & then proceed[ed] on towards Lexington where we arrived by small Journeys, on acc^t. of our horses being very tired on the 26th. in the morning. Here we found M^r & M^{rs} Hare; they received us cordially, in particular

⁹⁸ Andrew Heath, a Justice of the Peace in Clarksville in 1790, on January 10, 1796, was granted a license to operate a ferry across the Ohio (Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 239, 445).

M^{rs}. Hare, whose sincere kindness & unremitting attention to every small circumstance that could render us happy or agreeable, recalled to my mind every moment the picture of my own Phoebe. At this place we apprehended a return of our fever; we were very weak & much disordered by the Limestone water, in particular M^r Atkinson, but by M^{rs}. Hare's kind services with the assistance of the Yellow Bark⁹⁹ we grew better. We staid here seven days, were almost every day invited out to dine with some one or other of the principal people here[.] we dined first with M^{rs} Stewart, then with M^r January, then with M^r Morrison¹⁰⁰ & last with Col^o. Campbell, & breakfasted with M^r Barr, who paid me three hundred & fifty dollars on acc^t. & *afterwards* fifty more. We staid here so long to rest our horses & to enable them to perform the long journey before us of near 800 miles. The Poney is very thin, young & weak. They are all at M^r Januarys good pasture where they have good feeding & plenty of oats. On the 3rd Oct^r. Monday after breakfast we set out on our journey homeward[.] it has been with great reluctance I have been prevailed upon to stay so long from home; The Idea of the possibility that my family may want my assistance; The fear that my Phoebe¹⁰¹ may be sick, especially as she has wrote me but once when I desired in one of my letters that she might write me by three different posts to Lexington, add to all that my constant dreams of her (altho not very superstitious,) all conspired to make me very uneasy to be resting here so long; M^r & M^{rs}. Hare continued to press me to stay lest we should get sick in the wilderness, Anthony did as much as he could also to get me to stay another day as he was very weak & as our horses would be so much the better able to carry us in; so that I was obliged to comply in some measure with their joint solicitations, which my own state of health also required.—M^r Hare & M^r Stewart accompanied us ten miles on horseback, at last we took our leave. & proceeded 32 miles that day, where we lodged in a cabbinn, having by misinformation passed the place M^r Hare directed us to. All we could get here was a little milk they having no bread, which we afterwards found was a very common want in this Country; as they seldom make more in the Count[r]y house than they consume at one meal; however we supplied the deficiency out of our own wallet which was filled with the best by the kindness of M^{rs} Hare. 4th Oct^r. at daybreak we started

⁹⁹ The bark of the Liriodendron (tulip tree or yellow poplar), according to Bailey, L. H., *Standard Encyclopedia of Horticulture* 2: 1890, 1947.

¹⁰⁰ Probably Colonel James Morrison (1755–1823) who went to Lexington from Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in 1792. He served as land commissioner, representative in the legislature, supervisor of revenue, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Transylvania University (Leavy, William A., *A memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 255).

¹⁰¹ Mrs. Hunter.

& reached Langford¹⁰² 10 miles beyond the Crab Orchard¹⁰³ making only 27 miles this day; that our horses may be the more rested so as to perform easily the journey thro the wilderness—5th. We set out at 6 a m. in company with a M^r Wild & his little son; we travelled this day 32 miles & encamped in the woods. 6th. we went 33 miles & put up at the foot of an hill on the ground in a low wet place, where I caught a severe cold in my head that lasted 3 days—7th. Having passed the Wilderness,¹⁰⁴ we went by what is called the Upper road said to be 30 miles nearest; here we parted with our company who went the other road; We found about 15 miles in the whole between Cumberland mountain & Washington¹⁰⁵ of hilly & broken bad road. This day went 32 miles to Ewings,¹⁰⁶ were well used, bad road.—8th Went 33 miles thro indifferent road to Deans, Ditto. 9th. went 35 miles same road to Callahans,¹⁰⁷ well used—10th. 27 miles to Cap^t Craigs; for these last 10 miles good road, & here we met good entertainment.¹⁰⁸ Thought it prudent to let our Horses rest the remaining quarter of this day, after the fa-

¹⁰² Stephen Langford was one of the first settlers at Mount Vernon, Rockcastle County, Kentucky. Many travelers stopped at his station.

¹⁰³ "The Crab Orchard, has long been a place of Note and . . . the grand Gateway into Kentucky" (Austin: 1900: 525).

¹⁰⁴ The ninety miles between Crab Orchard and Cumberland Mountain. Though Hunter made no comment on the road, according to an extra published by the *Kentucky Gazette*, October 8, 1796, "The Wilderness Road from the Cumberland Gap to the settlements in Kentucky, is now completed. Waggons loaded with a ton weight, may pass with ease, with four good horses.—Travellers will find no difficulty in procuring such necessaries as they may stand in need of on the road." Moses Austin, traveling west two months later, remarked that "altho the road has been lately open'd for waggons . . . much more must be don to make it Tolerable" (Austin: 1900: 525). This famous road is traced on topographic maps in Pusey, William A. *The Wilderness Road to Kentucky*, New York, Doran, 1921).

¹⁰⁵ Abingdon, Washington County, Virginia—often referred to as Washington Court House.

¹⁰⁶ Coming west, Austin "stop'd at a Mr Ewings five miles Below Lee Court Hous [Jonesville, Lee County, Virginia] . . . The Court Hous is About Thirty miles up the Vally from the pass at Cumberland mountain" (Austin: 1900: 524). He, too, had been "well used" at the Ewings.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Callahan and wife Succy lived on the bank of the North Fork of Holston River, twenty-five miles below Abingdon and in sight of Clinch Mountain (Summers, Lewis P., *History of southwest Virginia*, 629, Richmond, 1903).

¹⁰⁸ Craig's was "the common resting place for Kentuckians," noted Lewis Condict (Journal of a tour to Kentucky in 1795, *Proc. New Jersey Hist Soc.*, n.s., 4: 123, 1919). Thomas Chapman (Journal of a journey, 1795-1796, *Historical Magazine*, sec. ser., 5: 364, 1869) also stopped at Craig's, "the most noted Tavern on this rode, and where we found ourselves exceedingly comfortable the remainder of the Day, besides getting each of us a good Bed and clean Sheets, things we had not seen since leaving Kentucky." Chapman had crossed the North Fork of Holston and then had proceeded forty-two miles to Craigs. Abingdon, the county town of Washington County, one mile to the east, then contained, said Chapman, about fifty houses of wood along one street.

tiges of the wilderness & mountains which we have crossed; we took this opportunity to have our horses new shod where they wanted. We have now come from Lexington 257 miles & there yet remains by information 520 miles between us & Philad^a. at least 14 days journey. 11th. At 7 A M. left Craigs, & came by good road, tho a little hilly, 41 miles, to M^r Crows,¹⁰⁹ a Substantial Farmer, who entertains Travellers, with every thing but spiritous liquors; here we had a good supper & excellent usage.—The greater part of our Journey thro Virginia as yet we have put up at farmers houses along the road, as taverns are scarce, & kept very indifferently; At these houses we found it customary to buy oats by the bushel for our Horses, and what they did not eat at one meal we put in our wallets to serve again; This we often found absolutely necessary, for without this precaution we would have often been obliged to travel the greatest part of the day without being able to get any thing to purchase for our horses to eat; as the most of the people where we stopped were very poor, or but very lately settled so as scarce to have any thing to eat themselves, much less to sell.—Where we could get wheat bread to buy, which was very seldom, we purchased a quantity & carried with us, which with milk made us many a comfortable meal; as milk was almost the only article which we liked, & which we could generally procure, therefore it was the principal part of our diet. 12th. Left Crows by daybreak, having for that purpose got up about half past four in the morning & fed our horses; this we have almost always done since we left Lexington, for we allways found it took us an hour to get ready to start; & what with travelling & feeding, sadling & unsadling, (which we did at every meal) we were every minute of our time occupied from day break till dark, & then after swallowing an hasty meal, we were ready for bed. This day came 39 miles to a tavern on the top of an hill, our Host was deaf & very ragged, we fared but so, so.¹¹⁰—13th. Came to Lewis's place, kept by M^r Bryant, thro hilly road 37 miles¹¹¹—14th. Came to Major Rollands a farmer's 41 miles & 4 miles beyond Bottelot court house & County town¹¹²—15th Arrived at Lexington & put up at M^r Darsts, were well used.—Here we staid all the 16th. as it rained & our horses were tired; this is Sunday. This was a thriving little Town but last spring met with a severe accident by fire which destroyed one half of it.¹¹³—They are now beginning to

¹⁰⁹ James Smith a year later "baited at Crow's (head of Holstein)," (Tours into Kentucky, 1783, 1795, 1797, *Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quart.* 16: 387, 1907). This would have been about fifteen miles west of Wytheville, county seat of Wythe County.

¹¹⁰ Hunter was now about twenty miles east of Wytheville.

¹¹¹ This must have been about sixty miles east of Wytheville and twenty miles west of Roanoke.

¹¹² Fincastle, county seat of Botetourt County.

¹¹³ Lewis Condict in 1795 had pronounced Lexington "a small handsome village" (Journal of a trip to Kentucky in 1795,

rebuild.—I called upon Cap^t. Mills with Cap^t. Gano's order, he pleaded want of money, & paid me but fifteen dollars & one penny on Acc^t. thereof, & gave an Order on James Baily of Lexington in Kentucky favor of Cap^t. Daniel Gano for the balance, on £13.16.7 Virginia Currency, which order I intend to transmitt p^r post at my return to Philad^a, to Frankfort for Cap^t. Gano.—I omitted to mention that I received of James H Stewart of Lexington one hundred & thirty three Dollars 37/100 being in full of his Acc^t.—& that I purchased a Bill of exchange N^o. 50 for 300 Dollars, drawn by John Wilkins jun^r. Quarter Master Gen^l. favor of Francis Jones, on James M^c Henry Sec^y. of War dated Fort Detroit 5th. Sept^r., 1796, payable at 15 days sight¹¹⁴—I kept the first Bill & M^r Atkinson carries the second—They are both endorsed Francis Jones.

1796¹¹⁵

C ^r Cap ^t . Gano by Charge against A. Atkinson on Acc ^t . of Horse	Doll. cents 2.50
<hr/>	
A Atkinson D ^r to the Above	2.50
<hr/>	
Lexington Oct ^r . 1 st . 1796	Dollars
C ^r Rob ^t . Barr & C ^o . by Cash	350—
Also.....	50
	<hr/> Dollars 400

C^r Cap^t. Gano by order on Cap^t. John Mills near James River (Beals Ferry[]) for £18.6.8 Virginia Currency—

N.B. I only received of that order fifteen Dollars 1/100 & an order favor Cap^t Gano on James Baley Lexington for £13.16.7 1/6 which I am to send p^r post to Gano

C^r James H Stewart of Lexington by Cash in full of my Acc^t. against him viz Doll^o. 133 37/100

Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., n.s., 4: 125, 1919). Thomas Chapman in January, 1796, reported it contained "about 60 Houses, most of weh are wood" (*Journal of a journey, 1795-1796, Historical Magazine*, sec. ser., 5: 365, 1869).

¹¹⁴ John Wilkins, Jr. served as quartermaster general of the United States Army from June 1, 1796, to June 1, 1802. James McHenry of Baltimore was Secretary of War from January 27, 1796, to May 13, 1800.

¹¹⁵ The following notations are found on the last pages of the first volume in which Hunter recorded his travels, *not* at the close of Journal No. 1.

C^r And^w. Hare by Cash 17 D^wt. 8 grains in Cob Gold at 5/3 Virg^a Curr^y. on Acc^t.

1796

D^r Geo. Hunter in Acc^t. with

1796		Dollars
July 14 th .	To Cash, 30 D ^{oll} . & 30. & 25 laid out by him at several times	85.—
Aug ^t . 15 th .	To Cash thirty Dollars	30.—
19 th .	To Cash rec ^d . of D ^r Tate	23.25
Sept ^r . 12	To Cash rec ^d . for Spy Glass	7.—
18 th .	To Cash rec ^d . of H Vanderburg	8.—
"	D ^o . Rob ^t . Buntin	8.—
	D ^o . Col John Small	20.—
Oct ^r 1 st .	Cash at Lexington	20.—
		<hr/> 201.25
	from which deduct Cash p ^d for the little Horse	} - 14.65
		<hr/> 186.60
Oct ^r . 16 th .	Lexington Virginia	
	Cash laid out by G H	} 20.—
	to be expended on the road to Phil ^a .	} 5
		<hr/> 211.50
		57.50
		<hr/> 269—
		134.½
		57½
	To be charged to A. A—	<hr/> 97—

Anthony Atkinson C^r

1796		Dollars
July	By Cash laid out by him viz A.A.	4.50
Sept ^r .	By Cash laid out by him viz A.A.	12.—
..... 16 th	Cash Watch chains & beads &c.	7.67
	Cash supposed to be remitted at Kaskaskias	30.—
		<hr/> 54.17
	{ from which deduct 1¾ Dollars	
	{ paid for him at Lexington to Sadler.. }	- 1.75
		<hr/> 52.52
		4.45
		<hr/> 56.97
		50
		<hr/> 57.47

2. JOURNAL FROM PHILAD^a. TOWARDS
LEXINGTON KENTUCKY BY GEORGE
HUNTER SENIOR & JUNIOR BEGUN
AUG^t. 19th. 1802

1802. Augst. 19th

Left Philadelphia at 3 o'clock yesterday. We rode 20 miles to the Sign of the Paoli,¹ where we put up for the night. This morning when they led the Horses to water the White Horse appeared to be lame. We went on to the Washington² to Breakfast. there was a Dutchman went on from there with us[;] he had a little Bay Poney with him, made an attempt to barter, for the lame horse without effect.—Visited the Governor, Col^o. Matlack, M^r Ellicot³ & M^r Bryan—Entered a claim for a Donation Tract of Land due as Surgeons Mate of the Late Army of the U States—at the Land office of Pennsylv^a. with M^r Ellicot Secretary—at Lancaster where we arrived on the 20th Aug^t.—Judging the lameness of the Horse now called Dobbin (after my former of that name) proceeded from a nail in the shoe, had the shoe removed & proceeded on to Bowmans Tavern 3 miles beyond the Susquehana by Chambers ferry⁴ said to be the nearest & best rout, as the river is narrow there—came this day 37½ miles—were well entertained.

22nd. come 14 miles to Carlisle⁵ to Fosters (good House) saw M^r Dawson who paid me his Acc^t. in full being 130 23/100 Dollars, he thinks there is more due (suppose 45 Doll) memorandum to enquire at my return home—M^r George Dawson deals only for cash, & is always ready to pay cash when called upon there—

¹ Then kept by Joshua Evans, just west of the eighteenth milestone on the road to Lancaster (Sachse, Julius F., *Wayside inns between Philadelphia and Lancaster*, 118–149, Philadelphia, 1912).

² The General Washington Inn at the east end of Downingtown near the thirty-first milestone from Philadelphia, halfway to Lancaster (Sachse, Julius F., *Wayside inns between Philadelphia and Lancaster*, 22, Philadelphia, 1912).

³ The travelers are now in Lancaster, capital of Pennsylvania, a city of 6,000 population. F. A. Michaux described it at this time (*Travels to the west of the Alleghany mountains in 1802*, 135–136, Cleveland, 1904) as did F. M. Perrin du Lac (*Voyage dans les deux Louisianes*, 112–116, Lyons, 1805). Thomas McKean was soon to be reelected governor for a second term. Colonel Timothy Matlack of Philadelphia later served as clerk of the Senate and master of the rolls at Lancaster. Andrew Ellicott, perhaps best known for his service in running the Florida boundary line in 1796–1800, had been appointed secretary of the Land Office by McKean in October, 1801 (*Dict. Amer. Biog.* 12: 79–81; 12: 409–410; 6: 89–90).

⁴ Chambers Ferry was opposite the mouth of Yellow Breeches Creek just below Harrisburg.

⁵ Travelers continue to vary in their impressions of the places they visit briefly. F. A. Michaux (1904: 139) found Carlisle in 1802 to consist of "two hundred houses, a few of them built with brick, but by far the greater part with wood. Upon the whole it has a respectable appearance, from a considerable number of large shops and warehouses." Perrin du Lac (1805: 120–121), however, thought it one of the least attractive places he had seen—he searched in vain for what could have attracted the first settlers to the spot.

for expects justly his goods as cheap as may be. M^r Hoge⁶ has retired from business, intends to keep a Tavern on the road about 8 miles to the eastward of Carlisle towards Chamber's ferry—went on this day to Shippensburg (Rippeys excellent house⁷) in all 34 miles, being detained three hours at Carlisle—

This day & yesterday thought Dobbin went a little brisker than before his shoe was altered, tho still lame— We generally eat no dinner, feed our horses lightly throu the day & well at night, giving each about 2 quarts oats at breakfast, 3 in the middle of the day & 8 at night.—fine weather since we left home. Wrote once from Lancaster on the 20th. & also this day— Dobbin runs at the nose, fear it is the horse distemper.—

As I accompany my father in this Journey, I will make a few remarks at his desire, altho our writings can be distinguished, I will always sign GHH.

The Lime Stone water made me very sick yesterday & the day before, I have felt nothing of it to day. at Bowmans Tavern there were a great many Drunken Dutch Waggoners, who made a noise They were quarelling till 12 of Clock at night. The country is more Hilly, the further we proceed westward.—GHH

23rd. Left Shippensburg at 6. A M proceeded by a tolerable road 10 miles to Strassburg, a pleasant little Village at the foot of the first or Kittany Mountain where we breakfasted at the sign of Jefferson, Lan[d]-lord nil.⁸ Having passed this first Mountain, as we drove our Horses before us & walked to ease them of their burthen over such steep & rugged paths; They suddenly turned about & run towards home upwards of 3 miles before we caught them—This delayed much time as they tore the saddlebags &c & which prevented us from making more than 25 Miles this day to Col^o. Burds 8 miles beyond Fannitsburg, (a tolerably good house).⁹ We this day passed three primitive Moun-

⁶ Probably the Jonathan Hoge who is mentioned in Journal No. 3, entry for May 27, 1804. On the Reading Howells map of Pennsylvania (1792) "Hoges" is shown on the road from Harrisburg to Carlisle parallel to and a few miles north of the road Hunter was taking in 1802.

⁷ On June 29, 1802, F. A. Michaux (1904: 140) wrote: "The coach stopped at an inn called the General Washington, at Shippensburgh, kept by one Colonel Ripsey, whose character is that of being very obliging to all travellers that may happen to stop at his house on their tour to the western countries. Shippensburgh has scarcely seventy houses in it." Nathaniel Little found that "Mr. Ripsey keeps a good house, although he is a violent Democrat" (*Journal, 1802, Old Northwest Genearl. Quart.* 10: 244, 1907).

⁸ F. A. Michaux (1904: 141) reported Strasburg, due west of Shippensburg, to consist of "about forty log-houses, and is situated at the foot of the first chain of Blue Ridges." Perrin du Lac (1805: 123) estimated it at fifty houses "dont les proprietaires vivent dans une assez douce aisance." Thaddeus M. Harris, traveling west in the spring of 1803, allowed this "pleasant post-town . . . about eighty houses" (*Journal of a tour into the territory northwest of the Alleghany mountains*, 319–320, Cleveland, 1904).

⁹ Fannettsburg had been laid out in 1790 on the old Tuscarora path between North Mountain and Blue Mountain (McCaulley, I. H., *Historical sketch of Franklin County, Pennsylvania*, 143,

tains & several secondary ones—The first or primary consisted entirely of Freestone almost composed of white sandy quarts—the others generally of a slaty half formed stone of a rusty & sometimes blue or yellow & dun colour, apparently tinged with Iron, & mixed with hard stones more or less coloured in proportion to their belonging to a lower stratum. This afternoon passed thro several miles of barren land & hilly, covered with scrubby pines & oaks chesnut &c—There at Col^o. Burds are two Banks of tollerably rich iron ore not worked—Were informed that the new land about Strasburg was worth about from £6—to £10—p^r Acre—Dobbins foot seems still on the recovery—The Mare is Tough & in good plight. George complains no more of soreness—A small Dog followed us 13 miles this day, left us when our horses were caught again—

24th. Left Col^o Burds this morning at 5 oClock, came over mountainous Road 10 miles to the foot of sidling Hill,¹⁰ where we Breakfasted (indifferent House)[.] we came over sidling Hill & Rians Mountain [Rays Hill], where we stopped & bought one Gill of w[h]isky. we went on the sign of the Black Horse[.] there was a young man came from Col^o. Burds with us. we came to Bedford & put up for the night at the sign of the spread Eagle (good House).¹¹—GHH.

This day came 34 miles by estimation. That part of the road within six miles of Bedford is tolerable, all the rest of the way is rugged steep & broken especially untill we came to the Crossings of the River Juniata where we forded in about 18 Inches water.¹²—All the Largest of the Mountains still appear to consist of free stone, & the smaller ones & the low ground more or less impregnated with Iron—In the neighbourhood of this day's rout are several Iron works—

The Peaches altho very few (being generally destroyed by the frost) are not ripe—the Apples are much more abundant, but few of them yet fit to eat—

Chambersburg, 1878). F. A. Michaux (1904: 141) gave it "about thirty houses." He, too, stopped at Fort Littleton "at the house of one Colonel Bird, who keeps a good inn" (p. 142).

¹⁰ Sideling Hill, Francis Baily noted, was "so called from the road being carried over this ridge, *on the side of the hill*, the whole way; it is very steep in ascent, and towards the top appears very tremendous on looking down" (*Journal of a tour, 1796 & 1797*, 138, London, 1856).

¹¹ Bedford, according to F. A. Michaux (1904: 145), had "scarce a hundred and twenty houses in the whole, and those but of a miserable appearance, most of them being built of wood." Perrin du Lac (1805: 124) found it a "jolie petite ville qui compte sept à huit cents habitans, la plupart marchands ou propriétaires de terres." Harris (1904: 325) the following year was pleasantly impressed: "It is regularly laid out, and there are several houses on the main street built with bricks; even the others, which are of hewn logs, have a distinguishing neatness in their appearance. The Court House, Market House, and Record Office, are brick; the Gaol is built of Stone."

¹² They had crossed the Juniata, of course, after descending Sideling Hill and before reaching Bedford. F. A. Michaux noted that the river was "about thirty or forty fathoms broad" (1904: 143).

This is pretty generally the case since we left Philad^a.—The crops of grain very abundant, of grass tolerable.

25th. The first part of this days journey from Bedford to Metsgers¹³ 13 miles where we breakfasted was hilly broken & Barren generally, after we passed the Allegheny Mountain, the Land seems gradually to put on a different appearance; The trees larger & clearer of underwood, even on the hills,—We have in a great measure lost sight of those scrubby Oaks small Pines & Chesnut which with a few dwarf Locusts seemed to occupy the barren land we have passed these two days.—At 5 o'clock P.M. came to Berline¹⁴ a neat th[r]iving German Village. where we were detained till night in shoeing Dobbin & the Mare.—Determined to visit my 400 Acre Tract at Michael Entlicks on the Turkey foot Road on the waters at Salt lick Creek.¹⁵ Rode this day 30 Miles—

26th. Passed from Berline to Jones's Mill,¹⁶ thro Broken hilly Land[.] The Timber generally Large, the Land stoney & the soil whats of it rather better than what we passed these three days[.] distance 15 miles[.] [Arrived] at the foot of Laurel Hill.

Here we were overtaken by a heavy thunder storm which beat against us without effect, being defended by our oil skin coats—went on to Woodruffs¹⁷ on the Turkey foot road 15 miles more & then put up for the night, having rode 30 miles this day. Here were informed that Michael Entlich who lived on my Tract of Land 1½ miles from this on the same road westward, had sold the same, which he held under the Claim of Isaac Mason to a M^r Wells who keeps Tavern there for £600—of which 250£ was paid down & 50£ is to be paid p^r year until the whole is paid—There is Stone Coal plenty upon this tract, both opposite to the old improvement, & between the Tavern & Woodruffs on the road—The land is stoney, (free stone,) has fire clay upon it, the Timber is large, has many sugar trees Oak Ash &c—The soil not of the first quality, yet produces good crops of wheat[,] corn, oats & other grain[,] has a Mill Seat with a fall as great as can be required, very easily made. It is hilly & well watered with several fine springs, besides the mill seat on Poplar run¹⁸—

27th. Left Woodruffs at 6 a.m. passed 1½ Miles to My Place where one Welsh[,] a shoemaker lives, warned

¹³ On leaving Bedford, Hunter had again taken the Glade Road. Thaddeus Harris (1904: 366), on his return trip, "descending the mountain," lodged at Metzker's, "an obscure inn."

¹⁴ Berlin, originally settled by Dunkards on a ridge in Brothers Valley in 1769, was one of the oldest places in Somerset County (Day, S., *Hist. Coll. of Penna.*, 617, Philadelphia, 1843; *Pennsylvania, a guide to the keystone state*, 553, New York, 1940).

¹⁵ Indian Creek.

¹⁶ On Indian Creek six miles west of the top of Laurel Hill (Harris, 1904: 327; Albert, G. D., *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, 582, Philadelphia, 1882).

¹⁷ John Woodruff (Ellis, F., *History of Fayette County, Pennsylvania*, 748, Philadelphia, 1882).

¹⁸ Poplar Run enters Indian Creek from the north about six miles (crow flight) above its entrance into the Youghiogheny.

him that it was mine, that I had paid the state for it many years ago & that I would assert my right.—passed on to Canels town¹⁹ 10 miles where we breakfasted, then forded the Youghagaheny & proceeded 9 miles to Union otherwise called Beson Town²⁰ & visited Col^o. McClean the Deputy surveyor, who denied having orders to survey my Land, & pretended that he supposed I had made some arrangement with Isaac Mason for the Land & therefor had done nothing further. I gave him peremptory directions to survey the 400 Acres for me agreeably to my warrant which called for Lindseys improvement which he promised to do & return the same to the Land Office as soon as possible. He said he would mention in his remarks the circumstances which retarded the business so long. In conversation with Woodruff & also with McClean Deputy Surveyor I find that there is an old Warrant in the name of George Hunter, for which no Owner can be found, I am Inclined to think it is one of the warrants I paid the state for when I took up the rest—As this calls for a tract of the best improved & best land in the County, I make this memorandum to remind me to enquire when I return to Lancaster (or home) at the receiver & surveyor gen^l's. office—Came 12 miles further to Redstone;²¹ Saw George Kinealy, asked him for Anthony Atkinsons balance[.] he pled poverty, but promised to pay it in the fall—

28th. Set out for Washington which is 25 miles distant; on the way about 5 miles from Redstone called at D^r Chas. Wheeler's place, saw him & M^{rs} Wheeler[.]²² he paid his small bill of 5 73/100—

¹⁹ Harris in 1803 allotted Connellsville eighty houses and four hundred inhabitants (1904: 364).

²⁰ Beesontown, laid out in 1776, had been incorporated as Uniontown in 1796. Harris described it as "a very pleasant and thriving place, situated near Redstone Creek, and principally built upon one straight street, the side walks of which are neatly paved with large flat stones. It contains about one hundred and twenty houses, many of them well built, and some quite handsome. The public buildings are a meeting-house and a stone Gaol. There is a printing-office in the town which issues a weekly paper. Several manufactures are carried on in the place, and much business done in the mercantile line to very great advantage. . . . Near it are some valuable merchant-mills; and in the county are eighteen furnaces and ironworks, and several distilleries" (1904: 363-364).

²¹ F. A. Michaux (1904: 162) noted that Redstone (Brownsville) had "shoe and paper manufactories, several flour mills, and contains about five hundred inhabitants." Harris (1904: 337) counted one hundred and fifty houses, mentioned the presence of a Roman Catholic church and four Friends' meeting-houses, and gave more details about business activity there: "An extensive paper-mill on *Redstone Creek*, a rope-walk, a brewery, several valuable manufactories, and within a few miles of the town twenty-four saw, grist, oil, and fulling-mills, render this a place of much business. The trade and emigration down the river employ boat-builders very profitably. About one hundred boats of twenty tons each are said to be built here annually."

²² Dr. Charles Wheeler, English-born surgeon, settled as early as 1774 on Falls Creek, a branch of Pike Run (West Pike Run Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania). He

Then went on thro the rain to Washin[g]ton²³ to see D^r Baird: were kindly received, slept there same night, It not being convenient for the D^r to pay any part of his Acc^t He signed a Bond & Judgment for the Amount thereof being by my statement made out by John Bringham [for the sum of] 846 Dollars including interest to this date, the whole payable on 1st April next (7 months) with interest.—This Bond I sealed up in a Letter directed for George Hunter Philad^a. & in the presence of D^r & M^{rs}. Baird & their three sons Thomas, William & George I gave said letter inclosing said Bond to his Son William to put in the postoffice, which he promised immediately to do, being ordered also by his father who desired me to give it to him to avoid the trouble of going to the postoffice[.] 29th After breakfast set out for Wheeling 32 miles distant where we arived about 6 P.M.²⁴—The fore part of this days journey thro Pennsylvania proved rather hilly, the land pretty good—Timber very large—The latter part had to cross a small Creek²⁵ near 20 times in a Valley where there were in places, especially near Wheeling, some finely cultivated & very rich Valleys surrounded by hills consisting of layers of excellent Free Stone, lime, Coal & Clay, all well Timbered. This day being drizly, wore our oil cloth coats with advantage. Dobbin still a little lame, yet does pretty well—Wrote again to M^{rs} Hunter & put the letter in the postoffice, to advise her that I sent D^r Bairds Bond by post from Washington & that as the Ohio was so very low that we were under the necessity of crossing over to the Northwest Territory to prosecute our journey by land²⁶—Here

married Elizabeth Cresap (Crumrine, B., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 986-987, Philadelphia, 1882).

²³ "Handsomely situated" and "a considerable of a town" Nathaniel Little found Washington in the fall of 1802 (Journal, 1802, *Old Northwest Genral. Quart.* 10: 243, 1907). Harris (1904: 347) noted that "A Court-House and a large building for public offices, of brick; and a Gaol and an Academy, of stone, with a large number of handsomely built dwelling-houses, give this town a very respectable appearance. It seems to be a place of considerable business, and of thriving manufactories and trade."

²⁴ F. A. Michaux (1904: 171-172) found Wheeling to consist of "about seventy houses built of wood. . . . From fifteen to twenty large shops, well stocked." Perrin du Lac (1805: 137-138) gave its population as three hundred and fifty. Harris (1904: 348-349) described it as "healthily and pleasantly situated on the sloping sides of a hill gracefully rising from the banks of the Ohio. It is laid out principally on one street; and most of the houses are handsome, several being built with brick, and some with faced stone. It is . . . next to Pittsburg, the most considerable place of embarkation to traders and emigrants, any where on the western waters. . . . Boat-building is carried on at this place to a great extent. . . ."

²⁵ Little Wheeling Creek. Harris (1904: 348) noted that he crossed it seventeen times in five miles.

²⁶ He hunted it was now to travel over Zane's Trace through Ohio to Limestone, laid out by Zane under act of Congress in 1796 (Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 2: 550-552, 1934). Baily (Journal of a tour, 1796 & 1797, 156-157, London, 1856) on December 2, 1796 wrote that a road from Limestone to Pittsburgh, which crossed the Ohio at Wheeling, had just been blazed. For a detailed account con-

delivered Major Hodgsons²⁷ letter to Col^o. Ebenezer Zane,²⁸ whom after a short conversation I took leave of—Saw Mordecai Yarnal & Family,²⁹ he deals in drugs & Groceries &c—Upon Enquiry can hear no tidings of M^r Forde³⁰—

30th. Left Wheeling at half past 6 a m. were ferried over the Ohio on to Zane's fine Large Island³¹ which we crossed, it is about 1 mile wide & were ferried over the other branch of the Ohio & passed into the North-west Territory; here the land is generally very good, all the Timber very large. The whole road seems settled almost & settling, there are Taverns every where & within a few Miles distance & every house or rather Cabbin seems full of young Children. The whole appears to be full of new settlers; came 11 miles to Newels Town³² to breakfast.—Still the country is fast improving. passed on to Brandy Camp & put up for the night at M^r Peter Wirech's Tavern where we had Venison Coffee bread & Butter & good milk for supper—On our way passed a Rattle Snake on the Road which had been killed to day[,] counted 6 rattles on his tail, was about 4½ f^t long—About 4 miles further passed a very large one about 5, or 6 feet long which was almost under our horses feet, made a horrible noise with his tail—George was very much alarmed at it—

M^r Peter Weyerch who lives at or near the Salt fork of Wills Creek,³³ informs me that there is a salt spring on Yellow Creek near the Mouth within 3 or four miles of the Ohio, on the north side of Yellow Creek at the Bend; There is also a capital Mill seat with 16 feet fall water enough all the summer also Coal in all the hills & further says that the Section is not

sult Martzloff, Clement L., *Zane's Trace, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quart.* 13: 297-331, 1904.

²⁷ Possibly Samuel Hodgdon of Pennsylvania, who was Quartermaster of the Army from March 4, 1791 to April 19, 1792 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the United States Army, 1789-1903* 1: 553, 1903).

²⁸ Ebenezer Zane (1747-1812) had established claim to land at the mouth of Wheeling Creek in 1769 and had settled there in 1770 (*Dict. Amer. Biog.* 20: 644-645).

²⁹ Probably a member of the Yarnell family living in Philadelphia in 1759 (*Penna. Mag. Hist. and Biog.* 13: 433, 1889). In the 1830's a man of this name kept an inn in Wheeling (Seabright, T. B., *The old pike*, 296, Uniontown, 1894).

³⁰ Standish Forde, Philadelphia merchant (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *The papers of Henry Clay* 1: 267n., 1959).

³¹ Wheeling Island. "Opposite the town is a most beautiful island in the river, containing about four hundred acres, interspersed with buildings, highly cultivated fields, some fine orchards, and copses of wood, it appears to great advantage from the town" (Harris: 1904: 349).

³² St. Clairsville, Ohio, laid out by David Newell, a cousin of Arthur St. Clair (Downes, Randolph, *Frontier Ohio, 1788-1830*, 82, Columbus, 1935).

³³ In 1799 a Peter Wireck was named a captain of militia in Jefferson County, Ohio (Carter, Clarence E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 517, 1934). Wills Creek flows through Cambridge, Ohio; Salt Fork flows northwest through Guernsey County to join Wills Creek a few miles to the north of Cambridge. Hunter would have crossed Salt Fork in the eastern part of Guernsey County.

taken up.—Little Brush Creek enters Yellow Creek about 150 yards above the small salt spring which spring is about 150 yards from the Creek & the large salt spring is very near the Creek in the north side of the bank, at the head of a little bottom above the Mill seat—Said Mill seat should be made by cutting across the peninsula formed by the bend. Abram Richie lives on the Mill seat section—Philip Saltsman lives in the Adjoining section.³⁴

Aug^t. 31st. Left Peter Wiryerich's at 5 A M. came 11 miles to a sort of Tavern thro tolerable roads; The land still pretty good, indeed all the land on this side of the Ohio which we have passed seems to be of a superior quality to that on the other side. It consists of small hills chiefly, generally rich to the top, containing limestone in the uppermost stratum (except the soil & clay) then sand stone here & there streaked with red in layers of different thicknesses, under which lays the coal, the sand stone has a Yellowish white colour of which sometimes two alternate strata of coal & it appears where they have been obliged to dig in the sides of the steep hills to make winding roads up—Here & there are Runs of water along the banks of which are generally very fertile Valeys; The soil of them & also of the hills consists of a due mixture of clay coloured, & garden Mold, sending forth immense Timber & very high & large annual plants.

Came 11 miles further to a Cabbin where we got oats for our Horses—The land hills & valleys—Then 12¼ miles to M^r Morrisons³⁵ where we were well entertained, with good venisons stakes, Tea Milk, bread & butter, beets, raddishes &c to supper—8 miles of this last part lay thro an extensive rich Vally or rather a series of them & 4½ miles next on the top of the Ridge still good land—The first muddy roads, the latter very good roads. We now enter the Military Tract.³⁶ of which but a small part is said to be located.—Within about 7 miles of this are the reserved Salt Springs in Congress Land, where they make about 1 bushel ½ to 2 bushels p^r Day of 24 hours in small kettles of about 12 or 15 Gall^s. by working with 20 such kettles, about 800 Gall Water are said to yield 1 bushel salt. which they here sell for [blank in Ms.] Doll^{rs}. p^r. bushel—This

³⁴ Yellow Creek enters the Ohio a few miles below Wells-ville, where the river turns south. Little Brush Creek, flowing east, enters Yellow Creek from the north. Ritchie and Saltsman probably lived in Brush Township, Jefferson County, Ohio.

³⁵ Hunter's record of distances traveled would place Morrison's near New Concord or Norwich. Nathaniel Little and his companions fed their horses and "took a little whisky" at Morrison's (Journal, 1802, *Old Northwest Geneal. Quart.* 10: 240, 1907).

³⁶ These lands, reserved by Act of Congress, June 1, 1796, formed a block extending from a north and south line seven ranges (forty-two miles) west of the Ohio-Pennsylvania line to the Scioto River, bounded on the north by the Indian treaty line of 1795 and on the south by a line ending at Columbus. Hunter had entered this tract near Middlebourne on US 40 about twenty miles before he reached Morrison's and he would leave it at Zanesville.

co[u]ntry still contains Limestone, Sand stone & Coal—It contains also Allum & nitre—The former appears in efflorescences on the surface of stones on the sides of Steep hills, deep Rivers &c[,] the other in caves & on the surface of some stones which appear to have the quality of attracting the Nitrous Acid from the Air—Came this day 34½ Miles—M^r Morrison appears to be a sensible man—

Sept^r. 1st. Set out for Zanes Ville at 6. A.M. where we with some Difficulty arrived at 11.³⁷ distance 15 Miles thro Hilly Country but tollerable, some barrens—Dobbin gave out, being so lame of one foot that I thought it imprudent to carry him further. Therefor left him at Zanes Ville with David Harvey Tavern-keeper³⁸ there, to pay 1 Doll p^r bushel for oats & 1 Dollar P^r week for Corn blades—I ordered him 2 Gall. Oats p^r Day for the first 2 weeks & 2½ Gall p^r Day for the rest of the time he may stay there. Paid also Joshua Bab. the post rider³⁹ twelve Dollars for the hire of an Horse for the time I may want him if less than eight weeks—In case he dies I am to make it up 35 Dollars—This delayed me half a Day, came afterwards 13 miles to a Cabbin in fairfield county, being overtaken by a terrible thunderstorm which tore up many trees & broake off others across the road—The country now is still Hilly, some prairies of very small extent, soil indifferent.—Here & there rich Valleys—Learnt that Gillespy & Strong own 3 or 4 quarter Townships of good land here of about 4000 Acres each—

There is Coal still here in places at Zanes Ville about 1½ feet thick under a bed of 60 feet clay & stone &c on the River Muskingum. Everywhere along the Territory I am informed the Settlers can have Deer Bear Or Wild Turkeys almost where they please—of these last the owner of the house where we now put up says he shot 25 at once—

Sept^r. 2nd. set out half past 5 a.m. came 27 miles to New Lancaster⁴⁰ to dinner thro very good land generally, there is still coal here & there tho not so generally as before; The Stones sandy, free stone in large

shapeless Masses above ground some streaked with red as before—Many settlers here wealthy people from Pennsylvania—Still much good land to be sold by U.S. at 2 Doll p^r acre; There is a land office at Chillicothe 26 m[iles] from here for the purchase of Land another [at] Cincinnati, [&] at Steubenville—Went 11 miles farther to Clear Creek M^r John Russell, where we put up for the night & were well entertained⁴¹—The greatest part of these last 11 miles thro Fertile Prairies, or Meadows without trees, cleared by Nature.

After going about 3 miles from N Lancaster George missed his oilcloth great coat, & altho we immediately put about & went back enquiring of every person we met, yet did not find it.—came this day 38 miles—

Iron Ore 24 miles off, but little to be found of coal from here to Kentucky—Alums native plenty at the falls of Paint creek 45 miles from this place⁴²—& Copper. This day saw a Deer & many wild Turkeys as usual—

Sept^r. 3rd Came this day 44 Miles to a M^r Platers, a Dutchman who keeps a very irregular Dirty house—about a mile beyond Paint Creek⁴³—The whole of this day we travelled throu good Land with scarce any bad—This evening a severe thunder storm with rain came on, which lasted for the greatest part of the night, & poured upon us in bed. Salt 5 Doll p^r bushel of lbs 50—

4th. Set out at 6 a.m. Were wrong directed & travelled about 6 miles in the woods before we found the right road—Came this day 40 miles to M^r January's, a considerable Farmer living within 18 Miles of Limestone in Kentucky.⁴⁴ All this days journey thro Military Land, of Various quality. We for these ten or 15 miles past came to Limestone in the bottoms of the Rivulets & Sand Stone of a yellowish colour in the higher grounds, This Country contains Iron Ore on Brush Creek⁴⁵ [;] no Stone coal—The Limestone in the creeks assumes thin layers of about 4 Inches thick, seems to be combined w^t sand, which is said to be a sure sign of Iron ore under it.—

5th. Set out at 6. a.m. Went 16 miles through good Land to Limestone a Village on the east bank of the Ohio in the State of Kentucky, which we crossed in

³⁷ In 1796, as recompense for blazing the road from Wheeling to Limestone, Zane was granted a section of land at the crossing of the Muskingum, a second at the crossing of the Hockhocking, and a third at the crossing of the Scioto. On the first of these Zanesville was laid out.

³⁸ Harvey built this inn in 1800 (Hulbert, A. A., *The old national road, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quart.* 9: 479, 1901). Fortescue Cuming in 1807 stopped at "Harvey's very good inn, where we found an excellent supper, clean beds, a consequential host and hostess, and the highest charges I had hitherto paid in Ohio" (*Sketches of a tour*, 225, Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark, 1904).

³⁹ Cuming (1904: 223-224) stopped at Babb's, the half way house between Zanesville and Lancaster; the family there consisted of "an old father, two sons and three daughters." Probably Joshua was of this family.

⁴⁰ Laid out by Zane in 1800 and so-named because the first settlers came from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. A few years later the "new" was dropped. N. Little put up at Austin's (*Journal*, 1802, *Old Northwest Geneal. Quart.* 10: 240, 1907).

⁴¹ Hunter was now in the southwest corner of Fairfield County. John Russel was appointed a justice of the peace in Adams County, Ohio, in 1798 (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 3: 496, 1934).

⁴² Paint Creek joins the Scioto below Chillicothe. The falls are about a mile to the north of Bainbridge, in the southwestern corner of Ross County.

⁴³ Cuming (1904: 205, 213) five years later stopped at "Jacob Platter's finely situated tavern and farm" on the bank of Brush Creek about one mile from Bainbridge.

⁴⁴ James January kept the first tavern in Adams County, Ohio, just west of the present town of West Union (Martzolff, C. L., *Zane's Trace, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Quart.* 13: 322, 1904).

⁴⁵ Hunter probably referred to Ohio Brush Creek, flowing south through Adams County to the Ohio River.

Scow⁴⁶—& breakfasted at M^r Hardys Inn. went on 4 miles further to Washington⁴⁷ a pleasant Village on the road to Lexington, thence 19 miles to the Blue Licks where we visited the salt makers, were informed they boiled away 1000 Gallons water to procure a bushel of salt—& that they made from 4 to 5 Bushels salt of lbs 50 each p^r Day in 28 Iron pots capable of holding from 18 to 20 Gall each, which were fixed in a rude Manner between two stone walls in a kind of long ditch about 4½ feet wide, by one fire which consumed about 3 cords of wood p^r Day—The wood was shoved into the ditch in large pieces about 7½ ft. long as large as a Man could handle without any door or grate, the whole done in such a clumsy Manner as to lose much of the heat & waste double the quantity of fuel necessary—It struck me forcibly that to make the salt water pass in a shower like rain thro the flue so contrived as to fall into a large boiler, would dissipate at once, at least half of the water. That by repeating this process any number of times, the water being raised by a pump again & made again & again, as often as necessary to pass thro the fire in the flue—That the salt may be made in such abundance & with such celerity & dispatch as to make it an aspect of great consequence⁴⁸—We stopped for the night [at] Galbreaths Tavern (Tolerable) civil.⁴⁹ three miles from the Licks—having come this day 43 Miles—Sept^r 6th. Set out at 6. a m—At 6 miles from this came to a place in a low stoney creek almost dry where they had found a new salt spring which appeared to be much stronger than the water at Blue li[c]ks, they were blowing the bluish soft rock of a slaty texture expecting to obtain a more abundant supply of salt Water—The Ground here still poor & stoney resembling that adjacent to the Licks, the ground apparently not very much above the level of the blue Licks. I suppose that salt water may be found by digging in the low ground any where between this & the salt works—Passed on 4 miles further to Breakfast at Millersburg⁵⁰ where we met with D^r [blank in Ms.]⁵¹ the Companion and Copartner of James Simmons (whom I had seen in the spring going thro Lancaster) in the business of clarifying ginseng⁵²

⁴⁶ Edmund Martin kept the ferry at this time (Clift, G. G., *History of Maysville*, 130, Lexington, 1936). Perrin du Lac reported that "Maïsville ou Limestone" had at this time sixty houses "dont la plupart soin loin d'annoncer l'opulence" (1805: 149). F. A. Michaux (1904: 195) cut this number to "thirty or forty."

⁴⁷ According to F. A. Michaux (1904: 195–196) Washington in 1802 had two hundred houses "with several very fine plantations in the environs."

⁴⁸ F. A. Michaux (1904: 196–197), too, was critical of way salt was made at this place.

⁴⁹ Hunter was now in Nicholas County.

⁵⁰ Millersburg, on Hinkston Creek in Bourbon County, F. A. Michaux (1904: 197) credited with fifty houses.

⁵¹ In the entry for September 20, 1802, Hunter gives this name Heland or Helland.

⁵² F. A. Michaux (1904: 231–233), too, found the gathering of ginseng in the West a business of some interest. "Within these four or five years this trade has been very brisk. Several

—The D^r Informed me he had prepared lbs 4000 Ginseng which he had in two waggons, on the road to Limestone where he was going to put it on board of a boat ready to set out for Pittsburg. That James Simmons had about lbs 3000 which was to be carried to India by D^r McCullough who was also interested in the adventure—That He had expended about 1000 Dollars & that he would sell to me his whole interest in the Business for 1000 dollars profit—& leave me at my option chuse whether or not I would accept this offer until my return to Philad^a. That in the meantime he would offer it to no other person—That I told him I believed I would accept his offer—Passed on 8 miles to Bourbon a thriving Village in a rich Settlement⁵³—thence 4 miles more to a Scotch Irish Farmer who owns 1000 Acres of Land on the road, were civilly & kindly treated, Here was informed of a sort of ore in the farm of Thomas Wright⁵⁴ who lives on this road near a mile back on the way to Bourbon—which I went back with him to view. It appeared to be a heavy stone, in parts interspersed with sulphurous Pyrites, situate on the bank of the creek near his house, on the brow of the hill—Took a sample in my saddlebags—went on to Lexington 14 miles, throgh a rich Country⁵⁵—Visited M^r Edward West⁵⁶ who showed me a

persons begin even to employ the means made use of by the Chinese to make the root transparent. This process, long since described in several works, is still a secret which is sold for four hundred dollars in Kentucky. The ginseng thus prepared is purchased at six or seven dollars per pound, by the merchants at Philadelphia, and is, they say, sold again at Canton for fifty or a hundred, according to the quality of the roots. Again, the profits must be very considerable, since there are people who export it themselves from Kentucky to China." The roots were steeped in water for three days, boiled twice, and then dried until they "assumed a hard, resinous and translucent appearance" (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 12: 29, 1910). The Chinese valued ginseng highly, especially as a restorative of potency.

⁵³ Bourbon Court House (Paris) had then, said F. A. Michaux (1904: 198–199), one hundred and fifty houses, half of them of brick—"every thing seems to announce the comfort of its inhabitants."

⁵⁴ Thomas Wright, a son of Peter Wright of Botetourt County, Virginia, went to Kentucky about 1794 (Peter, Robert, *History of Bourbon County, Kentucky*, 499, Chicago, 1882).

⁵⁵ Between Frankfort and Lexington, Perrin du Lac had noted in May (1805: 153), "La richesse des fermes dont le chemin est bordé, la quantité d'esclaves qui y vivent, le bon ordre qui y règne, les nombreux troupeaux dont la campagne est couverte, le beauté des chevaux que l'on emploie aux transports; tout prouve que l'abondance, née du travail et de l'industrie, a fixé son séjour dans ce pays naissant. Arrivé à Lexington, je ne fus pas peu surpris de trouver des maisons aussi bien bâties et aussi proprement entretenues que dans les premières villes des Etats-Unis. Les rues bien pavées sont garnies de large trottoirs, et les églises peuvent rivaliser avec celles qui j'avois vues jusqu'alors. Les magasins qui abondent en toutes sortes d'objets de consommation, sont alimentés par les négocians de Philadelphie ou de Baltimore. . . ." F. A. Michaux (1904: 199–206) reported the population as three thousand.

⁵⁶ Edward West (1757–1827), watchmaker and builder of steamboat engines. Consult Bridwell, Margaret M., Edward

sample of various Ores, the produce of this Country—Informed me that the ore which contained (as he proved by tryal) one seventh part Silver, was collected upon the spot by Judge Cobourn⁵⁷ who was one of the Commissioners employed to run the line between Virginia & Kentucky—and that the Judge who said he did not chuse to concern himself in Mining gave him the following direction in writing Viz “In order to find the Mine on Big Sandy. Go up the Main Sandy about twenty two miles. The spot to land at, is nearly opposite to a creek called Blanes Creek. Before you arrive at the landing place you will pass thro a very remarkable reach in the river, it being several miles in length and handsome.

The Mine lies about one mile from Sandy River, on the Virginia side, on a small Creek that I suppose empties in below where you land. At the landing place is a high hill & some appearance of a settlement.—The Ore is mixed with a chocolate colored Stone.”⁵⁸

Dr Brown⁵⁹ says it is of a blackish shiney cristalline appearance on breaking not unlike lead ore, but not in regular cubes, or any regular number of sides discernable. The Dr informed me that a Person who was owner of an inexhaustible Salt Petre Cave which had yielded 1000 lbs Crude Nitre p^r week at about 40 miles from Lexington had offered to join in Partnership with him, he requested me to take a concern also in it. I said that I would go with him & view the ground first—that it was not improbable but that I would be detained here some time when we might go together.⁶⁰—Mr West also offered to accompany me to the spot where the Silver Ore was said to be—

Here I found John Nancarrow jun^r. he informs me

West, silversmith and inventor, *Filson Club Quart.* 21: 301-308, 1947; Baer, Mabel Van Dyke, The ancestry of Edward West of Lexington, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 58: 354-363, 1960.

⁵⁷ John Coburn, one of the three commissioners who ran the Virginia-Kentucky line in 1796, a native of Philadelphia, had moved to Kentucky in 1784 and lived in Lexington until 1796. He moved to Mason County, Kentucky, and served as judge of the Circuit Court until 1805. Appointed judge in Orleans Territory, he served in St. Louis, 1805-1809. He died in 1823. Consult Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 578-579, Covington, 1882; Leavy, William A., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 128-129, 1942).

⁵⁸ Notes at the close of this journal indicate that Hunter visited this area on his way back to Pennsylvania in October.

⁵⁹ Samuel Brown (1769-1830), member of the American Philosophical Society, was born in Virginia, attended the University of Edinburgh, received his medical degree from the University of Aberdeen, settled in Lexington in 1797 (where he filled the chair of theory and practice of medicine at Transylvania University), and in 1806 moved to New Orleans. F. A. Michaux (1904: 205-206) met him in 1802. Consult Norton, Elizabeth S., Doctor Samuel Brown, a biographical sketch, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 39: 189-192, 1941; Hardin, Bayless E., Dr. Samuel Brown, 1769-1830, his family and descendants, *Filson Club Quart.* 26: 3-27, 1952; Padgett, James A., Letters of Dr. Samuel Brown, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 35: 99-130, 1937.

⁶⁰ They did go together—see entries for September 13 and 14.

that he has been obliged to take the benefit of the Bankrupt Act. That he has made a partial conveyance of the property of the Partnership of Nancarrow & Bastrop, that there will be but very little for the other creditors, That he had shipped 30,000 Dollars worth of produce to Bastrop who not returning any remittance had obliged him (John Nancarrow) to take the benefit of the Act—That there was only a few book debts of small Value not made over—as above—That Bastrop had mortgaged the property of said firm to one Ab^m. Morehouse a Land Jobber; but I could not comprehend for what—That there was a suit at Law between said Morehouse & the person Nancarrow made over the property to still undecided.⁶¹—He said that he would endeavor to discharge the small bill due by his Father—Montgomery Bell promises to pay his note⁶²—7th Having found Col^o Todd was at his house at Frankfort,⁶³ & expected at Lexington tomorrow, I remained there to wait his coming to town—In the mean time was actively employed in obtaining such evidence as was necessary to set the will aside,⁶⁴ which was made thro

⁶¹ The Baron de Bastrop in 1796 received from the governor-general of Louisiana a grant of twelve leagues square on the Ouachita River on which Bastrop was to settle five hundred families, the first of whom he took down from Louisville in February, 1797. At Lexington in 1796 he had met Nancarrow, who was then running a brewery. They formed a partnership in 1799 and by 1800 had in Lexington a factory covering three city lots where they made sail cloth (for rough clothing). They also worked a salt mine just outside of Lexington and had stores in Frankfort and Wheeling. To finance these operations Bastrop, in May, 1799, sold his rights in the Spanish grant to Colonel Abraham Morhouse in Lexington. The firm of Bastrop and Nancarrow went bankrupt because many court actions were brought against Bastrop over his Spanish grant, and by 1800 Bastrop had left Kentucky to avoid cases pending against him. For the history of Bastrop's complicated affairs, consult Bacarisse, C. A., Baron de Bastrop, *Southwestern Hist. Quart.* 58: 319-330; 1955; Mitchell, Jenny O'Kelly, and Robert Dabney Calhoun, The Marquis de Maison Rouge, the Baron de Bastrop, and Colonel Abraham Morhouse—three Ouachita Valley soldiers of fortune, *Louisiana Hist. Quart.* 20: 289-462, 1937. Nancarrow, too, went south; in April, 1806, he was appointed sheriff at Natchez (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 663, 1001, 1940). In an entry (August, 1804) in Hunter's third journal we see that Bastrop was indebted to fourteen Philadelphia firms for \$25,457, including \$822 to Dr. Hunter.

⁶² Bell was a hatter by trade; just before the turn of the century he built on Main Street the first three-story building in Lexington. By 1803 he had removed to Nashville, Tennessee (Leavy, W. A., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist Soc. Quart.* 40: 370, 1942; Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Clay papers* 1: 119, Lexington, 1959).

⁶³ Thomas Todd (1765-1826). Born in Virginia, he moved to Kentucky in 1786, was appointed judge of the Kentucky court of appeals in 1801; chief justice of the Supreme Court of Kentucky in 1806; and associate justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1807 (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 274-276, Covington, 1882; *Dict. Amer. Biog.* 18: 574-575).

⁶⁴ It was probably the matter of Mrs. Hare's estate that brought Hunter to Kentucky in 1802. Andrew Hare died between October 23, 1799, and February 14, 1800; on the latter date T. Y. Bryant, acting under power of attorney given him by

TB⁶⁵ during the deranged state of mind of M^{rs} Hare—I learnt from M^{rs} January that M^{rs} Lake her Sister was present the greatest part of the day M^{rs} Hare⁶⁶ died, & that it was notorious that she was not in a state of mind to make a will for several months previous to her death—That M^{rs} Gallion⁶⁷ nursed M^{rs}. Hare & knew all the circumstances & had seen money about 2500 Dollars in the house & that her niece Miss Rebecca⁶⁸ & M^{rs} Morton⁶⁹ were present at the time the questions were put to M^{rs} Hare which she could only answer at intervals of Delirium & frantic Spasms—&c I called upon M^{rs} Lake, who candidly told me that she was often at the house where M^{rs} Hare resided during her last illness & on the day of it attended there from 12 till five in the afternoon all which time M^{rs} Hare was speechless & expired at about 5 P.M.—That she was in a deranged state of mind utterly unfit to make a will.

M^{rs}. Banks⁷⁰ says that she signed the questions called the will, with reluctance & much importunity on the part of Bryant who said it would never be enquired into—That she signed her name but once, & that was to the paper I presented to her—That she never acknowledged the same in any office, & of course if any paper with her name be in the office of the probate of wills, so much of it must be a forgery—That she believed M^{rs} Hare at the time these questions were put to her, & for a long time before was not in her right Mind & incapable of making a Will—That she observed M^{rs} Morton make objections to the whole business, saying that M^{rs} Hare was not fit to make a will—That TB. remained in the entry, & now & then M^r Stewart⁷¹

Andrew Hare on October 23, 1799, sold to Henry Clay (for \$35) for Mrs. Hare a carpet belonging to the estate of the late A. Hare (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Clay papers* 1: 21–22, Lexington, 1959). The date of Mrs. Hare's death has not been determined. The Fayette County Courthouse was burned in 1803. Among the surviving scraps of records there is nothing bearing on the Hare estate.

⁶⁵ Thomas Y. Bryant, nephew of Mrs. Hunter and of Mrs. Hare, was living in Lexington in 1800 but soon moved to Frankfort. In 1807 he was listed among the Frankfort subscribers to John Robert Shaw's *Narrative of life and travels*, published at Lexington in that year (reprint edition, p. 217, Louisville, 1930). On December 28, 1807 he was nominated by Henry Clay as clerk of a committee in the Kentucky House of Representatives but was defeated (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Clay papers* 1: 312, Lexington, 1959).

⁶⁶ Probably the wife of Richard Lake, who in 1798 was a founding member of the St. Andrews Society in Lexington (Peter, Robert, *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 389, Chicago, 1882). Mrs. January was Mrs. Peter (Margaret) January (see Journal No. 1, note 47).

⁶⁷ Later, Hunter writes *Gullion*. In 1806 a Patrick Gullion, laborer, was living on Mulberry (Limestone) Street (Coleman, J. W., Jr., *Lexington's First City Directory*, Lexington, 1953).

⁶⁸ In the entry for October 15 Hunter gives her name as Branham.

⁶⁹ Wife of William Morton, merchant of Lexington, who came from Pennsylvania about 1787 (Peter, Robert, *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 276, Chicago, 1882).

⁷⁰ Wife of Cuthbert Banks, Lexington merchant.

⁷¹ James H. Stewart—note 47, Journal No. 1.

went out of the room to him & after speaking together would return & ask another question & that M^r Stewart was intoxicated. That every 10, or 15 minutes M^{rs} Hare was seized with convulsive spasms, which in the intermediate time filled her with dread of their return—& that it was in those short periods that the questions were asked, for she was not capable of making any coherent discourse That M^{rs} Hare said that she intended £100—for her aged mother—

M^r Morton says that for a long time before the death of M^{rs} Hare, she was in a deranged state of mind, That to prevent her from succeeding in attempts against her own life, he ordered & had made for her a strait Waistcoat or shirt usual in cases of like nature—That he was often there & often heard her complain of the treatment of her Nephew T.B. That he once saw her have her money spread out upon the Bed & floor & was crying out that she was going to be robbed &c—That her insanity was notorious to all the Neighbours That she was as absolutely mad as he had ever seen in his life—

M^{rs} Morton was present when part of the questions were put to M^{rs} Hare (for she was incapable of forming any connected discourse herself) by M^r M^c Calla⁷² & M^r Stewart That she objected to the business as improper on acc^t. of M^{rs} Hare's then deranged State of Mind—And refused to put her name to the paper containing the will—That the questions were put during the interval of time between the spasms of violent convulsions & delirium with which M^{rs} Hare was every now & then seized, when nature seemed to flag by such extra exertion & she was sunk into a temporary exhausted condition,

That she did not think M^{rs} Hare was in a sound mind then or for a long time before to be capable to make a will—That she well remembered M^{rs} Hare in one of her answers said that she wished & always intended 100£ for the use of her Aged Mother—That all her best cloths were to be packed up in a trunk & sent to her Sister Phoebe Hunter at Philad^a. That M^r M^cCalla who was the writer on that occasion asked sometimes of M^{rs} Norton if she could comprehend what M^{rs} Hare meant by such & such answers or expressions which plainly evinced that what was then uttered was frequently unintelligible. That M^r Stewart was intoxicated.

D^r Ridgely⁷³ one of the Attending Phisicians declares

⁷² Andrew McCalla had come from Philadelphia to Lexington before 1790. In addition to maintaining an apothecary shop, he served as justice of the peace, town trustee, and librarian of the Lexington Library (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 195, Covington, 1882; Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Clay papers* 1: 188n., Lexington, 1959).

⁷³ Dr. Frederick Ridgely, born in Maryland, 1757, moved to Kentucky in 1780, began practicing medicine in Lexington in 1790, was appointed to the chair of medicine and surgery at Transylvania University in 1799, moved to Woodford County, Kentucky, by 1804, and died in Dayton, Ohio, 1824 (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 184, Covington, 1882; Peter, Robert, *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 296, Chicago,

he is ready to testify before any court that M^{rs} Hare whom he constantly attended as family Physician was not at any time for six months previous to her death in a state of mind capable to make a will That she very often sent for him to consult him as a friend about her affairs that so far from it being her true intention to leave T.B. equal with her only son she always complained of his treatment to her, expressed great doubts of his integrity in his management of her affairs at Orleans &c but was kept in fear of him lest he should injure her as he possessed considerable knowledge of her affairs—which put her in his power.

D^r Brown ⁷⁴ another Attending Physician will testify generally to the same purport as D^r Ridgely—& that he visited M^{rs} Hare as Physician for a considerable time before & untill & on the day of her death, That she was not then nor for several months before in a Capacity to make a will, her mind being in deranged State.

D^r McKee ⁷⁵ who also attended M^{rs} Hare till & on the day of her Death, who now resides at Vincennes, will testify to the same facts as D^{rs} Ridgely & Brown.

Miss Nancey Lindsay, ⁷⁶ who is sister to the Wife of Ben S. Cox. Says that she attended M^{rs}. Hare often during her Indisposition of Mind—That M^{rs}. Hare often complained of Bryants ill treatment, of his gambling away her Money, That M^{rs} Hare had her chest broken open to get some of her own Money, upon which he swore & cursed & threatened her. & also forbad her slaves to obey her.—

M^{rs} Gullion attended M^{rs} Hare as a Nurse, was constant with her for a considerable time before & untill her death She declares as her opinion that M^{rs} Hare was not in a state of mind fit to make a will for several months before her death—That she saw two bags of Dollars which M^{rs} Hare had[—]that she gave TB the Keys when M^{rs} Hare was dying—That TB of course had immediate possession of every thing[—] That M^{rs} Hare told her she lent money to the Amount of 100 Dollars to M^{rs} Stewart to enable her to go to Philad^a.—That having been up all night with M^{rs} Hare she was persuaded to take some rest by Bryant & found when she came downstairs that some questions had been put to M^{rs} Hare at entervals between her spasms of convulsions & delerium when Nature flagged with over exertion, & that some of her incoherent answers were intended to serve the purpose of a will [—]That so far was M^{rs} Hare from bequeathing of her own free will & accord her property to TB She was very frequently complaining of his overbearing & harsh treatment of her & neglect of Promises[?], of

his mismanagement, or embezzlement of the produce of the property he took with him & had the man[agement] of at New Orleans—That on the day of M^{rs} Hares death when she M^{rs} Gullion came down stairs after taking some rest M^{rs} Banks told her that a Will had been made whilst she was asleep, she replied That it was highly improper as M^{rs} Hare was not in her senses, M^{rs} Banks answered, that however it was done & that she had been persuaded to sign it as evidence—That M^r Stewart was intoxicated at the time—That she M^{rs} Hare often on former occasions told her that she intended to give £100 to her Mother & all her best cloths & watch to her sister Phoebe—except a black satin gown for her Mother—That all her jewelery was for her Son Johnny ⁷⁷ & plate M^r Hares watch &c. That she has seen shortly after the funeral of M^{rs}. H. M^{rs} Hares watch & M^r Hares gold breast pin worn openly by Bryant. which were put in a Casket with the rest of the Jewelery the whole of which she cannot call to mind at this time—but well remembers 9 Gold Rings—2 sets or 12 new Silver Tea Spoons & one old set of 12 Table Spoons silver & a silver soup D^o. corral Desert spoons—Silver handled knives & forks—a Gold watch of M^r Hares—and a gold watch of M^{rs} Hares—which she always carried—That M^{rs} Hare informed M^{rs} Gullion that she had several times had high words with TB because she would not make over to him a part of her property.—That she had a large Trunk of M^r Hares packed full of cloths & remembers of 15 dresses of Silk, Satin & finest muslin very little or not all worn besides several not made up & also a great number of cloths of inferior quality which she generally wore—That during the time of her last illness M^{rs} Hare she requested TB to send for Col^o. Todd, which he did not do.—Bryant had one of A Hares shirt[s] on[—]That M^{rs} Hare often said that all her best things of Clothing should be sent to her Sister Phoebe Hunter—That she often said exclaiming O that I ever was born[!] all that belongs to Johnny Johnny ought to have—This was after the will was made—She further says that M^{rs} Hare informed her that she was going to take the large bag of dollars to Philad^a. that she might not be dependent on her friends, & that with the small bag she was to pay some demands against her in Lexington & her expences in her journey to Philad^a.—That M^{rs} Gullion upon & before the death of M^{rs} H. urged TB to send for Col^o. Tod, who replied that he had done so—which was not the case, as Col^o. Tod was not informed thereof for several days afterwards—

Miss Rebecca [blank in MS.] who also attended M^{rs} Hare declares that M^{rs} Hare for long before her death & at the time the questions were asked her which is set up for a will, was not in a sound mind or fit to make a will—That she well remembers one of M^{rs} Hares answers, were that she allotted £100—for her Aged

1882; Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Clay papers* 1: 127, Lexington, 1959).

⁷⁴ Dr. Samuel Brown (note 59) and Ridgely were medical partners at this time.

⁷⁵ Possibly Dr. Samuel McKee, one of the incorporators of Vincennes University in 1806.

⁷⁶ Possibly a daughter or sister of James Lindsey of Lexington.

⁷⁷ John Hare had been "about nine months old" when Dr. Hunter saw him for the first time in August, 1796.

Mother & another all the best of her cloths for her Sister Phoebe Hunter—

M^{rs}. Nat Hart.⁷⁸ That she Visited M^{rs} Hare one day previous to her death & on the morning of her death, that both times she was in a deranged state of mind & utterly incapable of making a will—

M^r Thomas Reed⁷⁹ says that he frequently saw M^{rs} Hare not long before her death, that she appeared to him to be disturbed in her mind, That she would for a few minutes talk rationally & then suddenly would break out & exclaim There! there! is M^r Hare, dont you see him in that corner—That she then opened a drawer & shewed a bag open with dollars which perhaps might contain three or 400 Dollars & desired him to give it to M^r Hare to satisfy him. This was about 2 weeks before her death.

M^{rs} Stewart, says, That she was on very intimate terms with M^{rs} Hare, who informed her that she wished to go to Phil^a. to her Sister Phoebe Hunter, that she waited with great eagerness for G H. to come to conduct her & still appeared at times to have a presentiment that it would not be in her power to ever to go to Philad^a. as she wished, in which case she often mentioned that her Sister Phoebe Hunter should have her best cloths &c who should give to her other Sister in Virginia & her Niece Mary Starr such parts as she (Phoebe) should think most suitable for each—That her cloaths were very rich & numerous of which she could not remmember all, but she well remembers they filled two trunks many of which were not made up—also that the Casket of Jewils was intended with the plate for her son John—

That she remembers amongst the many Silk dresses left by M^{rs} Hare, the following viz—One Pearl Sattin gown & Coat[,] one black do—do. One Salmon do. do One Tabine. do. do. Three Lutestrings[.]⁸⁰ one White Sattin Coat. Two White Mantua do[.] one Green do. one Black do—Six white Muslin gowns, two chintz do. one White Sattin cloak. one black Sattin cloak—much Linnen & stockings & silks not made up—

Contents of a small casket
12 Table Spoons. 12 Tea Spoons
4 gravy Spoons, one Soop Spoon

& contents of the Box of Jewels viz 3 Rings. 2 Lockets. 2 elegant Fans[.] 2 gold watches. Tea Tongs. 12 desert spoons

one silver mounted sword—
one pair Pistols—

⁷⁸ Possibly Mrs. Nathaniel G. S. Hart.

⁷⁹ A coppersmith of Lexington and a member of the Union Fire Company in 1800 (Leavy, W. A., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 41: 126, 1943).

⁸⁰ *Tabine*, or *tabinet*, a poplin or a watered fabric of silk and wool resembling poplin. *Lutestring*, a sturdy, glossy silk fabric.

Lexington Sept^r. 8th. 1802

This day paid James Brown Esq^r.⁸¹ Attorney at Law thirty Dollars as a fee [in] the Chancery Stuit instituted against G & [?] ⁸² Hunter as trustees to the Marriage Contract of Andrew & M^{rs} Hare—to endeavor to compell us to assign to him said contract

10th. Paid M^r Hughes ⁸³ Attorney at Law twenty dollars in the same Cause for Acc^t. of the Estate of Margaret & And^w. Hare Deceased—

paid W^m McIlhenney ⁸⁴ Attorney his fee for attending[,] taking Depositions &c. in the writ of Error & to attend to the causes in general } 20

paid M^r Bradford ⁸⁵ Magistrate fees. 5 Doll.
paid expences of the Tavern whilst taking the depositions—paid four & $\frac{3}{4}$ Dollars fees for taking certificates as Executor to A Hare & as Guardian &c &c and for power of Attorney to lease his lands in Natchez &c with seal &c 1.50

Sept^r. 13th. 1802 Lexington 1802 Set out for the purpose of Veiwing the large Salt Petre Cave of M^r Kincaid on Crooked Creek, a branch of Rock Castle Creek in Maddison County⁸⁶ in Company with D^r [Samuel] Brown, & George

Left Lexington after dinner & proceeded through first rate lands to M^cClures in Jessamin County by the way of Bells Mill,⁸⁷ 4 miles out of the true direction on acc^t. of private business. distance 13 miles—

14th. At 6 a.m. continued our course in a Southeasterly direction still through fine Lands. by the way of Richmond,⁸⁸ the County Town of Maddison. 15 miles, & thence to M^r Woods ⁸⁹ 22 miles further; The

⁸¹ James Brown (1766–1835), brother of Dr. Samuel Brown, son-in-law of Colonel Thomas Hart, brother-in-law of Henry Clay. Later he served as the first secretary of Louisiana Territory and as the first senator from Louisiana.

⁸² Initial difficult to decipher. Possibly *W*, for William Hunter, brother of George.

⁸³ Probably James Hughes, compiler (1803) of the first Kentucky law reports; from 1793 until his death in 1806 or 1807 he lived a mile and a quarter from Lexington (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 17n., Lexington, 1959; Leavy, W., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 355, 1942).

⁸⁴ An attorney of Frankfort.

⁸⁵ Daniel Bradford, son of John Bradford of the *Kentucky Gazette*.

⁸⁶ Eight miles northeast of Mount Vernon in present Rockcastle County. Often referred to as the “great saltpeter cave,” it was discovered by John Baker two or three years before Hunter saw it (Collins and Collins 2: 691, Covington, 1882).

⁸⁷ At this time Montgomery Bell, formerly of Lexington, was the proprietor of Hickman’s Mills on Hickman Creek in Jessamine County; he moved to Nashville in 1803 (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 119–120, Lexington, 1959).

⁸⁸ Richmond, first settled in 1785, was made the county seat on the erection of Maddison County (Collins and Collins, 2: 495, 522, Covington, 1882).

⁸⁹ Possibly John Woods, who established Wood’s Station on Dreaming Creek in Madison County in the opening of Kentucky (Collins and Collins, 2: 521, Covington, 1882).

last 6 or 8 miles thro a mountainous country; There we staid for the night & on the Morning of the 15th pursued our rout thro & chiefly along the tops of steep ridges—to M^r Kinkaid's⁹⁰ house 10 miles, which is situated on Crooked Creek a stream at this season only fit for a Mill Stream—The Land here is very much broken & but little arable amongst it. The stones some sandy & some Limestone—Here we left our Horses & proceeded afoot $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to Veiw the large Cave altho a small Cave be only about 400 yards off—Both are in the Mountain Opposite the House The Mouth of the Large one is about 100 or 150 feet above the level of the Creek on the north side of the Hill; The entrance is first due South then turn S.W. The first impression on entering the Cavern is awful & grand. we decend gradually about 20 feet through an opening formed by nature, at first small, but gradually & irregularly encreasing. Above & on each side, we see immense shaggy rugged rocks, forming an uneven arch over our heads; The air immediately becomes cooll, but not damp, as the moisture is constantly attracted from it by the cold rock which forms the arch [and] here & there hangs like sparkling diamonds. Shortly the ground becomes more level & continues more or less so all the way. This Cave branches to the right & to the left for perhaps the distance of one or two hundred yards—The top is now & then studded with a white flinty petrification formed by the waters of Various shapes & sizes, cheifly like Icicles formed by dropping of water percolating the Mountain for ages. M^r Kinkaid, our guid having provided himself with several splits of pitch pine, kindled them at the mouth & we followed him thro that dark abyss by the light of his pine Torch which answered the purpose very well. We soon came to the Salt Petre earth which covers the bottom of the Cavern of an irregular thickness; in some places one & others ten feet in thickness of various strength to the taste sometimes very sharp strong & bitter & other times & places scarce perseptible to the taste.—The earth resembles yellow clay intermixed with sand & yellow sandy gravel. The whole stone Arch & sides appear to be limestone; The very water appending in drops form the arch above tastes manifestly nitrous, bitter of nitrat of Lime—The best earth seems to be that containing the greatest proportion of clay & least sand—The whole has the appearance of yellow Loamy clay. with Strata of deeper & lighter yellow mixed thro the whole—

The Cave in some places is about 7 feet high, in others about 40 feet & irregularly between these—and the trenches go until the top & bottom meet. There you find it 100 feet wide & here perhaps not above thirty—There is a tolerable waggon road thro & thro the mountain perhaps half a mile or rather less in length from the north to the south opening or Mouth of the Cavern

⁹⁰ James Kincaid (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 194-196, Lexington, 1959).

—Here & there are fallen down from the arched ceiling immense Stones which have been in part moved to make the road. Upon the whole I was much pleased with the Majestic grandeur of Nature which cannot be equelled by the works of Art, I saw no traces of Any Animals except Rats[;] in one of the lateral branc[h]es was a great quantity of their dung, & in many parts the earth was gnawed evidently by their teeth.—

Altho I could not help calling to mind the Cave of Gil Blas⁹¹ & the stories of the Cavern or burying Caves of Sinbad the Sailor; yet I did not feel any sensation of terror or dread—Having come throu we decended to crooked Creek on the other side of the Mountain about the same height or perhaps 30 ft. less than the other.⁹²

Here we found them at work making salt petre—The process is done in a rude manner as follows viz—The earth is dragged out of the cave from where it appears strongest impregnated with nitrate of lime in small carts with 2 low wheels, drawn by two oxen which carry out about 150 bushels p^r Day, down the hill to the creek side where it is put into a sort of hopper which contain about 70 bushels each[.] cold water is put on this & repeated until the ley is extracted; This ley cont[ainin]g nitrat of Lime is poured upon wood ashes boiling hot, & the liquor when it appears to precipitate the lime & clear itself, is put into 4, or 5 Iron Kettles, & boiled until it appears fit to christallize when it is poured into hollow wooden troughs for that purpose.—In this form it is sold, at 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 cents p^r lb—It requires to be cristallized once more in order [to] make it fit for gun powder. on one side of the hill they use 18 hoppers for the Nitrous earth & 8 for Ashes[.] on the other side, the works are rather upon a larger scale—They have each about 16 Kettles rudely fired in stone—from 4 to 6 in a row & over one fire[.] each pot about 15 Gall^s.—

They all complain of the difficulty of obtaining ashes as it requires 12 bushels Ashes to one lb Nitre.—They burn their ashes at a distance & carry them on pack-horses to the works.—We found about 20 hoppers in the cave in two or three places, [illegible] the earth, as we learnt that they found water in some parts of the cave in the winter—when they worked them upon the spot without the trouble of moving the earth—

Their Hoppers are formed of splits of wood like staves fixed in a square frame terminating in a point. under which is a wooden trough to receive the Ley of Nitrat of Lime—The Nitrous earth is said to yeild from lbs 1 to lbs 3 p^r bushel of earth, altho generally averaging lbs 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ or lbs 2.

A M^r Maxwell of the Forks of Cumberland—be-

⁹¹ Hunter referred to the cave of the robbers described in the opening chapters of Le Sage's famous novel, *Gil Blas of Santillane*.

⁹² See also Dr. Samuel Brown's report: A description of a cave on Crooked Creek, with remarks and observations, on nitre and gun-powder, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, o.s., 6: 235-247, 1809 (read February 7, 1806).

tween the south fork & the main River⁹³—whom we met here by accident informs me that there is a very extensive bank of Iron lying on the south fork of Cumberland River in the county of Paleskie about 3 miles above the mouth of the south fork, upon the east side of the River[,] which might have a mill dam built on it about 1½ miles above the said Bank—The River is in all times except dry times, that is when the Ohio is boatable that is so also, The land belongs to the State of Kentucky & M^r Maxwell thinks it might be taken up for about 40—or 50 Doll p^r hundred Acres—& near to the said Land is an immense Cave of Nitrous earth said to be innexhaustable distance from the Ore bank about 2 miles towards the mouth of the South fork, that is the Cave is so much nearer the mouth of the river than the bank of ore—The Cave belongs to David Maxwell, son of the David Maxwell our informant—This Cave, the earth of which is so abundant in Nitre as to yeild lbs 8 to the bushel—the Distance is computed by Land by the course of the river is more say 5 or 6 miles to the bank of ore from the Mouth[,] the ore is about ½ miles back in the mountains—

M^r Kinkaid is to bring his papers to Lexington to be inspected by M^r James Brown & M^r Hughes Attorney at Law as to the Validity of the title when D^r Brown & myself propose to deal with him[,] he asks 1000 Doll for the Cave & 1000 Acres of Land & for 1000 [4000?] Acres more at the rate of one quarter of a Dollar p^r Acre & as there are several interfering claims he thinks that less than 400 Dollars would pay them, which he expects in addition to the sum above mentioned which claims do not apply to any part of the Land but that on which the cave lays⁹⁴—The Cave may contain perhaps earth capable of yeilding one thousand Tons Salt Petre, & if said earth is put back again may give as much more in a few years & thus become an unexhaustable fund—I took an excursion up to the top of the mountain which contains the cave. The stone to the top appeared to be Limestone mixed with some sand, & here & there I found a detached stone resembling iron ore combined w^t. Limestone, red & yellow & rusty coloured in alternat strata in the stone—

The Mountain seemed to be about 500 ft perpendicular & pretty steep, The Trees beech, chesnut, & oak dog wood &c. Here is found Ginseng & also a plant called

⁹³ This would be in the neighborhood of Burnside, Pulaski County.

⁹⁴ The Hunter-Brown project must have fallen through. On November 10, 1804, Brown wrote to his brother James at Lexington that he had "formed a Partnership with Mr Thos Hart purchased Kenkard's (?) Salt Petre Cave & intend to go largely into the Manufacture of that Article & Gunpowder. Our prospects are very flattering. We shall have 20 hands employed in the course of two weeks if we meet with no accident & expect to make lb 1000 per day of Salt Petre which we can exchange for half that quantity of Powder" (Padgett, J. A., The letters of Dr. Samuel Brown, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 35: 124, 1937).

Cancer root or Beech drop, on acc^t. of its never being found except under beech trees. It appears to be a plant without colour composed of from one to a dozen stems of about 1 foot long without a leaf, only full of buds, like a plant that had grown in the dark of a very tender texture approaching to the nature of a mushromy substance, of a very uncommon appearance with a lump of a root about as big as a chesnut whitish with very short fibers or roots, of a powerful bitter nauseous taste. This is said to be the famous Cancer curing root; we carried a quantity of it for the use of M^{rs} Barr. It is said to be used by being pounded & applied to the part affected.⁹⁵

Memorandum to see M^r Howard on Goose creek,⁹⁶ to obtain information respecting ores, Caves & salt springs &c. At M^r Woods Tavern we met the son of a M^r Abram who lives about 3 miles from thence, he promised to conduct me to a place which he said was about 15 miles off, on Station Camp Creek⁹⁷ between the north & south fork, in which he & his father had observed a stratum of dark colored ore resembling the sample I received of D^r Brown [which extended] for 100 yards in length & 6 feet thick a little above the water of the creek—We agreed to meet at this place on my return—but Abrams not meeting agreably to appointment I left D^r Brown in charge with my little son George to conduct him back to Lexington, whilst I went along a small path 3 miles along a water course amongst the mountains to Abrams fathers House or rather Cabbin. When I arrived there young Abrams was from Home, & there appearing no disposition in the old man to shew me the place his son discribed, I was obliged to endeavor to return to the Company I had left, in the best manner I could. It appeared to me that Abrams either did not know anything that would justify what his son had related, or they did not chuse to inform me if they knew it—I was directed to take a path thro the wilderness, which in 5 miles led me to a cabbin. Here I was instructed to regain the main road to Lexington, which I accomplished at the distance of about 15 miles from Richmond; And pushing on Goosse, in hopes of overtaking D^r Brown & George at that place, night came on; which proved very dark & rainy—I went still on for about 2 hours in the dark, which now was such as I could not see Gooss's head—I gave him the reins judging that he could find the path better than myself, as he generally carried his nose pretty near the ground.

He conducted tolerably well for some time, but at length I found myself in the woods & my passage in-

⁹⁵ Bailey, L. H. (*Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture* 2: 1824, 1947) distinguishes between two varieties of *Lathraea* (Toothwort): (1) *Conopholis* (squaw-root or cancer-root) and (2) *Epifagus* or *Leptammium* (beech drop).

⁹⁶ Goose Creek flows into Red Bird Creek and thence into the South Fork of Kentucky River in Clay County.

⁹⁷ Station Camp Creek flows north through Jackson and Estill Counties to enter the Kentucky River.

terupted by branches & Logs—It was so excessively dark that the ground or path could not be seen, I dismounted & with some difficulty groping with my hands on the grass got into the road again, when I again mounted & pushed on towards Richmond from which by estimation I was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles off. Gooss had not proceeded far, when I found myself again checked by large logs, & in a thicket of wood, bushes &c, so that I cou[ld] neither find my way back to the path or proceed farther; I had no other alternative, but to remain where I was for the night, as I might fall into some hole, or get my eyes put out with projecting branches, without the least prospect of going the right road.—It was now about 8 o'clock at night, very dark; the rain pouring down, & I had no company but Gooss, whom I made fast to a tree with the bridle. I reflected in my mind how I should endeavor to make fire; I had neither tow nor punk, nor sulphur, everything was wet—I took a bit of old linnen & having cut it in peices as well as I could in the dark, unraveled the threads one by one, until I collected as much as I thought would set fire to some paper [and] Then set about collecting wood to burn. when having gathered by groping (for the darkness & rain still continued) near half a Cord [*sic!*] of rotten wood, & some dry twigs, & cut some chips with my knife I ventured next to open my saddle bags & take out a little gun powder with which by means of a steell & Flint I kindled the linnen threads & the paper & chips, & thus in a short time I had an excellent fire. This changed the appearance of things, I warmed myself, dried my cloths, & a place under a large tree to sleep on; By this time it was near eleven at night, I was preparing myself to lye down, with a very keen appetite (having eat nothing since breakfast) but nothing to eat, when I suddenly heard the noise of the feet of some large Animal approaching to me; I called out, who's there, was answered at a distance by a Voice but could not distinguish what was said. Shortly I perceived the head of a man peep over a large fallen tree with a Riffle in his hand & a large knife hanging in a sheath by his side; he was a tall raw boned figure drest in a shirt & trowsers & Mokasons, with a shot p[ro]uch round his middle—I went to meet him[,] desired him to put his Riffle against a tree, shook hands, & invited him to pass the night with me by my fire, which he accepted without any ceremony; On conversing with him I found that he had seen me near thirty miles off that morning: He said he had lost his way in the night in the woods & that the light of my fire had led him to it.

We laid down together by the fire & slept till day light, when I arose & having saddled Gooss, awakened my companion; we soon found the road, but he endeavored to persuade me that the course I was going which I had set by pocket compas, was the wrong road, said he knew it well, & that I was going back to the wilderness again[.] However, finding me obstinatly

persisting in following the compas, he at length said he believed I was right & accompanied me a little way till finding a by path he took it & left me. I proceeded on to Lexington where I found D^r Brown & George had arrived about 3 hours before me. It appears to me that it would be an object of consequence to purchase the proper title to that large salt petre Cave & a quantity of land adjoining & also Maxwels Cave on the waters of Cumberland, which ought to be examined first.—

I think that great improvements might be made in the mode of working—particularly that some other manufactory that would consume much fuel & thus produce the Ashes necessary to form the salt petre, should be connected with it, also that the nitrat of lime might be extracted & kept until potash could be pre-cured from the ashes produced at Salt works &c—perhaps many other things might present themselves by reflections.—As it is said that perfect Nitrat of potash is afforded in considerable quantities by some sandy Rocks—This stone ought to be examined & analyzed.—

Sept^r. 19th Upon examination I find that Nitrat of Lime contains for every 100 grains of dry Acid 96 grains of Lime—& that the same quantity of dry acid is contained in 324 gr dry Nitrat of Potash, equal to 336 grains Chrystalized Nitrat of Potash—It follows that about lbs 100 dry nitrate of Lime is capable of making with a sufficient quantity of Potash (say lbs 107 Potash) lbs 168 of Nitrat of Potash in chrystals; consequently to export Salt Petre to Philad^a. for example must pay 68 p^r C^t. more freight than to export Nitrat of Lime & to buy the potash there & there finish the process—& that it is as cheap to carry the nitrate of lime to the potash as to carry the Potash to the Nitrat of lime. And as it is no great trouble or expense to make nitrate of lime at the Cavern in large quantities therefor It might be advisable to purchase two or three of the Salt Petre Caves of the first Magnitude & by proper contrivances to Lixivate the earth in the Caverns & pass the Lye thro the fire & exicate the mass at the foot of the hill in proper boilers & store the Nitrat of Lime in cakes until a proper occasion should arrive to finish it into Nitrat of Potash—The ashes produced by the combustion of the necessary fuel might be used to make as much Nitre as would perhaps help to pay wages etc.

1802 Sept^r. 20th. At M^r Edw^d Wests I rec^d. a small sample of black ore resembling lead ore, attached to white spar, what M^r West saw he could not melt—& that he got it from M^r Cuthbert Banks⁹⁸ of this place, who said he rec^d it from Col^o. George Thomson⁹⁹ of

⁹⁸ Lexington merchant, who in September, 1804, sold his farm on Todd's or Boone's Road to Henry Clay, who built Ashland there. From 1808 to 1810 he was the proprietor, under lease from Clay, of Travellers Hall tavern in Lexington (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 148, 170, 355–357, *passim*, Lexington, 1959).

⁹⁹ Colonel George Thompson lived four miles from Harrodsburg on the Lexington side. Thomas Chapman, visiting his

Mercer county near Harrodsburg[,] to see him I must cross at the mouth of Dicks river,¹⁰⁰ The Col^o says that the ground containing the same lies on the Kentucky river about 25 miles from Lexington & is the property of a poor man who might easily be induced to sell it. I took a few grains of the same (which West said he had in vain endeavored to melt) & poured thereon a little aq. Fort. The mixture gilt a polished knife blade with copper—& altho it did not discover any silver by immersing a piece of bright copper, yet in a few hours I found my fingers blackened with touching the solution exactly in the same manner as if they had been touched with Nitrat of Silver (Lunar Caustic) which did not come off but with the skin—from the whole I am of opinion that this contains both copper & silver, & that it deserves further investigation—

This day saw James Simmons & his brother who sent on four waggon loads of clarified Ginseng, M^r James Simmons says that he has used [blank in *ms.*] green Ginseng & produced lbs 4200 of Clarified Root. further he says that D^r Heland has got with him lbs 5200 Clarified do—& M^r James Simmonds also says that he has expended 5000 Dollars this season in this business, & that D^r M^o Cullough, D^r Helland & himself are alike interested in the business, & that he made all the advances by contract—

D^r Helland told me that he used lbs 18000 green Ginseng to produce the quantity he carried with him, which cost 4^d p^r lb Kentucky curr[enc]^y which is about 1000 Dollars[,] but both James Simmonds & his Brother separately told me that about lbs 3½ Green ginseng yeild lbs 1 Clarified Root & Simmonds seemed to intimate that all his was clarified.—

D^r Heland told me that he expended above 1000 Dollars—James Simons says that he has two waggon Loads of Clarified root & David Simmons has two Loads—4 waggons loaded passed thro here this day with their Ginseng on their way [to] Limestone to be carried in a boat to Wheeling, thence to Philad^a.—

Sept^r 21st—I got a little more of the same Ore of M^r West which he said he rec^d of M^r Banks. I powdered a few grains of it & poured some Aq. Fort Dup thereon, an effervescence ensued & as the solution porceded on, a dark olive coloured light precipitate was deposited, a drop of the clear solution gilt the blade of a penknife with copper—

Then dissolved a little silver in some of the Aq. Fort. which by the white precipitate immediately produced, demonstrated that the Aq. Fort. contains much Marine

2,000 acre plantation in 1795, thought his "House & other Buildings . . . of an inferior kind & upon a small scale." A widower with a fourteen year old son, Chapman found Thompson "lively & hospitable, with^{ou}t Ceremony" (Journal, 1795-6, *Historical Magazine*, n.s., 5: 362, 1869). Thompson was an original trustee of Transylvania University and an early magistrate in Mercer County.

¹⁰⁰ Dix River enters the Kentucky about ten miles northeast of Harrodsburg.

Acid—I then purified the rest of the Aq. Fort. A copper plate dipped into the former solution of the ore shewed no signs of silver; but on dropping some of it on a peice of brass it in part was gilt with a bright purple metallic splendor—in spots.—The olive coloured precipitate put on kindled charcoal burned with a blue flame shewing manifest signs of Sulphur & the residuum exposed to the heat produced with a blow pipe with the addition of borax Tartar & nitre was consumed, leaving a Yellow glassy matter on the charcoal

By adding potash to the clear solution, a white precipitate was obtained, which by the blow pipe yeilded particles of Mettal red & white in too small quantity for determining their nature—

By adding sea salt to the solution made by the purified Aq. Fort, a precipitate was obtained lead coloured which by the blow pipe yeilded a small bit of pure silver.—N^o. 1

Sept^r. 22nd. I took 200 grains of ore resembling the former[,] said to be bro^t. from Hickman[,] ¹⁰¹ which was said to be refractory of a dull lead color & shining appearance without having any regular form of chrystals, combined with white semitransparent spar of a flinty appearance[,] & 36. Aq. Fort. purified. A violent ebullition immediately took place & a copious olive colored precipitate or rather residuum fell. Sulphuric Acid caused no change. Potash caused a yellowish white semitransparent precipitate. Common salt made no change

The remainder of the solution by means of potash precipitated gr 88. of the forementioned powder (alumine) The Volatile Alkali shewed no signs of copper, but caused a copious precipitate also alumine to fall from the clear solution, after it had been filtered from the precipitate caused by potash, which it resembled in appearance—being not unlike paste when wet—Iron polished shewed no marks of copper—N^o. 2

Sept^r. 22nd. Took 200 grains Ore rec^d. of M^r West, said to be brought by Col^o. Johnson[,] ¹⁰² of a bright lead colour shining & breaking in regular cubes or squares—covered with a soft white limestone spar opacke—& heavy[,] & 36 Aq. Fort purified.

An ebullition took place & a copious white precipitate fell & a glutinous or rather tenacious yellow matter resembling Sulphur[, which] when dry fell into yellow powder[,] was separated in considerable quantity. Sulphuric Acid caused a copious white precipitate [of] lead[,] Common Salt had the same effect in a less degree.—

The remainder of the solution precipitated a white powder by means of common Salt gr 88 muriat of lead

The first white precipitate refused to dissolve in Aq. Fort. boiling

¹⁰¹ Hickman Creek rises south of Lexington to flow south through Jessamine County into the Kentucky River.

¹⁰² Possibly Colonel Robert Johnson, who served with Coburn in running the Virginia-Kentucky line.

The Volatile Alkali discovered no signs of copper—Iron polished discovered no marks of the presence of copper

N 1 Recapitulation

Olive colored precipitate washed & dried weighed gr. 108. including residuum. by calcination lost 6 gr. & burned blue like sulphur—nette weight 102 gr. This proved to be the original ore not acted upon being too coarsely powdered. Precipitate by Fixed Alkali weighed gr 88. This proved to be Alumine

Precipitate by Volatil Alkali gr 36[.] This also proved to be Alumine

The olive colored precipitate after calcination & desulfuration was exposed to boiling aq. Fort & then a drop on an iron plate shewed faint marks of copper—The precipitate was exposed then to the blow pipe but did not melt—suppose it to be the original Ore not ground fine enough.

N° 2 Recapitulation

The White precipitate which fell during the solution washed & dried weighed gr 25. by the blow pipe proved to be lead

The Sulphureous powder separated during the solution weighed gr. 40 of which the Sulphur burned during calcination weighed 20 gr.—The rest by the blow pipe melted into lead—

White powder precipitated by common Salt weighed gr. 133 & by the blow pipe flowed into Patent Yellow—

Upon the whole This appears to be a very pure or rich lead ore containing only 10 p^ct. Sulphur.

Sept^r. 24th. 1802 This day went to Frankfort the seat of Government of Kentucky, 22 miles distant from Lexington in company with young M^r M^c Illhenney & M^r Bradford printer.¹⁰³

In the way M^r Bradford shewed me his lead Mine about 6 miles from Lexington, about 3 miles out of the road—This Mine had been worked by Gen^l. Wilkinson & him without producing any profit or prospect of it & after a short trial abandoned—It was here covered with & envelopped in a sort of white Spar, of a consistence as to hardness between flint & limestone[.] The Vein was about 6 Inches thick near the surface of the ground & at about 18 ft. below it increased to 18 Inches thick. This Vein consisted of Ore & Spar in a heterogenous mixture & as I suppose may have been precipitated from the Mineralizer by the superior affinity of the Limestone.

The water coming in stopped further prosecution of the mining business & a dispute as to the title of the land—which is not yet determined[—]effectually prevents any thought of resuming it—

¹⁰³ Although six months before this John Bradford had turned over publication of the *Kentucky Gazette* to his son Daniel, from the reference in the next paragraph it is clear that Hunter meant the older man. For John Bradford (1749-1830) consult *Dict. Amer. Biog.* 3: 557-558.

Late in the evening we got to M^r Bush's¹⁰⁴ Tavern at Frankfort & next day went about half a mile out of Town to Col^o. Thomas Todds House, The Acting Executor to the estate of And^w. Hare, Col^o. Todd was from home[.] his Lady had just been brought to bed of a Daughter & was confined to her chamber;¹⁰⁵ I left my respects & promised to call again in three days when Col^o Todd would be at home.

Sept^r. 26th. Visited M^{rs} Murray, found her attending two of her sons who were sick of Intermittents, herself rather in a poor state of health; she shewed me the Draft of 12000 acres of land in the name of Guy Bryant¹⁰⁶ of which 3000 Acres belong to the heirs of Joseph Wright near Harrodsburg[.] She says that M^r James Hughes a principal Attorney here is to transact the business of Guy Bryants purchase of Robert Morris's¹⁰⁷ notes so as to lay them on land in Kentucky—That M^r Murry & him are to do the business on a joint concern—I have since seen M^r Hughes, & in conversation with him he told me that he supposed M^r Bryan might have about 10,000 Acres for his share of the land so recovered when the business would be adjusted, which he said was in a proper train.—That he (M^r Hughes[]) had made advances in cash to purchase in some of said land which he had written to Guy Bryant about, but had rec^d no answer.—I told him to give me a few lines to M^{rs} Bryant on the subject & that I would engage that M^r Bryant would answer him satisfactorily.

27th. Called upon M^{rs} Instone[;]¹⁰⁸ she was well, lived in new brick-house of their own in Frankfort & kept a general Store.—

Went to see M^r Tolman,¹⁰⁹ he was from home. M^{rs} Tolman was much afflicted by the indisposition of her young Son (Flux)—I called a few days after[.] saw

¹⁰⁴ Philip Bush, born in Winchester, Virginia, early settler in Frankfort, father of Joseph Bush the painter (Trabue, A. E., *A corner in celebrities*, 12, Louisville, 1923).

¹⁰⁵ Née Elizabeth Harris (1765-1811). The daughter must have been Millicent, her youngest child, who died at the age of eighteen (Harris, J. H., *Record of the Harris family*, 27-37, Philadelphia, 1903).

¹⁰⁶ Guy Bryan of Philadelphia.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Morris (1734-1806), financier of the American Revolution, whose financial collapse came in 1798; he was released from debtor's prison in Philadelphia as a bankrupt in 1801 (*Dict. Amer. Biog.* 13: 219-223).

¹⁰⁸ Samuel Postlethwaite at Henderson on September 23, 1800, "had the pleasure to see arrive 2 vessels from New Orleans carrying one large square sail, each the property of Jno. Instone, Frankfort" (*Journal of a voyage from Louisville to Natchez—1800, Mo. Hist. Soc. Bull.* 7: 314, 1951). An early settler of Frankfort, Instone in 1807 was appointed cashier of the Bank of Kentucky (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 118, Lexington, 1959).

¹⁰⁹ Harry Toulmin (1767-1823) came to America in 1793, visited Kentucky, served as president of Transylvania Seminary for two years and as secretary of state during Governor Garrard's two administrations, and in 1804 was appointed a superior court judge in Mississippi Territory. For pertinent works by him see "Sources Consulted" below.

M^r Toulman [who] was glad to see me, his son was very low—I called then upon Cap^t. Daniel Gano, one mile from Frankford, found he had conveyed away his property, to prevent being torn to peices by merciless creditors. He had no money, promised to pay me in horses which I agreed to take, & in a few days delivered to me a Fine Stud Horse for the sum of 300 Dollars & a Colt for the balance viz 53 Dollars, & thus we settled in full & I gave in a receipt in full of All Acc^{ts}. so as to exonerate him from the securityship he had formerly assumed for M^c Connel & Finlays debt to me—I have learnt that M^c Connel lives in Nashville in Tennessee & keeps a store for a M^r [blank in MS.]¹¹⁰ I have written to him by Major Morrison & probably shall have an answer before I can go in—I have seen Doct^r Isaac E Gano who keeps a Tavern here, he I believe has also made over what property he has to a Cap^t. Hubble¹¹¹—The Doctor has delivered to me three Horses on acc^t. of his debt to me which I took at a Valuation made by two men mutually chosen for that purpose as follows viz—

A handsome Grey	9 years old	133 $\frac{1}{2}$
“ “ Bay	9 years old	133 $\frac{1}{2}$
A large Sorrel	5 years old	110—
	Dollars.	376 $\frac{2}{3}$
& I have rec ^d his bond payable on demand with interest from this day Sept ^r . 30 th for the balance viz—		869 39/100
Dollars		
		1246.[0]6

The Doctor has promised to pay me two more horses at my return to Frankfort

Sept^r. 28th This day saw Col^o. Tho^s. Todd, & spent the day with him at his house looking over such of the papers of M^r Hare as he put into my hands—I took extracts from such papers & deeds as seemed of most moment—By which it appears that Col^o. Todd has no great sum in his hands belonging to the estate.—I have had much conversation with him about the affairs of the estate, he seems to wish that the debts due by the estate should be paid before the Marriage Contract, & from the influence he has (being a Judge &c) I have no expectation of being able to carry any point contrary to his wishes. Upon reflection I think that it may be most prudent to coincide with his Veivs to prevent an union of interest with Bryant which would totally ruin the Orphan's property in its immediate consequences—I have seen the Child, he is a smart boy, he now goes

¹¹⁰ In July, 1804, Hunter heard that Robert McConnel was keeping store at Eddyville in Livingston County, Kentucky, the debt still unpaid (Journal No. 3).

¹¹¹ Possibly Captain William Hubble of Scott County, famous for his defense of a flatboat against an Indian attack in 1791 (Collins and Collins, 2: 700-703, Covington, 1882; Leavy, W., Memoir of Lexington, *Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 41: 258, 1943).

to school with Col^o Todds son who is about the same age.¹¹²—T. Bryant has already attemp[t]ed to frighten him from coming in with me by telling him that I shall whip him &c. The boy has told my son George what Ty Bryant has said to him.

29th Went out seven miles from this[,] frankfort[,] to Elkhorn to Visit the Farm of B. S. Cox. The road was very romantic & wild, George accompanied me. The Land is beautifully situated on the river Elkhorn a few miles from its junction with the Kentucky river.¹¹³ It contains four hundred acres of very rich land[,] near 100 acres cleared; has 50 clear acres of meadow in a rich bottom—Has a few Log houses or cabbins built such as dwelling house, barn, stable[,] workshop (he is a Sadler) &c Before the house is a gradual descent to the river & on the other side are prodigious high, steep & romantic Cliffs at the foot of which, almost level with the bed of the river is a Salt lick or spring where the Salt water runs out of the bottom of the Cliff between two horizontal Strata of Limestone in small quantity, about as strong or rather stronger to the taste than the water of blue Licks—& I am informed that about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile farther down the creek there is another salt spring where there issues a water considerably stronger about 50 feet or more up the Cliff, altho still in small quantity—I found M^{rs} Cox in a deep consumption, & I believe that if I was to order the Land to be sold now that the shock would be the cause of her immediate death. Therfor I conclude for the present at least to let the matter rest until that event takes place by the cause of nature, which apparently may be in the next winter—In the mean time he expects to realize a claim he has to 100,000 acres on the Tennessee River near the big bend, thro Zacharia Cox, which depends upon this circumstance viz. whether in the late Treaty between the U. States & Georgia That the purchase made by said Zachariah Cox called the Tennessee purchase is to be confirmed to said Cox & C^o. or Associates or not¹¹⁴—If this purchase be confirmed—B S. Cox intends to remove there, & of course this property whereon he now lives will be of small acc^t. to him & I may order the sale of it without having to reproach myself with rooting an unfortunate man out of house & home—He has offered to me that in case he succeeds in his claim as above, that he will dispose of to me 33,000 Acres or one Township thereof at one third

¹¹² John Harris Todd, fourth child of Thomas and Elizabeth Harris Todd, born June 12, 1795, died August 31, 1824 (Harris, J. H., *Record of the Harris family*, 27-37, Philadelphia, 1903).

¹¹³ In the northern part of Franklin County.

¹¹⁴ Zachariah Cox of Georgia in 1785 became involved in a project to make a settlement at the bend of the Tennessee River; his Tennessee Company in 1789 received a grant of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ million acres at Muscle Shoals for \$46,785 but failed to get confirmation. For the involved story of Cox's real estate speculations see Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 4: 55, 1936, and the sources cited there, especially Cox, I. J., Documents relating to Zachariah Cox, *Quart. Pub. Hist. and Philos. Soc. of Ohio* 8: 31-114, 1913.

of a dollar p^r Acre—He says that the other debt besides mine against his Elkhorn estate belongs to a M^r Miller & C^o.¹¹⁵ who purchased his note from a M^{rs} Jones (in Market street near Dunwooddys¹¹⁶ for Milenery) The sum about the same as my own debt—Also that M^c Calmont & Bays have sued him for about as much as both these debts—he thinks that both these might be purchased for a small sum of money.

Sept^r. 30th. We set out for Lexington with our seven horses, two of which we rode, & arrived there in the evening not without some difficulty—I found George very useful & smart—I rode before, the led horses tied in a string came next in a line abreast, & George brought up the rear—Goose being an Indian bred horse & an obstinate stiff necked beast, frequently led the rest into the woods, where the whole got entangled amongst the trees & so caused us often to stop to put the whole to rights again—To add to our embarrassment the Mare (Jane Delany) got loose & ran away, It was useless to attemp[t] to catch her—& after several trials without effect, we went on & she followed of her own accord; we then continued our route & got to Lexington without further difficulty.—

Oct^r. 1st. & 2nd. Was employed in visiting the different Persons again whos evidence I thought Material in the Cause¹¹⁷ which was expected to come on, on the 15th Ins^t. in the Court of Appeals viz the writ of error to set aside the will—& when I retired to my chamber, I wrote out the outlines of what each person could prove, & from it copied a more methodical statement of the whole, of which I gave a copy to each of my Attorneys, with instructions to endeavor to arrange with the opposite attorneys that Depositions might be taken, so as to preclude the necessity of taking Ladies from home 24 miles to Frankfort to appear in Court, which would be very difficult for me to effect, on acc^t. of the reluctance which Ladies have to appear in Court—This would also save expence.—

Oct^r. 4th. Wrote a long letter to M^{rs} Hunter, giving the outlines of what was going on here & in answer to three rec^d from her—

5th. Being unemployed, I rode to the Mouth of Hickman a branch of the Kentucky river to Veiv the stupenduous Cliffs there & Mountainous country from which I had heard that many ores & minerals were brought—I entered to veiv the first Vineyard of this State in my route, for which purpose I was furnished with a letter of recommendation to M^r John Dufour Manager thereof, a Swiss by birth¹¹⁸—Not being

properly directed I overshot the road & when I found myself at the mouth of Hickman creek I was informed that altho but 3 miles off I could not reach it in less than 7 or 8 miles, on acc^t of Rocks, mountains & preciepies, scarce passable. It being sun set, I concluded to remain where I was for the night which I did, & next morning of the 6th with the sun set out to veiv the place where the ore lay which I rec^d of M^r West (rec^d by him from M^r Banks in the neighbourhood of Col^o. George Thomson of Mercer County) & which appeared to shew signs of silver—by my experiment on the 20th Sept^r & on the 21st of same month—which on Acc^t. of the small quantity could not be fully & satisfactorily ascertained—

Immediately on crossing the River Kentucky at & just below the Mouth of Hickman creek, I ascended by a winding road up the cliff & when I had nearly reached the top I saw on my right hand going up, a great quantity of white semitransparent spar like stone, which I alighted to examin more particularly—It appeared very heavy, uncommonly so, without a grit or flint, was very easily broken altho it looked a little like White flint—I found the same appearances to extend a few yards up the Mountain where it was lost amongst common limestone of a light blueish cast.—I followed it down a considerable distance until I came to a gulley but not having any toolls to assist further investigation, I left the spot, taking with me a peice of the stone for further investigation—As Col^o George Thomson lives within 4 miles from Harrodsburg on the road to which Guy Bryan & Jos Wrights 12,000 Acre purchase lays by the Survey in the hands of M^{rs} Murray, I tho^t. it best to try what information I could get on that subject, but could not learn that any person knew of any entry in that name altho I traversed a considerable distance of land all that day & made enquiry of every person likely to possess the means of information (If I had when at M^{rs} Murrays at Frankford, taken the survey in her possession, with me I should have found some true Idea of the title, quality &c.[.]]

I went by the way of M^c Cays¹¹⁹ Mill on Dicks River, thence by a M^r Bawmans called Bawmans station¹²⁰—by M^r Thomas Allens¹²¹ the Clerk of the

Kentucky, formed a vineyard association, and bought land on the Kentucky River four miles above the mouth of Hickman Creek. This, called the "First Vineyard," was abandoned in 1809. The Second Vineyard was started at Vevay, Indiana, in 1802. For the Dufours, consult Perret Dufour, *The Swiss settlement of Switzerland County, Indiana, Indiana Hist. Soc. Colls.* 13, 1925. Although Hunter did not see the vineyard on this occasion, F. A. Michaux visited it on August 10 of that year (1904: 207–209).

¹¹⁵ Possibly Robert Miller, merchant of Lexington and owner of an inn at Richmond, Kentucky (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 208 and *passim*, Lexington, 1959).

¹¹⁶ John Dunwoody's tavern, The Sign of the Spread Eagle, then on the northwest corner of Ninth and Market Streets, Philadelphia (*Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* 46: 360, 1922).

¹¹⁷ The Hare estate.

¹¹⁸ John James Dufour made his first visit to America in 1796, traveling as far west as St. Louis. In 1798 he went to

¹¹⁹ Possibly, McCoy. Hunter was now in Mercer County.

¹²⁰ Abraham Bowman. Bowman's Station was six miles east of Harrodsburg.

¹²¹ Thomas Allin had been appointed clerk of the county court of Mercer County in 1786 (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 605, Covington, 1882).

County, thence by Cap^t. Champlins¹²² to Col. George Thomsons, thence about 5 or six Miles (having lost my way) to Harry Tuttle's, The proprietor of the land where the one lay that I was in quest of.—The land from Bawmans Station being generally very good in all my route—Here I stopped & eat Dinner, examined the place where the Ore was taken from. the ground was of what is here called a second rate or quality. M^r Tuttle possesses 170 Acres for which he asks 40/- p^r Acre but perhaps might take less.—He has an apple & peach orchard, a logg house, barn & stable—perhaps half of the land may be cleared—The Vein lays in rather a decending cornfield, & lower is another of perhaps greater extent. I brought all the ore I could find which was about six ounces intermixed with spar. The spar looks in some places opake like dirty chalk, here & there interspersed with semitransparent spar of a ch[r]ystalline appearance. The Vein was about 1 foot thick entirely of spar & towards the bottom intermixed with ore in small quantity, Tuttle says that he did not get more than about ten pounds of ore; he has dug 9 ft. deep between the fissures of a limestone rock, which is soft where it touches the spar, called by the workmen rotten limestone. The Vein here & wherever I have yet seen it in this country is nearly perpendicular. Harry Tuttle says that he waits for gun powder to blow the limeston below in order to prosecute his plan; as he is assured by one named Cook a Methodist Preacher¹²³ that there is a vein a little lower down in the field where the ore is as big as an hogs head—This Cook is one of the most famous Water Wizards in this Country. He & many others pretend they can tell with accuracy, where to dig for water to drink, where to dig for Salt Water, how deep they must go in every place, how many measures of water will make a measure of salt, how large the stream is &c also where to dig for a silver Mine, where to dig for a lead & where for a Gold Mine, how rich the ore will be &c. These pretenders are to be found everywhere, They have set a prodigious number of people adigging & altho much individual loss may ensue, yet as new discoveries may be the result; the public will in the end be benefited, for the credulity of the generality of the people here, is fully equal to the impudence of these Impostores.

They work in Various Ways & for different prices. Some have 100 Dols. if Salt is found—Some have a share in the Mine if Silver be found, & for fresh water a small price. Some have a forked crooked stick made of Peach tree—for water which they set either for fresh or salt water as circumstances require. They take the end of the stick & having turned it in their

Mouths once or twice, it is then set, (as they say,) for fresh or for salt water, which ever the owner of the ground wishes to have. They then go along the ground with the stick held out in their hands, & when they come to what the Owner of the ground wants, be it fresh water or salt, a Silver or Gold mine, or even lead or Copper[,] The stick forcibly turns (as they assert) in their hands, & from experience they know the distance to a foot under ground, it is to the desired object—& also the magnitude, the richness of the ore, the specific gravity of the salt water &c. Others have crooked wire twisted together to discover Mettals—It is diverting to hear how seriously most people speak of the great knowledge of these Water Witches—It seems it requires neither art, learning nor study to become an adept in this Art Magic, only faith—For the stick will turn in the hands of none but those who have faith in it. It is a gift by nature not acquired by Art¹²⁴—

I have observed that these wizards are generally sent for by those who have the appearance of a Salt lick or salt water oozing thro the ground or Rocks, or who have seen a Spar of some sort or other rise above the ground—Therefore their Art consists in advising which is the most rational place to begin to dig so as to come at the object with the least expence, & they are generally directed by the appearance of the surface of the ground. viz It requires the less digging the lower you begin, befor you can reach the stratum of salt water which is specifically heavier than fresh water & appears almost in every few miles wherever the channels of the rivers or creeks have been cut by the constant running of the water from time immemorial, all over this part of the Country.—& as the ore of a Mine is generally heavier than the Spar; as the whole must once have been liquid, the small mettalic particles diffused in the earth must have been dissolved by the Mineral Acids, which are all here in great abundance from the Sulphur, Nitre & Marine salt with which the Mountainous part of this Country is filled. Therefor the Acids meeting with these infinitely small mettalic particles, easily dissolve them & carry them down thro the chasms of the rocks which are limestone & of course have a greater affinity to the Acids than the Metals have, therefor these acids combine with the limestone forming various sort of Spars & the ores are thus deposited in the heart of the new combination & the deeper you go, the more likely you will be to find mettalic ore, if any there be—From the whole it follows, That altho the water Wizards do not understand this theory, they have seen the effect, & are always sure to tell the Owner of the ground to go

¹²² Probably Captain Abraham Chapline, later a state senator from Mercer County (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 2: 603, 605, Covington, 1882).

¹²³ Valentine Cook (1765–1820).

¹²⁴ F. A. Michaux (1904: 197) wrote: "There are in this state and that of Tenessee a set of quacks, who by means of a hazle wand pretend to discover springs of salt and fresh water; but they are only consulted by the more ignorant class of people, who never send for them but when they are induced by some circumstance or other to search over a spot of ground where they suspect one of those springs."

deep enough for his purse or patience & if nothing is found, they lose nothing, & if any thing be found it is all clear gain to them.—As [for] each mine or salt spring found in consequence of their information, they are either to have one hundred dollars or a share according to the agreement.—

1802 Oct^r. 9th. Took $\bar{5}$ 1 dw^t. 8—averdupois of powdered ore from Harry Cuttles freed from the Spar, washed it over with water to get the finest, as I had no means of obtaining a seive in this Town (Lexington) The course powder weighed 14 dw^t. Therefore I worked upon 14 dw^t. equal to gr 336. I poured thereon Aq. Fort. $\bar{5}$ 1. A violent ebullition took place & red fumes were copiously emitted for some time, as the solution went on an olive colored scum rose to the top which I separated—Then added some water & boiled the solution in a glass vessel—Separated the scum & also the residuum which I weighed. the scum weighed gr 94 the residuum gr 72—Neither Sulphuric muriatic acids nor muriat of soda made any apparent change in the clear solution—a clean knife blade shewed very feint signs of copper—Precipitated the solution with Potash

The White precipitate weighed gr. 192

The Scum exposed on a fire shovel to the fire burnt & smelled like brimstone & lost 16 gr.

The residuum treated the same way lost 18 gr.

Recapitulation

Sulphur gr—	34
White Precipitate—	192
Calcined scum—	84
D ^o . Residuum—	54
	<hr/>
	364
Original weight—	336
	<hr/>
	28

surplus 28 gr. arising from the white precipitate not being washed.—& containing Nitrat of Potash.—

Some of the Spar being powdered belonging to Tuttle's Ore made a violent effervescence with nitrous acid—Sulphuric & Marine acids produced the same effect.

The Heavy spar from the Mouth of Hickman did not appear to be acted upon by the Sulphuric Nitric or Marine Acids—

Oct^r. 10th. This day being at two different times & places in company with Col^o [Robert] Johnson first, & then with Judge Thurston,¹²⁵ They each told me of the place on Big Sandy river about 7 miles below the forks¹²⁶ thereof which is 22 miles above the mouth of the Main Sandy on a creek on the Virginia side about

¹²⁵ Buckner Thruston, judge of the District Court, 1791; of the Circuit Court, 1802 (Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky* 1: 509, Covington, 1882).

¹²⁶ Tug Fork and Levisa Fork join at Louisa, Kentucky, to form the Big Sandy.

half a mile from the river, where, when they with judge Cobourn were running the line between the states of Virginia & Kentucky as Commissioners for that purpose, They brought each of them samples of a species of ore said to contain silver, which Ed^d West also upon trial found it to do—This ore was contained in reddish or brownish stones which were on the bottom of the Creek rounded by the waters & on breaking shewed ore in the middle & interspersed thro out in striated form. These stones appeared to be also in quantities on the hill side, & were observed to be for seven miles here & there—I further learned that one called Taber an ignorant farmer lived on the ground & had purchased the land in company with one called Dickenson who was a Clerk of Russel County¹²⁷ in Virginia & an other person, That they had purchased that Land for the express purpose of extracting the silver out of those stones—That as the matter had died away & nothing farther was heard about it—It was supposed the business had fallen thro, owing to their ignorance of the manner of working it or from some unknown cause I therefor have concluded to go in company with D^r Brown & M^r West to see it.—as soon as my other business relating to the estate of And^w Hare, shall be finished.

12th. Ty. Bryant having been duely noticed to attend to the taking of the depositions in the cause, I was obliged to wait inactive until the 15th. when we examined & took the depositions, of And^w. M^cCalla, James N. Steward, M^{rs} Steward M^{rs} Morton, M^r. S. [i.e. Mrs.] Hart, M^{rs} Banks, M^{rs} Gullion, Miss Rebecca Branham, M^{rs} Lake & D^r Frederick Ridgely. This business occupied two & an half days; These testimonies proved very satisfactory to me & of course must have been the reverse to Ty B—who was very much crestfallen on the occasion. His behavior has injured himself in the opinion of every body in this place—On the 19th. I went to Frankford w^t. the depositions, lodged them in the hands of the proper officer (M^r Sneed¹²⁸) visited Col^o. Todd, conferred w^t. him upon the business of the estate & after getting two more Horses from D^r Gano valued at 260 Dollars, for which sum I gave him a receipt upon his bond—He has also promised to send me in 6 days by his pupil D^r Mitchel (who purposes to come in with me) another Horse—After being detained three days at Frankford I set out from thence w^t John Hare on the 24th. for Lexington being under the necessity of going by Woodford to get his great coat (4 miles round)

26th M^r West says he is rather unwell & declines the Journey to Big Sandy, & as D^r Brown has been sent for [to] Frankford to visit a Lady dangerously ill, I

¹²⁷ Wayne County, West Virginia, today.

¹²⁸ Achilles Sneed was clerk of the Kentucky Court of Appeals from 1802 until his death in 1825 (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 496, Lexington, 1959).

have concluded to wait for him, & thus have lost two days—In the interim have got all the horses shod & ready for our journey. The Child¹²⁹ rides every day to accustom himself to travel. & I expect Dr Brashear here in a few days when perhaps I may receive from him some part of his Note for 159 Dollars—I have here met George Steally[.] he has repeatedly promised to pay me & as often shuffled me.

John Braden wishes to purchase of Mr Vancouver¹³⁰ 200 Acres of his Land, in Virginia including the bottom where the Mill seat is on, for which he will pay 500 Dollars

Mr Warden [who] lives at the Mouth of Big Sandy on the Territory says that he has seen two places where the Ore is the same as at Tabers on or near the mouth of Blanes Creek¹³¹ viz one place is up the left hand branch of Sandy 30 miles near the mouth of Jinnys Creek about half a mile below it on a little branch that comes in to Sandy there, on the Virginia Side & the other about 20 miles up the right hand Side fork of Sandy, above the mouth of Georges Creek, there is a stratum of Coal & slate over it about 5 miles above it—Another person says he knows where the same [stratum can be found] about ten miles above the left hand fork up a creek called Rock castle or Powder Cag¹³² about half a mile up it.—

Rec^d 133 nov^r. 6th. 1802 of Dr Brashear¹³⁴ 150 Dollars on acc^t. of his note—

Rec^d of John Nancarow jun^r. an horse (Bay) 4 years old, at 100 & [blank in MS.] Dollars, in Cash being the Amount of his fathers debt due me

Leased to Thomas Reed of Lexington Coppersmith And^w Hares half acre Lot near the Duck [cloth] factory for 4 yrs. at 10 Dollars p^r year to commence Nov^r. 6th. 1802 since to And^w. M^cCalla of Lexington for 2 years at the same rent commencing June 10th. 1807

¹²⁹ Seven-year-old John Hare.

¹³⁰ Charles Vancouver. Vancouver's Station, established on the Big Sandy in 1789, was destroyed by Indians in 1790, and was re-established between the Levisa and Tug Forks two years later (Collins and Collins, 2: 460, Covington, 1882; Jillson, W. R., *The Big Sandy Valley*, 84-85, Louisville, 1923).

¹³¹ Blain's Creek enters the Big Sandy from the Kentucky side fifteen miles from the Ohio.

¹³² Powder Keg Creek enters the Big Sandy in the south-east corner of Lawrence County, Kentucky.

¹³³ The following miscellaneous notations, some of them made after Hunter left Kentucky, are found on the opening pages of the second volume of the Hunter MSS. I have moved them to the close of Journal No. 2.

¹³⁴ Walter Brashear, M.D., married the second daughter of Robert Barr; he later removed to Louisiana, where Brashear City was named for him (Leavy, W., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 253, 1942).

Received of And^w M^cCalla 200 Dollars on acc^t. of sundry medicines to be furnished him & which I am to pay the portorage of to Pittsburg & to consign them to Trotter & Scott there—

I impowered Sam^l Postlethwait¹³⁵ of Natchez to lease for 5 years A Hares 800 acres of land, on an improving lease—

Sept^r. 20th 1802 Received of Mr Montgomery Bell his order on W^m Leavy for fifty nine 36/100 Dollars in full of his Note with Interest, which was paid this day. —paid for a pair Shoes 2 50/100

Oct^r. 1st. 1802

Received of Cap^t. Daniel Gano in full of his Debt including interest to this day being Dollars 352—

One Bay Stud Horse 7 years old value Dollars 300—
Also a Young Black Colt 3 years old last Aug^t. for the balance due 52 Dols } & thus settled in full—

Rec^d. of Dr Isaac E Gano¹³⁶

one Grey Horse 9 years old for 133 $\frac{1}{3}$

one Bay same Age— 133 $\frac{1}{3}$

one Sorrel Horse 5 years

old for — — — — — 160—

on acc^t. of his debt. Also received his bond payable on demand with Interest } 869 39/100 for the balan[ce] of his debt. viz—

Oct^r. 11th. 1802 Received of James N. Stewart his draft at ten days sight for seventy six dollars & one cent (being the amount of my Acc^t. against him) on M^{rs} Hannah Hood of Phil^a which draft I have enclosed to M^{rs} Hunter by this days Mail from Mr Postlethwaits¹³⁷ at Lexington.

Oct^r. 23rd. Rec^d. of Dr Isaac E. Gano, one Horse Valued at 150 D. one D^o. at (Bay 3 years old) 110 D. on acc^t. of his bond—

¹³⁵ Samuel Postlethwaite (1772-1825), originally from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was a merchant at Lexington until 1800. He moved to Natchez, became a leading merchant there, and in 1805 married the eldest daughter of William Dunbar (Postlethwaite, S., *Journal of a Voyage from Louisville to Natchez—1880, Mo. Hist. Soc. Bull.* 7: 312-329, 1951; Mrs. Jensen, the editor, has supplied a biographical note on pp. 294-295).

¹³⁶ Brother of Captain Daniel Gano and sometime justice of the peace at Frankfort.

¹³⁷ John Postlethwaite, brother of Samuel, went to Kentucky from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, about 1790, was for a decade a partner with him in the mercantile business, and intermittently was the proprietor of a tavern on the southeast corner of Main and Mulberry Streets. He married a daughter of Governor Charles Scott and died in 1833 (Peter, R., *History of Fayette County, Kentucky*, 281, Chicago, 1882; Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 134n., 1959).

paid Col^o. Tunsel¹³⁸ 8. 60/100 fees in The Suit vs B. S. Cox.

paid for shoeing the Horses—5 D. & rec^d. of Major Morrison 15 Doll. being the rent of an out Lot near Lexington the property of the estate of And^w. Hare deceased for one year from 27th May 1802 till 27th May 1803—N.B. This lot is Mortgaged to Evan John Bryan [?]

3. JOURNEY TO EXPLORE LOUISIANA BEGUN MAY 27th. 1804

May 27th. 1804¹ Left Philad^a. at 6 pm in company with my son George. on horse back. & proceeded on to Jonathan Hoge's near Carlisle, who paid me the Amount of his debt due me \$27 50/100 Arrived at Pittsburg in 8 days, from whence I sent George to Washington who rec^d payment of my Acc^t. against D & T Achison of 36 91/100\$²

I wrote to Washington to M^r Penticost³ to settle the business of D^r Bairds debt due me as well as he could & if he thought best to receive a conveyance of his donation tract in satisfaction thereof, & to sell the same if possible even at the loss of $\frac{1}{3}$ & remitt the nette ballance to M^{rs} Hunter at Philad^a

I also left with John Young esq^r. Attorney at Law at

¹³⁸ Colonel John Tunstall, attorney of Frankfort, and brother-in-law of Thomas Todd.

¹ On the completion of his third voyage to the West, Hunter submitted to the Secretary of War an official report based on his Journals No. 3 and No. 4. Since the original manuscripts are much more extensive than the report, the field journals are here reproduced. Occasional citation from the report will be made when pertinent. Hunter began the report with a statement of mission:

"Philad^a May 27th 1804

"This day set out on horseback for Pittsburg accompanied by my son George H. Hunter, having previously forwarded by a waggon All the Indian presents, medicine chest, Toools, mathematical instruments &c destined for the use of the expedition to explore Louisiana, by order of the Secretary of War; the selecting & purchase of which, together with the necessary arrangement & preparation for such a journey, having occupied the chief of my time for the present month.

"Here [Pittsburgh], upon enquiry found there was no boat going to Natchez, nor any opportunity of conveying the goods down the river. Therefore as dispatch was necessary, I was under necessity of having one made, to be ready by the time the waggon should arrive with the Indian presents &c which was retarded by the bad weather" (Journal of Geo. Hunter Up the Red & Washita Rivers with W^m Dunbar 1804 by Order US. & up to Hot Springs, MS., American Philosophical Society).

² Thomas Acheson came to America in 1786 and died in 1815; his brother David came in 1788 and died in 1851, aged 80 (Crumrine, B., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 479-480, Philadelphia, 1882).

³ Joseph Penticost (son of Dorsey Penticost), an attorney in Washington, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1823 (Crumrine, B., *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, 228, 251, Philadelphia, 1882).

Greensburg,⁴ All my papers respecting my 400 Acres tract of Land in Fayette County in the name of Jacob Frailey, now in dispute with Isaac Mason.

I gave said Young a power of Attorney to sell the same & return the proceeds to M^{rs} Hunter at Philad^a. deducting 10 pc^t. for his trouble.

Whilst at Pittsburg I was employed in superintending the building of a boat to carry us to Natchez. George went to Washington as before mentioned & returned next day having completed the business he was sent for. This Boat is fifty feet long on deck, 30 feet straight Keell, flat bottom somewhat resembling a long Scow in use to ferry over waggons &c, It is 6 ft. 2 Inches broad at the bottom at its extreme breadth which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ from the bow & runs taper to the stern where it is 5 feet broad—the sides are about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet high gradually opening so as to be about 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide upon deck where broadest, the keell is 3 Inches deep & 6 Inches broad in one peice, there is a gripe foret⁵ and

⁴ Traveling this time on the direct road to Pittsburgh, Hunter has passed through Greensburg, county seat of Westmoreland County. John Young (1762-1840), born in Glasgow, Scotland, arrived in Philadelphia about 1779, studied law with Peter Dupanceau, moved to Westmoreland County in 1789, and was appointed president-judge of the 10th Judicial District of Pennsylvania in 1805 (Albert, G. D., *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania*, 303-306, Philadelphia, 1882).

⁵ Foret or forrit, Scottish for forward (Scottish National Dictionary, Edinburgh, 1956).

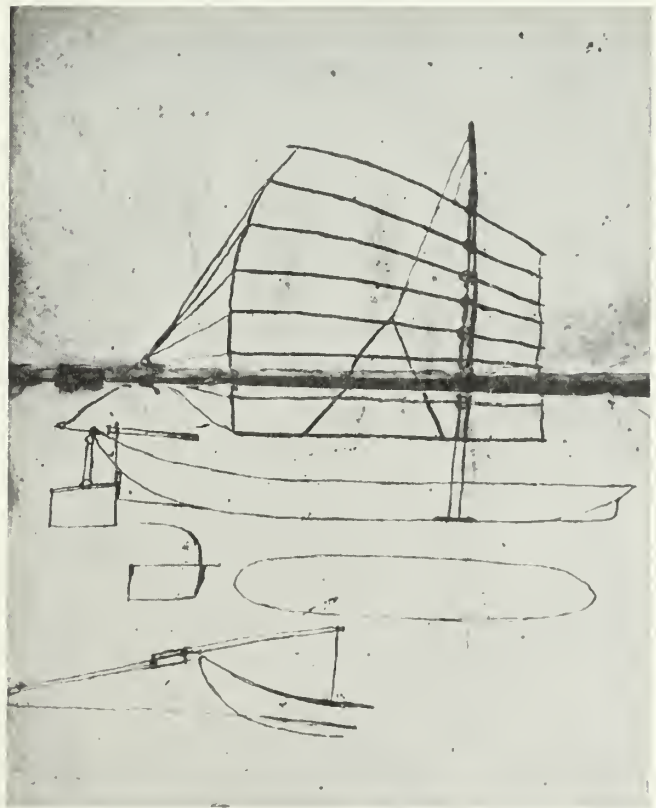


FIG. 1. Dr. Hunter's sketch of his "Chinese" style boat.

aft; The Rudder is large & extends below the bottom of the boat, to help to keep the boat to windward with the aid of the gripes & keell when she sails by the wind. She is covered with light boards from the Stern 32 feet foret, so as to give good accomodations to the passengers & furnished with a Stout Mast 36 feet long [&] a Sail 24 feet by 27. in the Chinese [sampan] stile, fastened to a yard 24 feet & a boom 29 feet, & spread by 5 sprits the whole width of the Boom. Has 2 large Sculls 50 feet long each, fixed in the chinese way, 6 setting poles & 2 side oars. This Boat cost including the Blacksmiths Bill \$71, The mast, sprits, Large Sculls, Boom, Yard & fixing cost 23\$ The sail cloth consists of 83 yards of Russea Sheeting viz 2 peices & 9 y^{ds}. The Sail Makers Bill for rigging cordage Blocks & iron work is in Amount \$65.20/100 by which this boat costs \$159.20/100 exclusive of the sail cloth which was furnished by Leuit^t. Hook military agent at Pittsburg,⁶ who also paid the Sail Makers Acc^t.—& of whom I have rec^d \$41 for freight of 41 Cw^t of Military Stores for Limestone & Louisville—I have taken in a Tierce Wine (for the spar to make the Mast & 50/100 [*sic!*]) to be delivered at Louisville—as freight.—of said Turce &c.

I rec^d no letter at this place from M^{rs} Hunter, but wrote to her advising of the different occurrences.—& now 14th June—wrote the Secretary at War, of which this is the Rough Original ⁷

Sir—We arrived here (Pittsburg) four days before the waggon, As there was no conveyance for Natchez, & as dispatch was necessary I was under the necessity of having a boat built for that purpose, the superintending [of] the different parts of which has occupied by whole time untill this hour, it is now compleated & all the goods & baggage on board; & we take our departure to morrow morning early. This serves also to convey Doct^r. Claude⁸ to his post at Arkansas. from its construction it bids fair to save us two or 3 weeks time in our passage to Natchez being built rigged & fitted out as near in the mode mentioned in my last as the short time we have here, & economy would permit. She is 50 feet long[,] 6½ feet Beam[,] very strong[,] can accomadate 25 men under cover who being properly speaking in close quarters cannot be easily stormed by any number of Indians[,] & carry a considerable burthen. We will have sufficient opportunity to try her between this & Natchez, where if a

⁶ Lieutenant Moses Hook had been commissioned second lieutenant March 3, 1799, and first lieutenant, October 23, 1799; he was a captain when he resigned on January 20, 1808 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 540, Washington, 1903).

⁷ Original not found. War Department, Register of Letters Received No. 2, 1803-1806, abstract only (National Archives).

⁸ Dennis Claude of Maryland, appointed surgeon's mate March 27, 1804; he resigned October 1, 1808 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 308, Washington, 1903).

more suitable one be produced for the expedition, she will sell for what she cost, deducting the value of the freight she takes down the river—viz

Cash rec ^d of the military Agent Leuit Moses	} 41 —
Hook for 41 Cw ^t . of Military Stores & clothing to be left at Limestone & Louisville	

The same freight for lbs 1081 Indian presents, Tools, Medicine Chest &c for the Expedition to Natchez	} 10.81
---	---------

Passage of Self & Son to Natchez	} 24 —	
do of D ^r Claude		12 —
		<u>\$87.81</u> ⁹

The boat cost, including mast & spars, & iron work	} 94.—	} 159.20
Sail makers bill for Making & fixing large sail with cordage, block & iron work		

The sail cloth consists of 83 y^{ds}. of Russia Sheeting furnished by Leuit^t. Hook as I could not be supplied elsewhere who also paid the sailmakers bill lest I should run short of Cash.—Leuit Hook afforded me every assistance in his power. I also rec^d of him a Camp ax for the use of the Boat & a musket which may be useful in [*sic*] the river[;] this I am to return at Natchez.—He appears to be a very exact & diligent officer. I pay nothing for hands, having engaged enough to work their passage finding only some of them provisions—I will do myself the honor to write to your Excell^y when we arrive at & when we shall take our departure from Natchez—

I cannot forbear mentioning a great natural curiosity I have just seen here viz about 2½ Tons of Bones of one or two Mammoths twice as large as Peals,¹⁰ The most singular of which appear to be those of the feet & Teeth. I saw one paw compleat the bones of which were above 3 feet long; with talons like the paw of Bears—It had four toes, & I suppose when clothed with flesh must have been at least 4 ft long—a single detached grinder weighs lbs 10¼[;] another fixed in the upper jaw, may weigh about lbs 3 more—I can not speak with acuracy of the height or length of the whole animal as many of the bones were packed up, altho the Proprietor a Young Man from Cincinnati where they were found talks of above 20 feet high & above 40 feet

⁹ Against these items Hunter wrote in the margin: "commonly paid & if we charge."

¹⁰ Charles Willson Peale's mammoth was first exhibited in Philadelphia on December 24, 1801, in a private showing for members of the American Philosophical Society; it immediately became one of the "lions" of the city.

long.¹¹ Your Excell^y will excuse this hasty scrawl of Sir

Your Most Ob^t. Serv^t.

George Hunter

I have purchased a whip or pit saw compleatly fixed & some other small matters for the expedition which I could not conveniently send from Philad^a.

On the 15th June Left Pittsburg, previous to which three of our hands left us being afraid to go in our Boat;¹² They bought a Bateau & fixed up a mast & sail in it, & set of [f] 3 hours before us: they soon had reason to repent their imprudence, for much stormy & rainy weather soon came on with thunder & lightning which forced them to lay by at nights, whilst we continued floating on, & now & then when the wind favored us, which was indeed but seldom, we set our Sail & went on at a great rate. & in order to keep up with us they were under the necessity of using much rowing in the day time. We got around 3 times between Pitt & Limestone, but soon got off, by wading out to find the deepest water, & All hands going out & pushing at one end or other of the boat, according to circumstances towards the deepest water, & thus in a few turns we always got off. We arrived at Limestone on the 21st. June, delivered the clothing & military stores to Major Brown¹³ which were directed for Cap^t Carmichael¹⁴ —who was absent at Lexington, took in some stones as ballast, not being able to procure any freight; & set off the same day for Cincinnati to deliver the remainder of the Military stores destined for that place which is about 160 miles distant. Having Business thro Kentucky from Limestone to Louis Ville, which is only about 150 miles by land & about 250 by water, I took horse (Marquis) the same day, whilst I left George in charge of the Boat to proceed by water Accompanied by D^r Dennis Claude for Arkansa River & Leiut.

¹¹ Dr. William Goforth (1766–1817), who went to Kentucky in 1788 and to Cincinnati in 1800, conducted the explorations at Big Bone Lick. See Meriwether Lewis to Thomas Jefferson, Cincinnati, October 3, 1803, in Thwaites, R. G., *Original journals of Lewis and Clark* 7: 274–279, New York, 1905. Goforth turned his collection over to Captain Thomas Ashe for exhibition in the eastern cities, but Ashe carried the bones off to England as his personal collection (*Dict. Amer. Biog.* 7: 361).

¹² "I had agreed to give free passages, to half a dozen men & to supply them with provisions for assisting to navigate the boat down the river; but at the moment of our departure, three of them, being afraid of our large mast & sail, left us. . . ." (Hunter, journal . . . to Hot Springs, American Philosophical Society).

¹³ Possibly the Major Brown whom Fortescue Cuming met in 1807; "About half a mile further [beyond Maysville], we passed on the right the handsome house, spacious square barn, fine farm, and improvements of Major John Brown, an Irishman, the whole together indicating taste and opulence" (*Sketches of a tour*, 171, Cleveland, 1904).

¹⁴ George Carmichael of Pennsylvania, lieutenant, 2nd Artillerists and Engineers, June 4, 1798; captain, May 20, 1801; resigned November 1, 1805 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789–1903* 1: 283, Washington, 1903).

Johnson¹⁵ for the Garrison at Massac, both in the service of the U. States, there were also in the boat, an old Spanish Fencing Master[,] a Swiss shoemaker, & a german who worked their passage. They arrived the next day at Cincinnati & delivered the goods, staid all night, & after taking in some more ballast, set out for Louisville where they arrived 4 days before me, as I was notwithstanding all my exertions detained so long by the way—

It cost me \$21.50 expences & nine days time. This I charge to the Estate of And^w. Hare, as his business in particular led me thro Kentucky. At Lexington as the office of Levi Todd¹⁶ prothonator of the Court where I had qualified & entered security as Guardian to John Hare & as Executor of Andrew Hare deceased, was consumed by fire & the papers destroyed;¹⁷ I empowered M^r Will^m Morton to sign my name to a new security bond, & as D^r Ridgely who was one of the securities was removed to a farm at Woodford, M^r Morton promised to supply his place, M^r January engaging to renew his security as soon as the court should meet. I received of Major Morrison \$15. on Acc^t. of one years rent of an out lot near Lexington belonging to And^w. Hare, due 23rd May last. 1804 I paid on Acc^t. of Bryants cause vs. Hare to compell the Trustees to the marriage contract to give up their trust to him an additional fee of \$10—M^r Hughs Reed the Copper-smith who has rented the other lot pretended he could not pay the Money.

D^r the Estate of And^w Hare to Cash paid by D^r Brown for me, being costs in the court of Appeals who Affirmed the false will \$18.44—

M^r William White Saddler of Louisville having made sundry improvements on Lot N 5 cont[ainin]g half an acre in this town, consisting of a Log house & Log shop[,] I gave him a Lease of said Lot for 4 years from Jan^y. 1st. 1805, when he is to give up the Lot & buildings, any further building that he may put on he shall have liberty to remove.

I find that the lot N^o. 6. on which is a good Brick house belongs to the Estate of And^w Hare. NB the Lot N 5 is said to be worth near \$3000—& I suppose N^o. 6 which will not be got without a Law Suit is worth as much. And^w Hare owns 6 other Lotts in this Town tho they are much less valuable than the before men-

¹⁵ In his official report Hunter noted that on June 16, at Wheeling, "Ensign" Johnson requested a passage to Fort Massac. Hezekiah Johnson of Maryland was appointed ensign, 1st Infantry, March 26, 1804 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789–1903* 1: 575, Washington, 1903). At Fort Massac in 1807 F. Cuming was "met by lieutenant Johnson, who very politely shewed us the barracks, and his own quarters within the fort" (*Sketches of a tour*, 276–277, Cleveland, 1904).

¹⁶ Levi Todd, third son of David and Hannah Owens Todd, brother of Colonel John Todd and Robert Todd, was born in Pennsylvania in 1756 and died in Kentucky in 1807. He was clerk of the county court of Fayette County, Kentucky.

¹⁷ The Fayette County court house at Lexington was destroyed by fire January 31, 1803 (Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky*, 72, Cincinnati, 1872).

tioned. I called upon Col. Thomas Todd & paid him \$20—his fee against B. S. Cox at my suit[.] he says that there are other claims viz that of Steward Donald & Barr of Philad^a. & Constant Perkins of Virginia to part of Coxs Land on Elkhorn, which Cox denies, They[,] Todd & Hughs[,] also say Cox has no deed for this land nor the man he purchased of; Cox says he has & that they are both recorded. Todd says that Sneed[,] Clerk of the Court of Appeals at Frankford[,] has bo^t. a part of one fourth of Steward & Donald's claim. I believe the whole a plot of Todds to endeavor to get the land into his own hands—I have taken all the deeds of And^w Hare which he said he had, into my own possession—I purpose to deposite them with M^r Dunbar at Natchez till my return or send them from thence to Philad^a.—

I could not see D^r Young of Bardstown but sent him his Acc^{ts}. by post. D^r Isaac E Gano who I understand is very poor,¹⁸ kept out of my way, M^{rs} Murray has gone to Natchez last October. I left M^r Milligans Bond in M^r Mortons hand to be by him collected for the use of M^r Miligan—I delivered Guy Bryants letter to M^r Hughes,¹⁹ who gave me an answer which I put in the post office at Lexing[t]on for him.—I found no letter for me either at Pitt or Lexington from M^{rs} Hunter or any other person—I found nothing better than Iron at Yellow Creek²⁰—tell M^r Shoemaker²¹—

C ^r D ^r Warfield ²² by Cash in full	136.97
C ^r D ^{rs} Rigeley & Fishbank [<i>sic</i>] ²³ by Cash in full with part in a Note I got discounted	} 175.—
C ^r D ^r Steelle by Cash in full	
C ^r D ^r Sam ^l . Brown by Cash in full including the costs he paid for me in Bryants cause	} 66.17
C ^r Major Morrison by cash in full for carriage of Ginsing to Philad ^a . as p ^r Acc ^t	
	476.41

Disbursed as before mentioned viz

Expences thro Kentucky (Hare)	21.50	} 69.99
Additional fee to Hughs	10 —	
do Todd in Coxs Cause	20 —	
Costs in Bryant's Cause	18.44	
		476.42

¹⁸ "I am told that he is certainly & has been for some time insolvent." Henry Clay wrote to T. Hockley from Lexington on May 18, 1805 (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 188, Lexington, 1959).

¹⁹ Possibly relevant to Bryan's speculations on Robert Morris's note reported in Journal No. 2 (September 26, 1802).

²⁰ Possibly the Yellow Creek that enters the Ohio River from the west below Wellsville.

²¹ Possibly Edward Shoemaker, Philadelphia merchant.

²² Dr. Elisha Warfield (who married a daughter of Robert Barr), most noted as a stock raiser and breeder of racing

M^r Morton recommends M^r And^w F. Price²⁴ of Lexington as Agent for the Estate of And^w Hare

At Louisville we lost our Spaniard & German, whom we did not regret as they were grown saucy & Lazy—who I understood got some small wages to go in an other boat & as they were only to work their passage with me, they broke their verbal agreement with me without any ceremony.

Left Louisville on 1st. July.²⁵

Lent D^r Dennis Claude \$10. for which he gave me his note.—

I rec^d. Information by a Boat we met, that Rob^t. M^cConnel of the house of M^cConnel & Finlay, whose note I have for a considerable sum lives & keeps store at Eddy Ville in Livingston County Kentucky, about 45 miles up Cumberland river from the Mouth,²⁶ & is apparently in good business—

At Fort Massac²⁷ Leiu^t. Johnson left us, this being his post destined by the Secretary at War. Here I sent off a long letter for M^{rs} Hunter giving an Acc^t. of all our transactions since we left Pittsburg dated July 6th.—

At the Chickasaw Bluffs²⁸ D^r Dennis Claude intended to remain till he could meet a favorable opportunity to get to his post at Ozark, on the Arkansa River; but not meeting with a favorable reception from a D^r Taylor²⁹ (on whom the command devolved after the death of Leuit. Strong³⁰) as he expected, he was under the necessity of purchasing a Canoe to carry him

stock. Until Dr. Samuel Brown left for Mississippi Territory, he and Warfield were medical partners (Leavy, W., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 253-254, 1942).

²³ The Reverend James Fishback, M.D., married a daughter of Colonel William Christian, built a house on Main Street in Lexington in 1803, and died in 1845. He was a professor in the medical department of Transylvania University (Leavy, W., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 40: 357, 370, 1942).

²⁴ Price married Polly Lee, November 11, 1804, and died of cholera in 1833 (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 168, Lexington, 1959; Leavy, W., *Memoir of Lexington, Kentucky Hist. Soc. Register* 42: 66, 1944).

²⁵ In the official report Hunter wrote: "we were detained some time for want of a Pilot to conduct us over the fall; which being effected we set out again on our Voyage on the 1st of July."

²⁶ Eddysville, county seat of present Lyon County (erected 1854), was settled in 1799 on the north bank of the Cumberland River.

²⁷ Built in 1794 on the right bank of the Ohio about eleven miles below present day Paducah. Captain Daniel Bissell was then in command.

²⁸ Fort Pickering, at the fourth Chickasaw Bluff—later the site of Memphis.

²⁹ Probably Calvin Taylor, appointed surgeon's mate, July 16, 1802; died 1806 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 946, Washington, 1903).

³⁰ Augustus Strong of Connecticut, lieutenant, 2nd Artillerists and Engineers, February 16, 1801; died May 20, 1804 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 932, Washington, 1903).

up from the Mouth of White River to his post at ozark, that being the nearest rout.³¹ He continued with us untill we arrived at the White river & then we parted with mutual regret. as well on acct of a growing freindship as for our loss of another hand to assist in navigating the boat, our crew being now reduced to three, one of whom the Swiss being sick, & all of us much fatigued with rowing, want of rest & want of regular & good meals, & above all continually pestered by Mosquitoes.—

On the 18th July in the morning passed White River & same day passed Arkansas, the Swiss still complaining [I] gave him a dose of salts, after the operation of which he seemed rather better; but on the day following his fever increased, [he] consented to be bled, when I took 5 16 thick dark colored Blood from his Arm, made him some thin gruel which he took & appeared better, eat a moderate dinner next day of vegetables. As we had continued since D^r Claude left us to run night & day, having moonlight, The sickness of the Swiss preventing his assisting, we were much worn-out with fatigue & want of rest, & expecting that we were near the Walnut Hills or fort McHenry³² from the distance we had run according to the Ohio & Mississippi Navigator,³³ we were employed looking over a Map, & observed the Swiss for some time (say half an hour) to breath very hard in his sleep & groan now & then, shortly afterwards he got up & without saying any thing went forward, as we were perusing the Map [we] did not turn round until we heard a noise in the water of a person falling into it. We rushed forward & saw his hat afloat, but nothing of him, he never came up, made no exertion to save himself, must have gone feet foremost, as the upper part of his hat was dry when we picked it up, neither did he utter a sillable as he went over.

Reflecting on this awful event, I commonly think that either he went over in the delirium of the fever, or not being perfectly awake from his sleep or perhaps from design, & he once mentioned since the commencement of his sickness, that he never would see Natchez. We continued in a melancholly manner to look over the side & all round the boat for a considerable time & at length concluded it was in vain, as no person could live so long under water.

This happened this day July 21st. 1804 at half past 2 p.m.—

I omitted mentioning that I exchanged one horse for \$65 in Pork &c. Flour & bisquits at Louisville & the

³¹ Since the White River connected with both the Mississippi and the Arkansas, this was indeed Claude's nearest route. Zadok Cramer gave the distance as four miles up the White and then thirty up the Arkansas to Arkansas Post (*The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 50, Pittsburgh, 1804).

³² Later, Vicksburg.

³³ Hunter probably had a copy of Zadok Cramer's *The Ohio and Mississippi navigator* hot off the press, for the preface of the then latest edition was dated Pittsburgh, June 1, 1804.

other (Marquis) at New Madrid for \$85, in whiskey, as we found it inconvenient & expensive to carry them along with us.—Which Articles I intend to sell as we go down the River—

We now continued our Rout by night & day till we arrived at Walnut Hills³⁴ July 22nd where we got another hand (John Law) an old Soldier to assist us to work the boat for a trifling compensation to Orleans. On the 24th July Arrived at Natchez,³⁵ but this being the day of election for members [of] the general assembly, was informed that M^r Dunbar who lives about 8 miles from Natchez would most probably be from home I waited till next morning 25th. & then hired an horse, went to his Farn an elegant Situation & finely improved,³⁶ was politely & kindly received, staid to dinner & in the evening returned to Natchez where M^r Dunbar came on the following Morning, viewed the boat, & it was concluded that as the escort was to be sent from the Military at Orleans to consist of one Leiu^t Wilson,³⁷ ten chosen men & one Sergeant; as the Boat was also to be there furnished, the provisions & equipments, without which we could not proceed on our

³⁴ "The fort is on a beautiful eminence, on the S. side of the river, commanding a handsome view of it and the adjacent country for several miles around" (Cramer, Z., *The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 52, Pittsburgh, 1804).

³⁵ Of Natchez in his official report Hunter wrote:

"Natchez is situate on a high bluff composed of sand, near 300 feet perpendicular above the Mississippi at low water; the land on the other side of the river for a very considerable extent is inundated every year.

"The exhalations from which, in the fall being blown over the high lands about Natchez, are there condensed & fall down by the comparatively cooler atmosphere of this high region, producing obstructions & bilious complaints which have proved fatal to many Strangers Whilst these same winds carried further inland, being thus robbed of their moisture become harmless, which is proved by the healthy little town called Washington altho only six miles distant.

"Natchez nevertheless, being situate on the Mississippi, & in the vicinity of an extensive & rich settlement, increases very rapidly; every thing here is very dear, rents very high, & Mechanicks very scarce;

"A Journey man Carpenter has three dollars p^r Day & found. I was under the necessity of paying two dollars for an hour's work done by a Blacksmith for mending the rudder iron of our boat & the handle of a frying pan, both of which would not have cost in Philadelphia half a dollar."

According to Cramer, at this time Natchez contained "about 240 dwellings . . . and near upon 2000 souls including blacks" (*The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 53, Pittsburgh, 1804). Useful descriptions of the Natchez district will be found in Swearingin, Mark B., *The early life of George Poindexter*, 33-60, Chicago, 1934, and Sydnor, Charles S., *A gentleman of the Old Natchez region*, 3-30, Durham, 1938.

³⁶ William Dunbar has been presented in the introduction, p. 10, above. In the report Hunter noted that Dunbar's plantation, The Forest, yielded "about one hundred bales of Cotton p^r Annum, from about fifty slaves."

³⁷ William Wilson of Maryland, lieutenant, 1st Artillerists and Engineers, July 17, 1794; lieutenant, artillery, April 1, 1802; captain, May 3, 1808; brevet major, May 3, 1818; died September 1825 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 1048, Washington, 1903).

intended expedition, I should go down with our boat to Orleans to expedite our Journey, & select every necessary—

Natchez July 31st. This day wrote to the Secretary at War as follows viz ³⁸

Conformably to my last from Pittsburg I do myself the honor to inform your Excell^y of my Arrival here on 24th Inst with the Indian presents &c.[,] When I rode to M^r Dunbars place about 8 miles distant in the country where I was politely & agreeably rec^d.—on the day following he came to Natchez; veiwed my boat, which from the small trial hitherto made, promises with a few alterations not very expensive to bid fair to answer the expedition at least to a certain distance up the river [beyond which] canoes alone can go & thus lessen the expenses—M^r Dunbar upon consideration thinks it best for me to proceed to Orleans with the Boat to Major Freeman ³⁹ who is to furnish the escort provisions & necessary equipment for the expedition & to lend my assistance in their selection & if Major Freeman has not already provided a more suitable boat to fit up the one I have brought down & bring up as soon as possible the escort &c in it to this place, where I am to leave the Indian Presents &c in a Ware house of M^r Dunbars until my return. This will delay our final departure from this place to explore the Rivers at least 5. or six weeks, which I much regret. I expect to take in cotton on freight to Orleans to the Amount of about 30 Bales, which will still lessen the expenses of the boat. Accordingly we proceeded 15 Miles below Natchez to M^r Dunbars landing,⁴⁰ on the Missisipi[,] discharged the goods, which he took charge of & kindly invited my son & me to his house for a couple of days where the business & particulars of the expedition were investigated, the orders communicated, the component parts of the equipment & outfits fixed on, & it was finally resolved that I should proceed to Orleans for the Escort & to select the necessaries, & superintend such alterations in the boat as may be thought proper for the intended Voyage, all which may be made by the Artificers of the Garrison, or perhaps by the escort—& when all this is compleated & the boat shall take its departure from Orleans that we shall return by land & employ the difference of time till the Arrival of the boat at Natchez, with M^r Dunbar to make us more acquainted with the practical use & application of the

³⁸ Abstract only, in Secretary of War, Letters Received No. 2, 1803–1806 (National Archives).

³⁹ Constant Freeman had been lieutenant colonel of the 2nd Artillery since April 1, 1802, according to Heitman (*Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789–1903* 1: 435, Washington, 1903). He had arrived on duty in New Orleans early in June, 1804 (Rowland, D., *Claiborne letter-books* 2: 199, Jackson, 1917).

⁴⁰ In his report Hunter specified: "July 27th This day we carried the boat down to S^t Catherine Creek, 15 miles below Natchez." On the 28th Dunbar sent a wagon for the Indian presents etc. On the next two days twenty-seven bales of Dunbar's cotton were loaded on the boat.

Mathematical Instruments to the objects of the Voyage—

July 31st. this day advised by mail the Secretary at War of our arrival here & departure for Orleans &c. Wrote also to M^{rs} Hunter to the same effect.—On the same day set out with John Law to assist in rowing the boat from Natchez to Orleans, having been occupied the intermediate time at M^r Dunbars & in loading the boat with his Cotton viz 27 Bales consigned to Mess^{rs}. Chew & Relf.⁴¹ From Natchez to Orleans we found the current of the Missisipi much more mild & slow, of course[.] our passage down, altho we ran night & day[,] was tedious & long. From the fatigues of rowing in sun at this season of the year, in this warm climate, where the thermometer was generally even in the shade at 90 to 92 degrees of Farenheit in the day time; from want of rest & regular food, my Son was voiently attacked with an Ardent Bilous fever commonly called the seasoning to the Country, two days before we arrived at Orleans, which abated its force in consequence of repeated Bleeding and purging, in seven days, but his weakness & debility continued more than 15—We arrived at Orleans on the 7th Aug^t but it was only on 10th that we could get Mess^{rs} Chew & Relf to take out the cotton.

On the same day transported the boat down the river opposite the Barracks ⁴² & next day (11th.) hauled her up out of the water & turned her bottom up to dry previous to caulking her—This took two days besides sunday to effect, & on the 14th began to work on her bottom with a few hands from the Garrison, who were badly furnished with Toolls & necessaries to effect the necessary repairs & alterations. However, in a few

⁴¹ Beverly Chew and Richard Relf, American merchants in New Orleans.

⁴² The old Spanish barracks taken over by the American military, which could house 1,200 to 1,400 men, were in the lower part of town fronting on the river (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 35, Washington, 1940). Hunter would have read in Cramer that "The city of New Orleans . . . extends nearly a mile along the river, from the gate of France, on the south, to that of Chapitoulas above, and a little more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile in breadth, from the river to the rampart; but it has an extensive suburb on the upper side. The houses in front of the town and for a square or two backwards, are mostly of brick, covered with slate or tile, and many of two stories. The remainder are of wood covered with shingles. The streets cross each other at right angles, and are 32 French feet wide. The squares between the intersections of the streets have a front of 300 French feet. There is in the middle of the front of the city a *place d'armes*, facing which the church and the town-house are built. There are from 12 to 1400 houses in the city and suburbs. The population may be estimated at 10,000, including the seamen and garrison. It was fortified in 1793, but the works were originally defective, could not have been defended, and are now in ruins. The powder magazine is on the opposite bank of the river. In the city there are 12 public buildings, some of which are large" (*The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 58, Pittsburgh, 1804). For a detailed description of New Orleans in September, 1802, see the diary of Dr. John Sibley (Whittington, G. P., Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, *La. Hist. Quart.* 10: 478–488, 1927).

days, by exertions, & much running about in the Sun, by the assistance of Col^o. Freeman, who complied with my several requisitions[,] I at length got 12 of the Men selected for the expedition with a Sergeant under my orders to fit out the boat, whilst Leuit^t Wilson took on himself the part of providing the necessary cloathing & provisions for the Escort. This enabled me to go on in fitting the boat a little faster. I also visited the Gov^r. (Claiborn) who invited me to Dine & treated me in a very friendly manner.⁴³

I am now occupied from Morning to night in superintending the work done to the boat & having but very indifferent workmen, tools, & materials am obliged to attend personally & frequently tear to peices what they have done, George is so weak as to be unable to go out in the Sun.

I called upon M^r Philip Zerban,⁴⁴ had some conversation with him about the medicines formerly sent, some of which he complained of the prices. It seems that he never got the letter I wrote him con[tainin]^g the bill of lading & Invoice of those sent last & wishes a copy thereof may be sent him. He has paid me \$100 on Acc^t. & sent an other Order which he wishes sent by the return of M^r Elisha Brown in december next. M^r Zerban is in a good way, very attentive to his business, I think him a valuable customer & should be attended to.

I have also rec^d of M^r P. Dubourg⁴⁵ on Acc^t of M^r Frederick Roux's order the \$75—

M^r Zerban has sent back the lbs 28½ Copal in powder, as it is unsaleable in that form, he wishes it in lump as light coloured as may be—it comes by M^r Elisha Brown, by whom I have sent to M^{rs} Hunter \$300. Dollars in the Schooner Polly. It has happened that Col^o Todd had sent down to Orleans by M^r Sites⁴⁶ some papers belonging to the estate of And^w Hare in order to recover some debts due him here from Dan^l. Clark⁴⁷ M^r Clark put him off, & M^r Sites put the papers into the hands of M^r Clay⁴⁸ here, & then died

⁴³ William C. C. Claiborne (1775–1817) had been appointed governor of Mississippi Territory in 1801 and of Orleans Territory in 1803.

⁴⁴ Philip Zerban in 1805 was living at 27 rue de Conti (Thompson, C. L., *New Orleans in 1805, a directory and census*, New Orleans, 1936).

⁴⁵ Pierre François Dubourg (1767–1830), born in St. Domingo, removed to New Orleans in 1800, where he was active as a merchant, was a major of militia, a high-ranking Mason, and brother of Abbé (later, Bishop) Dubourg (King, Grace, *Creole families of New Orleans*, 398–400, New York, Macmillan, 1921).

⁴⁶ John A. Seitz, a native of Germany who had opened a store in Lexington in 1792–1793, had arrived in New Orleans in mid-June and died on July 4 (Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers* 1: 53, 139–140, Lexington, 1959).

⁴⁷ Daniel Clark (1766–1813), Irish-born merchant, settled in New Orleans in 1786 and from 1801 to 1803 served as United States Consul there (*Dict. Amer. Biog.* 4: 125).

⁴⁸ John Clay, Jr., brother of Henry Clay. A number of his letters from New Orleans have been published in Hopkins and Hargreaves, *Henry Clay papers*, Lexington, 1959.

in the Yellow fever. I waited upon M^r Clay & rec^d said papers, amongst which are Spanish certificates for \$1147—worth now about 30 pC^t Discount[.] these I have carried to the office of the Intendant to have them exchanged for another sort of Certificate which passes as above. I was in hopes to have been able to have got & exchanged them so as to send them by M^r Brown, but the Spanish Officers⁴⁹ are in no great hurry in their proceedings, & I must wait a few days more to send them by M^r Ronaldson who went to the Illinois Country & is now here ready to sail for Philad^a. in a few days. M^r Dan^l. Clark acknowledges to be indebted to the estate of And^w Hare about \$600 or seven hundred Dollars but refuses to pay until he shall be furnished with his rece[i]pt formerly given to a M^r Roberts who assigned it to M^r Hare. Clark is out of town & I fear will not return before I leave it. I have also seen Baron Bastrop, he has been in prison here for Debt,⁵⁰ his affairs are very intricate, yet perhaps I may receive compensation in land for my Debt due by him & Nancarrow. —The papers I rec^d from M^r Clay are 1st. The above Spanish Certificates 2 Joseph's letter to D C[I]ark desiring him to pay the ballance (which Clark says is about \$600, or 700.) to Coll^o. Todd, a copy of Dan^l. Clarks Receipt to Robard [*sic*], for Certificates Dear & Bears skins, also copies of several letters among the parties in this business I have seen M^r Sam^l. P Moore.⁵¹ he acknowledges to be in debt to the estate of and^w Hare about 180\$, but is under a suspention of payment & that in a month or two he expects to make some arrangement with his Creditors, says the 77hh^{ds} of Tobacco were on hand one year & much damaged.

M^r Relf & others say that they were kept in an open lot covered with a few boards, exposed to all weathers & thus damaged. That Moore ought to [word illegible].

⁴⁹ The Intendant in Spanish Louisiana had charge of all financial business in the colony. Juan Ventura Morales and his staff did not leave New Orleans until January, 1806 (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 576–578, Washington, 1940).

⁵⁰ In June a writ of seizure had been issued against the estate of Bastrop (Dunbar, R., *Claiborne letterbooks* 2: 223–227, Jackson, 1917). A few months earlier C. C. Robin had met the Baron at Ouachita Post: “Peu d'hommes cependant inspirent par leur dehors autant de confiance et d'intérêt: un beau physique, une figure douce et calme, des manières simples et aisées, une conversation agréable sans être brillante, de l'affabilité, aucune prétention apparente, ne refusant jamais d'obliger, dans sa maison, le meilleur des maîtres; il faut donc que ces défauts tiennent plutôt aux vices de son esprit qu'à ceux de son cœur. Séduisant partout sans de grands moyens d'esprit et d'instruction, il a, dans les Etats-Unis, au Kentuki particulièrement, sans s'enrichir, ruiné tous ceux qu'il a entraînés dans ses projets; tous ses pas sont marqués par ses désastres . . . il est reparti du Ouachita, n'en emportant rien, y ayant fait plus de mal que le plus méchant des hommes, n'ayant pas seulement établi un seul habitant sur ces terres” (Robin, C. C., *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane* 2: 344, Paris, 1807).

⁵¹ Samuel P. Moore in 1808 was appointed translator to the First Superior Court District, Orleans Territory (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 797, Washington, 1940).

Wrote to M^{rs} Hunter of past affairs on 19th. Aug^t. 1804—p^r Elisha Brown by whom I sent \$300 to be dd^d [delivered] to M^{rs} Hunter at Philad^a.—On the 25th. Aug^t. 1804 we got the Boat ready for the expedition & same day received a letter from M^r Dunbar at Natchez, with information that by order of the President of the U. States the expedition was postponed till the Spring.⁵² Col^o. Freeman the Commandant at Orleans, who rec^d another letter from M^r Dunbar⁵³ requesting him to provide a smaller boat for the purpose of making a smaller excursion up the River Washita to the hot springs in that Neighbourhood &c desires me to write M^r Dunbar & inform him that as his business will not permit him to answer his letter this post he has requested me to do it & tell M^r Dunbar that he finds it difficult to procure in time the small boat in question, or even to have one constructed so soon as M^r Dunbar expects as the necessary timber is scarce[,] but as the other brought down to Orleans by G Hunter is now just ready, he will send it up to Natchez with Leiu^t. Wilson, a Sergeant & 12 men together with the necessary stores & provisions &c for the expedition, That M^r. Dunbar may use the whole or such part of the men & officers he finds proper together with such parts of the Stores & provisions &c as he may wish for the smaller excursion & deposit the remainder in the public Stores to be ready in the Spring for the grand expedition without being under the necessity of sending down to Orleans & waiting for its return to Natchez again. & that if the boat now provided should not answer the smaller excursion there are Men & materials (wood excepted) to make such a boat as M^r Dunbar may require.⁵⁴

I have added that my Son & self will set out in 3 days in said boat for Natchez, & that I am pleased with M^r Dunbar's arrangement of the small excursion—

My letter was dated at Orleans Aug^t. 25th. 1804 to W^m Dunbar esq^r. Natchez.⁵⁵

I have seen Baron Bastrop at Orleans, he says he is about closing[?] his Acc^{ts}., & that he will sell me what land I want on the River Washita at $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar p^r Acre, & that he will receive what he owes me & other Merchants in Philad^a. in payment His Creditors there are as follow viz

Becham [Bickham] & Reese about	\$3376—
Meeker Denman & C ^o .	3000—
John Davis	4266—
James & Rich ^d Smith	2870—
Tho ^s . & Philip Kelly	2500—
Geo. Hunter	822—
Tho ^s . Ewing	2080—
Henry & Bogs	2100—
Sam ^l . Meeker	450—
Tho ^s . & John Clifford	400—
Cha ^s . Pleasant	346—
Montgomery & Newbold	1546—
[A.] Cochran & [Edward] Thursby	370—
Francis & John West	1333—
Besides 4 p ^r cent Interest	<u>25457</u>

Aug^t. 25th. 1804 I have got the certificates of And^w. Hare which I rec^d of M^r Clay exchanged at Orleans by the Spanish Intendant for what they call here Livrances,⁵⁶ & I have exchanged one of them with George Morgan⁵⁷ nominally \$219. $\frac{7}{8}$ for Cash \$175. $\frac{3}{4}$. which is to be placed to the credit of M^r And^w. Hare with me.

Rough original of my letter to Gen^l. Henry Dearbourn Secretary at War dated Orleans Sept^r. 1st. 1804.⁵⁸

Dear Sir In my last of the 31st. July from Natchez, I informed you of the necessity of my going to Orleans for the boat, escort & necessaries for the expedition. This has been effected & tomorrow morning we leave this place on our return to Natchez. We arrived here on the 7th Ult^o. having as usual run night & day, as I had only one person to assist in navigating the boat besides myself & Son, we indured much fatigue, suffered considerably from the intense heat, want of rest, & from mosquitoes, this person got sick & in a delirium of fever jumped overboard & was drowned. My son got sick two days before our arrival at Orleans, has suffered severely, from the same causes, but is now recovered. I have been constantly occupied since I came here in superintending the necessary alterations & outfits, & preparing the boat for the expedition, which by direction of M^r Dunbar was disposed of to Col^o. Freeman at the first cost at Pittsburg viz \$160. with out taking into the acc^t. the value of the Sail canvas which was supplied by the Military agent at Pittsburg. & I have rec^d again the same boat after being fitted out together with the necessary stores & equipments for the expedition. M^r Dunbar has just informed me that the main expedition is postponed till spring, & that we are to go on a shorter one up the river Ouachita for about 500, or 600 miles. As we now carry the boat & Stores &c to Natchez they will there be ready & thus the expedi-

⁵⁶ From Spanish *libranza*, a written order to pay.

⁵⁷ George W. Morgan, Treasurer of the Territory of Orleans.

⁵⁸ Abstract only in Secretary of War, Letters received, No. 2, 1803–1806 (National Archives).

⁵² Jefferson's letter to Dunbar, dated July 17, 1804, has been quoted in the introduction.

⁵³ Dunbar's new plans are outlined in his letters to Jefferson, August 18 and October 15, 1804 (Rowland, Eron, *Life of William Dunbar*, 139–140, 160–162, Jackson, 1930).

⁵⁴ Dunbar had directed that (since Colonel Freeman was to furnish a boat for the expedition), if Hunters boat was judged adequate, Freeman would purchase it at original cost and then "issue" it to Hunter equipped for the voyage. Freeman did then pay Hunter \$160 for the boat. Dunbar had drawn a bill for \$300 on Chew and Relf for Hunter to use in purchasing supplies—these purchases came to \$186. Hunter also drew four months provisions "which," he noted in his report, "eventually proved much too short."

⁵⁵ This letter is not found among the surviving Dunbar papers.

tion will not be necessarily detained so long again in the spring by going to Orleans again. This place is at present suffering much from the ravages of the Yellow fever, particularly The Troops, shipping & strangers. There is a very large tract of ground belonging to Government occupied by old fortifications, ditches &c round this Town, which if sold at vendue would produce much money to the public Treasury, the purchasers would fill up these ditches & thus one great source of sickness be removed. The mail to this place is very irregular in arrivals.—I will write again when we set out from Natchez.

We were detained till Sept^r. 2nd about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 p.m. before we could leave Orleans & on our first setting out a Storm obliged us to return for 2 hours for Shelter, we set out again & got about 6 miles on our way by rowing till dark when we encamped for the night. The men on the beach beside a good fire where they dressed their provisions for the next day & we remained on board.

Sept^r 3rd. By daybreak in the morning we continued our course Our Boat was the same I bro^t from Pittsburg & described before, but now compleatly equipped for this expedition, our Mast was now constructed to strike on Occasion, we had tarpaulings to defend us from the weather & every thing on board that was supposed to be necessary to repair any damage she might receive, or even if necessary to make a new one The Crew consisted of a Sergeant—Sergeant Bundy & 12 men besides the Leuit & Servant & a black Man the Servant of Major Claibourne of Natchez⁵⁹ Brother to the Governor of Orleans, who requested me to deliver him to his Brother on our arrival at Natchez. The names of our Soldiers were Peter Bowers, John White[,] Rob^t. Wilson, Mathew Boon[,] W^m. Court[,] Ed^d. Rylet[,] Jerimiah Loper[,] W^m. Skinner[,] W^m. Little[,] W^m. Tuttle[,] Manus McDonald & Jeremia Smith. This day by trading & rowing we made 15 Miles, & were detained two hours by a storm of thunder & rain. We rowed Six Oars at a time & shifted hands every hour.

When we traded we made fast a small line to the mast head & 6 men walked on the side of the bank & pulled us along while one steered, & thus shifting every hour we went faster & with less fatigue than by rowing.

4th. Set out at day break, began by trading for 2 hours, after which the wind favored us & we set our Sail & went on for about 2 hours tollerably well, the wind then died away & it rained for an hour, we then tracted⁶⁰ till night. This day came 17 miles.—

⁵⁹ Frederick Leigh Claiborne of Virginia entered the U. S. Army in 1793, was promoted to captain October 13, 1799, and resigned January 1, 1802. In the War of 1812 he served as colonel and brigadier general of Mississippi volunteers. He died in 1815 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 302).

⁶⁰ Hunter, who is no more to be praised for his penmanship than his spelling, wrote indifferently: *trading, tracting, tracking*. In his narrative (as printed) Dunbar used the third of

5th Got under way at daylight, tracted two hours & an half when the wind sprang up fair & by degrees increased to a brisk gale, as much as we could carry a full sail to for three hours, when a Storm came on with thunder & rain, Took in sail, laid by for two hours till the gust was over, when we set out again & tracked till night, & came to Cantrells church, which by the account in the Mississippi Navigator is 28 Miles this day.⁶¹ Sept^r 6th Set out by day break, tracted two hours then set sail & sailed one hour when a thunder gust suddenly took our Sail aback, The wind came a head & it rained two hours, we put to shore & after an hour set out again but progressed slowly This day made good about 12 miles. This day W^m Little & Peter Bowers took sick with fever, took lbs 1 Blood from each.

I omitted to note that just before I set out from Orleans I delivered to M^r William Donaldson⁶² Merchant of that place 600 Spanish Livrances in my own name to be received of the Spanish Government if they should pay the same before I return for my Acc^t & to pay the same to my order for which I have his receipt N^o 1131 for \$313.25
& N^o 1133 for 614.25
Total \$927.50

Sept^r 7th. As usual, set out by daybreak, current strong, wind ahead; could scarce stem the current with our oars, & made but slow progress by tracking. came this day only 10 miles.

Bowers & Little still feverish[,] gave the former one dose Sal Glauber & took from Little who complained of pain in his side lbs. 1 more blood dark thick & [word illegible] & then gave him $\frac{3}{4}$ 1 Salts.

8th. Set out at daybreak strong breeze ahead, tracked & rowed alternately according to circumstances. Made only about 9 miles to Manchac Church,⁶³ Bowers recovered.

9th. This day the river was very crooked, the wind which blew a strong breeze seemed always to follow the course of the river, & altho we made several courses owing to the bends of the Mississippi, yet we always seemed to find the wind in our teeth. This day in the Morning Sergeant Hankins of Cap^t Turners⁶⁴ Com- these: "tracking, (i.e.) running along shore & towing the boat" (Journal of a voyage, 14, Boston, 1904).

⁶¹ Cramer placed this landing sixty-six miles above New Orleans and seventeen miles below the Bayou Le Fourche (*The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 54-55, Pittsburgh, 1804).

⁶² English-born merchant of New Orleans (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 10, 277, Washington, 1940) for whom Donaldsonville, Louisiana, was later named.

⁶³ On the east bank, ninety-six miles above New Orleans and thirty-three below Baton Rouge (Cramer, Z., *The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 54, Pittsburgh, 1804).

⁶⁴ Captain Edward D. Turner of the 1st Infantry at this time was commandant at Natchitoches (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 974, Washington, 1903; Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 238, Washington, 1940). In his official report Hunter said that Hankins "had been left here [Manchac?] some time ago sick."

pany, came on board sick, requesting a passage so as to enable him to join his C^o. We took him on board.—Owing to the strong head winds we made only about 9 miles this day. Bowers being now well went to work as usual. Little much better

10th This day very hot, wind ahead. When tracking on a sand beach about midday. Manus Odonnel gave out with the heat Little still better, can steer & do small maters but I did not chuse that he should be employed as yet in hard labor. This day made only about 12 miles. 11th. Got under way at day break. Some part of this day the wind was fair, some times owing to the crookedness of the river we were obliged to track & row according to circumstances; for we always preferred tracking when the banks would permit it, as we not only made much more progress that way, but it was found easier for the men. This day made about 16 miles. Shot an aligator about 6 feet long & a few small birds which proved very tough & unsavory. 12th. Started by day light. Light winds & baffling, sailed, tracted, & rowed according to circumstances, Little well, Gave Sergeant Hankins $\bar{3}$ 1 Salts, Odonel recovered, but weak. This day, & almost every day since we left Orleans had a squall & thunder Gust which seemed to come up the river after us, it came every day a little later than before, & generally produced a change of wind, & in its progress frequently gave us an hour or two of fair wind, which we did not fail to take advantage of. made good about 16 miles this day. 13th Started by daybreak, Rowed, Sailed, & tracked, according to circumstances, Odonel at work. Sergeant Hankings better, made about 15 miles this day. At midday made two hauls of our Small net on a sand beach without success, caught only 6 or 8 small fish of various sorts. At night grew stormy, rained, thundered & lightened for two hours. Hitherto the greater part of our crew encam[p]ed every night on the bank by a great fire which they made of drift wood gathered on the shore, but this night owing to the bad weather they all took up their quarters on board the boat.

14th. Set sail by day light with a fine fair wind, which lasted till 10 a.m. when owing to the turns of the river were again obliged to have recourse to our tow rope & oars as it suited the nature of the banks. This day came about 16 miles. A thunder Storm came on about the middle of the day & delayed us two hours, & another in the evening after we encamped.

15 Set out as usual by day light the wind proving favorable till 12 at midday tho now & then but light breezes, afterwards being overtaken by a Storm & head, wind were obliged to stop 2 hours till it was over, when we took to our Oars & tow rope occasionally. This day came about 20 miles & encamped on a Sand bar having shot 4 large Aligators, one only of which we got on board[.] the rest sunk on being killed. We made several hauls with our small net, & caught fish enough for supper for all hands & breakfast & dinner the next

day. It may not be amiss to take notice that on conversation with M^r Dan^l. Hickey an eminent Planter six miles below Batton Rouge, where we drank tea & supped one night on our way up, he informed me that he frequently found amongst his Cotton in the fields the native nankeen coloured cotton, which he said he generally picked out & threw away lest it should spoil the sale of the rest.⁶⁵

16th. Sept^r. 1804 This day the wind ahead, the weather lowering & rainy, Towed & rowed occasionally. This day came about 15 miles & encamped on a sand Barr, where we made several casts of our Sein & caught plenty of fish for all hands for the next day.

17th. Head wind still, came about 16 miles this day, & encamped at night on a sandy Beach, where by means of our Sein we caught plenty of Fish, large & small, such as Catfish, Buffalo fish, perch, alewives, mullets, Garrs, & two Alligators about 6 feet long each.

18th. Came 16 miles this day, variable winds & squally. caught fish at night as usual.

19th. Strong Northerly wind, came only 6 miles this day with hard labor. found a dead Body floating on the Brink of the river, much bloated, & mangled, buried it in a grave we dug on the Beach.⁶⁶ Same day saw Major Ellis from a tour up the River Ouachita to the boiling springs where he had been for his health, & now on his way to Natchez where he usually resides—⁶⁷

20th The northerly storm still continued, so that we could only with considerable exertion reach Fort Adams⁶⁸ at Loftus's heights about 6 miles above the

⁶⁵ In 1802 Dr. John Sibley, on his way to Natchez, was very hospitably received one night at the Hickey plantation: "I arrived at his House an hour after dark . . . the Family had Sup'd and Mrs. Hickey, his Son's wife had retired, the Old man is a Widower. . . . Supper was immediately ordered for me & the sideboard with a variety of the best of Liquor, the Old Gentleman and his Son Sat to Table with me and were very polite and attentive, but totally free from all ostentation & useless ceremony. . . . Mr. Hickey is an Irishman born, has lived thirty or forty years where he now does, is remarkable for his good living and Hospitality, is very Rich and keeps up a great deal of Sociableness in the Neighbourhood. His son is a Genteel young Man who is his only Child. . . ." (Whittington, G. P., Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, *La. Hist. Quart.* 10: 491, 1927).

⁶⁶ In his official report Hunter was slightly more informative: the dead body was that of a "post rider who was sick at Fort Adams, & escaped from his attendants in a Delirium of fever & is supposed to have drowned himself."

⁶⁷ It was on information from Major John Ellis of Natchez, who had just returned from a visit to the Hot Springs for his health, that Dr. Joseph Macrery based his description of the springs (date line: Natchez, 1804) published in the *New-York Medical Repository*, second hexade, 3: 47-50, 1805.

⁶⁸ Fort Adams, forty-five miles below Natchez and eight above the boundary line, served as Wilkinson's headquarters in 1803 but lost its importance with the transfer of Louisiana. "It will undoubtedly be requisite for a time to keep a Guard at Fort Adams," the Secretary of War wrote to Wilkinson, January 6, 1804, "but whether a Military Post shall be continued at that place hereafter, may be a subject of further consideration" (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 154, Washington, 1940).

former line between Spain & the U.S. cut by Ellicot.⁶⁹ Here we were delayed by waiting until the soldiers received their pay as they fortunatly met here Cap^t. Sterret⁷⁰ the paymaster for their regiment. I here learnt that Rob^t. Munson⁷¹ was the person to whom M^r Postlethwait⁷² had let on an improving lease for 5 Years the Land left John Hare by his Fathers by will, which Tract lays about 3, or 4 miles from this place. came this day about 9 miles, only, & as we did not set out before midday on the 21st. & as the Storm still continued made no more distance this day than 7 miles. The Autumnal equinox appears now to be set in, in good earnest, with strong Breeses from the North accompanied with rain, Indeed for these last 5 days we have experienced nothing by a series of strong head winds. & uncommonly cold weather for the season.

22nd. Wind still blowing strong from the north, in our teeth, made small progress, about 6, or 8 miles this day.

23rd This day by the crookedness of the river had a fair wind about 2 hours which helped us along considerably for the time; It then as usual came ahead & continued to blow strongly all the day, against us which impeded us so that we made but small progress, perhaps only 8 miles this day. 24th. Sunday we are now near St. Catherines Creek the Landing place of W^m Dunbar Esq^r. & altho the wind is still ahead & we get forward but slowly yet I have expectations of having the pleasure of seeing him this evening by walking to his house. This afternoon at 3 oclock makes it just three weeks since our departure from Orleans. & by a proper application of the means in our power we might have saved the last week of the time. so much for imperium in imperio.

When I was about leaving Orleans, I gave, by orders of Col^o. Constant Freeman the Commanding officer, a receipt to Leuit Josiah Taylor⁷³ Assistant Military

⁶⁹ For the surveying of the line between the United States and West Florida, see *The journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Philadelphia, 1803) and the report of Dunbar to the Spanish authorities in Rowland, Eron, *Life, letters, and papers of William Dunbar*, 78-99, Jackson, 1930.

⁷⁰ James Sterret of Pennsylvania, captain of artillery since March 11, 1799; he resigned September 25, 1805 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 921, Washington, 1903).

⁷¹ Robert Munson, who came from Halifax, North Carolina, in 1802 was living two and one-half miles above the Line (Whittington, G. P., Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, *La. Hist. Quart.* 10: 495, 1927).

⁷² Samuel Postlethwaite, formerly of Lexington, Kentucky, but now of Natchez. A reference to this will be found among the miscellaneous notations that I have placed at the close of the second journal. Andrew Hare had held one thousand acres on Bayou Sara under a Spanish patent of August 8, 1789 (*American State Papers, Public Lands* 1: 880, Washington, 1832).

⁷³ Josiah Taylor had been appointed a second lieutenant in the 2nd Infantry on August 12, 1802; he died July 3, 1806 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 948, Washington, 1903).

Agent for the Boat as equipped together with the following tooles & necessaries for the expedition to explore Louisiana, to be delivered to M^r W^m Dunbar at Natchez viz. lbs 100 Nails & spikes assorted[,] 1 small Grindstone √, 1 cross cut saw[,] 3 Augurs √ & 3 Gouges, 2 Claw hammers[,] 2 Calking mallets, 2 Boat-hook irons[,] 1 Round Adz, 1 Crow Bar, 1 Iron Square[,] 1 Jack Screw √. 6 felling axes. 6 Spades[,] 3 pick axes √, 1 Hoe √, 1 Trowel. Lbs 48 Rope[,] 1 piece Canvas 44 y^{ds}.[,] lbs 9 Twine. Lbs 50 Old Junk for Oakum[,] 4 long chisels √ & wire to blow rocks[,] 2 Brass Cocks, 1 Bble Tar, 1 Bble Pitch[,] 1 fishing net small. 1 Bble Salt. Lbs Cotton Match. 1 Corn Mill[,] 2 Gridirons. 1 Cast iron Tea kettle[,] 6 iron table spoons, 8 pewter plates & 2 dishes, 2 Tin pans, 1 Box Spermaceti Candles, one tin lanthorn. 2 wall tents √, (one of which proved to be, only the long curtain of the Genl^o. tent)[,] 1 Common Tent √, 1 frying pan, 2 dutch ovens. ½ dozⁿ. knives & Forks[,] ½ Ream writing paper √. of which ⅓ is letter paper. ¼ Ream Course brown porous paper √. 1 Camp Kettle √. 1 Small Iron kettle √ & pot √, ½ dozⁿ. tin cups, 1 tin Tea pot[,] 1 do Coffee pot, 1 funnel, 1 hand-saw, 1 Tinder Box. For which gave a receipt in the following words viz—

Rec^d. of Leui^t. Josiah Taylor Assistant Military agent, one Boat 50 feet long, with Mast to strike sail, 18 Oars, six setting poles, 2 large Sculls &c fitted up for the expedition to explore Louisiana, together with the within equipments for said expedition which I promise to deliver to W^m Dunbar Esq^r. at Natchez (the dangers of the River excepted.)

George Hunter

New Orleans Sept^r. 1st. 1804

NB. Those articles marked thus √, were got out of the quarter masters store, the rest were purchased. G.H.—

I also rec^d. lbs 1000 Lead, to compleat the Indian presents, part consists Bullets part in Buck Shot & the rest in pigs.—I have also drawn for & rec^d Rations for the Officers to be employed in the expedition as follows viz for W^m Dunbar Esq^r, George Hunter & Son at 2 Rations p^r Day & for M^r Dunbars Servant one Ration p^r Day for 4 months, commencing Sept^r. 1st & ending Dec^r. 31st. 1804

Making Complete Rations	854
Also 2 rations p ^r day for Leui ^t Wilson, & one do do for his serv ^t for four months	366
Rations	1220

by my calculation equal to

Flour.	Bacon.	Whiskey.	Soap	Candles
Lbs 1372.	Lbs 914.	38 Gall.	Lbs 48.	Lbs 18

But as the Flour & Bacon were more than we could consume & as we had already drawn a box of Spermaceti candles It was concluded to draw in kind as much as should be necessary & to receive the Surplus in cash, which was to be a fund for the supply of such other necessities as we should stand in need of in our expedition. Accordingly I drew of the contractor one bbl Flour & furnished another myself, lbs 238 Bacon & furnished lbs 364 Bacon myself. I drew 4 Bbls Biscuit & furnished 38 Gall Whiskey. I drew also lbs 48 Soap—So that our Rations that we have rec^d. in kind consist of

2 Bbls. Flour	
4 Barrels Biscuit	
Lbs 602 Bacon	
38 Gall ^s . Whiskey & lbs 48 Soap	
& we have rec ^d . a due bill in cash	
for lbs 18 Candles a[t] 0.15	\$2.70
Lbs 573 Flour not quite 3 bbls.	23 —
Lbs 313 Bacon a[t] 0.25	78.25
	<hr/>
	\$103.95

Leui^t. Wilson has drawn the Rations for the soldiers viz 12 men & 1 Sergeant for four months.

I gave a Receipt for the due bill rec^d. in Cash & for the Rations rec^d in kind to Leui^t. Josiah Taylor Agent, specifying the purpose each is intended for. I also, by Orders of M^r Dunbar who had transmitted a Bill to Mess^{rs} Chew & Relf for that purpose, laid in the following Articles of groceries as comforts for the Officers during the expedition viz Bo^t. of N. Atkins who was indebted to Mess^{rs}. Chew & Relf.

1 Bble lbs 240 Brown Sugar a[t] 11\$	26. 3
Lbs 40 Chocolate a[t] 3½ bitts	17. 7
Lbs 50 Coffee 2½	15.15
Lbs 6 Hyson Tea a[t] \$2. Cannester 2.4.	14. 4
Lbs 60 Lump Sugar a[t] 2—	15. 2
1 BBl Rice	10 —
1 do Melasses 30 Gall a[t] 5: [illegible]	19. 6
17 Gall. Brandy a[t] 15. Cag 2\$	33. 7
12 Btls Maderia Wine	9 —
Lbs 1 Pepper 0.50. 12 botles Mustard	2 —
2 bottles [?] Cucumbers	1. 2
Lbs ¼ Cloves. 0.6.4 Nutmegs 0.4	1. 2
12 bottles Anchovies 0.5	7 —
3 boxes Smoaked Herrings	2. 2
1 Case Gin	7 —
1 Box Split pease	3 —
	<hr/>
	\$186 —
I also rec ^d . of Chew & Relf the sum in }	114 —
Cash of	
Total	<hr/>
	\$300 —

for which I gave a Receipt to be delivered to M^r Dunbar—

We have also rec^d. on board as Hospital Stores for the Men in case of sickness viz

Lbs 50 Rice \$4.—, 10 Gall Molasses	7. 4
Lbs 100 Brown Sugar	12 —
Lbs 40 Coffee 28 sacs	11. 1½
Lbs 4 Tea a[t] \$2	8 —
2 Bags & 1 Cag	1. 6
	<hr/>
	\$44. 3½

These last were bo^t. of M^c Neal & Montgomery⁷⁴ by M^r Taylor Military agent.

Sept^r. 25th. This Morning about 9. a.m. I was landed at S^t. Catherines. & walked to the Forrest, the Seat of William Dunbar Esq^r.[,] was kindly rec^d by him. I found he had been sick, but was now convalescent; He read to me the Orders of the President⁷⁵ countermanding, or rather postponing the main expedition untill the Spring, for good reasons, amongst which were the oppositions expected from the Spaniards & from a Large party said to be about 400 Warriors of the Oza nation, which by information rec^d. of their Cheif White hairs then at the seat of government, had left their nation & were encamped on the waters of the red & Arkansa Rivers, which by the measures to be taken by our Government would be done away [with] in the intermediate period. On the 26th We rode to Washington⁷⁶ a new Town about 6 miles inland from Natchez, to see M^r James Brown⁷⁷ & consult with him on John Hares Business. & also to procure Rifles for the detachment from the public Magazine there. Here the Commissioners sit to receive & determine on the claims to the lands in the Mississipi Territory Here I examined the entry of John Hares tract & found the title good tho still there was the formality wanting of the oath to be registered of some person to prove that the land was settled in time in compliance with the Spanish grant I spoke to M^r Postlethwait on the subject who promised to get the person who lived on it to do it.

Returned to M^r Dunbars same day & on the 27th came to Natchez where the Boat had arrived, & by M^r Dunbars desire invited Leui^t. Wilson to his house where he came to dine in two days after when M^r Dunbar told him that he was not necessary for the

⁷⁴ New Orleans merchants. In 1805 William Montgomery was a first lieutenant in the 8th Regiment of Militia, Orleans Territory (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 637, Washington, 1940). He later bought the Macarty house which was Jackson's headquarters at the Battle of New Orleans (Latrobe, B. H. B., *Impressions respecting New Orleans: diary & sketches 1818-1820*, 43-45, New York, 1951).

⁷⁵ Jefferson to Dunbar, July 17, 1804, previously cited.

⁷⁶ On February 1, 1802, Washington had been made the capital of Mississippi Territory in place of Natchez.

⁷⁷ James Brown, late of Lexington, Kentucky. Apparently Brown had not yet received the news of his appointment as secretary of Orleans Territory (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 282, Washington, 1940).

present small excursion, Accordingly I a few days after paid him \$50 38/100 for his remaining rations out of the fund which was rec^d of the contractor for that part of our rations which were not drawn. The Servant of the Leui^t.—Blossom being to stay with his Master, The Leui^t. drew the ration for the remaining time unexpired in kind. This servant (in my absence at M^r Dunbar's, at whose house I generally made my home) got sick in consequence of a drunken frolic & was by the Leui^{ts}. orders removed to the garrison where I learned he died in five days illness. On the 2nd Oct^r. I removed the boat to S^t. Catherines Creek 15 miles below Natchez, in order to remain there which is a more healthy situation until M^r Dunbar should be ready to accompany us, as he had been sick & was now recovered, & finishing some indispensable private business to enable him to leave home. Three of our Men had already got sick with the bilous intermittent fever viz Bower, Odonnel & Little, a fourth[,] White[,] began to complain. I gave these three first, a dose of salts each & took lbs 1 blood from their Arms, & a few days afterwards having got the Medicine chest from M^r Dunbars, (where it had been deposited during our tour to & from Orleans) I gave each of these three a few doses of the Yellow Peruvian Bark which effectually stopped their fevers. White got well with a single dose of salts.—At this place we had a large Store house for the men to sleep in when they pleased, we frequently shot wild Brandts & once a young Fawn & when we pleased caught in a small Lake a mile off as many fish as we pleased, so that our Men all lived very well, got fat & the sick all got strong so as to be able to do their duty at the oars by the time we were ready to set out on the excursion which was on the 16th Oct^r. in the afternoon, when M^r Dunbar came on board & took the command We proceeded to the hot Springs on the river Ouachita & returned back as far as the Black river when M^r Dunbar left the boat & proceeded home by land by a short cut to Natchez. We continued our route down & arrived at the Mouth of the red River on the Mississippi Jan^y 27th. 1805 & are now going up the Mississippi as far as S^t. Catherines Creek (M^r Dunbars landing)⁷⁸ in order to deposite with him the remains of the public Stores for the use of a future expedition.⁷⁹ I am now on the 28th in sight of Fort Adams & intend to send by that Post office a letter to M^{rs} Hunter of which the following is the rough original.—

We are now on our way home, but must previously go up the Mississippi as far as Natchez 45 miles to deposite with M^r Dunbar the remains of the public stores destined to supply a future expedition to explore Louisiana. Shall then immediately proceed down the

river to Orleans where I intend to take shipping for Philad^a. Baltimore or New York according as there shall be the first opportunity to either of these places. It may take perhaps 15 days from this time to go that 45 miles up stream & the 300 miles down including two or three days delay at Natchez before I can reach Orleans—

George who is in good health, wrote you from our entrance into the red River 8 days ago by the Opportunity of M^r Dunbar who left the boat there to go by land by a short cut to his home.—I hope you will receive either or both of these letters, & also that I shall have the pleasure to see one from you when I shall arrive at M^r Dunbars which I hope will be in 3 days from this.

We have been, since I wrote you last from Natchez, in a Country from where there is no means of conveyance by post.

I have as yet made no agreement to purchase any land in this country, neither shall I but what shall be conditional that is provided you shall approve of it.

I long much to see you & my dear children & all the relations & friends I have left behind in Philad^a. I have many things to tell you of this country but these I must defer till we meet. I shall write you again from Natchez & previously to my embarking at Orleans, till then farewell—⁸⁰

List ⁸¹ of such sums of Money expended [i.e., received] in my journey to explore Louisiana

1804	Dollars
May 27 th . Bro ^t . from Philad ^a .	140 —
“ 30 th Cash rec ^d . of Jonathan Hoge near Carlisle	27.50
June 7 th . Washington P ^a . D & T. Achison	36.91
Freight of Military Stores from Pitt to Limestone & Cincinnati rec ^d . of Leui ^t . Hook } of Major Morrison	41 —
	15
Cash rec ^d . of D ^r Warefield	136.97
“ Ridgely & Fishbank	175.—
“ D ^r Steele	154 —
“ D ^r Sam ^l . Brown	66.17
Morrison Carriage of Ginseng	14.27
Cash rec ^d . of D ^r Zerban	100 —
“ of Dubourg by order of Fred. Roux	75.—
rec ^d . for 219 $\frac{7}{8}$ (of Spanish livrances) Cash	175.87
rec ^d . of Chew & Relf 114 & of Col ^o .	
Freeman 160	274 —
of Leui ^t . Taylor (retained Rations[])	103.93
Rec ^d . of D ^o for flour, Bacon & Whiskey	126.74
	1622.38 ⁸²

⁷⁸The detailed account of the expedition up the Ouachita fills the fourth of Hunter's journals.

⁷⁹That of Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis up the Red River in 1806. Their account will be edited separately from the Hunter manuscripts.

⁸⁰Details of the homeward journey from Natchez to New Orleans and by sea to Philadelphia will be found in the closing pages of Journal No. 4.

⁸¹These accounts are found on pages toward the close of the second volume of the Hunter manuscripts.

⁸²Hunter carried this total over in error as \$1,662.38.

[Cash] rec ^d at sundry times on the passage from Pitt to Orleans & back to Natchez for biscuit whisky Gammons &c rec ^d in barter for my two Horses (exclusive of what was sold the Contractors	} 33.87
	1696.25
Cash rec ^d for Dear Hams furnished the troops, paid by the Contractors agent at Orleans	} 125.—
Cash rec ^d as payment for whiskey sold Leui ^t . Bomar ⁸³	37.50
And of such sums of money received [i.e., expended] of sundry persons at various places in my tour. viz	
1804	Dollars
[June] 14th Cash paid for the boat (exclu- sive of the sail makers Bill paid by Leui ^t . Hook at Pittsburg)	} 94.—
Expences thro Kentucky on Acc ^t . of A. Hare Estate	21.50
do fee paid M ^r Hughes Attorney for do	10.—
do paid costs in Action in the Court of Appeals	18.44
Col ^o . Todd Attorney vs. B. S. Cox a fee	20.—
Lent D ^r Dennis Claude	10 —
Sent to Philad ^a . by Elisha Brown	300 —
paid Leui ^t Wilson for his Rations	50.38
Expended	524.32
paid W ^m Dunbar Esq ^r	214.—
Cash paid Expences from Philad ^a to Orleans thence to Natchez	245.62
	983.94
Expended of the Ration money from Orleans to Y ^e Springs	} 23. 7
	1007. 1
Private expences in travelling thro Kentucky & at Orleans & at Natchez on my return from Orleans	} 66.—
	1073. 1
Cash in hand (say)	553 —
	1626. 1

⁸³ Joseph Bowmar of Tennessee, who had entered the army in 1798, had been a first lieutenant in the 2nd Infantry since April 1, 1802; he was promoted to captain October 12, 1804, and resigned June 20, 1806 (Heitman, F. B., *Historical register of the U. S. Army, 1789-1903* 1: 255, Washington, 1903). Hunter met him at Ouachita, where he commanded.

Expences to Hostlers western trip from } Philad ^a . & sundry small do	} 12 —
paid W ^m Dunbar as his half of the unexpended } balance of the ration money	} 26.—
Gave Court as waiter on the Voyage	6.½
Cash laid out from Natchez to Orleans	4 ½
at Orleans washing &c	4 ½
paid Madam Chabau ⁸⁴ for board	46.25
paid Cap ^t . Crooker for passage to New York	100 —

Ouachita Nov^r 10th. 1804 This day sold Leui^t Baumar 30 Gallons Whiskey at one & one quarter Dollars p^r Gallⁿ. \$37.50/100 payable in Specie at my return.—or in Bear Skins—paid in a draft on Cap^t Sterrit at Natchez or Orleans

Delivered & paid to William Dunbar Esq^r two hundred & fourteen Dollars of what I received for the boat & of Mess^{rs}. Chew & Relf—

This appears to be about the balance in my hands on the 10th. Oct^r 1804 after deducting the expences I have paid for the expedition to explore Louisiana—including the 300\$ rec^d. of the Department of War & all sums of every kind I have rec^d—

Expenditure of Whiskey during the expedition, for which 38 Gallons were received at Orleans

1804		
Sept ^r 1 st . drew out of cask Gall.		0. 5
“ 4 th . do do		2. 1
“ 9 th . “ “		2. 1
16 th .		2. 1
“ “		4. 8
24 th .		4. 8
		8 —
expended from Orleans to Natchez Gall.		
Oct ^r . 4 th .		5. 8
“ Returned to Leui ^t . Wilson as his Servant Blossoms, rations for three months, he not going the expedition		} 2. 7
8 th . S ^t . Catherines drew out of cask		2. ¼
18 th . Red River do		2. ¼
25 th Rapids of Ouachita do		2. 3
Nov ^r 4 th . Rapids last of Ouachita		2. ¼
10 Post of Ouachita		2 —
17. Lat 33.13.14½		2. ¼
20 th . about		2. ¼
		27. 1

⁸⁴ Madame Chabau (Chabeau, Shabo, Shabbo, Shaboo, Shabot) for many years kept a “house of entertainment” in New Orleans. William Stanley, who took a cargo from Kentucky to New Orleans in 1793, lodged on his boat but ate at her house. An unnamed traveler in 1799 described her as an “Irish lady.” Samuel Postlethwaite in January, 1801, stayed at her house. According to Dr. Sibley (1802) her husband was William Shabo. (Diary of Major William Stanley, 1790-1810, *Hist. and Phil. Soc. Ohio Quart. Pub.* 14: 21, 1919; Cuming, F., *Sketches of a tour*, 361-362, Cleveland, 1904; Postlethwaite, S., *Journal of a Voyage from Louisville to Natchez—1800*, *Mo. Hist. Soc. Bull.* 7: 328, 1951; Whittington, G. P., Dr. John Sibley of Natchitoches, *La. Hist. Quart.* 10: 482, 1927.)

Sept ^r 2 nd . 1804. Ration Money		
paid for ½ Gall Milk		\$— .25
“ for 1 doz ⁿ . eggs		.25
5 th paid for milk		0.25
“ at night for do		.25
“ for a Fowl		.25
“ a Pig		1.—
6 th for milk		0.25
7 th do		.25
10 th paid for milk		.25
& for a pair Fowls		.50
12 th . for a pair do		.50
21 st . for Milk & Indian Meal		0.37½
& for lbs 6½ Cheese a[t] 12½		1.62½
“ Jerked Beef		1.—
Ration money expended from Orleans to S ^t Catherines Creek		\$7.—
Oct ^r . 4 th . S ^t . Catherines, paid for milk		0.37½
“ “ & for eggs		25
“ 5 th . paid for milk		19
Also paid Leui ^t Wilson (as he does not accompany the expedition) for his 194 Rations for three months viz		
for lbs 145½ Bacon a[t] 0.25 p ^r lb	36.37½	} 50.38½
“ 1¼ Bbls Flour a[t] \$8. p ^r bbl.	9 —	
“ 6 Gall Whiskey a[t] 0.70.	4.20	
“ for Candles	.81	
Oct ^r . 6 th . paid milk		— .25
		58.45
Nov ^r . 1 st . Rapids of Ouachita 2 ^d		
paid for Corn 1 basket full for fowls		50
— for 2 do Sweet Potatoes		1.50
for 11 pompions		1.—
paid for a large Canoe to enable us to cross barrs & shallows		6.—
Nov ^r . 12. above Ouachita 3 miles		
paid M ^r Richards for 3 quarters Beef, out of which 1 was issued to the men.		4 —
paid M ^r Wiols [Filhiol] at the post for 2 bbls potatoes.		4 —
		74.45
C ^r By cash rec ^d . for Rations	}	103.95
Retained of W ^m Dunbar Esq ^r		
Leui ^t . Wilson, George Hunter & Son		
To Amount as p ^r Contra	74.45	
To cash paid for mending	} 2.—	
rudder Iron of boat & frying pan		
& for 11 eggs		
		.18
		76.63
left [?] to by milk & cc at S ^t . Cath		1
		77.63
Balance		26.32

Which Sum of twenty six dollars I paid W^m Dunbar Esq^r. & I retained the due bill for lbs 100 Gammons which we issued to the detachment out of our rations, which due bill I got paid at Orleans by the contractors agent at the first cost viz \$25.—

4. JOURNAL OF AN EXCURSION FROM NATCHEZ ON THE MISSISSIPPI UP THE RIVER OUACHITA 1804-1805

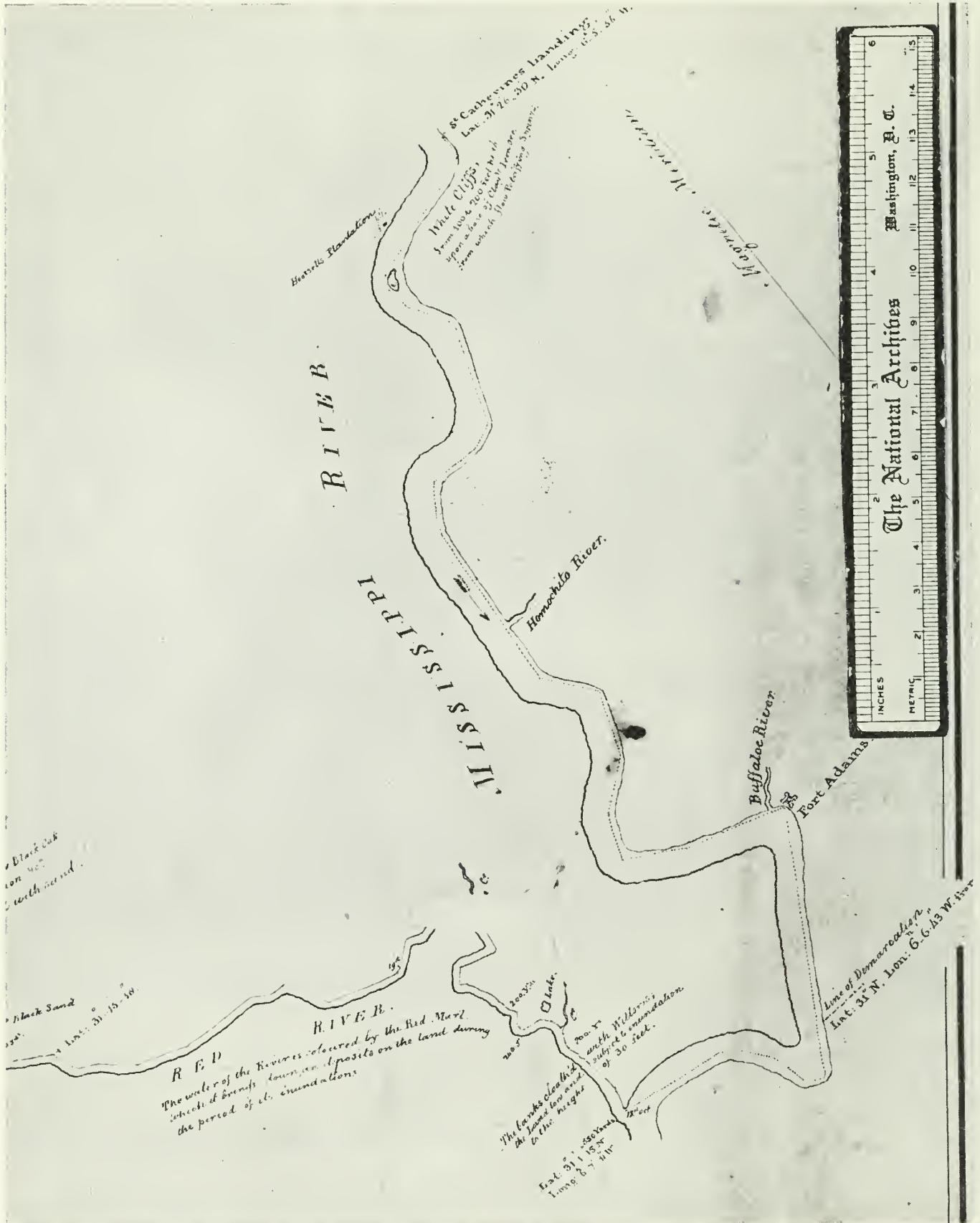
Journal of an excursion from Natchez on the Mississippi comenced on the 16th. Oct^r. 1804 up the River Ouachita a branch of the Red River which last river enters into the Mississippi about 315 miles from the Sea.

On the 16th. Oct^r. 1804, when we had dropped down the Mississippi as far as St. Catherines Creek which is 15 miles below Natchez about 1 p.m. W^m Dunbar Esq^r. came on board, & in about two hours we set sail & proceeded a short distance when the wind came ahead, we then took to our Oars & a little before sunset encamped on an island on the west side of the Mississippi about twenty four miles below Natchez, where we staid all night,¹ it rained and blew with the wind from the Northeast the first part of the night, & grew very cold, the other part was clear.

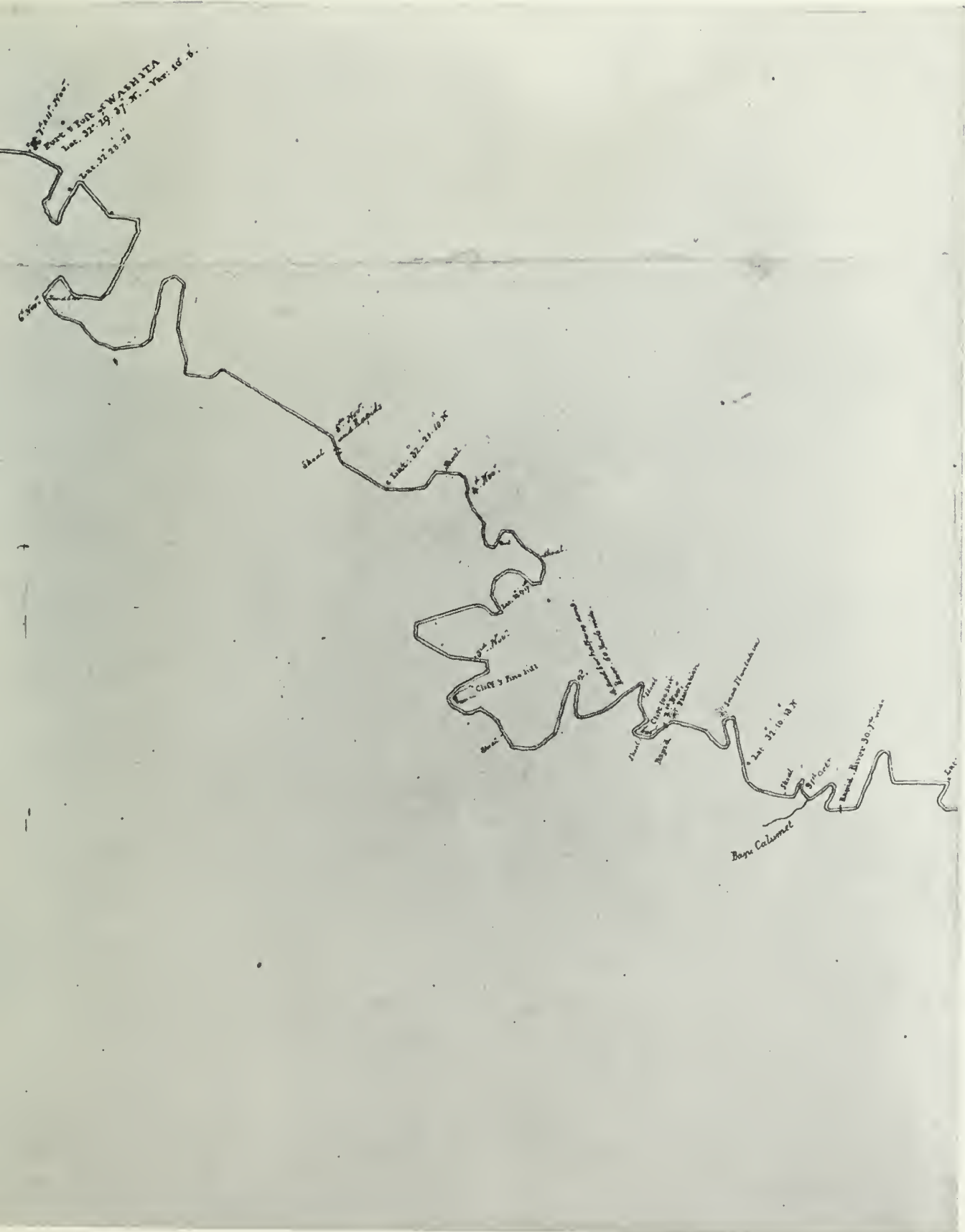
17th. Set out before sunrise[,] Sailed & rowed alternately according to circumstances, Our Boat was made somewhat in the form of a ferry flat, with a mast fixed to strike occasionally, & were provided with a large sail, manned with 12 men & a Sergeant, rowed twelve oars, was 50 feet long & about 8 feet beam on deck at the mast which was her extreme breadth, tapering to the stern. had a cabbin abaft & a pavilion amidships for the accommodation of the Officers & crew, with tarpaulins & curtains to keep off the weather, & every thing fitted for the expedition with about 3 months provisions on board.² About 9 a m came to Loftus Heights, Fort Adams where a Corporals guard is kept. This is on an high Bluff commanding the passage of the River situate about 6 miles above the former Line between the U States & the Spaniards, we waited here about an hour & then set out for the Red River, where we arrived on the same day in the afternoon about 5 P M Latitude 31°.1'.10" This river is of a reddish muddy colour owing to a clay or Marle

¹ Cramer gave St. Catherine's Creek as eighteen miles below Natchez. The encampment was probably at Island No. 116 or 117 (Cramer, Z., *The Ohio and Mississippi navigator*, 53, Pittsburgh, 1804).

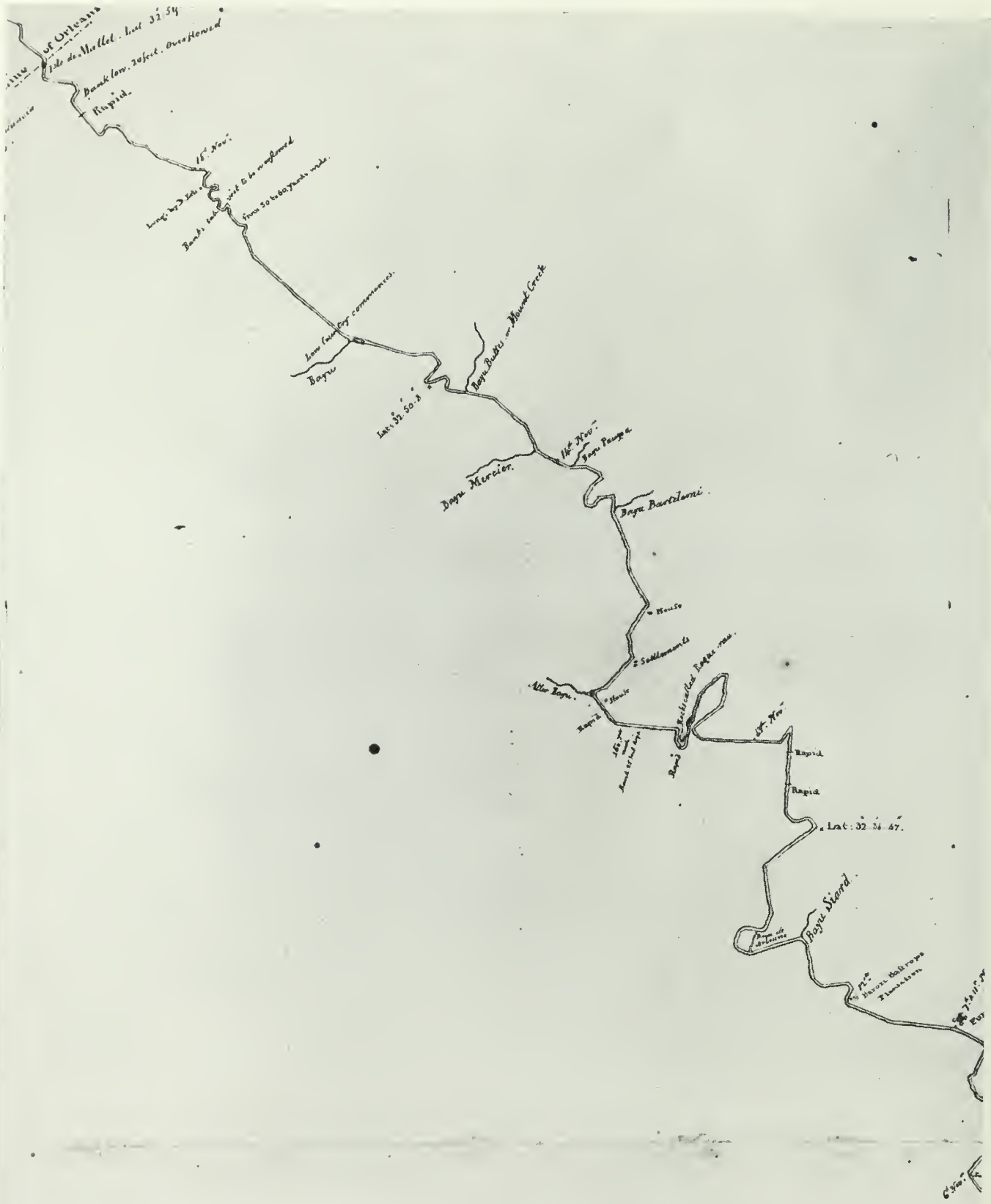
² In his official report (p. 11) Hunter wrote: "We now rowed 12 Oars constantly, & in order to rest the men, stopped one hour about 8 a.m. for breakfast & two hours from half past eleven to half past one for dinner, during which time the men dressed and eat their provisions, & we, when the weather permitted, took observations for the Latitude, Longitude &c. This was our constant rule during the whole excursion."



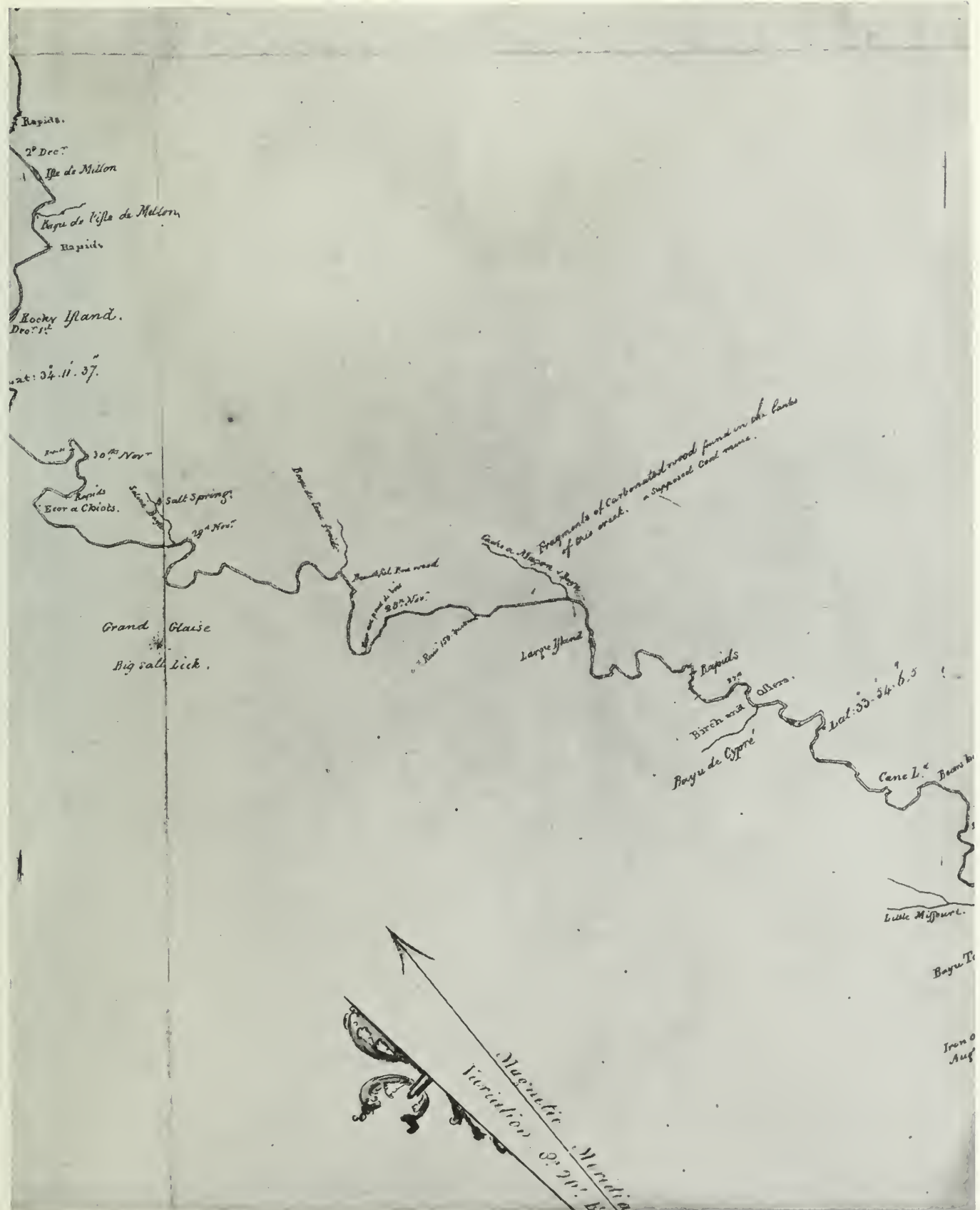
MAP 1. The Washita River in Louisiana from the Hot Springs to the Confluence of the Red River and the Mississippi laid down from the journal and survey of Mr. Dunbar in the year 1804, by Nichs. King. Courtesy of the National Archives.



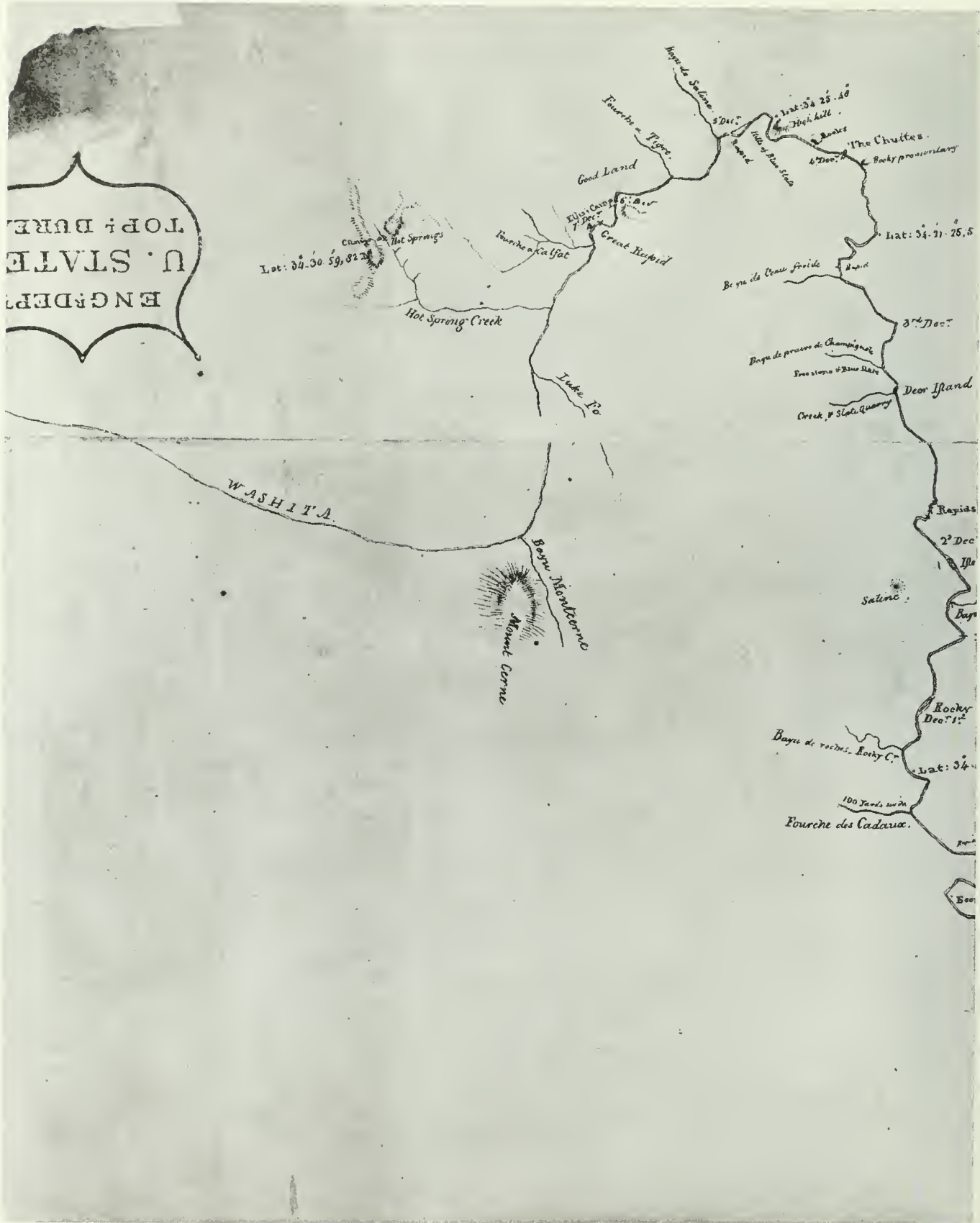
MAP 4.



MAP 5.



MAP 9.



MAP 10.

of that colour suspended in its waters, which is said to give an amazing degree of fertility to the ground overflowed by it. Here at our first entrance the appearance of the face of the country seems changed, every vegetable puts on a fresher green. The banks as yet are all overflowed in time of freshes; the timber is small & that in sight chiefly Willows & Cottonwood which resembles the Lombardy poplar, & on each side the ground appears to be but of recent formation. We have already seen a great many flocks of wild Geese & Brandt, altho still shy, a few ducks, many large Ali-gators. Here we picked up a few shells of mother of Pearl Muscels, very light, thin & transparent. Encamped at 6 p.m. at a bank covered with pea Vine, the ground very rich composed of fat earth very deep soil.

18th Got under way at 6. a.m. after a pleasant cool night no mosquitoes, & scarce any current. The wind sprung up fair & we set our sail, but the breeze being but light went only at three miles p^r hour for $\frac{1}{4}$ hour when we took to our oars. Having fixed a Logline & reell & marked our line in perches viz a knot at every perch[,] we hove the Log using an Acrometer that told seconds very distinctly, by which it appears that we row only $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles p^r hour. The river is very crooked, we set our course with a surveyors Compass, & instead of points as they do at sea, take it down in degrees; so that it sometimes happens that we go four or five courses in half an hour. As we ascend this river the banks rise by degrees a little higher, a great Variety of trees appear but still the banks are lined with willows. This River which was about 500 yards wide at the Mouth is now reduced to about 200—& appears to be very deep.—We now sounded & found it to be 11 fathoms in the Middle about 15 miles from the Mouth. encamped on the left bank going up at a pleasant place, where there are plenty of Poccon [pecan] trees; The men made a large fire on the top of the Bank & slept by it under the shade of the trees, covered by their Mosquito Curtains, we that is M^r Dunbar Myself & Son with M^r Dunbars Servant & his two Slaves slept on board the boat. This night was also cool, The Thermometer stood in the morning at sunrise at 42 & yesterday afternoon at 84. Got no observation this day.—No mosquitoes, made 12 miles $293\frac{1}{2}$ perches.

19th. Set out at 6 a.m. which is now here only just day light. Hove the log by which we rowed at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles p^r hour.³ stopped one hour to breakfast to rest the Men. I shot 2 ducks but got but one of them, afterward in our course up the river met with & at several times killed the whole flock which consisted of

5. They proved to be good. As we stopped to take an observa[tion] observed a Canoe hauled ashore & a black man who left it at our approach, the canoe was empty & we suspected that the person we had just seen was a run away slave, accordingly when we had dined, we left two men hid in the bushes, & pushed off our boat & went on. We had not proceeded far when we were hailed by those we had left behind, & perceived they had got a black man a stout fellow who called himself Harry, with nothing but his shirt & trowsers on, who gave no satisfactory account of himself, said he was free, but had nothing to show for it. We took him into the Boat, he was half famished, we gave him plenty of ham & biscuit to eat, which he devoured with a voracious appetite, said he was pleased to go with us, but still never gave any satisfaction as to whom he belonged to. &c.—We came to the Black River in about one $\frac{1}{2}$ mile further Latitude 31.15.48.* having the water differently coloured from the red River, being quite clear; Still scarce any current, Sounded in $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms water. made 15 miles. 102 perches this day.

The banks of the black river are of fine black garden mold producing a Variety of Forrest trees & a great burthen of herbage & grasses, here & there patches of Reeds or Canes, shewing that the banks are not so long nor so frequently overflowed as below. The game wild fowls appear not so often yet as in the Red River neither are the Alligators so plenty nor so large. Went this day by our Log about 15 miles. Thermometer 46° in air. were delayed about one hour waiting for one of the men Skinner who had got leave to hunt along the left bank of the river going up.

20th Set out $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6 A.M. This day saturday, The banks grow up very gradually in height as we ascend producing very luxuriantly on the margin of the river a large Variety of barren kinds of vines hanging in festoons amongst the shrubs & trees, & also pea vines of different kinds.⁵ In the interior I found many briars

⁴ In his official report Hunter observed (pp. 13-14): "It is generally called ten leagues from the mouth of the Red, to that of the Black River. By our reckoning we find it to be only 26 miles 115 perches."

⁵ In his report (pp. 14-15) Hunter mentioned also "the China Briar yeilding the China Root used in medicine, & the Cantac used occasionally by the Hunters as food: This last bears a lump of a root often larger than a man's fist, which after being well washed from the earth, is pounded in a wooden mortar, water is then added & the whole stirred up, & after a momentary settlement the water is poured off, which carries the fecula with it.

"This operation is repeated till it yeilds no more fecula, the fibrous part only being left, which is thrown away as useless.

"The water is then poured off the sediment which is dried in the sun, & will keep for a long time. It is reduced into powder & mixed with Indian meal, or flour, baked into cakes & makes a wholesome & agreeable food.

"This labor is generally performed by the women whilst they are keeping the Camp, their husbands being out in the woods hunting."

³ Dunbar, however, reported nearly twice this speed: "having given the Soldiers this morning a few words of advice and encouragement, they improved considerably in activity and cheerfulness, hove the log and found we went 7 perches per half minute" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 10, Boston, 1904).

which rendered it difficult to walk thro them. The banks here as well as in all the rivers in this country subject to be annually overflowed are generally higher next the rivers & descend as they leave the river, owing to the mud brought down suspended in the floods being the heaviest part of it deposited there & as the water leaves the river it gradually clears itself & thus at a distance the grounds rise by much slower degrees than near.—For the whole of this country appears to be newly formed & forming & growing gradually more & more elevated, dry & healthy. Sounded in 5 fathoms water The river continues falling about 4 Inches perpendicular in 24 hours, scarce any current, the men row very idolently. Made this day, 13 miles, 46 perches.

21st. Oct^r. 1804 Sunday Thermometer before sunrise 60°. Cloudy Observed for the first time in this river a small Island containing a few acres of land in it. The wind being fair, we set our sail & went on for a while at a brisk rate. A small settlement.⁶ Landed to Observe the suns Altitude, but were prevented by clouds from doing it to satisfaction.—Extremes of the Thermometer 60°. to 83° cloudy Wind S.S.E. Made this day 14 miles 59 perches.—The Banks resemble those passed yesterday except rising in height as we ascend. The water good & pleasant to drink.

22nd Monday Thermometer before sunrise 65° cloudy Wind S.S.E. It rained in the night & a little in this day. could make no observation. extremes of the Thermometer 65° to 79° Made this day 13 miles 76 perches.

23rd. Tuesday Extremes of the Thermometer 68° to 75° Wind WNW The river fell 3 Inches during the night. Set out at sunrise & came this day nine miles 77½ perches to the Mouth of the Catahoula a long lake on the left hand & nearly opposite on the right is the entrance of the Bayu Tenza, The river Ouachita laying in the middle or rather the Quachita is the main branch of the black river which here loses its name in the three above mentioned waters.⁷ Sounded 6 fathoms water in the mouth of the Ouachita. We landed at Mons^r. Cadès here, where he keeps a ferry boat to carry over travellers to & from Natchez to fort Miro Here we staid till evening to get the necessary information to enable us to pursue our rout, which we took down in writing & is as follows

⁶ Dunbar placed the island and the settlement close together: "at 8^h. a. m. we arrived at an Island, small but elevated, said to be the only one in this river for more than 100 leagues ascending. On the left bank near the Island is a small settlement commenced by a man and his wife: a covered frame of rough poles without walls serves for a house, and a Couple of acres of Indian corn had been cultivated" (Journal of a voyage, 12-13, Boston, 1904). This must have been about where the town of Bayou Island, Catahoula Parish, now stands.

⁷ The Catahoula River is more generally known as Little River.

From the mouth of Red to the mouth of Black river ten leagues	10
from thence to Catahoula or Ouachita	22
(by our reckoning from the mouth of Red River to Ouachita 77½ miles)	
from thence to Bayu or river ha-ha ⁸	1
to prairie Villemont opposite Pine Point	5
to Bayu Louis & the rapids on the right	1
to Bayu Beauf on the right	4
to the drowned prairie ⁹	3
to pine point on the left	4½
to Bayu Calumet three & an half	3½
to the Coal Mine on the right & the Plaster of Paris on the left	3½
Olivots first settlement, (Shoal & rapid)	12
To Fort Miro	22
french leagues	90½

Latitude of the mouth of the River Ouachita 31,37,57

This Mons^r Cadi lives on an Indian mount about an acre in extent which is the only place near him that is not overflowed in the great freshes, & he seems to express a satisfaction that he has no bad neighbours. The ground here is very rich & if it were to be defended by a dike or Bank would be inexhaustably fertile.¹⁰

⁸ These places will be noticed as the travelers approach them.

⁹ Dunbar set this down by its French name: Prairie Noyée (Journal of a voyage, 18, Boston, 1904).

¹⁰ Hunter consistently called this man *Cadi* or *Cadet*; Dunbar gave his name as *Hebrard*. A Bordelais married to a Canadian, he had obtained in 1786 a grant of two thousand acres with the privilege of operating a ferry. One nineteenth century writer gives his name as "Don Juan (or Caddy) Hebrard De Baillion." Consult Robin, C. C., *Voyages dans l'interieur de la Louisiana* 2: 309-314, Paris, 1807; *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands* 2: 851, Washington, 1834; Kilpatrick, A. R., The parish of Catahoula, *De Bow's Review* 12: 259, 1852; Kilpatrick, The parish of Concordia, *De Bow's Review* 11: 41, 1851; Mitchell, J., and R. B. Calhoun, *Maison Rouge, Bastrop, and Morhouse, La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 295-296, 1937.

At this point in his official report Hunter wrote in much greater detail (p. 16):

"We landed here at a solitary settlement at the confluence of the Catahoula & black river, inhabited by a Mons^r. Cadet, who has built his house on an Indian Mound.

"As this place is a great curiosity we stopped till evening to look at it, & to get the necessary information to enable us to pursue our rout.

"M^r Cadet was very civil & attentive, took the pains to go round with M^r Dunbar my son & me to shew us the curiosities of the place.

"This has been, & shortly will be a place of importance, it is a short pass from Natchez, to the settlements at the rapids on Red River, & to Fort Miro on the Ouachita, here a ferry boat is kept which even now is very lucrative.

"If one may judge from the immense labor necessary to erect those Indian monuments to be seen here, this place must have once been very populous.

"There is an entrenchment, or embankment running from the Catahoula to the black river, enclosing about 200 acres of rich Land, at present about 10 feet high & fifty broad. This surrounds four large mounds of earth, at the distance of a bow shot apart from each other: each of which may now be about

River gentle scarce any perceptable current.—
Memorandum[?]

1804 Oct^r. 24th. Wednesday. Therm. before sunrise 54° Temperature of the river 71.

Set out about day light & in about an hour passed a large Bayu called Ha-ha¹¹ on the right & some highland. Observed on the left the strata of clay obliquely down the river inclining about 30°. The river is still gentle with little current Landed to observe on the right side of the river & found the O.d. Ap^t. mer. Alt 92.4.50" Ind error +0.13',45" Lat found. 31°.42'.-31.5"¹² After dinner passed some highland to the

20 feet perpendicular, 100 feet broad & 300 feet long at the top. Besides a stupendous turret, situate at the back part, of the whole, furthest off from the waters, whose base covers about an acre of ground, rising by two flats or stories, tapering as you ascend, the whole surmounted by a great cone with the top cut off.

"This Tower of earth on measurement proved to be about 80 feet perpendicular. Cadet owns about two or three thousand acres of rich bottom land here, which is never overflowed except in very high freshes. He expresses himself satisfied that he has no bad neighbours."

Dunbar also wrote at some length about Hebrard's settlement (Journal of a voyage, 17-18, 181-184, Boston, 1904). The Hunter-Dunbar predictions of importance for this location proved false: the town of Jonesville in 1960 had a population of 2,347. For another description of these mounds see the Memoire sur le District de Ouachita (pp. 14-17) prepared by the Chevalier D'Anemours, who had lived five years at Ouachita.

¹¹ Since the French word *haha* means *obstacle* or *obstruction*, this stream may have been so-called because it was once blocked by a raft.

¹² At this point in his report (pp. 17-18) Hunter wrote: "I have as yet set down the result of the Observations for the Latitude &c, as given by Mr Dunbars excellent Circle of Reflection, which being supported by a pedestal of brass with three feet, rests solid on the ground, & nicely contrived by a variety of joints & screws, so as to be capable of every kind of motion however minute, & so well balanced as to rest there; by which the Observer is enabled to be very exact & minute & have as great confidence in his operations as any instrument can give, the index being graduated to ten seconds.

"Whereas the Sextant I brought from Philadelphia tho a very good one, was originally made for using off hand, at Sea: & not being much practised in the use of Astronomical Instruments, I found it difficult & uneasy to hold it up for a sufficient length of time to take an altitude by means of the Artificial mercurial Horizon, with the same accuracy as by the Circle of Reflection.

"Besides the cover of the Artificial horizon being very narrow, (1½ Inch by 3) & the joints open, so as not to prevent the wind from shaking the mercury, this often added to my embarrassment.

"The box to hold the Mercury was also on a wrong plan; for it was made of tin plate turned up at the corners, & there soldered, the whole was then japaned to prevent an amalgamation of the solder with the Mercury; However, after using it a few times the cracks in the japan, were penetrated by the Mercury, & the box became useless, the solder at the corners being entirely destroyed.

"To remedy these inconveniences; I imitated the Pedestal of Mr Dunbar's Circle of reflection, as near as circumstances would allow to be done with wood & Buffaloe horn, balancing

right, & towards evening a large Bayu going to the left in a S.W direction.¹³ We tracted the greatest part of this day. The river sometimes about 80 yards wide. Made this day 14 miles, 48 perches—

Oct^r. 25th. Set out half past six A.M. from a few miles below the Rapids, where we arrived at dinner time, being stopped by the shallows, after various efforts we passed all of which but one, where there was only about 1 foot water & as our Boat drew two & a half by the stern & less by the bow we brought her upon an even keell by moving part of the loading forward & as the men were much fatigued by wading in the water & dragging the boat thro the strong current, it was thought best to let them rest & dry & warm themselves for the rest of this day. The Lower part of these rapids are formed by several small bars or Islands formed of gravel & mud & the upper part by a ledge of soft rocks which seem to be formed of indurated sand & clay, a kind of bad free stone, which acquire an iron brown colour externally by exposure to the air tho white within. On these Bars we found plenty of clams which we eat & found not unpleasant; & their shells were of the Mother of Pearl some white & others of a beautiful purple in the inside, very thin & semitransparent.¹⁴ These rapids are but a trifling obstruction to the navigation of the river & only at times & seasons like the present when the waters are very low; They might with very small expence be made at all times passable for boats drawing six feet or perhaps 8 feet water: For when the river is high, there is plenty of water for any Vessel. Opposite to the ledge of rocks the ground rises about 100 feet high, forming broken ground, producing pines Oaks &c, & in the gulleys between cypress—& various other trees; under which even to the tops of the ridges abundance of grass grows fit for a range for Cattle.—I here waded into the water

the weight of the Sextant with lead cast in sand for the purpose, & instead of screws used wedges, to tighten or slacken the several joints, thereby acquiring full command of every motion.

"After several trials and alterations, brought it to that perfection as to take the observations with satisfaction & as much precision as an Instrument graduated to twenty seconds could be expected to do; having also made a box of wood for the artificial horizon instead of the tin one become useless."

¹³ Bayou Bachelet, according to Dunbar, W., Journal of a geometrical survey, 14, Boston, 1904. A 1797 map of the Ouachita District gives the name of this stream as Barelais and shows it connecting the Ouachita River and Lake Catahoula (*Amer. State Papers, Public Lands 2: facing 754, Washington, 1834*). On the Lafon *Carte Générale du Territoire d'Orléans* it is Bachelet—today, Bushley Creek.

¹⁴ On October 23 Dunbar had "observed a great number of muscles and periwinkles along shore: the muscle is of the kind commonly called pearl-muscle, & by means of its long tongue makes considerable progress along the bottom & upon the beaches of the river when under water: our people had a quantity of them dressed and found them to be agreeable food: to me they were tough and unpalatable" (Journal of a voyage, 16, Boston, 1904).

& with an assistant staked out the narrowest part of the bar thro which it was determined to cut a passage for the boat with her loading. it was about 36 yards in length & 44 in breadth & marked in such a way as to receive the aid of the current to assist in sweeping out what we dug, the shallowest part was about 6 Inches deep—¹⁵

26th. This morning being raw & cold, it was thought best that the men should have their breakfast before they should go into the water to dig out the channel to let the boat pass, as we immagined they would soon do it & then we should go on, without stopping till midday, but we reckoned without our host, for when midday come the channel was but half done; The men seemed jaded or unwilling to work at it any more & it was concluded to try to force the boat thro it with hand pikes. This we attempted & got thro only a few feet when we were obliged to stop for want of force. I then got a runner & tackle fixed to a tree on the opposite bank, to obtain which were obliged to shipp the Mast & use our Hauliards & all the spare rope on board. We then divided our force, set six of our strongest men to use the hand pikes upon the boat in the water & the rest to the tackle ashore & by working all together we got about half over when night came on.—In the forepart of the day whilst the men were employed digging the channel I went with an assistant & sounded the river for the best passage from where we were to the end of the rapids & found to our great satisfaction that tho the current was very strong yet there was plenty of water for our boat. saw a large flock of wild Turkeys, some plover, & many wild geese this day, which seemed to be not quite so shy as farther down the river. Here at the ledge of rocks to the right is a bayou which is now dry at the entrance.

27th. Began to work again after breakfast & by the addition of another block to the tackle & the assistance of the crew of another boat which came up¹⁶ & was

¹⁵ In three miles travel on this day they had passed Pine Point, Prairie de Villemont, and Bayou Louis, Hunter noted in his report, pp. 18-19. Pine Point must have been the site on which Harrisonburg was founded a few years later "at the point where the pine hills are first seen in ascending this stream" (Kilpatrick, A. R., The parish of Catahoula, *De Bow's Review* 12: 642, 1852). Opposite, on the east (left) bank was Villemont's Prairie which "obtained its name in consequence of its being included within a grant under the french Government to a gentleman of that name; some of the family & name yet remain at New Orleans but I have not heard of any claim for this land; many other parts of the Washita are named after their early proprietors: the french people projected & began extensive settlements upon this river, but the general massacre planned & in part executed by the Indians against the french and the consequent massacre of the Natchez tribe by the french, broke up all those undertakings & they were not re-commenced under the french government" (Dunbar, Journal of a voyage, 22-23, Boston, 1904). The bluffs to the west of the Ouachita were then known as *les Côtes Villemont*. Bayou Louis or Looah was passed at the foot of the rapids Hunter describes.

¹⁶ According to Dunbar, a barge had come up behind them late on the 26th: "she also grounded & sent her people out to

also stopped by the shallows we forced our way over about 2 p.m. We then dined & set forward & soon got thro the rest of the rapids; where we found the river as before a smooth, & peaceful stream with scarce any currents; The banks still rising gradually in height on each side as we advanced, The land on both sides is now more composed of sand intermixed with the black vegetable mold than formerly, & on the right bank coming up observed frequent prairies of seeming small extent, with trees scattered thro them. The Timber assumes now a larger size & growth than lower down. From the bar where we stopped to the ledge of rocks which terminates the shoals here may be about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile & we found the best water on the right side very near the shore, even where the rippling seems to indicate otherwise. Here is a Bayou on the left. Extremes of the Therm^r. 32° to 73 hoarfrost This day made 2 miles 77 perches.

28th. Set out at half past six a.m. The morning very foggy on the river & not so cold as yesterday. The banks still rising in height by slow degrees & the land more & more intermixed with sand, at least it appears so by the banks. This day towed all the way; found on the bank a young Fawn just killed by a Panther, the throat being tore very much. we took it on board & made an hearty meal of it, or two for all hands, Trees increasing in size. Therm^r. 40° in air & 63 in the river water in the morning. A prairie on the left, Bayou Beauf¹⁷ on the right & an hill composed of the white sandy stone crowned with Tall Pine trees[.] prefer tracting when the nature of the banks will permit, as it is both easier to the men & we go faster. Latitude observed 31°, 53', 35" depth of the midchannel of the river sand & muddy bottom 3 fathoms[.] Made this day 12 miles 116 perches.

1804 Oct^r. 29th Monday Thermometer in Air 41° & in the river 62° in the Morning about $\frac{1}{4}$ past six when we set out. Land generally rising in height above the river which at this season of the year is at its lowest A Creek on the left.¹⁸ Lat. ob[s]erv^d. 31°.58'.2" at three P.M. Thermometer 85°.

The land is generally poor, thin & sandy, timber Pines &c depth of midchannel 3 fathoms

This day made 14 miles 65 perches

30th. Tuesday Thermometer in the morning in the air 47°

do in the river water 60°

Fog on the water, Wind WNW clear w[e]ather

Set off at day light about 6 A.M. Came in the afternoon to a rapid where the river was only about 30 yards wide, A creek on the left. Thermometer in the after-

search for the channel" (Journal of a voyage, 26, Boston, 1904).

¹⁷ Bayou or Rivière aux Bœufs—today, Bœuf River.

¹⁸ The Lafon *Carte Générale du Territoire d'Orléans* shows here a Bayou aux Dindes. Prairie Noyée lay opposite.

noon 83°. Land as before said to be rather light & thin. Now & then observe high sandy hills on each side of the river, but seldom opposite to each other, The Banks still increase slowly in perpendicular height, & appear not subject except in particular places to inundations. distance made this day 15 miles & 150 perches. The Master of the runaway Negro hailed us from the bank coming up & we were relieved from the charge of him to his Masters great satisfaction. His name is Innes,¹⁹ he is a planter at the rapids of Red River originally from New York, has been in this country 11 years.—

Wednesday 31st. Oct^r. Set out at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. a.m. The current was here pretty strong for the first part of this day, Thermometer in the morning in air 44° & in the river. 62°. Our Course generally N a little Westerly, got on a shoal & were for some time embarrassed by shallows, the Land is no longer here subject to inundations. found our latitude by observation to be N. 32°.10'.13". At 3 p.m. came to a Settlement consisting of one house. Thermometer in the afternoon 84°. Here were Informed that Dan^l. Clark of Orleans had purchased the Land on both sides of the river from the Post, or Fort Miro to Bayou Calumet, a distance of 30 leagues. from the Heir of one Marquis De Maison Rouge. The price is said to be ten cents p^r acre & the breadth supposed to be 40 acres deep on each side of the river which is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile on each side.²⁰—The size of the french Acre 180 french feet square, by our measure 15 french are equal to 16. english feet. This large body of land is said not to be very good, generally, tho capable to produce wheat, corn, cotton &c. Were obliged to stop just below this shoal, where we slept all night & purchased a few Vegetables & a Canoe to lighten our boat when crossing shoals, by giving a small canoe which we had picked up in the Mississippi & six dollars for it. By estimation of settlers here,²¹ it is 20

¹⁹ Possibly Alexander Innis, who held lands on Red River, Bayou Castor, and Bayou Rapides (*Amer. State Papers, Public Lands 2: 822, 829, 831, Washington, 1834*).

²⁰ The Maison Rouge grant extended on the west bank of the Ouachita from a point five arpents below the mouth of the Bayou Chenière au Tondre to the mouth of the Bayou Calumet and on the east of the Ouachita from Pointe L'ainé, two leagues below Fort Miró, down to the Prairie de Lé [Lait]. Two other parcels were located on Bayou la Loutre, Bayou Siard, and Bayou Barthélémi and on the right bank of the Ouachita from the mouth of Bayou Barthélémi down to Bayou la Loutre. Maison Rouge, dying in New Orleans in 1799, had made Louis Bouligny his universal heir and the latter, by acts of sale July 16, 1803, June 1, 1804 (and January 12, 1812) conveyed all his rights to Daniel Clark. For the full story see Mitchell, J., and R. B. Calhoun, *Maison Rouge, Bastrop, and Morhouse, La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 298-368, 1937. The explorers had passed Bayou Calumet on the 30th.

²¹ On the thirty-first Dunbar wrote: "in the afternoon passed a little plantation or settlement on the right and at night came up with three others joining each other: here is a plain or prairie upon which these settlements are placed . . . there is here a ferry & a road of Communication between the Post of

leagues from this Shoal to the Fort Miro or Post of Ouachita & there are said to be several rapids & shoals between them, particularly one on which there are only said to be six Inches of Water at this season. Distance made this day six miles 165 perches, & that with a great deal of exertion & labor

1804 Nov^r. 1st Thursday Thermometer in the morning in air 40°, water 62° Calm Clear weather except a little fog on the river which was dissipated by 9 A.M.

Having examined & sounded the Channel of the rapid over the shoals & marked out our best passage across, where we found it to be 18 Inches deep, our boat drawing $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by the stern, we found that by bringing her on an even keel her draft of water would be reduced to two feet. Therefor on deliberation it was determined to leave out such part of the provisions & baggage as would reduce her draft of water to 18 Inches & carry it over afterwards in our Canoe purchased for that purpose at several times.²² This we effected which occupied our time all the forenoon. & immediately after dinner set out again on our voyage; we passed several shoals & shallow sand barrs which embarrassed us not a little, sometimes wading in the water up to the middle & dragging the boat thro & over the bad & difficult places, sometimes rowing & then tracting as it seemed to answer best. so that all this day we made only after much fatigue 4 miles & 115 perches—About 3 p.m. passed a sandy cliff about 100 feet perpendicular above the water near which [we] went ashore to examine a stratum of blackish substance looking like stone coal, but which proved to be only an indurated clay colored with iron, easily pulverant between the fingers.

Some of the land here appears very sandy producing pine, Oak, Hickory &c & other parts are Prairies, level clear of all sorts of trees & shrubs tho of no great extent, at least those on the banks which we saw in our way. These prairies do not seem to be here in much esteem altho they are generally surrounded with timber land. Altho it is said to be twenty leagues by water to Fort Miro yet they call it but 12 or 14 miles by land. The river where there are sand barrs appears to be about 50 y^{ds}. wide, in other places twice as much, altho it gradually grows narrower & the banks higher as we

the Washita and the Natchez & a fork of this road passes on to the Settlement called the rapids on the Red river, it is distant from this place by computation 150 miles" (*Journal of a voyage, 30-31, Boston, 1904*). This must have been the place noted by Hunter on page 157 above as "Olivot's first settlement." Peter Olivos and Boston Olivos [Bastien Olivo?] each held four hundred arpents on the Ouachita River (*Amer. State Papers, Public Lands 2: 817, Washington, 1834*). D'Anemours in 1803 reported the population of the settlements above Catahoula as between fifty and sixty families, "all or almost all Americans" (*Mémoire sur le district de Ouachita, 20*).

²² The plan, wrote Dunbar, was "to put two of our best hunters into the empty Canoe by which they might keep a head & procure some game, & be ready on all emergencies to assist the Barge" (*Journal of a voyage, 33, Boston, 1904*).

ascend it, tho with many exceptions—Above all inundations

No observation

Friday Nov^r. 2nd. Thermometer 48°. in Air & in the river 62° [.] at 3 p.m. 84° & at 7 p.m. 64. Cloudy Wind S.S.E.

Set off at near seven a m. & rowed chiefly northerly all this day inclining to West. The banks continue sandy; The river more narrow & here & there very shallow, so that we are often obliged to go from one side of the river to the other to pick a passage for the boat; The timber grows here large many tall pines on the highlands & here & there Cypress & swamp white oak in moist places by the water sides. The inland has many fine oaks hickory &c Saw [for] the first time a flock of Pelicans; on the left appearances of half formed stone in thin strata by the waters edge; caught a few fish in the evening with the net & a fine soft shelld turtle by hook & line. The fish in these fresh water rivers are not so good to eat as those near the sea, they are soft & comparatively insipid. In our way this day got on several sunken logs which cost us several hours labor to extricate ourselves from²³ The land on each side here, as well as on the Mississipi now & then slips down in considerable portions into the river carrying the trees with it, & sometimes the earth is washed away & carried down by the current leaving the trees standing in the water, these in time lose their tops & many of their branches but their trunks remain for a long time as chevaux de frise in the water & thereby stop other drift wood in its passage down & often injure the navigation of the river. The aligators are not so frequent as usual, & it is said they do not go beyond Fort Miro.—Made this day only 8 miles 104 perches.—In general the current is very gentle, tho here & there in narrow places it is more rapid—scarcely averaging $\frac{1}{2}$ mile p^r hour from the Mississipi to this place.

Saturday Nov^r 3rd. Therm. in Air in the morning 52° & in the river 64° [.] at 3 pm. 86 & in the evening at 6 pm. 72° Set off [f] before sunrise. Our course this day generally Northwestward, tho sometimes by the turns of the river even south easterly. The land on the banks much the same as yesterday, & still as we ascend the river, it assumes a more ancient appearance & rises in height a little more than the stream does, yet by slow & scarce perceptible degrees. In the afternoon the left bank assumed more of clay than formerly & less sand, consequently the growth of timber larger & no pines. The greatest part of this days journey the river was in many places narrower & more rapid, with fre-

²³ “. . . our boat being so unwieldy & heavy, there was no getting her off by any exertion of poles &c which could be made on board, a rope was carried ashore from the stern, & by that means she was hove backwards & cleared of the log: we lost $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour each time by two such accidents. . . .” (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 34, Boston, 1904).

quent falling in or rather slipping down of very large portions (say) from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre at a time) of ground which sometimes chocks up the channel as to make it difficult for boats to find depth of water to pass over. Were frequently aground on rough coarse gravel barrs this day which delayed much of our time & cost us some exertions to get off, so that we made but about 11 miles 140 perches this day. Encamped on the left bank on a bed of gravel, under which were several small strata of fine bluish clay & one of a black substance of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Inches thick resembling mineral coal. It is light, friable, soft has no grit in it. & when held in the flame of a candle seemed to increase the flame yet did not kindle, it sent forth at the same time a smoke resembling in smell that of sealing wax.²⁴

Latitude by observation 32°.17'.17".—

In the forenoon went ashore on the right bank & walked with my riddle along the bank ahead of the boat, found the land of a thin sandy soil, yet the timber large, came to an opening sending out a small rivulet, followed it up for a mile. it terminated in a prairie of about a mile in length in the center of which was a small Lake, now almost dry in which were a number of wild Geese, ducks & hooping Cranes, but all so shy that I could not get a shot at them. Saw many tracts of Deer. In the afternoon went ashore as before, but on the left bank, here the land seemed somewhat more fertile & sent forth such a quantity of underwood, small briars & vines of various kinds as made it difficult to pass thro them. saw no game tho many deer tracts. tasted many of the springs that run out of the bank into the river which are chiefly ferruginous & deposit an ochry yellow mud, oxid of iron. These appearances are observed all the way from the mouth of the Red river, even where the banks seem but of a very recent date. It would seem that the water as it drains out of the banks after the inundations, dissolves a small portion of Iron which it deposits whenever it is exposed to the atmospheric Air.—In my tour I found this coally substance & it being late, we determined to stay there till morning when we might give it more attention.

1804 Nov^r. 4th. Sunday. Therm. at sunrise 54° in air & in the river 64° [.] at 3 pm 83° & at 7 pm. 63.

Set out before sunrise as usual but had proceeded but a little way when we found ourselves surrounded by shoals & fast on a gravel bar, we sounded the water in all directions to find a channel deep enough for the boat, which we at last effected by moving some of the loading forward to bring the boat on an even keell, all hands then wading in the water & forcing thro it; This took till breakfast time; set out again & pushed forward, some times rowing, some times wading & dragging the boat over the shallows & then again tracting according to circumstances. The greater part of this day were

²⁴ Dunbar thought this “the Carbonated wood described by Kirwan and other Chemists” (*Journal of a voyage*, 36, Boston, 1904).

embarrassed by rapids & shoals very often getting aground, & then delayed till a person would wade forward & across the river, a head of the boat in all probable directions in order to find the deepest water, before we could venture to proceed again. The men, or rather some of them often grumbling & uttering execrations against me in particular for urging them on, in which they had the example of the sergeant who on many occasions of trifling difficulties frequently gave me very rude answers, & in several instances both now & formerly seemed to forget that it was his duty in such cases to urge on the men under his command to surmount them rather than to show a spirit of contradiction & backwardness.—In the same spirit this day when at the helm he steered inshore too much[,] altho I cautioned him to keep out[,] & run under a projecting Tree & carried away our Mast which cost me so much pains to procure at Pittsburg & to fix to strike at Orleans.—made 4 miles 233 p

Nov^r. 5th. Monday

Thermometer at 6 A.M. in air 52°, river 62° [.]
do at 3 pm. 68 & at 7 pm. 58

Thick fog on the river which continued more or less all this day. At 6 A.M. finding the water not deep enough to swim the boat, unloaded part which our canoe brought to us after we had passed the shoal, at two turns. This delayed us till breakfast time, which when finished we set out again about 10 A.M. & pushed on winding thro the various shoals we met with, rowing, Towing or setting with our poles occasionally.

During this days course we observed the land gradually assuming a more fertile appearance, still rising in height as we ascend the river; half formed stone appears at the waters edge, seemingly composed of clay, & sand penetrated by water possessing something of a petrifying quality. The trees are hickory Oaks, pines &c—The woods more open not so much underbrush & briars as lower down; now & then for some distance Canebreaks show themselves on the banks. Ferruginous water still ouzes out of the banks in many places, particularly near the edge of the river. On the left observed a small rivulet sending out water manifestly much darker in appearance than the Washita. The overcast weather prevented taking an observation for the latitude this day. Encamped on the evening on a sandy Beach where we hawled the seine 2^{ce} [twice] but caught only a very few fish, viz Catfish, Buffalo fish Gars, & a few small ones of little value.—Shot a couple of ducks, one of which proved delicious, the other rather indifferent.—The men shot a wild Turkey & caught also a few cat fish with hook & line.—

Nov^r. 6th. Tuesday Them. in the morning at 6.A m. in Air 45° & in the river water 64 Foggy weather.—

The land as before described on both sides; Ferruginous springs as usual runing out of the bank near the water's edge; in some places it only onzes out & in others it bubbles & boils up from below like a fountain

thro a fine light quicksand mixed with clay in a state of suspension in the water, & it hence appears that the slipping in of the bank in many places is owing to this unstable foundation & also those various inclinations of the strata so remarkable in many places of the river banks.—

I put a pole 15 feet long down thro the quicksand of some of these springs with very little difficulty & if it had been longer no doubt it would have gone down much further. In our course up the river for the last 30 miles altho there are few or no habitations we frequently observed cattle browsing on the Banks & very shy. About half past 3 p m arrived at the Military post originally called fort Miro named after a Governor of that name at Orleans formerly.²⁵ The Spanish old stockade fort has been torn down, & a new small one without cannon or port holes erected by the Americans under Leuit Bowman.²⁶ it is only a defense against Indians being unfinished & scarcely that, for the spaces between the stakes that compose the fort shew the men

²⁵ Ouachita Post had been founded in 1785 at a place previously known as Prairie des Canots. The fort was built in 1790 and named for Esteban Miró, Governor of Louisiana, 1782-1792. In 1819 the town was re-named Monroe in honor of the President. Consult Hardin, J. Fair, Don Juan Filhiol and the Founding of Fort Miro, *La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 461-485, 1937; Mitchell, J., and R. B. Calhoun, *Maison Rouge, Bastrop, and Morhouse, La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 295 ff., 1937. C. C. Robin visited the post for six weeks in the spring of 1804 (*Voyages dans l'interieur de la Louisiane* 2: 328-385, Paris, 1807).

²⁶ Lieutenant Joseph Bowmar had taken possession of Ouachita Post for the United States on April 15, 1804; on that day he wrote to Governor Claiborne at New Orleans: "I find there is no fortified place or public building of any kind in the Country, and I am preparing to erect Cabbins at this place for the accomodation of myself & the Troops" (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 224, Washington, 1940). Fort Miro had been built on Filhiol's own land and remained his property. Dunbar wrote that they "were very politely received by Lieu^t Bowmar, who immediately offered us the hospitality of his Dwelling with all the services in his power. The position called Fort Miro being the property of a private person, who was formerly civil commandant here, the Lieutenant has taken post about 400 yards lower and built himself some log-houses and enclosed them with a slight stockade: this young officer exclusive of the manners of a polite Gentleman, appears to possess talents; he has formed a tollerably good chart of the river from its mouth to the Post, being the result of his own labors on the way up to take possession of the Post, this he has continued upwards from the best information he has been able to obtain; the whole gives a satisfactory idea of the river & part of the Country" (Journal of a voyage, 40, Boston, 1904). Of the Spanish fort D'Anemours a year earlier had written: "Pour ne point induire en erreur, il faut dire ici que, ce que l'on entend par un fort, dans toute cette partie de l'amerique est rarement autre chose, qu'un terrein d'une étendue médiocre, entouré de pieces de bois, grossierement équariés, posés horizontalement les uns sur les autres, jusqu'à la hauteur de neuf ou dix pieds. On garnit ce bizarre rempart de meurtrières tout à l'entour. On place cequ'on appelle des maisons fortes aux angles pour flanquer ces courtines. on pratique des trous, partout où on le croit convenable, pour y mettre du canon, si on en a, et le fort est fait. tel étoit le fort miro. tels sont bien d'autres—" (Mémoire sur le district de Ouachita, 25 n.)

in the inside & leave openings for expert marksmen to pick off those within. There is but an Infant settlement here; The land hitherto, or as far as we have assended, being only habitable here & there immediately on the river banks & on the Vicinity of Bayu's.²⁷ The rest being the greatest part swamp overflowed every year. The old settlers chiefly Canadian French appear to have little ambition, few wants & as little industry, They live from hand to mouth & let tomorrow provide for itself. Some of them have from thirty to 100 Cows, but no milk, butter, or Cheese; Their houses are cabins, afford but little protection against the Winter. The weather being mild there generally, they have not so much occasion for tight houses as we have further northward, & as the woods afford pasturage for their cattle in the winter, they give themselves but little trouble to feed them[;] consequently, they stray about with their calves & shift for themselves, coming to the habitations only now & then, by which means their milk is not obtained. They are supplied from the woods during the hunting season, with animal food, such as Venison, Bear meat, Buffaloe &c, wild Ducks, Geese, Swans, Turkeys, Brant in great abundance; But at other times they are often very badly off for provisions, both Animal & Vegetable; for altho the earth would produce very well, yet their want of forethought & industry leaves them in want of almost every comfort, except what is absolutely necessary for subsistence.²⁸

²⁷ "It appears that this small settlement on the Washita & some of the Creeks falling into it contains only 500 persons of all ages & sexes . . . there are three merchants settled at the post, who supply the inhabitants at very exorbitant prices with their necessaries; those within the garrison & two small planters and a tradesman or two constitute the present village; a great part of the inhabitants still continue the old practice of hunting during the winter season; their peltries go to the Merchant at a low rate of exchange for necessaries; in the summer these people content themselves with making corn barely sufficient for bread during the year; in this manner they always remain extremely poor; some few have conquered their habits of indolence (which are always a consequence of the indian mode of life) and addicted themselves to agriculture, live more comfortably & taste a little the sweets of civilized life" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 44-45, Boston, 1904). Robin reported the population of the district as about 450 whites and 50 or 60 slaves (*Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane* 2: 330, Paris, 1807). D'Anemours reported that the population occupied "à peu près quatre vingt dix feux," that about forty Indians were permitted to live in the town, and that it boasted two companies of badly armed militia—the population being about half French and half American (*Mémoire sur le district de Ouachita*, 36-37).

²⁸ In his report (p. 26) Hunter added a few remarks: "There is a considerable body of good lands in the vicinity of this Garrison, especially above it, which is generally granted to the Settlers who reside there, or is contained in the large concessions to the Marquis de Maison Rouge already mentioned & in the still larger Grant of 12 Leagues square, to the Baron de Bastrop.

"On a muster day of the militia, about 100 Riflemen appeared on the ground, tho they amount to about 150

"With the exception of two or three tolerable wooden houses; the people live in cabins. . . ."

Made this day 9 miles 257 perches. The Latitude of this place by a variety of observations appears to be 32°. 29', 57" And on the whole, it appears by our measurement that the distance from here to the mouth of the red river by the courses of the Ouachita & black river, is 196 miles & 256 perches.—

Nov^r. 7th. Wednesday. On enquiry were informed that there were in many places between this & the warm springs where there was but little water, many falls & rocks; ²⁹ M^r Dunbar concluded to hire another boat & leave our old one till our return, with such parts of our baggage &c as could be dispensed with, & we began immediately to look out for a suitable boat. In the meantime were visited by Leuit Bowmar Commandant here, & were by him invited to drink coffee at the Garrison. He seems to be a plain, intelligent, active officer, is well liked here, has no affectation, treated us with civility & attention[,] did us all the services in his power, which we stood in need of 8th & 9th were both cloudy days & no observations made. 9th Term. 42° to 72° in air & in the river 61°.

10th. Saturday Having procured a boat suitable for the purpose, at the rate of one Dollar & a quarter p^r Day. we took every thing out of the old one, & having left it together with all our baggage & heavy articles that could be dispensed with under the care of Leuit. Bowmar, & put on board of the other, our provisions[,] Tents, Instruments, medicine chest, Arms[,] amunition & cloathing, found that we drew but one foot water. This Boat is 55 ft. long 9 feet broad, has a small mast to tract by, no sail, rows 12 Oars, has no keell, a rudder & Tiller; we cut our sprits out of the sail of our Old boat & made of each of them two setting poles. This boat is built like a barge with light timbers & $\frac{3}{4}$ Inch plank on an handsome model for poling or rowing.³⁰ In the course of this day took a number of observations from the sun & moon. At night before going to rest found our new boat half full of water, immediately called all hands to save the provisions from being spoiled by the water & bailed out the boat. Kept a watch all night for that purpose. I sold Leuit Bowmar 30 Gallons Whiskey at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ dollar p^r Gallon, payable at my return; left with him also my two saddles & bridles, with directions to dispose of them if he could at 24\$

²⁹ In his report (pp. 26-27) Hunter here wrote: "On enquiry were informed that it was necessary to hire a person acquainted with the local situations of the places we intended to visit, as a Guide or Pilot. This being the hunting season, had no choice Therefore hired Samuel Blazier the only capable person left at home for 30 dollars p^r month." Blazier occupied a grant of 240 arpents on the right or west bank of the Ouachita a little above the town (*Amer. State Papers, Public Lands* 2: 815, Washington, 1834; Township Map, 1854).

³⁰ Though it was the best they could procure, Dunbar feared this boat would prove too long "as we shall certainly meet with short turns among logs & perhaps rocks, the passage of which might be facilitated by a shorter boat" (*Journal of a voyage*, 43, Boston, 1904).

for provisions, both animal & vegetable, for altho the cattle
 would produce very well, yet their want of fore thought
 & industry leaves them in want of almost every comfort, except
 what is absolutely necessary for subsistence.
 Made this day 9 miles 257 perches. The Latitude of this place
 by a variety of observations appears to be $32^{\circ} 29' 57''$

And on the whole, it appears by our measurement that the distance
 from here to the mouth of the red river by the courses of the Ouachita
 & black river, is 196 miles & 256 perches. —

Nov^r. 17th Wednesday. On enquiry were informed that there were
 many places between this & the warm springs where there was
 but little water, many falls & rocks; Mr Dunbar concluded
 to hire another boat & leave our old one till our return, with
 such parts of our baggage as could be dispensed with, & we
 began ^{in modesty} to look out for a suitable ~~one~~ boat. In the mean time
 were visited by Lieut Bowman Commandant here, & were by
 him invited to drink coffee ~~with him~~ at the Garrison.

He seems to be a plain, intelligent, active officer, & is well
 liked here, has no affectation, treated us with civility & attention
 did us all the services in his power, which we stood in need
 of. 8th & 9th were both cloudy days & no observations made.
 9th Therm. 42 to 72 in air & in the river 61.

10th Saturday Having procured a boat suitable for the purpose, at the
 rate of one Dollar a quarter of Day, we took every thing out of

FIG. 2. A page from Journal No. 4.

for one & \$8 for the other payable in Bear skins. vide
 Nov^r. 13th.

Nov^r. 11th Sunday Therm in Air at day break 24°
 hoarfrost. Unloaded our boat, dried what was wet,
 hauled the Barge ashore, caulked the necessary seams

& pushed her into the water again, to accomplish which
 it was necessary to have the aid of all the men of the
 Garrison. We then took in our loading again, Whilst
 this was doing some observations were taken to
 determine the Latitude & longitude of this place making

the lat. 32.29.37.8 but the mean Lat of the place of observation is 32°.29'.33. N. This being muster day for the Militia, about 100 men are now assembled to go thro their exercise, they are not all yet met, they say they will have one half more, but as we are all ready & eager to go on, we cannot wait to see them. Therefor we set out about half past 3. P.M. & came, after passing & rubbing on several shoals about 3 miles to a plantation of Baron Bastrop³¹ where we pitched our tents for the first time, & slept ashore comfortably with a good fire at our feet.—The land here is a sandy pine country very well timbered. The Baron began some years ago a saw mill here, but owing to his various occupations, & the disorder of his affairs, it niver was finished, the works are now useless. A M^r Richards³² now lives here of whom we purchased half a Beeve for fresh meat & issued half to the men, paid 4\$ for lbs. 79. being the usual price here. Bought also 2 bbles sweet Potatoes from M^r Phiol the old Spanish Commandant³³ for 2\$ & 33 pompions [pumpkins] for 1\$.—

12th Monday Therm. in air at daybreak 36° in the river 54° & at 7 p m. 54°.

Set off at half past 8 A.M. & pursued our course up the river, the Banks, land & trees &c much the same as before described, we now go faster than formerly owing to having a much lighter cargo & a more slender boat. This day passed several rapids & shoals, some formed by gravel barrs & others by ledges of those soft sandy half formed rocks. Between 9 & 10. a m passed Bayu Siard³⁴ on the right, on which are the principal settlements, & a considerable quantity of good land. This Bayu extends a considerable distance in to the country in a northeastwardly direction, till it meets with the waters of Bayu Bartholemew³⁵ which also empty into the Ouachita farther up forming an Island of considerable magnitude in which are contained a part of the lands forming the grant of Marquis de Maison Rouge. The Ouachita is here about 100 yards wide but it is varying in width & depth every few miles according to the local situation. About 10 a m. passed the Bayu

³¹ The Bastrop grant of 144 square leagues lay east of the Ouachita above Bayou Siard along both sides of Bayou Barthelémé, embracing a great part of present day Morhouse and West Carroll Parishes in Louisiana and stretching on into Arkansas.

³² Possibly the Mordecai Richards to whom Bastrop at New Orleans on October 8, 1804, conveyed 1669 arpents (*Amer. State Papers, Public Lands* 2: 768, 771-772, Washington, 1834). Since June, 1803, this Richards had held another 400 arpents in Ouachita County (*ibid.* 2: 769, 773).

³³ Jean Filhiol (1740-1821), a cousin of the Duc de Gramont, was born in France, established himself in Louisiana in 1779, and was made commandant of the Ouachita District in 1783. He resigned in 1800 but until his death lived on his plantation home within the limits of present day West Monroe. Consult Hardin, F. F., Don Juan Filhiol and the Founding of Fort Miro, *La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 463-485, 1937.

³⁴ "Computed 2 leagues from the Fort" (Journal of a geometrical survey, 29, Boston, 1904).

³⁵ They did not reach Bayou Bartholemew until nearly the close of the following day—see note 41 below.

Chenier.³⁶ This is a very inconsiderable Bayu. & about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour more appears Bayu Darbone³⁷ to the left. Near this place the Ouachita seems to have made a cut off & left the old channel which is now shut up forming a blind large pond, the river has made a new course for itself about 40 yards wide. The banks this day appear in many places above the inundation. see a few straggling huts; Good Timber. Latitude by observation 32°.34'.47" Came this day 16 miles & 32 perches.

Pitched out tent & encamped for the night on the right bank Plenty of Timber such as Oaks, Maple, hickory Dogwod &c Soil mold & sand, not very deep of the former.—

1804 Nov^r. 13th. Tuesday Therm at daybreak in air 33 & in the river Water 55 & in the evening at 3 P.M. 66°.

Set out near 7 A.M. This day in our course, passed all the remaining settlements on this river, The Banks are generally above the inundations, if not the first, at least the secondary bank—About half past 7 A M. came to the Bayu of Black water, on the left. & about 8 were stopped a few minutes by a Shoal. Here is a small Island & a rapid. At breakfast time stopped at a Bark cabin inhabited by a Spaniard; it seemed to need no windows neither had it any, but what light passed thro the joints was fully sufficient for every purpose. It was one storey high, about 15 feet square, an earthen floor, the chimney composed of mud & grass mixed; The furniture were, one bed for the whole family which consisted of the man & his wife[,] four Children, the eldest a girl of about 16. The youngest at the breast, three short blocks of wood by way of stools, one of which was a trough to pound Indian corn in, a riffle & shot pouch; In short altho they said they had been settled these five years, there was no appearance of any crop or any store of any kind of vegetable produce, altho he had the winter before him already commenced, & a wife & 4 children to provide for.—Thus are indolence & poverty allied.³⁸ The river here spreads out & covers a quantity of low ground which as it falls, it leaves bare in places forming ponds which attract multitudes of Wild Geese, Brant, Teal & ducks. These must have

³⁶ Not mentioned by Dunbar, but not to be confused with either the Bayou de la Belle Chenière or the Bayou de la Chenière au Tondre, both below Fort Miro.

³⁷ According to D'Anemours (*Mémoire sur le district de Ouachita*, 7), the Bayou Darbonne, about three leagues above the post, was named for a hunter "qui jadis habitoit et chassoit sur ses bords." The name might possibly go back to the Sieur Derbanne, Canadian, who was among those accompanying Louis Juchereau de Saint-Denis to the Red River in 1716 (Margry, Pierre, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale* 6: 200, Paris, 1888).

³⁸ ". . . arrived at a little settlement where we halted to breakfast a little below a chain of rocks crossing the channel between an Island & the mainland called Roquerau—great misery depicted in the Countenances of the Spaniard & his family inhabiting this little settlement, arising as it appears from extreme indolence" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 45-46, Boston, 1904).

drawn our Spaniard hither, for we observed two small hog troughs tied together with vines, by the way of a canoe to follow these wild fowls amongst the shallows. —This place is called about 9 leagues from the post.

About 11 a.m. came to another rapid & shoal formed by a bed of gravel, near which Otter Bayu³⁹ puts in on the left; here is also an house. Next comes Hickory ridge Ecor aux Noyeaux⁴⁰ on the left where the bank is about 4 feet above the inundation. About 4. P.M. on the right passed Bayu Ba[r]tholemew, which is of considerable length & passes in almost a semicircle S. eastwardly till it meets with the waters of the Bayu Siard & at the same place nearly receiving a portion of the waters of the Mississippi in common high water, by which a communication is made with a branch of the Arkansa leading to Osark settlement. This Bayu has much good land on it forming in a manner the center of Baron Bastrops large grant & its entrance into the Ouachita is called 12 leagues from the Post.⁴¹

About a league further is the Bayu Assmine, Paw Paw Bayu on the right, an inconsiderable stream which commences at a prairie not far off. Came this day 16 miles 312 perches

I omitted to mention that before we left the Post, we were Informed that it was necessary to have a man acquainted with the river & the adjacent country, as a Pilot, as well as a Hunter to explain & point out the proper manner of passing the shoals, where to get game in plenty, where we might look for salt springs, minerals &c, And in short every remarkable object in our voyage which without his assistance might be overlooked. Accordingly, we, after sufficient enquiry hired one of the name of Blazier who had resided above ten years in this country & had been several times to the hot Springs & thro that part of the Country on hunting expeditions; at the rate of 30\$ p^r month, we to find him provisions & liquor out of our own rations. The weather being cloudy, no observation was taken this day.

Nov^r 14th. Wednesday Therm. in air 44° at day break & in the river 55°. & in the evening at 8^h. 44°.

Set out about 7 in the morning, The weather which had been stormy & rainy accompanied with thunder,

³⁹ Bayou la Loutre enters from the travelers' left.

⁴⁰ In the Journal of a geometrical survey (p. 30, Boston, 1904) Dunbar described the "'Ecor aux Noyers' [as a] 30 feet bank, 4 feet clear at high water." It was on the travelers' right, not their left.

⁴¹ Bayou Bartholomew or Barthelèmi enters the Ouachita River from the east a little below the present-day Ouachita City, Union Parish, Louisiana. "Here commences Baron Bastrop's great grant of land from the Spanish Government, being a square of twelve leagues to each side; a little exceeding one million of french acres, which I presume is more than double of what that Government granted to all persons within the Mississippi territory" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 46, Boston, 1904). This stream rises a little to the west of Pine Bluff, Arkansas. By "Osark settlement" Hunter presumably meant Arkansas Post.

during the night, was now clear & calm. After rowing about half a mile came to Bayu Mercier on the left. & when we were coming in towards the shore to breakfast, struck a sunken log which unshipped the rudder & almost twisted off the Rudder hinges, to repair which took an hour & a quarter extraordinary: for it is to be observed that, according to the custom of the voyaguers on the western waters; the men are allowed to stop one hour to breakfast & two hours to dinner & to encamp in the evening about sunset in order to have a little time to pitch their tents, cut & collect firewood before dark & now as the days are so short, altho the men row rather with more exertions than formerly when the weather was warmer, yet all we can make is but a short distance in a day.⁴²

Still we meet with very little current to oppose our progress, except now & then when we come to a gravel barr & rapid, which are generally passed in less than one quarter of an hour, when we have still & deep water again. Near two miles past Bayu Mercier we come to an other small Bayu on the left. Here we come to low lands said to extend for several days journey up on both sides of the river, so much subject to inundation in freshes as to be uninhabitable, our Pilot says we will find no more inhabitants or settlers till we return. The timber is still good, the land appears rich[,] little underwood where we landed. At 3 p.m. came in sight of a small Island, we found the best channel on the left, for our canoe could not pass between it on the right. at about half past three p.m. came to another small Bayu on the left. The river here about 60 yards wide & a little above half that width contracted by a barr of gravel. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. the river is only 40 yards wide. Here we encamped for the night having seen many flocks of Wild Geese, ducks, & some cormorants, but as yet all too shy to suffer one to come within gun shot of them. Yesterday one of our men shot a Deer, young but not fat, of which we rec^d one quarter. The woods here besides many sorts of trees of unknown names, consist of Hickory Oak Cypress, Dogwood, Persimon many sorts of grape vines, but no pines in these drowned lands. Last evening as the weather appeared so bad I thought it best to sleep on board the boat with my son rather than lay in a wet tent on wet ground by the fire.

This day made a good observation with my Sextant
☉ double App^t. mer. Alt. 77°, 9', 20 Ind. Error o.o.59
Latitude found 32°, 50', 6"

This day made 12 miles 303 perches.

encamped on the edge of the left bank in veiw of the boat where we slept under a double tent.

Nov^r. 15th Thursday. Therm. at day light 33. & in the river 54 & at 3 p.m. 60 & at 6 p.m. 50.

⁴² Dunbar this day noted, above the Bayou Mercier, the Bayou des Buttes entering from the east: "this Creek derives its name from a vast number of Indian mounts discovered by the hunters along its course" (Journal of a voyage, 47, Boston, 1904).

Set out at $\frac{1}{4}$ past nine (Mr Dunbar being indisposed last night) & about 1 furlong afterwards passed the Bayu de longue vue. or the Bayu of the long reach on the right, an inconsiderable opening. Lands still low, bank about 16 feet high; The trees shew the marks of the freshes six or 8 feet up them. The soil a black mold about one foot deep furnished by decayed vegetation on a bed of white or greyish sand mixed with a small proportion of clay in a comminuted state which lays above several strata of light coloured clay. It perhaps might have been the work of ages to have brought this part of the country into the present state, from an original Lake or perhaps sea covering all these low lands. The river appears to be about 60 yards wide, deep & scarce any perceptible current, except where the slipping in of one or both of the banks into the channel of the river which carries the lighter parts away leaving the gravel behind forming bars or shoals, thereby damming up the water above in a degree & making the upper water almost level, of course without a perceptible current to the next bar above. The same cause produces the same effect below, leaving an apparent ripple, a rapid over the shoal or bar when the waters are low as they are at present. How these will appear when the waters are high we will know better on our return.

Made an observation about 90 yards above the N.E. point of the Isle de Mallet⁴³ on the left shore going up, & found the latitude to be $32^{\circ}.59'.27''\frac{1}{2}$ N. by which it appears that the Line of division between the Territory of Orleans & Louisiana as fixed by Congress will cross this river about $32''\frac{1}{2}$ seconds of a degree above the said point of Isle de Mallet.⁴⁴

About half past 3 p.m. passed the Bayu of the grand Marais or great swamp on the left; It has a very inconsiderable opening at the river, but extends some distance up nearly parallel with the Ouachita.⁴⁵—The lands are still low; the river generally gentle & deep averaging one hundred yards wide, sometimes more sometimes less, but when remarkably less we have generally noted it.—The timber pretty good, much as yesterday as well as the banks. Made this day 16 miles, 42 perches, One of our men in the Canoe ahead killed a Deer pretty fat & a racoon[; we] were pre-

⁴³ Probably named for the Mallet brothers who in 1739–40 traveled over the plains from the Platte River to Santa Fe and returned by way of the Arkansas (Margry, P., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale* 6: 455–464, Paris, 1888).

⁴⁴ By act of Congress March 26, 1804 the division between these territories [i.e., between the present states of Louisiana and Arkansas] was established by a line 33° N. Latitude extending westwardly from the Mississippi River, to take effect October 1, 1804 (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 203, Washington, 1940).

⁴⁵ Above the Grand Marais, Dunbar noted "la Cypriere Chattelrau": a point of high land [which] approaches within half a mile of the river on the right" (Journal of a voyage, 50, Boston, 1904).

sented with a quarter of the former. Plenty of Wild Geese & Ducks but very shy.

1804 Nov^r. 16th. Friday Therm. 30° in air & in the water of river 54° . at 7. a.m. Cloudy calm.—at 3. p.m. 51° & at 7 p.m. 42

Set out near seven. A.m. The current is still so gentle as scarcely to be perceptible, Banks still low, with the appearance of having prairies & ponds behind them. In some places the hills or high grounds come to within a mile of the river, in others a league off, more or less according to local circumstances. The Timber, soil, plants &c. much the same as in the last two days course. At Breakfast time our pilot went off for a few minutes to a pond on the right & shot a pair of Ducks, called Duck & Mallet which proved poor. About half past eleven came to a small Bayu called de La Tulipe,⁴⁶ which leads to a small pond on the right shore called Marais de Saline,⁴⁷ of about 1 mile in circumference, a retreat for wild fowl. It is surrounded by Cypress trees. About half past twelve came to Bayu de Saline on the right; This is of considerable extent⁴⁸ & is called one league from Bayu de la Tulipe.

I went up this Bayu whilst dinner was preparing, for about a mile & found it considerably enlarged, tho the mouth seemed nearly choked up with drest & fallen timber. This afternoon the banks are just sensibly rising in height by very slow gradations. Passed several hunting camps during this days course; but the hunters were gone—Made no observation this day on account of the cloudy weather. Came 17 miles 158 perches this day This afternoon about 4, it began to hail, which in time turned into rain which cont[in]ued with increased violence the greatest part of the night. The banks where we encamped still shew alluvial ground by being higher next the river & gradually descending from it.

1804 Nov^r. 17th. Saturday. Therm. at 7 a m 40° & in the river $54[.]$ at 3 p m 51° & at 7 p. m. 44° Cloudy calm fog

Set out at $\frac{1}{4}$ past seven. for two hours met with rather more current than usual, the river being in many

⁴⁶ Probably called after the man whose name was preserved in the Cache LaTulipe the travelers reached two days later; see note 50.

⁴⁷ "There is here a small marshy lake, but it is not intended by its name to convey any idea of a property of brackishness in the lake or marsh, but merely that it is contiguous to some of the licks, which are sometimes termed 'Saline' & sometimes 'glaise,' being generally found in compact clay which might serve for potter's ware; the bayou de la Tulipe forms a communication between the lake and the river" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 51, Boston, 1904).

⁴⁸ "this is a creek of considerable length & tollerably good navigation for small boats, the Hunters ascend it to an extent of a hundred of their leagues in pursuing their game. They all agree that none of the springs which feed this Creek are salt; it has obtained its name from many buffalo salt licks which have been discovered near to the Creek" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 51, Boston, 1904). The Saline River rises in Saline County, Arkansas, west of Little Rock.

places much narrowed by the slipping in of an acre or two of the bank at a time, carrying the trees with it, which falling prostrate into the river cause impediments to the navigation till time causes them to decay. When we thought we had lost sight entirely of the Alligators since two days journey beyond the Post were surprised to see a small one basking in the sun on the bank. Saw this morning for the first time a solitary tho stately Swan in the river which o[u]r guide said had probably lost its mate by the Hunters. Breakfasted at a small bayou on the right called Marais de Cannes, or Cane Swamp.⁴⁹ after which as we coursed along came to land still a little higher more & more elevated above the water as we ascend the river. The river now & then running pretty strong, & in places so many trees carried bodily into the middle of the river some times almost opposite in both sides at the same time by the slipping in of the bank that it was with some considerable exertion the boat could be forced over the branches in such interstices as afforded water sufficient to float it, for these trees with the bank that fell into the river with them often formed bars or shallows[,] rapids & difficult places; Tho it generally happens that the banks on both sides are very different opposite to each other, thus where on one side the bank is high & steep close to the river, opposite it is generally the reverse viz, rising to its natural height by slow & irregular slopes, & where on one side the banks are undermined by the current which is generally in the bends, on the other side there is a sand bar or beach projecting out & the land is gaining ground. It is observable that for this day or two past in these low grounds lately passed there is not to be seen on the trees as usual the long moss called Spanish Beard, or in Philad^a. called Carolina moss; our Guide tells us that we will see no more of it. Perhaps we are now too far North for it. The lands now bear amongst other trees the long leafed Pine, & we begin to observe here & there on the edges of the banks in high places small scrubby canes, a mark that the inundation is not of long duration on those parts. The river this day of various breadth averaging about 50 or 60 yard wide. The muscle shells are still strewed along the beaches & banks in places. In the evening after we had encamped our canoe came up with us, having been behind this afternoon & brought the Swan that we saw this forenoon It was about 4½ feet high from the tail to the bill.—The skin was preserved to make a muff.—Came this day 15 miles 308 perches.

Latitude by observation Lat. 33°. 12'.00"

Nov^r. 18th. Sunday Therm 32°. at 7. a m in air & in the river 52° Hoarfrost. at 7 p.m. 57°.

Set out after seven a m. & about 20 minutes afterwards came to an Island in the general state of the waters, tho now only a peninsula. There the whole of

the river is compressed to about the width of 20 yards at breakfast time came to a small cleared place on the left called Cache de Tulipe, or where a person of that assumed name concealed his game when he went from there to hunt.⁵⁰ Here it is said a few Indians now encamp, observed the Indian corn growing.

Saw a canoe with two french hunters belonging to a larger party ashore, We heard their dogs & were informed they had just killed a bear of which they had the skin & part of the meat in their boat. about 11. a.m came to another rapid. about ¼ past two p m. passed on the right the Bayu Moreau.⁵¹ The lands on both sides are now percepti[b]ly rising, tho the strata of sand & clay & the general appearance of the bank where it is bare, are the same as before described. White or long leaved pines are now very common along the banks & Cypress, Oaks, Hickory Persommon, gum, &c with Willow & Chenier to the waters edge. after dinner came to lands above the inundation on both sides of the river, observed on one point on the left the appearance of half formed stone, coloured by Iron of a brown color. The gravel of which the sand & gravel Beaches & rapids are composed consists of small stones about the size of a Goosses egg more & less composed of a sort of white freestone before described, which is on the outside become black by the water & air, the edges worn off by rolling & by the current. This day found for the first time a piece of white flint on one of the beaches.—Latitude 33°.16'.47.6" Made this day 18 miles, 75 perches.—

Nov^r. 19th. Monday Therm at 7. a m. 54° & the same in the river[.] at 7 p.m. 68°. at ½ past 7. 62° Calm & cloudy

Set out about 7. a m. & went on rowing as usual. The Canoe started 2 hours before with the hunters to try their luck as to killing game. About half past 7. a m came to Bayu de Hachè, or the bayu of Hashed meat.⁵² We still see canes on each side of the river, which may overflow here at high freshes about 3, or 4 feet. Have observed for these several days past small flocks of wild ducks swimming in the river about 2 gun shots off, which as we approach them, fly before us still keeping at a cautious distance, tho once in a while a straggling pair lag behind & get shot by us. Sometimes a point of high ground comes near the river, but generally the

⁵⁰ "Came up to a place at the hour of breakfast where there is an appearance of some clearing called 'Cache la Tulipe' (Tulip's hiding place) this is the name of a french hunter who concealed his property in this place. It continues to be a practice of both white and red hunters, to deposit their skins &c often suspended to poles or laid over a pole placed upon two forked posts in sight of the river, until their return from hunting; these deposits are considered as sacred and few examples exist of their being plundered" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 55, Boston, 1904).

⁵¹ Moreau (Moro) Creek rises in the north east corner of Dallas County, Arkansas.

⁵² Dunbar wrote this: "'bayou de laehis'" (Journal of a voyage, 57, Boston, 1904).

⁴⁹ The U. S. Dept. of Interior Geological Survey map of Arkansas shows a Caney Creek entering the Ouachita above the Saline to the travelers' left.

Valley of overflowed ground in freshes extends 1 or more leagues of [on] each side before we come to the High grounds which are chiefly pine hills, light sandy soil.—The water is now very clear so that we can see the gravelly bottom in most places, where it is not very deep. The Soil where the banks are laid bare by the washing of the river is as before viz. a Stratum of clay greyish intermixed with sand of from ten to twenty feet thickness above the water, above that two to four feet of sand more or less, then about a foot of alluvial ground mixed with the decayed vegetation & sand forming the surfaces. Now & then springs Issue out about the waters edge in small streams: I tasted many of them, they were insipid.—

About the middle of the day passed the hills of Champignolle on the left.⁵³ They shew as gentle rising grounds about 60, or 80 feet above the river. They continue but for a short distance on the river, the banks again become lower & are during the freshes overflowed a few feet, bearing cane &c.—Being cloudy made no observation this day, but came 18 miles 120 perches, where it came on an heavy rain a little before sunset when we encamped, leaving the canoe with the hunters ahead. These several days M^r Dunbar has been indisposed by a diarrhoea & one of the men with the same complaint, which I ascribe to the effects of exposure to damps & cold.

1804 Nov^r. 20th. Tuesday Cloudy, calm. Thermometer at daylight 59° & in the river 54°. at 3 p.m. 62° & at 7 p.m. 54

Set off a little after day light, & before breakfast came to a small creek on the left, said to be pretty deep[,] called *chemin couvert*.⁵⁴ In general the water is about 100 to 150 yards wide altho in places it is narrowed very much by gravel beaches, fallen Timber, &c, one of which we passed this morning when the water was only 40 yards wide or thereabouts, which we went thro, it appearing for above a mile, more like a narrow bayu or creek than the main river. At breakfast time our canoe came down the river to us; they having supposed we had passed them whilst they were ashore after game, had pushed on, up the river & by that means passed a very disagreeable night in the rain. Came up with a canoe having a consumptive person on board on his way to the hot Springs for the recovery of his health. The canoe belonged to & was conducted by a M^r Cambel an house carpenter by trade & cotton engine maker. They accompanied us the rest of this day & encamped near us at night.

⁵³ "Passed some pine hills on the left called 'Cote de Champignolle'" (Dunbar, *Journal of a voyage*, 57, Boston, 1904). At 4:45 in the afternoon Dunbar recorded in the *Journal of a geometrical survey* (43, Boston, 1904) their passing a spot called *Cabane Champignolle*. A *Champagnolle Creek* flowing south through Calhoun County enters the *Ouachita* in this neighborhood.

⁵⁴ Now *Smackover Creek*; it rises in *Columbia County* and flows east to the *Ouachita*.

As the day was overcast we did not go ashore to observe. Saw slight appearances of iron, in places on both sides of the river near the waters edge—The clay as well as some half formed stones being tingured of a rusty iron colour. The place where we encamped this night is about 40 feet perpendicular above the water & entirely above all inundations; Here are growing Beach, Maple, very large Hollys oak Hickory & Pines &c. This day saw another Alligator after we were by information far beyond the region where they choose to live. M^r Dunbar is now much recovered of his complaint, & only feels now some debility. The soldier is also recovered.—Made this day 18 miles 308 perches.—The Trees & shrubs & plants are now about half stripped of their foliage, the approaching winter has coloured the leaves that are still left, of various tints, which M^r Dunbar thinks designate the colours that might with proper management be extracted from those trees &c, for the use of the Dyer. some are of a pale Lemon colour, others of a brighter & deeper yellow, some orange, some red, & many contain various shades of brown.—It would be desirable to be able to fix the beautiful crimson of the Pokeberry.⁵⁵—At 5 p.m. passed a small Island by a very narrow passage to the right. A little above which we encamped for the night. Made this day 18 miles. 308 perches.

21st. Wednesday

Therm at day light 43°. river 54°. at 3 p.m. 72 & at 7 p.m. 58°. Fog on the river, tho clear overhead, calm.

Set off about 7. A.M. & shortly afterwards passed some land on the left bank about 100 feet perpendicular in height above the present water, This high land which is called *Fin's*, (or *Beach*) hill cliffs,⁵⁶ continues border-

⁵⁵ At this point in his official report (p. 34) Hunter wrote: "This brings to recollection, a Tree called *Bois D'Arc*, (*Bow wood*.) being very elastic & used by the Indians to make their Bows. It is more frequently called *Bois jaune* (*Yellow Wood*) used by them and the inhabitants as a Dye.

"This tree resembles the Orange, grows about 15 feet high, bears a yellow fruit in appearance somewhat between a *Shaddock* & a large orange, with a rough thick yellow skin, & in the inside, seeds in divisions of a pulpy substance resembling the Orange tho not so juicy. It is deciduous, grows in abundance on the *Red River* & on the banks of the little *Missouri*, a principal branch of the *Ouachita*. It will grow in the middle & southern states.

"The wood of this tree gives a bright yellow dye, inclining to orange, of a superior splendour. It is more than probable that this is the famous yellow dye, so much esteemed & valuable as an ingredient in dyeing *Scarlet*. If so it will prove a valuable addition to our commerce & manufactures

"The bark on the trunk of this tree, externally is brownish, shewing like a transparent veil thro its cracks the internal bark of a deep bright golden colour. Has many prickles in its branches."

⁵⁶ ". . . passed a hill & cliff 100 feet perpendicular crowned with lofty pines called 'Cote de Finn' (*Finn's hill*) a chain of high land continues some distance on the left" (Dunbar, *W.*, *Journal of a voyage*, 58-59, Boston, 1904). Although the *Geological Survey* map of *Arkansas* shows a railroad station called *Finns* a few miles southwest of *Camden*, *Ouachita County*, the hill was probably called *Beechnut Hill*: note that

ing on the river for about one mile & then gradually becomes like the rest. It is surmounted with pines white & yellow & other forrest trees before mentioned. The soil as appears by being laid bare by the waters consists of a quantity of loose whitish sand heapped up above the common level of clay, with this difference, that in general where the high land comes to the edge of the river, it shows some half formed shelly masses of stones composed of gravel cemented together & coloured of a brown rusty iron colour.—About breakfast time passed a Bayu to the right, called Bayu Accacia (Locust)⁵⁷ The average width of the river this days journey might be about 100 to 120 yards—altho in some places not half that distance. In the course of this day killed 4 pair wild ducks & a Turkey. The bottom of the river consists for these two or three days of clear gravel. The banks as before described of clay & sand rising very imperceptibly above the rise of the river. The current in general is still gentle, except at streights & rapids as before mentioned, yet the current is upon the whole sensibly more swift, & the rapids & shoals become more frequent than lower down. Observed where we encamped at Breakfast some Indian Hieroglyphics on a tree at the waters edge, at a place called Ross's station, where a person of that name formerly resided, now dead.⁵⁸

The bark was taken off a cypress tree about breast high, for about 18 Inches, & two thirds round it, & on the bare place was painted black in a rude manner, the figure of a person on horseback with one hand extended to the water & the other towards the woods, two other persons whose figures were a little defaced seemed to be shaking hands, one of whom had a round hat on: on both sides of these persons were the figures of about a dozen of large & small four footed animals apparently feeding, some thing like deer without horns. One of our people went up the bank in the direction of where the principal figure pointed, & found an old encampment where a fire had lately been made, & the remains of a temporary shelter from the weather composed of 4 Sticks with crotches at the ends drove in the ground & other sticks laid across to support a rude cover of reeds, the whole probably had been covered with skins to defend them from the weather; near which was found an hoe & upon a pole elevated about 12 feet & leaning against a tree were found 14 deerskins tied up in a bundle, At this instant Campbell (who had left his canoe behind for the sick man to bring up & had come this way hunting along by land,) made his appearance & claimed the bundle of skins, which he asserted he had fixed there a year ago for an Indian cheif of the name of Habitant, so saying he seized the pole & took it down, untied the bundle & hastily counted them over & said

Hunter on their return to this point (January 12) wrote: "passed Cote a faine (beach mast hill)."

⁵⁷ Locust Bayou, entering the Ouachita in Calhoun County.

⁵⁸ "Cote à Ross' (Ross' hill or camp)" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a geometrical survey*, 45, Boston, 1904).

they were right for that he had left there 13. upon which I had them counted again & found them in number 14, upon which we insisted that they were not his. We then concluded to take them into the boat & if we should come up with the Owner, who we concluded must be a Choctaw Indian, we should deliver them to him or some of his nation. & in case we were disappointed in that, to take them back with us & leave them with the commandant at the Post or Garrison to be delivered to the true owner for we had no doubt that if we should leave them on the pole now Campbell was informed they were there, that he would take them & lay the blame on our boat. In a short time the sick man also made his appearance, he had left the canoe at a strong rapid below where he could not alone bring it over. We presently set out & left them behind, for we did not chuse (if we could prevent it) to allow them to go a head & frighten the game from before us.

Found our Latitude by observation to be 33°.29'.17" N which is about 27" less than by M^r Dunbars Observation. I have for these three last observations made my Latitude from one to one half minute less than him. Made this day 18 miles, 36 perches.

Nov^r. 22nd. Thursday. Therm. in air at day light 40° in water of the river 53° & at 3 p.m in air [blank in MS.] & at 7 p.m 54°. Calm.

Set off about 7 a.m. The trees on the banks as before with the addition of Birch, Maple, holly, iron wood, dogwood, Ash Sweet Gum ecc. Observed several new species of Hawthorn shrubs particularly some with fruit of a fine scarlet red, others of a red inclining to orange. Both farinaceous & pleasantly sweet to the taste, free of worms, & having but few thorns. The banks are still composed of clay under a body of white sand, more [or] less thick according to circumstances[,] without stones, except where a ridge of hills comes to the edge of the river, which as yet very seldom happens. At about half past ten a.m. came to a sort of road or path called the trace of the Cadeaus, leading from that nation to the nation of Arkansas.⁵⁹ In a quarter of an hour more came to some sand hills or cliffs on the left hand about 100 feet high, called Ecor de Fabri, (an old Hunter) who it is said by some buried some lead there, as a land mark to designate where the Line should be, between the French & Spaniards. This Fabri is dead & no person can tell when, or where this was done or whether it was ever done.⁶⁰ Our pilot who we find not

⁵⁹ For the Caddos (who were living on the Red River) consult Swanton, John R., *Source material on the history and ethnology of the Caddo Indians*, Washington, 1942.

⁶⁰ So called for André Fabry de La Bruyère who in 1741 was sent out by Governor Bienville of Louisiana in an attempt to reach Santa Fe for trade purposes (Margry, P., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Amérique septentrionale* 6: 468-492). Now Camden, Arkansas. B. Lafon, writing to Dunbar from New Orleans, August 19, 1805, referred to him as a French engineer who in 1740 "surveyed the course of the Arkansas River as far as the plains of the Osages, including the course of a small river he called

remarkable either for his judgment or veracity, also relates an other tale of the same probability, viz that the only person who was said to be with Fabri when he buried the lead disappeared or died near the spot, or was killed, & that Hunters who encamp there have frequently heard him in the woods in the night call out aloud, Fabri! Fabri!—About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11. a.m. passed another rapid where the river is narrowed to the space of 40 y^{ds} altho it is in general twice that width. & in an hour more passed the small cliffs of Fabri. The various places on this river named after different persons, have been so called, not from the land being granted to them, but because Those persons were generally hunters, who used to fix their camp at such places & make excursions round & bring the game they killed to such camps.—

Came to a rapid a quarter before 3 & another a quarter after 4. p m & between them the river was again narrowed to 30 yards. We are now entering gradually into another sort of ground, where as it rises a little more than the ground below, above the water of the river, it consequently causes the current to become more swift.

Being cloudy made no observation for the Latitude.

This day I met with an accident that had nearly cost me my Life. As I thought it prudent to be prepared against any event that might happen from Indians or from any other quarter, I was in the act of loading my pistols & whilst ramming down the ball, I was sitting on a trunk with the pistol between my knees resting its butt on the trunk. by the motion of the boat or otherwise it slipped & immediately went off in my face. The whole charge with ball & ramrod went thro between my right thumb & two principal fingers, which were thereby lacerated considerably, & then passed along my face, burning my eye lashes & eye brows entirely off & the skin round my eyes & nose. the charge bruised my forehead & caused two black eyes, & then passed thro my hat within an inch of my right temple & finally thro the roof of the boat. The strike or concussion of the air was such as burst my powder horn lying on the table by forcing out the bottom & scattering the powder on the table, it contained about lbs $\frac{3}{4}$ which if it had taken fire, (& it was a miracle it did not) the cabin & all the people in it would have been destroyed. This Accident deprived me of the use of my hand for two weeks so that I could not write; which must appolagise for my not being able to take down for that period, in writing the particular description of the river & the coasts of it, except from the notes taken down on the spot of the courses & cc by M^r Dunbar & from memory.⁶¹ About 5 p.m. passed another rapid & shoal. Made this day 14 miles 317 perches.—

St. Andrew's. It was at the confluence of this river that he buried the arms of France, taking possession of this country in the name of his king" (Rowland, E., *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar*, 179, 1930).

⁶¹ Dunbar also reported this accident (Journal of a voyage, 61-62, Boston, 1904).

Nov^r. 23rd. Friday. Therm. at daylight in Air 48° river 54° [.] at 3 p.m. 72° & at 7 p.m. 54°. Light clouds, calm.

Set off about 7. a.m. This morning find the river which had been raised about 3 feet or more by the late rains, begin to fall again. This addition of water in the river was of considerable use to us, by enabling us to bring our boat over many places otherways impassable. The banks of the river continue to rise irregularly, & the soil now assumes the appearance of better land, the sand being now more intermixed with black vegetable mold; producing timber of a larger growth & greater variety. the current becomes more swift the rapids & shoals more frequent. About 10 a m. came to a number of gravel barrs or small islands forming rapid currents with breakers caused by the water being precipitated over the shallow places, with impetuosity, from which I suppose these islands are called Drunken Islands.⁶²

About 11 a.m. passed a small hill called cote de Sofrion About 2 p.m. passed a place called point coupie or cut point where the river had formed a new channel leaving the old one on the east. Observed by M^r Dunbar (my hands & eyes being dissabled) & found the ☉ Double mer. app^t. altitude to be 70°, 59', 13" Index error 0°, 14', 8" Lat. 33°, 41', 35"

Made this day 13 miles, 28 perches.

Nov^r. 24th. Saturday. Therm. in air at daybreak 48° in the river 54° & at 3 p.m. [blank in MS.] at 8 p.m. 59° Light clouds, calm.

Got under way about 7 a.m. & presently perceived on the banks near the waters edge poor Iron ore, unfit for use, accompanied with black sand on the bottom, at a place called Auges d'Arclon. (Arclon's Troughs)⁶³ The land rises on both sides more & more, forming small stony hills sometimes on one side & sometimes on the other but seldom on both at the same time. This stone is now hard, & well formed freestone in irregular Strata inclining from 20° to 30° down the river, & those strata being split crossways form fragments of from one to six feet broad; These stones have a grit very sharp & fine, fit for grind stones of one sort. The current still is more swift. The rapids are now become small falls, & nearer to each other, The soil however improves upon the whole, having a greater proportion of black mold amongst the sand, & a greater proportion of the bank above all floods. The pine trees still appear to be the most numerous. These rapids or small falls, often impede our progress & cause frequent stops, obliging us to search for other channels to pass thro. The weather now growing thick & cloudy pre-

⁶² "Drunwards Islands" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a geometrical survey, 50, Boston, 1904).

⁶³ On the return trip (January 10) Hunter locates this place three leagues below the Little Missouri and explains the name as coming from "one Arclon [who there] made troughs to carry down his bears Oil to market."

vented taking an observation for the Latitude. Near noon passed an old corn field on the left & in half an hour came to Bayu Talien⁶⁴ on the left. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 1 p.m. passed the little Missouri⁶⁵ to the left, which at its entrance appears to be nearly as large as the Ouachita, & is said to run thro much good land, in its course, About 4 p.m. came to little Ouachita on the left, which runs also into the little Missouri, both going then obliquely towards the waters of the red river.⁶⁶ About 20 minutes past 4 p.m. passed a place called Belle Ance (handsome bend). Our Guide or Pilot informs us that there are many small bodies of good land lying on both sides [of] the river at a distance amongst the pine ridges & broken hills which compose a great part of the interior of this part of the country.⁶⁷ Made this day 11 miles 152 perches.—

Nov^r 25th. Sunday This day being wet having rained the greater part of the preceeding night, we remained in our tents & did not move until the next day.

26th. Monday Therm. at daylight in air 50° river 57°. at 3 p.m. 68°, & at 8 p.m. 62°.

Set off about 7 a.m. The river has risen 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches last night About breakfast time came to an old encampment called Bears head camp which is overflowed at high waters. About 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ a.m. passed a small Island called pettite cote (small Hill.) Still find shoals,

⁶⁴ Also spelled Tallien and Tallion by our travelers. It enters the Ouachita in the northwest corner of Ouachita County just below the Little Missouri.

⁶⁵ Now the southern boundary of Clark County. "Hunters often ascend the little missouri, but they are not inclined to penetrate far up, because this branch reaches near to the great planes or prairies on the red river, which are often visited by the lesser Osage Tribe settled on the river Arcansa: These last frequently carry war into the Cadadoquis tribe who are settled on the red river about W. S. W. from this place, and indeed they are reported not to spare any nation or people" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 65, Boston, 1904).

⁶⁶ Dunbar, too, wrote: "Petit-Washita on the left, runs into the Little Missouri" (Journal of a geometrical survey, 52, Boston, 1904). This must be Terre Noire Creek in Clark County. "Red river" must be a slip of the pen for Ouachita.

⁶⁷ "Our Pilot informs us that there is a body of excellent land upon the little Missouri & more especially on the Creek called the 'Bayou à terre noire,' which falls into the little Missouri; this land reaches within a few miles of the Washita, and is said to extend to the Red River being connected with the great prairies above the Cadaux nation & in the proximity of the red River: this rich tract of Country is said to be of very considerable extent perhaps a square of 30 miles & is connected with the great prairies which are the hunting grounds of the Cadaux Nation, consisting of about 200 warriors, they are warlike, but frequently unable to defend themselves against the tribe of Osages who are settled upon the Arcansa river, who passing round the mountains which give birth to the Washita, along the prairies which enclose those mountains on the West and separate them from the main Chain of mountains which furnish the waters of the red & arcansa river, pass down in the Cadaux Country & rob & plunder them of their horses and other effects, & not unfrequently take a few scalps; for it seems that this detached tribe of the Osages is a lawless gang of robbers, making war upon the whole world" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 68, Boston, 1904).

rapids & small falls in the river with a gradual increase of current. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3. p.m. passed a Bayu on the left called Bayu de Cypre ☉ d. App^t. mer. alt 69°, 37', 45" Index error 0', 44". Lat 33°, 54', 21.8"

Made this day 12 miles 21. perches

1804 Nov^r. 27th. Tuesday Therm. at daybreak in air 54°. in river 58°. at 3 p.m. 71° & at 8 p.m. 66°. Cloudy.

Set off at 7. a.m. When we observed that the river had risen one foot perpendicular during the night. About half past 7. a.m. came to another rapid which continued with more or less force for $\frac{3}{4}$ hour & at breakfast found the river to rise 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch during the hour. at half past 11 a.m. passed a large Island to the left. The clouds prevented an observation this day. About noon passed Cache à Maçon & Bayu Maçon on the right. I went with our Pilot by land on the right hand side of the river in a direction nearly NNW mostly up the river & slanting obliquely inland about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance till we came to the banks of a creek called coal mine creek to search for a coal mine said to be there. At length found it but it proved to be simular in quality & form to what we had found below the Post of Ouachita, altho somewhat more advanced in its progress towards perfect coal: took some samples of it, to bring home[.] there was a narrow stratum of it laid bare on both sides of a small Bayu about 6 Inches thick with but little consistence being very friable between the fingers & split where it was exposed to the air into small peices of about $\frac{1}{4}$ Inch thick. In the bottom of the river in a part now dry I found several masses of about lbs 100 to lbs 50 weight detached from each other, closs to which lay several peices of wood turned into the same sort of coal. some in part & some entirely. The Stratum of coal in the Bayu lay over a bed of yellowish clay & was covered by about 1 foot thick of gravel, next above that was 18 Inches of yellow loam & a few Inches of vegetable mold. The coal lay in the bank about 3 feet perpendicular above the present state of the river. The average of the land a little back might be about 20 to 30 feet above this. This sort of coal is considerably lighter than our Virginia coal[.] is difficult of Ignition, burns without flame into a white light ashes, It smells not unlike other coal when ignited. It appears as yet applicable to no useful purpose. This Stratum of coal appears manifastly to have been once the surface of the ground[.] the Stratum of gravel & yelow loam, have been carried there by the strength of the current.— The river rose whilst we were at dinner 4 Inches in two hours. The river continues to run with gradual increase of swiftness[.] at 4 p.m. is 150 y^{ds} wide. Various shoals & riplings cause frequent short stops & delays. Made this day 13 miles 39 perches.

28th Nov^r. Wednesday Therm. at daylight in Air 68° river 66[.] At 3 p.m. 78° & at 8 p.m. 73° Cloudy & calm weather

Set off about 7. A.M. in half an hour passed an hill to the right called Ecor a paux de bois (Wood Tick Hill) or cliff. About 9. a m breakfasted opposite a large number of tall Pine trees on the right. at half past 10 A.M. passed another ripple & Bayu de l'eau froide (cold water bayu)⁶⁸ on the right. The water for these six days past has become more clear than formerly so that the rocks & gravel on the bottom is seen more distinctly than before. The soil on the banks improves in quality, having a greater proportion of black mold intermixed with the sand. The land is still as we ascend the river, getting higher & we come nearer to the hills. This day being overcast made no observation.

Here we met with a Delaware Indian painted with Vermilion round the eyes. He called himself Cap^t. Jacobs & informed us that a large number of Chickasaw & Choctaw Indians had gone to hunt on the waters of the Arkansa.⁶⁹ This day passed as usual a number of small rapids, shoals & ripples causing short delays[.] about $\frac{1}{8}$ past 4 p.m. came to Grand Glaise⁷⁰ opposite to a Bayu called de Cypre from having a number of Cypress trees growing round it, remarkable because those trees terminate hereabouts, being found very seldom much farther north of this place on this river, which is here 170 y^{ds}. wide. Made 12 miles 255 perches this day.—

29th Thursday Therm. 62° in river water & in air at 7. a.m. 72° At 3 p m 76° & at 8 p.m. 52° Wind South.

It rained the greater part of last night & this forenoon which prevented us from moving from the camp till after dinner. At this place were also encamped an Old Hunter named Paltz⁷¹ with his three Sons men grown & an hired hand with a gang of half a dozⁿ. Dogs with a Veiw of Bear hunting. As yet they had only killed a few deer; their provisions consisted of only a few bushels of Indian corn which they pounded

⁶⁸ On the Geological Survey map this name is given as L'Eau Frais; the creek enters the Ouachita a few miles below Arkadelphia, Clark County.

⁶⁹ In his official report (p. 39) Hunter added that the Delaware "exclaimed when he saw our boat, O! Canoe damned big."

⁷⁰ In Clark County, north of Arkadelphia.

⁷¹ In his official report (p. 39) Hunter said that Paltz was "of German extraction . . . from the Post or fort Miro." Dunbar wrote of him: "This man has resided 40 years on the Washita and before that period has been up the arcansa river, the white river and the river S^t Francis; the two last he informed us are small rivers of difficult navigation similar to that we are now upon, but the Arcansa river is a river of great magnitude, a large and broad channel, and when the river is low with long and great sand beaches like to the mississippi. So far as he has been up, the navigation is safe and commodious, without any impediment from rapids or shoals, upon all those rivers, the soil is of first rate quality, the countries are of easy access, being lofty open forests, unembarrassed by canes & other under growth: the lands on the Arcansa are generally level and not subject to inundation, with here and there gently rising hills" (Journal of a voyage, 72-73, Boston, 1904).

as they waited in an hollow block of wood with a short cut of an hicory saplin by way of pestle. depending on what they could kill & providing for the rest. This old man who did not speak a word of english was well acquainted with this part of the country, having lived & hunted in it & on the Arkansa river for upwards of thirty years. He informed us that there was a party of Chickasaws, Choctaws & other neighboring Indian nations about eight hundred in number now on their way to the Arkansa Waters to drive off those 400 Warriors of the Osages who had lately come to that country whose hands were against every other description of persons white or red.⁷² He also informed us of a Saline about half a league to the northward of where we were, & agreed to accompany me to it. I set out with him & two men with Spades & a kettle to bring back some of the water for examination. We travelled on the right side of the river upwards & nearly in the direction thereof only edging inland withal for near two miles, Over land which in times of high freshes is generally about 3, or 4 feet under water, until we came to a Bayo or Rivulet which contained about as much fresh water as might turn two or three grist Mills, in the present low state of the waters, the bottom was yellow gravel, & no place very near it except an old Indian Mount or Cemintary with a base of about 80 feet diamitor,⁷³ but what was overflowed in high freshes. At the foot of this Mount, in the bottom of the Creek we saw a few stones & some black marks on the gravel where fire had been made to boil the salt water. The ground was manifestly salt, & bitter, to the taste, & the water oosing from a kind of puddle brakish. I set the men to dig two holes one about three & the other six feet deep which they did, & after passing about three feet in the first hole of a blue clay came to quicksand & gravel from which Issued the salt water very strong to the taste. In the second hole we dug 6 feet to come to the quicksand & water in doing which found several peices of Indian earthen pots, probably used by them in making salt. This 2nd water tasted also very strong. & to the taste scarcely weaker than the first, being both judging from the taste about as strong as sea water.— Brought to the camp two & an half Gallons of the Strongest & about a pint of the other. In the first Baumè[']s pese Liqueur [hydrometer] marked 4 degrees below 0. & the 2nd shewed 3° degrees. Found the Specific gravity by a glass ball suspended to a nice delicate balance by an hair. This ball weighed in air

⁷² For a summary of Osage relations with the other tribes of the Southwest and with the whites, 1770-1810, see Foreman, Grant, *Indians and pioneers*, 10-25, Norman, 1936. Jean Ducoigne of the Kaskaskias in March 1805 was attempting to band the tribes of the Northwest Territory against the Osage (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 13: 104, Washington, 1948).

⁷³ In his official report (p. 40) Hunter wrote "a base of 80, or 100 feet diameter & 20 feet high."

31 dw^t 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ gr & in water of the river 6 dw^t 15. $\frac{3}{16}$ gr
 & in the Salt water 6 " 3—
 the other Salt water weighed 6 " 2 $\frac{5}{8}$

The specific gravity found by dividing the difference between the weight of the bulb in Air & salt water, by the difference between its weight in Air & fresh water proves to be

of the strongest water in the shallowest hole 1.0272
 That of the other water 1.02104

I afterwards evaporated ten quarts of the strongest water to dryness[;] it yielded ten Ounces Averdupois of salt which proved deliquescent & developed to the taste besides Sea Salt Muriat of Lime or Magnesia, perhaps both.—⁷⁴

The weather clearing up, we set out about half past one p.m. & passing a few rapids & shoals came at 3 p.m. to Ecor a Chicots, continued our course till sun set & encamped, having made 8 miles & 2 perches this day.

30th. Friday. Therm. in air at 7. a.m. 38° in river water 60° & at 3 p.m. 57° Calm Clear Weather

We found this morning that the river had risen about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet during the night Set off about 7 A.M. The Banks now in many places exhibit to view rocky shaggy banks, these rocks are composed of hard free stone, suitable for Whetstones or grindstones of a fine grit. The river continues to increase its velocity, the land on each side grows higher[,] Rapids, small cataracts & shoals more & more frequent. about half past ten A.M. passed the Fourche de Cadeau ⁷⁵ (forks of the Cadeau nation) on the left hand & an hill 300 feet high the river being 100 y^{ds} wide & at $\frac{1}{4}$ past two p.m. passed Bayu de Roches (Rock Creek) on the left. M^r D.'s observation for the latitude was ☉ ap. mer. d. alt 67°, 25', 30" Ind. error +13',42" Latitude found 34°.11'.37" My eyes & fingers still preventing me from taking an observation. distance made this day 7 miles & 28 perches. Our Pilot having informed us of another Saline, or salt spring called Saline de Bayu de Roches we stopped about $\frac{1}{4}$ before three p.m. when I accompanied him to view it, taking a couple of men with spades & kettles for the water & travelled on the right bank of the river in a S.W. direction going up the river edging inland for about 1 mile, when we came to an almost dry Bayu, in the bottom of which was a large clay flat, the clay in one place tasted brackish & we began to dig[;] in about the depth of 4 feet chiefly thro blue clay[,] came to quicksand & water of which we carried to the camp the kettle full[,] it tasted salt & strong, tho not

⁷⁴In his report (p. 40) Hunter here wrote: "Altho this water is about as strong as that of the sea on our Coasts, & twice as strong as the famous Salt Licks in Kentucky called Bullits Lick & Mann's Lick from which so much salt is made, yet I have no doubt, but that if the ground was perforated to a sufficient depth, water of much greater specific gravity would be obtained.—250 Gallons of this water will afford about lbs 50 Salt, being the stated bushel here."

⁷⁵Caddo River enters the Ouachita a few miles north of Arkadelphia.

so much quite as the former By the pese liqueur of Baumé it shewed 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ degrees below 0. Ten quarts being excicated to dryness yielded about 7 ounces salt which besides sea salt shewed bittren of Lime or Magnesia, It proved deliquescent, tho not quite so much as the former water. Its specific gravity was found as before viz by weighing the same bulb in it: its weight then was in the salt water 6 dw^t 4. $\frac{13}{16}$ gr Specific gravity 1.0176

Saturday Dec^r. 1st. Therm at 7. a.m. in Air 32°. river water 54°[.] at 3 p.m. 58° & at 8 p.m. 35°. Clear Calm. Set of[f] a little past 7. a.m. when we found the river had fallen 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet perpendicular during the night. We immediately passed on the right an Island & rapid about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long called Isle de roches, rocky Island.⁷⁶ The river now presents a series of shoals small cataracts & rapids with peices of level water between each, of more or less length according to circumstances; Sometimes these are occasioned by accumulations of gravel which in many places are forced to the sides of the river ten or twelve feet in heighth, & in others the river is precipitated over ledges of Rocks thro which it has wore small channels, Upon the whole as far as we have come, the navigation for boats made of a proper construction capable of carrying five or six tons, cannot be called difficult: & with a very moderate expense might be improved in one season to admit boats of twice or thrice that burthen. The gravel on the beaches now becomes larger or rather moderately small stones amongst which are found many peices resembling hones, Turkey Oil stones, & whetstones of various colours & degrees of fineness in the grit. After various interruptions from the above mentioned impediments came about $\frac{1}{4}$ past noon to the Bayu de lisle de Mallon on the right. Made no observation for the latitude this day.

At half past 3 p.m. came opposite to a saline which lay about 2 miles off from the river on the left. but as the winter had set in & our stock of provisions were near a close, we did not go to see it being eager to push on up the river as fast as convenient. Made this day 7 miles, 148 perches; The land, Timber &c much the same as yesterday, everything shewing that we are approaching a more elevated country.—

Dec^r. 2nd. Sunday. Therm in Air at day light 30°[.] in river 50°[.] at 3 p.m. 59° & at 8 p.m. 38°. Calm weather & clear

Set off about half past 7 a.m. Find the water of the river fallen 4 Inches during the night. Our course all this day was interrupted by a series of rapids, rippings, & shoals which occupied us so much that we did not take time to make an observation for the latitude, besides when it came near the time, both banks were so steep as not to afford a proper place. At about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 2. p.m. passed a quarry of imperfect Slate near the waters

⁷⁶"Isle du bayou des roches" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 77, Boston, 1904).

edge under a stratum of stone of the nature of freestone fifty feet thick.⁷⁷ The layers of slate were perpendicular near which was a creek on the left, in few minutes more passed Isle de Chevreuil (Deer Island)[.] next passed Bayu de prairie (Meadow Creek[.]).⁷⁸ The Hills of rocks now come to the river's edge except here & there a stripe of low land enterveen This hills are chiefly covered with Pines & the low land with a variety of all sorts of timber formerly mentioned with many others unknown; between these hills & broken grounds are many fine tracts of land, tho not in extensive bodies contiguous. The soil on the low lands is tolerably good for cotton, wheat Corn &c.

This day made only 6 miles 118 perches.

Dec^r 3rd. Monday. Therm in Air at 7. a.m. 38°. river water 48°. At 3 p.m. 59° & at 8 p.m. 44°. Weather Clear & calm

Set off about $\frac{1}{4}$ past 7 A.m. The river continues to fall. Last night it fell 3 Inches. Passed on the left Bayu de L'eau froide (cold water creek) about half past 8 a.m. The current is generally very strong, passing rapids & shoals & nearly level ground in succession, as yesterday. Landed to observe & found the sun's double Ap^t. mer. alt to be 66°.27'.20" Ind. er.—1'.0.5". Lat. 34.21.11.2 About 4 p.m. passed an high steep rocky hill on the right with a continued ledge of Rocks crossing the river forming small cataracts or little falls trenching about S W & N.E. thro cliffs of which the water had wore several small passages, thro one of which we hauled our boat with some difficulty The river at this place is about 200 y^{ds}. wide

About 4 p.m. came to the great falls or Chuttes & hauled our boat over it with considerable exertions, as the water in the whole might have a fall of about 4 feet in $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile⁷⁹ The ledge of Rocks crossed the river nearly in the same direction as at the smaller falls above described in the same manner differing only in degree. Came this day 7 miles 218 perches.⁸⁰

4th. Tuesday Therm. at 7 A.m. 36°. river water 48°. at 3 p.m. 50°. at 8 p.m. 36°.

Set off after 7 A.M. The river has fallen 2 Inches more during the last night, The weather still clear & calm. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 8. a.m. passed another ledge of hard freestone rocks crossing the river, similar to those of yesterday, but not so difficult to get over, & as usual high rocky hills with scattering pine trees to the very top; one in front 350 feet high. About $\frac{1}{4}$ past 10 a.m.

passed a Bare hill of stones on the left[;] afterwards came to a very voilent rapid. & at $\frac{3}{4}$ past one p.m. came to another rocky pine hill on the right about 300 feet high—about 2 p.m. came to hills of imperfect slate bluish & in about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour came to a considerable rapid which took much time & exertion to overcome; Indeed we are now into the hilly country where the river seems to rise like the steps of a stair making small falls over the rocks of from a few Inches to two or more feet in a very short space. These rocks also display considerable variety; in some parts they are very hard having a flinty appearance, some white, others milky opaque, & others again cream coloured & some black, all with a very fine grit, hardly to be distinguished from the Turkey Oil stones, so much used to sharpen edge tools; Some varieties of hard & soft, coarse & fine grit freestones, & others of an hard blue excellent cutting whetstones.⁸¹ ☉ d. mer. Ap^t. Alt 66°.2'.45 Ind er. —1'.4" Lat. 34°, 25'.21.7"

We encamped near a bayu on the right called Bayu de Saline⁸² Made this day 4 miles, 164 perches.—

5th. Dec^r. Wednesday. Therm at daylight in Air 23°. in river water 47°. at 3. p.m. 56° & at 8 p.m. 38°

Set off about half past 7. a.m. Find the river fallen 2 Inches during the night. The weather clear & calm.—We have now high hills on both sides consisting of those sorts of stones described yesterday; before breakfast passed not without some extra exertion a very smart small cascade, with a fall of about 4 feet in about 80 yards. The rapids, cataracts in miniature, peices of level water, & shoals, with rocky hills on each side, now succeed each other so fast that it seems unnecessary to particularize every one. The driftwood & brush caught on the banks shew that the freshes at high water rise about 25 feet perpendicular above the present level of the river.

About noon passed Fourche a Tigre (Tiger Creek) which our Guide says has a considerable quantity of good land on its banks. Got no observation for the latitude this day, we were so engaged with surmounting the difficulties in the river, yet we made only three miles 128 perches.—

6th. Thursday Dec^r. Therm in Air at day light 45°. in river water, 48°. at 3 p.m. 67 & at 8 p.m. 56.

Set off at 40 minutes past 7 a.m. The weather being cloudy Wind S.W. In about an hour passed some hills to the left & tollerably good Land to the right, The current is strong & shoals so rocky & intricate that we were about three hours in passing a sort of cascade. & in about $\frac{1}{4}$ past one p.m. arrived at Ellis's camp⁸³ a

⁷⁷ "About a league from the river a little above the slate quarry is a considerable plane called 'prairie de Champignole,'" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 79, Boston, 1904).

⁷⁸ "Bayu de prairie de Champignole" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a geometrical survey, 61, Boston, 1904).

⁷⁹ The difficult passage of their boat over the Falls Dunbar described at some length (Journal of a voyage, 81–84, Boston, 1904).

⁸⁰ In his report (p. 43) Hunter here wrote: "I now began again to take an observation as my hand & eyes were much recovered from the accident with the Pistol."

⁸¹ For a full account of these stones consult Griswold, L. S., *Whetstones and novaculites of Arkansas*, Little Rock, 1892.

⁸² The difficulties of the day are well described in Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 85–88, Boston, 1904.

⁸³ "This is to give you some account of the boiling springs at the foot of the Mountains on the west side of the Misisipi and near the head of the Washataw River which is a branch

few hundred yards below the fourche a Calfat (Calkers fork) where we encamped.⁸⁴ The course up the river is here S W. Came this day 2 miles & 32 perches.—

1804 Dec^r. 7th. Friday Therm in Air 38° [.] in river 47°. at 3 p m 50° & at 8 p m 24°. Being now by estimation about 9 miles distant from the Hot Springs by land & as near as we could approach them by Water. The Pilot with a couple of men were detached to visit them, to examin the path &c. In the mean time the following observations were made to ascertain the Latitude viz

☉ d. Ap^t. Alt 65°.16'.40 Ind. error -0.1',15"—Lat found 34°.26' 45". An accident happening to the pedestal of the sextant at the moment the sun was on the meridian may have caused a small error of some seconds—

The ground whereon we are now encamped is elevated above all freshes, a tolerably level spot[,] soil but thin, stones of various colours tho chiefly Silicious; many of them give very good fire with steell; we found many fragments nearly in the shape of & very suitable for gun flints.

Our Hunters killed a few wild Turkeys & one Deer, neither of which were in good order.

of the Red River Mr A. Ellis, Mr [Richard] King & Mr J. Forster three Respectable Planters of this Territory have been over into that Country and have lately returned from the Springs where they went for to recover health &c. I have seen King and Foster & received from them the information I herein Communicate Ellis was in an Ill State of health and was affected also in some degree with the palsie which rendered particular parts of him in sensible—he recovered in every respect only the parts so affected did not recover sensation—yet thinks they would also have recovered if he Could have stayed long Enough. King was far gone in what the Doctors called a Consumption & was beside nearly blind—he got perfectly restored to health & his Eyesight—& says he can see now as well as ever he could. Foster was troubled with rheumatism & has got also restored. . . . There is a spring of Cold water not far off which by its Killing one of the people that went with them they thou^t a poison spring but probably he only drank too much being very warm & thirsty for they brought home some of the water . . . Doct^r McCrery . . . finds nothing in Either but pure water . . . King . . . gave me a number of Fosil productions . . . Cristals . . . Doct^r Hunter says the Cristals are lime with a mixture of Nitrous Acid. . . ." (Thomas Rodney to Caesar Rodney, Washington, Miss. Territory, October 20, 1804, in Gratz, S., Letters of Thomas Rodney, *Penna. Mag. Hist. & Biog.* 44: 62-64, 1920).

Major John (not A.) Ellis was interviewed by Dr. Joseph Macrery of Natchez, who contributed "A Description of the Hot Springs and Volcanic Appearances in the Country adjoining the River Ouachitta, in Louisiana" to the *New York Medical Repository* 3 (Second Hexade): 47-50, 1806.

⁸⁴ "Our pilot considers this the most convenient landing, from whence to transport by land our necessary baggage to the hot-springs, the distance being about three leagues. There is a creek about 2 leagues higher up, called 'bayou des sources chaudes' (hot-spring Creek) upon the banks of which the hot springs are situated, about 2 leagues only from its mouth, but the road is very hilly and therefore less eligible than the path from this camp or landing, which is almost a level road" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 92, Boston, 1904). Calfat Creek is today called Gulpha Creek.

Dec^r. 8th. Saturday. Thermometer before sunrise 40° & in the river 43° & at 3 p.m 47°. Wind N.W. clear.

Took an observation for the latitude again this day by which ☉ d. Ap^t. Mer. Alt. 65°.2'.50". Ind. err. -1',12" Lat. 34°.27'.15".

Found the river has risen last night 4 Inches.

Our people returned this forenoon from visiting the hot Springs⁸⁵ & set out again after dinner with what they could carry to the same place, bringing information that there was a log Cabbin built there & several sheds of split boards, bark &c,⁸⁶ so that it was not necessary to carry our Tents; This saved much time, for even the little baggage & provisions that were absolutely necessary took them till the evening of the 12th Inst to bring out to the Springs a distance by computation of about 9 miles—

Dec^r. 9th. Sunday This day set out a foot for the Springs accompanied by the Pilot & 8 of the soldiers each carrying a load of necessary articles;⁸⁷ We traversed a level country for about a mile in a northwesterly direction, & then passed a deer Lick, which is only a place in the ground about 18 Inches deep, & about 40 feet irregularly in diameter, it is said to be licked away by the wild animals deer & buffalo, & in several places was hollowed out seemingly by their means, It consisted of a yellowish clay soil, but was not sensibly salt to my taste. In pursuing our course in the same direction about a couple miles further passed Bayu Califat[,] a small creek not boatable now here[,] & then in about 2 miles further passed three more such Licks, & came to the Bayu of the Springs, when after having crossed it we altered our course more to the northward. The soil which before was tolerable wheat land tho rather thin & cold, now becomes more elevated & stoney, the stones in this Bayu (which is only now a mill stream with many falls & unboatable) are like those last described in the Ouashita, viz some a sort of blue slate pretty hard, fiter for whetstones than any other purpose, some white, some cream coloured & some blackish, silicious, resembling the various kinds of Turkey Oil stones, & some an hard species of freestone reddish or brown on the outside & white within.—This

⁸⁵ "At 10^h a.m. our people returned from the hot-springs, each giving his own account of the wonderful things he had seen: they were unable to keep the finger a moment in the Water as it issued from the rock, they drank it after cooling it a little and found it very agreeable; some of them thinking that it tasted like Spice-wood tea" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 94, Boston, 1904).

⁸⁶ "We found at the Hot-springs an Open Log-Cabin and a few huts of split boards, all calculated for summer encampment, & which have been erected by persons resorting to the Springs for the recovery of their health; we shall endeavour to render our temporary lodging comfortable for the people and ourselves during the short time we expect to stay here" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 100, Boston, 1904).

⁸⁷ On the difficulties of transporting baggage on such an expedition see Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 95-99, 100-101, Boston, 1904.

last species composes the upper parts of these Hills some of which are about 500 feet high. In about 4 miles more in this latter direction near sun set came to the high Hills which give birth to the Hot springs 4 of which Issue at the foot of an hill to the right & one on the left of the Bayu or creek. some near the waters edge, & others about from three to 8 feet above it. The water is so hot as to make it impossible for a person to hold his hand half a minute in it, causing a considerable vapor round each. To the taste it differs very little from other warm water. As soon as we get ourselves fixed & get the medicine chest from the boat, (which with all the rest of our heavy baggage we left in charge of the Sergeant) we intend to examine these waters & such other matters as shall present themselves—

Dec^r. 10th. Monday Therm. at sunrise 26°. at 3 p.m. 50°. & at 8 p.m. 28⁸⁸

This day whilst waiting for our Baggage took a cursory view of the hot springs, again, & observed several more than presented themselves yesterday. One of them that seemed to give out the most water by one thermometer indicated 150° & by another 148°.—This gave about as much water as might with a considerable pressure pass thro a 4 Inch pipe. The others of various different sizes & also shewed different temperatures viz 145, (140 further up the hill) 136, & 132. As it is probable the whole originated from the same source, The difference of temperature may arise from the difference in the length or other circumstances depending on their passages before coming to the Air, for they all issue within 130 yards not excepting some up the hill perhaps 100 feet perpendicular above the others.

The whole perhaps might be made to pass thro a 9 Inch tube with the pressure of about 20 feet perpendicular. This might be ascertained in the summer when the creek is dry above & receives no water but from hot springs. Now when there is water in the creek to turn several Mills, & as the hot water is seen to rise in some parts even in the bed of it, & from several irregular shaggy rugged openings, it is not practicable to measure their contents with any kind of certainty.

The hot water appears to generally in former times to have issued out much higher up the hill than now; for it has deposited an immense mass of a porous limestone on the side of the hill for upwards of an hundred feet high, enveloping in its progress various other flinty stones of which the hill is composed. This porous limestone is in appearance like the rough shapeless masses of limestone which form the Bahama Islands & of which the filtering stones are made & not unlike externally the french bur mill Stones. These stones are here found of all degrees of hardness according to the date of their formation, some are as soft as clay, others friable between the fingers, & scarce adherent, others

⁸⁸ "We spent a cold night in our new lodgings, not being able to keep up a large fire in the Cabin, which is only 12 feet square without a chimney" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 101, Boston, 1904).

again, which have been long exposed to the air are pretty hard; & some peices which have been detached from the rest & fallen in the creek, have a superior degree of hardness resembling the corral rocks of the Bahamas, & other parts of the West Indies. In this situation many of them have attracted iron from the water, so that they resemble rich iron ore, being very heavy, & entirely penetrated by the iron, but still retaining their original rough shaggy appearance. Except at this place there is no appearance of limestone to be seen in any part of our course as yet, nor have I heard of any such in any part of the country hereabout. This limestone is confined exclusively to the small space either now or formerly overrun by the hot water, from its external appearance I suspect that besides lime it contains a considerable proportion of silicious matter that in some places it contains much iron is very evident & to me it appears in some places to resemble the puzzelano or dutch terrace & capable of making with proper proportion of quicklime, a cement to harden under water. In one of the hot springs temperature 150° of Farenheit There appears a rusty brown sediment adhering to the rocks, stones & peices of wood it meets in its course to the creek, & in several of these springs even at the temperature of 140° there are deep & lively mossy plants in full vigor, a large one of which I took up from where I could not bear my hand half a minute. The plant seemed to be all connected together like green shaggy plush or velvet, about the size & nearly the shape of my open hand, had branches about half an inch long, each of which produced many traverse branches about $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch long not unlike feathers. The whole plant seemed to have been produced at the bottom of a small reservoir of the hot water about half a foot deep & at [as] it increased in size it became specifically lighter & rose up about half way from the bottom, still bringing up with it some of the lime in a soft state adhering to its lower part, The plant itself seemed to be produced & supported by a tube 2 Inches long about the size of a Goos quill which tube joined an hollow sphere of the same soft white substance like a small bladder of the size of a pistol ball, with which little bladder the whole plant was connected.—

Our Hunters killed 4 deer this day in their way to & from the boat as they went to bring the rest of the baggage. so that we had plenty of Venison. No observation. cloudy

11th. Tuesday Therm. at sunrise in Air 48°, at 3 p.m. 59° & at 8 p.m. 50. Clear weather, The people being employed bring[ing] the rest of the baggage from the boat, we made a small excursion up the Hill or Mountain from whence the hot water issues, & having crossed the rivulet began to ascend thro briars & shrubs for perhaps 150 feet high over the before mentioned shapless mass of stone deposited by the hot waters formerly, & found in our rout two or three more hot springs one of which upwards of 100 feet perpen-

dicular above the creek, continued to discharge a considerable quantity of water at the temperature of 140° of Farenheit; The stones above the deposited matter are similar to those at the bottom in the creek, before described. The soil as we ascend except a thin stratum of vegetable mold is a fine red clay free from grit

In several places found small masses of from one pound to about lbs 100 of shelly Iron Ore, as if it had been formed by attracting Iron from the hot water in its passage down forming a sort of crust or shell or the surface of the deposited limestone before mentioned, At the top of this mountain which is about 400 or 500 feet high, we saw another rather higher behind & connected with this by a neck which reached to within about 200 feet of the top. The stones on the very top are a flinty hard sort of freestone whitish within of a very sharp grit & a reddish tinge many of them on the outside.—These hills produce small yellow pines[,] several sorts of oaks white & red[,] red cedars & some vines[,] myrtle male & female, Cassina or tea shrub with a red berry[,] but all of a diminutive stature. In taking another veiw of the springs as we decended, observed some of them to discharge a moderate quantity of gas. & some of them have deposited a reddish brown ochry sediment[,] others not: The thick overcast weather prevented an Observation for the Latitude.—

Dec^r. 12th. Wednesday

Therm. at daylight 36°. at 3 p m. 44°, & at 8 p. m 32° Hazy weather, No observation. Like for rain. Whilst some of the people were employed bringing the rest of the baggage, others were fixing up the Cabin & sheds so as to make them a sufficient shelter from the bad weather expected at this season.⁸⁹ Our Guide went ahunting & brought in a Deer.

1804 Dec^r. 13th. Thursday Therm. at day light 26°. & at [8] p m 30° Overcast weather, This day finished what repairs were deemed necessary for our cabbin.

The Sextant I brought from Philad^a being originally made for using at sea, offhand & being no adept in the use of Astronimical Instruments, I found it very awkward to hold it sufficiently steady so as to take the suns double altitude by means of the artificial mercurial Horizon, with a tollerable degree of accuracy, especially as the cover was very narrow (1½ Inches by three) with all the joints so open as not to exclude the influence of the wind on the mercury, which being shaken thereby often prevented an exact observation being taken. The box to hold the mercury was made of tin soldered at the corners & Japaned with a veiw of preventing an amalgamation with the solder & mercury. However after using it a few times the cracks in the japan were penetrated by the mercury & the solder at

the corners entirely destroyed, by which the box became useless.

To remedy these inconveniencies, I took the Idea from M^r Dunbars Circle of reflection which is supported by a pedestal of brass with three feet & nicely contrived, so as at the same time, to be steadily supported & capable of every kind of motion, so regulated, by a variety of different sorts of joints & screws, as enables the observer to be very exact & to have as great confidence in his results as any instrument can give. I imitated the principle of this pedestal, as near as circumstances would permit to be done with wood, balancing the weight of the Sextant with a peice of Lead cast in sand for the purpose, & in place of screws used wedges to lighten or slaken the several motions. After several trials & alterations, I finally brought it to that perfection as to be able to take all the various observations with much more precision than before; having also made a box of wood for the mercurial horizon in place of the tin one rendered useless.—no observation⁹⁰

Dec^r. 14th. 1804 Friday Therm. at day light 28°[,] at 3 p.m 40° & at 8. p m. 32°. Clouds, rain—

This day intended to make an excursion with a small party to explore the country, but the stormy & rainy weather prevented it.⁹¹ Therefore examined the water of the hot or boiling springs by such chemical tests as we had with us.—

In specific gravity it resembled rain or distilled water—

It slightly tinged Litmus paper a little red

It discovered nothing particular to the smell or taste, different from other hot water, except that shortly after drinking it hot, it caused a slight eructation

Nitrat of Silver, Nitrat of Barytes, Sulphuric, Nitric or Muriatic acides, prussiat of Potash, alcohol of galls, Solution of Potash, of Caustic & mild Volatili[t]y produced no effect on the water.—

from these, & several other trials it appears to be pure water containing only a small proportion of Carbonic Acid, or fixed air.—

Tried at the same time the rough shaggy shapeless mass of lime stone, & found it to effervess with every acid. Those peices picked up from the bottom of the creek penetrated by a rusty iron coloured matter shewed after solution in the Sulphuric, Nitric & muriatic acids plain signs of iron by the Prussiat of Potash & alcohol of Galls. It is a poor iron ore, but not in any great quantity here.

It is remarkable, that this water should be the same that has in former times deposited such immense masses of calcarious stone as compose the bottom of this side

⁸⁹ Dunbar this day visited the mountain to the west of the camp and described the view and the plant life in some detail (Journal of a voyage, 108-113, Boston, 1904).

⁹¹ “. . . the bad state of our mansion calling for further repairs in the present severe weather, we employed some of our people in shutting up cracks and openings between the logs, which will render our dwelling more comfortable” (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 113, Boston, 1904).

⁸⁹ On the eleventh Dunbar wrote that some of their people “were occupied in raising a log-chimney at the end of our Cabin, which we proposed to line with stone as a security against fire” (Journal of a voyage, 106, Boston, 1904).

of this hill, & also considerable portions of calx or oxide of iron, now visibly internixed in places with it, & yet at this time to be so pure as to yield nothing but a little carbonic acid or fixed air.—

How is this water heated? From what cause has the change in it taken place by which it is now so pure, & yet formerly must have contained so much lime & iron, as to cover the whole side of the hills with it, down to the very margin of the creek, where it overhangs in its whole breadth, the creek water having excavated a passage for itself under it whilst yet soft? There is none of this sort of limestone, nor any other limestone on the other side of the creek; nor for many miles round it.

To resolve these questions will require some reflection & perhaps a knowledge of more facts than we are at present possessed of.—There is abundance of scistus of various sorts & colours in the neighborhood of this hill even on the other side of the creek within a few feet of where the hot water issues, some blue others grey & between these, some as soft as clay, & others advancing by degrees from that to hard silate & beyond that to a sort of stone, (whetstone) Those scisti containing clay, iron, Bitumen silex & sulphur by the action of air & water generate heat, sometimes take fire, the sulphur being converted into sulphuric acid, seizes the clay & forms Alumn—Is this water heated by some such chemical mixture or combination, & thereby forced in the state of vapor to the upper internal cavities or regions of this mountain, where it is condensed again into water as in the refrigitory of an Alembic, whence it falls again & issues throu such apertures as present themselves very hot yet still many degrees below boiling water.? This is mere conjecture.⁹²

⁹² In his official report (p. 47) Hunter wrote: "This water is celebrated for it's medicinal qualities; particularly in removing reumatic pains, & affections; and is resorted to by those who can afford to go there.

"Our Guide relates that last year he was there cured of pains & stiffness in his limbs, which had for a considerable time deprived him of the use of them. Major Ellis, & M^r King near Natchez declare they have received considerable benefit from the use of the waters. The one had lost the use of his limbs, & the other had been consumptive.

"Our Pilot informed us, that when he was there last year, an Indian was brought there laboring under the Dropsy; his body & limbs swelled to an high degree. His Companions made him an hurdle of branches over the hot water, where he lay covered over with his Blanket, exposed to the action of the steam & sipping warm fluid. At the same time taking a hot stone from the bottom, he rubbed & scrubbed his abdomen with it from time to time. He would lay there, in that manner until his strength & spirits were exhausted, & a copious perspiration brought on; when he was plunged into the cold water of the creek below, taken out, wiped dry, & then went to rest till he recovered a little from the fatigue; when the same was again repeated, three times a day, for three days, during which time, the water in his sistem was evacuated, & after about two weeks, [he] was able to accompany his comrades to hunt, perfectly recovered." This incident was reported also by Thomas Rodney (note 83).

To Dr. Hunter's testimonial, I add the remarks of the

Dec^r. 15th. 1804 Saturday

Therm. at day light 26°[.] at 3 p.m. 32° & at 8 p.m. 30°

The weather this day was clear but the runs being swelled & the roads wet, with the late rains, deferred the small excursion I Intended till to morrow. In the mean time took the following observation for the Latitude of the Hot Springs. viz

☉ doub. App^t. mer. Alt. 63°.52'.25" Ind. error.—48"
Lat. 34°.30'.42"

This differs 6" from M^r Dunbars Observation—at same time

1804 Dec^r. 16th. Sunday. Therm. at day light 21°[.] at 3 p m 34° & at 8 p m 22

Set out after breakfast with a couple of our people & the Guide, carrying a spade, a matlock & our rifles. We made semicircle round the Mountain of the hot Springs, leaving it on the left, & proceeded in a north-easterly direction thro a very mountainous country, & poor, thin stoney pine lands, interspersed with other small timber of various kinds, sometimes we passed over the tops of high cragy mountains, sometimes along the narrow stoney valleys between them, examining the soil, stones & cc which were laid bare by the rivulets.

I found no essential difference in this days journey between the stones I met with & those formerly described in the Ouachita & on its banks. I saw much slatey scistus, & as for the rest they were all scilicious of various colours & qualities, such as, white, cream-colored, orange, red & black, some tinctured with iron, here & there a few detached peices of poor Iron Ore This is not the country for mettals, at least for as far as we have gone—Came in the afternoon to the waters of the Califat. and there found the stones & rocks in the hills as before except that they had in them very generally many veins of various dimentions filled up with white spar or flinty matter. We now returned by another rout to our Camp, crossing a very high mountain which brought us to the waters of our creek, by following their course got home in the evening, bringing samples of the most remarkable stones with us.—

Dec^r. 17th. Monday Therm. at day light 26°[.] at 3 p.m. 42° & at 8 p m. 27° Clear

The weather being clear, set out again with another small party; & as we had gone yesterday to the north-east, we directed our course now to the northwest. We

Chevalier D'Anemours: "Mais ce qui vaut mieux sans doute, que toutes les mines precieuses, que les terres du Ouachita peuvent renfermer, ce qui est bien plus essentiel au bonheur de l'humanité souffrante, ce sont des sources thermalles dont la salutarité a été depuis longtemps éprouvée par les habitants du païs; quoique prises sans précaution, sans intelligence, et sans les secours auxiliaires que prescrit une médecine éclairée. elles meritent d'autant plus d'attention; qu'elles sont les seules que, jusqu'a ce jour, on ait découvert dans toute l'étendue de la province. leur distance du poste, en suivant le cours de la rivière est d'environ cent lieues; et à peu près cent soixante quinze de la bifurcation avec la rivière rouge" (Mémoire sur le district de Ouachita, 9).

proceeded on in that direction as nearly as the Mountains & rivulets would permit, up one of the forks of the hot spring creek, until we came to its source, where it is divided by a ridge from the head of some of the waters of the Califat; we crossed this ridge & proceeded on in the same direction as before, but observed no essential difference between the soil, trees, mountains, stones &c now & yesterday, except the stones appeared to have more the appearance of an hard free-stone than before, having more of sand in their composition. We then crossed a steep mountain to the west, & continued that course till we came to a bayu or

creek not named that runs into Ouashita, continued down that creek for a mile or two, & then began to edge off to the southward & eastward towards our Camp again; In our progress our Pilot shot a Buck which he skined on the spot in a few minutes, & having made three parcels of the meat, carried the whole to the Camp, which we reached in the same evening after crossing another high mountain[.] as this days journey produced no new matters, thot it unnecessary to trouble the men to carry any samples to camp.—

Whilst I was making these short excursions of the 16th & 17th. M^r Dunbar made the following observations

16 th . The suns magnetic azimuth before & after noon with the same altitude			
A.M.	At 9 ^h .50'.19"	☉ lower limb dble Alt 47°.30'	magnetic azimuth S.42°.20 E
P.M.	Time missed	do	do S.45 .40 W
			16 .40
		Var ⁿ . E. ½	8 .20

Correction for change of declination

Equal altitudes ☉ app^t. Dble alt 54°.27' Ind. Er. +15'.46"

A	{ contact upper limb at 10 ^h .18 ^m .59"	P	{ Lower Limb at 1 ^h .42 ^m .12"
M	{ Center 10 .21 .56	M	{ Center 1 .45 .15
	{ Lower limb 10 .24 .59		{ upper Limb 1 .48 .12

Lunar Observations Contacts of the ♃'s east limb with Arietis

Times	Distances	Times	Distances	Times	Distances	}	Ind. Error -16.16
at 10 ^h .31 ^m .50"	55°.38'.20"	10 ^h .41 ^m .53"	55°.42'.40"	10 ^h .53.48	55°.47'.20"		
" 33 .57	" 39 .10	" 44 .49	" 43 .45	" "	" "		
" 36 .46	" 40 .10	" 47 .12	" 44 .50	" "	" "		
" 39 .11	" 41 .20	" 50 .12	" 45 .55				

Monday 17th.

Equal Altitudes

☉ app^t. dble Alt. 45°.40'.0" Ind. Err. +15'.48" mag. Az. S 44°.30 E with the Lower limb. A.M.

Contact upper limb at 9 ^h .44'.56½"	}	A.M.	{ Lower limb 2 ^h .27 ^m .57½	}	P.M.
Center 9 .47 .12			{ Center 2 .30 .13		
Lower Limb. 9 .49 .30			{ Upper Limb. 2 .32 .31		

These two days equal Altitudes serve to correct the watch & ascertain her rate of going, from which the instants of the contacts will be known.

1804 Dec^r. 18th. Tuesday Therm. at day light 34°[.] at 3 p m 36°. & at 8 p m 32° Bad weather rain & sleet⁹³

Dec^r 19th. Wednesday. Therm in the morning 30°[.] at 3 p m. 30° & at 8 p.m 28⁹⁴

⁹³ "This evening Doct^r Hunter was very much indisposed but was relieved before bed time" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 118, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁴ "This morning we have a full prospect of a northern winter, the ground is covered 4 inches deep with snow and it continues from time to time to fall, tho' not remarkably fast, the eves of our Cabin hang with beautiful icicles, which we have

20th. Thursday Therm at 8 a.m. 30°[.] at 3. p m. 36°. & at 8 p m 32°⁹⁵

21st. Friday. Therm at 8 a m 32°[.] at 3 p m. 36° & 8 p m 31°⁹⁶

the pleasure of admiring thro' the logs as we sit by the fire side" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 118, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁵ "The snow continues lying on the ground, the night was very cold. . . . The D^{or} and myself both a little indisposed probably from cold & wet feet and the inclemency of the weather" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 119, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁶ ". . . the snow still lies upon the ground, so that the D^{or} is unable to undertake another more considerable excursion as

22nd Saturday Therm. at 8. a. m. 31°. at 3. p. m. 36°. & at 8. p. m. 34°⁹⁷

23rd Sunday. Therm. at 8. A.M. 30°. at 3. p.m. 44° & at 8 p. m. 38°⁹⁸

24th Monday. Therm. at 8. A.M. 32°. at 3. p. m. 45° & at 8 p. m. 34°⁹⁹

This is the first good day we have had since the 17th; The intermediate six days have exhibited a series of rain, sleet, snow & dirty disagreeable weather, which confined us about our camp. as for myself, having had a severe attack of the gravel for about 5 hours on the evening of the 18th & afterwards, for about two or three days indisposed with pain & griping. I could not, even if the weather had permitted, have continued my intended excursions till this time. The ground is still very wet under foot, the creeks & rivulets pretty full; to morrow is Christmass & our soldiers have requested an holiday then, which considering their toils & exposures cannot well be denied them. It is now evening & they have already begun to celebrate by social songs & glee Christmass eve.

After Christmass, if the weather shall permit, I intend to take three or four men & go into the wilderness with our Pilot (who by the by has never been farther himself) for a few days, to see if any thing further is to be seen worthy of notice.

At noon took another observation for the Latitude viz \odot doub. Mer. Ap^t. Alt. 63°. 37'.42". Ind. Error. -0.1.12 Lat 34°.30'.48.5"

My hands, or rather the fingers of my right hand are now healed up, altho very tender in the frost, by the accident of the pistol shot—This afternoon made a circuit of that part of the Hill from whence the Hot water issues, & find a variety of more springs than we saw at first. The region of hot water is very conspicuous; The coarse porous limestone forms there an immense mass deposited evidently by the hot water on the side & foot of the Mountain, making it in a manner lop-sided. Hot springs issue here & there from the upper & lower parts of this region. There is no part of the hill covered with this crust (which is from ten to forty feet thick & extends three or more hundred yards long & about 150 ft high.) except where the hot water does or manifestly has issued. All the rest of the Mountain above & on each side is composed of hard

he intended" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 119, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁷ "the Snow continues upon the ground, without any prospect of favourable change. . . . The Doctor goes on with some more experiments upon the Spring water, the results of which will be given hereafter" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 122-123, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁸ "The snow still lies partially on the ground. . . . Doctor Hunter continues indisposed" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 123-128, Boston, 1904).

⁹⁹ "The Doctor found himself a little better, we agreed to walk up the hot spring hill to make new observations on this natural curiosity" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 128-135, Boston, 1904).

flinty stones, in their pristine form, & of strata of Pyritous Scistus, some black, blue & grey. These Scisti occupy generally the lower parts of this & the other neighbouring Mountains, & some of which taste very strongly of Alum being sweetish & very astringent. Such pyritous & bitumenous Scisti are said to give rise to & form the forms of most Volcanoes.—

On stirring up one of the hot springs high up the hill observed some bituminous oil come to the top of the water & presently dissappear & sink, as if specifically heavier than water. In this same spring which was so hot that I could not bear my hand in it two seconds, found some branches of different shrubs which some person had stuck there in the summer, some of these twigs were dead apparantly[;] that is they had cast their leaves: but there was a myrtle with berries on it, which was not only alive but had begun to shoot out roots on the surface of the water half an inch long This spring & several others had formed to itself a cup or bason by depositing the lime round the edges, which as it runs slowly over it continually raises. Saw this day 12 or fifteen different Issues to the hot springs, perhaps the whole might be forced thro a pipe of one foot diameter with a pressure. There is only one & that is the largest which seems to leave an iron coloured sediment; This we have not yet tried. The former trials were made by candle light. but since I have found by the Oxalat of ammoniae an evident sediment of Lime. In that spring which we tried we found by evaporation of lbs 16 water, ten grains of a grey powder, three of extractive gelly like mater. This powder effervessed in marine acid which dissolved the greater part of it. The solution turned a deep blue, by pouring a drop of Prussian Alkali into it.

1804 Dec^r. 25th. Tuesday, Christmass. Therm. at day light 34°[.] at 3 p.m. 51° & at 8 p.m. 44°. The weather in the forepart of this day was fair & clear; but as soon as it was midday the sun was overcast so that we could not finish our meridian observation to satisfaction. & in the afternoon it began to rain which continued till bed time, & then it increased.—Being Christmass our Soldiers had previously divided themselves into two messes or parties, one of which remained at the Springs & the other half went to the river Ouachita to keep their holiday at the camp by the boat with the sergeant. They had made a reserve of their liquor for the occasion, with which & a Saddle of Venison they made themselves very merry, dancing, Hooping in the Indian Manner & singing alternately, not forgetting to serenade us from time to time with a volly from their riffles, wishing us an happy Christmass with all the compliments of the season &c The night came at length with the heavy rain which put a period to their mirth, & sleep closed their joys for the day.¹⁰⁰—

In the mean time made some examination of the

¹⁰⁰ The celebration "terminated with inebriety but no ill consequence ensued. We amused ourselves with farther experi-

water which rus[h]es hot from these Springs, beginning with that one which discharges the most water & which by the Thermometer shews 150° degrees of Fahrenheit. 1st. It deposites a rusty Iron coloured thin crust on the bottom of its course to the creek—this crust dissolved in Muriatic Acid with effervescence became a deep blue by a drop of Prussian alkali being poured into the solution.—

2^d The hot water at the spring, deposited a copious white cloud, on the addition of a drop of Oxalat of Ammoniae.

3rd. Nitrat of Silver produced the same effect on the waters

4th. Sulphuric Acid, threw down a few detached particles.

5th. The hot water shewed a very slight & scarcely perceptible tinge of green by the addition of the Prussiats of Lime or potash.

Hot Spring N 2. Temperature 140°. also deposits a rusty coloured sediment which on being dissolved in any acid becomes blue by the addition of Prussiat of lime

This spring throu out its course to the creek down the hill gives rise to a sort of green moss, very tender whilst in the water which acquires a little consistence when in the air some days.

This plant grows at the 130° temperature & shews a network appearance in the microscop. I have described this moss before. It gives support to many microscopic shell animals resembling clams of the size of a pin point or about the 50th part of an inch in length. It shows four legs & a double tail.

1st. The hot water of this spring gave a copious white cloud with the Oxalat of Ammon.

2nd. The blue paper tinged with litmus became red on being dipped into the hot water.

3rd Nitrat of Silver produced no change

4 Sulphuric Acid after three day[s] shewed a few distinct particles.

5th. Nitrat of Barytes after the same time, a scarcely perceptible white powder

6th. Prussiats of Lime & potash shewed no perceptible change in the color of the water

7th. Lbs 16 of the hot water evaporated to dryness left ten grains of a grey powder of which the greatest part dissolved in murriatic acid with effervescence leaving a small quantity of insoluable residuum This solution turned blue by a few drops of Prussian Alkali.

And in order to have further investigation Preserved samples of the deposited limestone by the hot water, both white & coloured & penetrated by Iron, of the Scisti at the base of the hill & in the Bayu, of the scilicious stone of which the upper part of mountain consists, of the white, black, cream coloured & reddish flints found in the Bayu, & on the hill.

ments on the hot waters" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 135, Boston, 1904).

Dec^r. 26th. 1804 Wednesday Therm. at day light 34° [.] at 3 p.m. 50° & at 8 p.m. 34. Clear blowing weather.

This day was occupied taking Observations for the Latitude & Longitude of this place—at Midday the Suns Apparent double Alt by my Sextant was 63°.44'.55" Ind. err. -1'.22.5" Latitude found 34°.30'.48.8".—

This corresponds with the observation of the 24th Inst. exactly, & appears to be as near the truth as my Instrument can shew.—

Afterwards the Altitude of the Hill opposite that which yeild the hot springs was taken by the Circle of reflection & by the compass: The results which were nearly alike, gave three hundred feet for the perpendicular height.

The hot Spring hill may be computed to be about the same height.—That is that part of these two hills which can be seen from the base; as for the true tops they are considerably higher as may be seen from the opposite hills—

27th. Thursday Therm. at 7. a m. 26° [.] at 3. p.m. 45° & at 8. p.m. 38 Clear & cold weather.

I set out from our Camp at the hot Springs at half past 9. a m. on an excursion of three or four days according as it might prove interesting to explore the circumjacent country, taking with me besides the Guide, three of our Soldiers, who carried a tent, 2 riffles, a spade, a matlock an ax & two days provisions, depending upon what the woods should afford for the rest. I put a small compass in my pocket, to serve in cloudy weather.

As in the two former short tours of a day each which I had taken before we could only proceed for about half a day from camp at a time, the other part of the day being necessarily occupied to return back[;] of course could see only a small distance round; the days being now at their shortest, I therefore now determined to proceed in a straight line for two days or so, except circumstances should point out otherwise, & then return by a circuitous way. We directed our course to the N.W. & continued in that direction all this day, thro, stoney thin Land bearing pines & dwarf timber of the usual kinds, now & then assending steep craggy hills & mountains so close to each other as to leave but very small valleys, & these generally or the greatest part under water during the inundations between them. Thro these valleys commonly run small or large branc[h]es of the creeks which take their rise here & empty themselves into the Ouachita. In these valleys altho the soil is but thin & stoney being washed away by the torrents the timber is more various & larger than on the higher ground, & when one assends the hills he can percieve as far as the eye can reach at the height of from 60 to 100 feet perpendicular up the hills the visible commencement of the piney region allmost as streight as a line from the above level to the tops of the

mountains, This is the more visible now as the other trees ar[e] deprived of their leaves. Not that the hill tops are destitute of other trees, or the valleys intirely without pines. but that the pines almost exclusively occupy the upper regions & leave the valleys for the other timber cheifly. This day went only about twelve miles, being without a path & often turned aside & interrupted by waters, briars, fallen trees & rocky precipices. Encamped a little past 4 p.m, pitched our tents as the weather was now raw & cold & likely for a storm, which took place in the night; yet having a good fire we passed the night comfortably, near the head or source of the main branch of the Califat, along which we had come the latter part of this day.

We raised a large Sclate out of the bottom of the rivulet which by driving three pegs into the ground, served us as a table & smaller ones as plates. Our flour we kneaded on our table into a flat cake, & baked in the ashes like a potatoe & by some sharp pointed wands run thro our venison & wild Turkey & then stuck in the ground before the fire, we were at no loss for spits[.] Saw many signs of Deer, Bears Buffaloes & wild Turkies this day, but could not get a shot at any of them. The first part of this days journey the stones were as u[su]al silicious, whitish grey, on the hill tops, now & then white flint, redish, cream coloured &c. The beds of the runs & sometimes for a good way up the hills shewed immense masses of scistus both blue & grey, some of the former were efflorescing & tasted strongly aluminous.—& the latter falling to peices seemed to form the bulk of clay of the soil at the surface. The latter part of the day we passed over & between hills of a black opake hard compact flint in shapeless masses, & immense layers of scistus now & then below.

Dec^r. 28th. Friday. Therm. at 7 a m. 34° [.] at 3 p.m. 32° & at 8. p m. 30°

Left the encampment at 8^h.30^m. a.m. The weather raw cold & like for snow[.] continued our course N.E. In half a mile passed the source of the califat, & the hill afterwards which gave it birth; we had scarcely proceeded two miles when a storm set in from the N.E. in our faces accompanied with rain & sleet, returned to camp & remained till the storm abated, when we set out again at 11^h.15^m. a.m. & proceeded N.E till one p.m. Then E. half an hour over a ridge of mountain; Then S. for $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour till $\frac{1}{4}$ past 2. p.m. Then S.W. over the hills till half past two; when our Guide shot a Doe. the skinning & dressing of which took up half an hour; when after each man had got his proportion to carry, set out again at 3 p m. SW for half an hour, when we killed another Doe & after dressing & giving each his proportion to carry, looked out for a place to pitch our tent, which we found shortly on the banks of a small brook which our Pilot said was a branch of the Bayu de saline which stretches towards the river Arkansa & empties into the Ouachita many leagues below.

This day went about 12 miles by estimation, without a path or the sight of the Sun, guided by the compass. The land passed over is if any thing rather poorer more stoney & mountainous than yesterday. The soil stones &c. of which I collected samples being much alike ¹⁰¹

Dec^r. 29th. Saturday Therm. at 7 a m. 25° [.] at 3 p m [blank in MS.] & at 8 p.m. 24° Weather Overcast & raw.

As we saw no appearances of minerals or mettals in this part of the country worth further search, & as all that I could find hitherto amounted only to a little iron ore, not rich enough to pay the expence of being worked, as the face of the country was like that we had seen, & the season far advanced, the time for which provisions the Soldiers had drawn, would expire in three days, & we were still 300 miles beyond the Post of the Ouachita where alone we could expect a supply, I thot it most prudent to return to Our Camp at the hot springs, which we effected by an ot[h]er rout that same evening; where I found M^r Dunbar had removed with all the soldiers & baggage to our old encampment at the boat on the banks of the Ouachita, leaving My Son & one Soldier to wait our Arrival.¹⁰² I now packed up the samples, of stones ore &c, the venison we had killed & got every thing ready to follow him in the morning.

Dec^r. 30th. 1804 Sunday. Therm. 10° at 7 a.m. at 3. p.m. 38° [.] at 8 p.m. 21° Clear & cold.

Set out from the hot springs about 10 A.M. carrying baggage & everything left the day before, which we were enabled to do as M^r Dunbar had sent all the men that could be spared for that purpose, where we arrived about 3 p.m. All in good health (except Tuttle who had been long troubled with a dysentery & griping.) yet he was now much better. Being now arrived at the banks of the Ouachita we found the river about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ foot higher than when we came up, yet M^r Dunbar judged it safer to wait for a further rise, which might be expected to take place at this time as it began to cloud over & appeared likely for rain or snow

Dec^r. 31st. Monday Therm at 7. A M. 29° [.] at 3. p.m. 32° & at 8 p.m. 32° Snowed all this day & night, the snow was about one foot deep next morning which by measurement yeilded about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Inches water. We are now waiting for a thaw to raise the water in the river & enable us to decend it with safety.

Whilst I was out in the last excursion of three days; M^r Dunbar in company with my Son run the chain round the hot spring hill & found it to be about 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles

¹⁰¹ This day Dunbar "Dispatched six of our people with loads to the river Camp: after breakfast set out upon a geographical tour round the Hill of the hot-springs; young M^r Hunter with one of the people and my negro servant attended" (Journal of a voyage, 139, Boston, 1904).

¹⁰² "Got the people ready with their loads between 9 & 10^h a.m. and I set out with them myself for the river camp" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 144, Boston, 1904).

in circumference, this includes another hill behind it, which at the base appear as one & the same tho at the tops they separate, appearing double headed.—Tuttle continues better.

Yesterday as we returned to our boat at Ellis's camp on the banks of the Ouachita, my son with the aid of two of the soldiers measured the distance from the hot Springs here. & found it to be by the Chain $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearly by the following courses Which were taken the day before by M^r Dunbar viz S 15 E 788 perches—to 1st. knoll 122 p. to 1st branch 162 to 2nd. branch 282 p, to 3rd. do 322 p., to 4th. do 502 p, to crossing hot spring creek 614 p, to branch at the station.—N 80 E, to the top of the ridge 70 p. S 69 E 184 to 2nd branch. S 25 E 160 p. S 68 E, 80 p. to big lick, N 55 E 200, at 160 p. 3rd branch, 2nd lick at Station—N 82 E 534, at 168, 4th branch 5th branch at station. S 84 E 122, at 56 cross last branch, Califat at station, (course of Califat S 38 E) S 74 E 178 to 3rd lick, S 54 E 304. at 94 a branch & to camp at Ouachita Total 2620 perches equal to 8 miles 60 perches—Distance from the post to the hot springs 311 miles 61 perches

1805 Tuesday Jan^y 1st. Therm at 7. a.m. 26° [.] at 3 p.m 32° & at 8 p m. 18°. Thick Snowy weather. no observation.

The snow which had been falling yesterday & last night began again this day but did not last long. We are here still waiting for rain to raise the water in the river to facilitate our progress down.

This day finishes the period for which the soldiers had drawn provisions. & as their flour was already expended we Issued to them about half a bble of our own. Their Bacon, having been saved since we came to this place by the game killed, will last some time longer.

The river continues to fall about 1 foot every twenty four hours, or more,

2nd. Wednesday. Therm. at 7. a.m. 6° [.] at three p.m. [blank in MS.] & at 8 p m. 32° The river water 32° in the morning. Weather clear & cold.—

Being still detained by the lowness of the river, at noon I made the following observation for the Latitude Doub. App^t. Mer. Alt. 64°.46'.36" Index error -1'.9.6" Lat found. 34°.27'.8".—N.B. I used this day M^r Dunbars Artificial horizon with plate glass cover, whereas I generally use a cover of thin Talc or isinclass fixed in a tin frame.—

Our guide brought in a fat Doe from the woods which he shot—Our boat is now all in order to go down, having altered the situation of the cabbin, so as to make it more commodious & more suitable for using a steering oar, & having also cut a number of setting poles to

replace those broken & lost coming up. The river still continues to fall.

3rd. Thursday. Therm. in air at 7. a.m. 22° [.] in the river 34° [.] at 3. p.m. 45° & at 8 p.m. 30°—Clear. Wind N.W.

The River now falls but slowly. The snow melts in the heat of the day by such insensible degrees as not to be felt in the river. At noon made the following observations for the Latitude viz ☉ double App^t. Mer. Alt. 64°.57'.45" Ind. Error, 1'.9.6" Lat found 34°.27'.17.5".

3 of our people went out to hunt with the Guide & brought to the encampment a fine fat Doe & a young cub. Bear.—

Jan^y 4th. 1805 Friday Therm. at 7 a.m. in air 21° [.] in River 36°—at 3 p m. 50° & at 8 p.m. 32° Clear & pleasant.

The river still continues to fall a little; altho the snow g[r]adually melts a little in the day, yet it is not felt in the river. I made the following observation for the Latitude viz ☉ d. App^t Mer. Alt. 65°.10'.6' Ind. error 1'.23.4" Lat. 34°.27'.25.3"

I took a short turn up & down the river in the boat to search for Whetstones as samples & brought in a few of the yellowish & flesh coloured flints like the turkey oil stones. They did not well bear dressing into form, as we had not tools suitable. I ground a face upon one of them with some difficulty & it seemed to answer tollerably well with oil to give an edge to my tomahawk—Another of the slates, [a] kind almost black but soft, gave a fine edge to a razor, when dressed smo[o]th. The flesh coloured flint above seemed too hard rather, this was picked up on the beach where it had been long exposed to the weather. I believe they ought to be dressed as soon as they are dug up or quarried.—The hunting parties brought in two deer in good order & my son shot a young swan flying which proved very good eating being fat.

1805 Jan^y. 5th Saturday Therm. at 7. a.m. in Air 22 [.] in the river 36 & at 3 p.m. 55 [.] at 8 p.m. 28 Clear & cold.

We are still detained by the want of water of the river, at Ellis's Camp Our Hunters brought in two Dear a Turkey & rabbit, this last appears to be of a size between an European Hare & rabbit, it is of a brownish grey on the back, belly inclining to white, thick fur.

during the day & evening the following double Altitudes of the sun were taken, by M^r Dunbar, also the distances between the sun & moon & in the evening the distance between the moon & the Star Aldebaran whilst I took the Moons Altitude.—

Equal Altitudes		☉ dble App ^t . Alt. 43°.18'.30"	
upper limb at 9 ^h .43 ^m .10"	} A M	Lower limb at 2 ^h .59 ^m .22"	} P M
Center 45 .12		Center 3 . 1 .27	
Lower limb. 47 .19		upper limb 3 . 3 .33	
at 10 ^h .3 ^m .42"		☉ Mag. Az S 46. E ☉ app ^t . dble alt L L 47°.21'.10" In. er. +13'.15"	

Lunar Observations distance between the ☉ & ☽ limbs

at 2 ^h .22 ^m .45 ^{''}	Distance 54°1'.0''	Ind. E. +.13'.15''
“ 25 .50	“ 2.0	
“ 28 .45	“ 3.0	

Distance between the ☽s west limb from Aldebaran

at 7 ^h .1 ^m .56 ^{''}	Dist. 84°52.0''	Ind. er. +13'.15''	dbl. alt ☽ 1 limb. 64°17'.3''
“ 4 . 0	“ 51.0		Ind. Er. -1'.20''
“ 6 . 6	“ 50.0		

1805 Jan^y. 6th. Sunday. Therm. at 7 A. M. in Air 28°, in river 38° [.] at 3 p. m. 50° & at 8 p. m.—44° Thick drizly weather with small rain

We are still waiting at Ellis's camp for the river to rise which the present weather bids fair to do.—no observation

7th Monday. Therm. at 7. a. m. in Air 64° [.] in the river 44° At 3 p. m. 78° & at 8 p. m. 38° Cloudy no observation

The river has risen about 3 or 4 feet perpendicular at 3 p. m. & continues to rise gradually.—

8th. Tuesday Therm. at 7 a. m. in air 28° [.] in the river 46° [.] at 3 p. m. 37° & at 8 p. m. 37°. Cloudy Wind N.E.

This day, having put every thing on board the boat, we struck tents & took our departure from Ellis [']s Camp on our way back to the Mississippi to the no small joy of all hands, as their provisions, especially of flour & whiskey were for some time past expended, at half past 9. a. m. We soon ran over the rapids, falls & rocky cascades which had so much interrupted our progress up; yet as our pilot appeared to be very much afraid of touching the rocks with the boat which with the present velocity would have pierced her bottom, it was thought most prudent to stop always above such places & go along the banks to examine them to find the best channel, These stops delayed us so much that with them & stopping two or three times to examine & take samples of the stones we made only ten leagues to day; for it came on to rain this afternoon (yet we made the same distance this part of a day that took us four days in coming up) which obliged us to encamp sooner than we otherwise would have done, a little above the prairie de champignole.¹⁰³

1805 Jan^y 9th. Wednesday Therm. at 7 a. m. 42° in air, & in the river 44° [.] at 3 p. m. 36° & at 8 p. m. 24° Wind N. E. Rain hail sleet

Set out & [at] 8 A. M. having taken an early breakfast, after having proceeded down a few miles, stopped & gathered a few samples of a sort of slaty whetstone & at another place of a sandy freestone. The river has fallen about a foot during the night, which the present rain will soon replace. We are now past all difficult rocky places. At noon passed the saline de Bayu des

¹⁰³ Dunbar described the passage of the Chutes (Journal of a voyage, 154-155, Boston, 1904).

Roches, this was the last saline I visited where the water was not quite so strong as the former.—

at $\frac{1}{4}$ past noon passed the Bayu or Fourche de Cadeaux on the right going down.—About 3 p. m. passed the Grand Glaise (great lick) & at 4 p. m. the Bayu de leau Froid. (Cold Water River)—passed also the first place where I went & found the strong salt water. We passed this day about five days journey going up, & encamped about a league above the Cache de Macon near the Island of Ouachita below the great chute.—

Jan^y 10th Thursday Therm at 7 a. m. 23° [.] in the river water 42° [.] at 3 p. m. 32° & at 8 p. m. 19° Weather Clear & Cold Wind N.W.

Set out at 8 A. M. We rowed down the river as usual, passing the Bayu de Cypre, Isle de Charbon, where in going up I found the Coal half formed & also the coalified wood. shortly after [we passed] the little hills near which [we] came to a camp of about ten Indians who had come from the river Arkansa to hunt for a M^r Le Fevre¹⁰⁴ who had accompanied them & had Ammassed a large quantity skins particularly Deer, & Bear. This Le Fevre informed us that the little Ozages from the Arkansa had killed a party of ten Cherokees as was supposed on the waters of the little Missouri not far from us, He also said that intelligence was received that some of the grand Ozages who with White hairs their cheif had been to visit the President of the U.S., had on their return met a number of white hunters whom they had robbed & plundered.¹⁰⁵—We

¹⁰⁴ Possibly John (Jean?) LeFevre who had settled in 1802 on the Mississippi River a few miles below the mouth of the St. Francis (Shinn, J. H., *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas*, 43, 120, Little Rock, 1908). “. . . to day we made a more considerable delay at the Camp of a M. Le Fevre. This is an intelligent man, a native of the Illinois, now residing at the Arcansas; he is come here with some Delaware and other Indians whom he has fitted out with goods, and receives peltry, fur &c. at a stipulated price, as it is brought in by the hunters. . . . M. Le Fevre possesses considerable knowledge of the interior of the Country [which is here set down at length]” (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 157-169, Boston, 1904).

¹⁰⁵ “The gentleman [Le Fevre] informs us that a considerable party of the Osages from the Arcansa river have made an excursion round by the prairies towards the red river, and down the little misouri as low as the ‘fourche d’Antoine,’ and there meeting with a small party of Cherokees, are supposed to have killed four of their number & others are missing; Three Americans and ten Chicasaws went a hunting into that quarter, who may also have been in danger, those Ozages being no respecters of persons . . . the Osages of the tribe of white

passed in the afternoon the little Missouri & encamped about 3 leagues below it, at a place called auges d'Arclon, (arclons troughs) where one Arclon made troughs to carry down his bears Oil to market.—We have now made in these 3 days going down what took us twelve days to go up.—

11th Jan^y 1805 Friday Therm at 7 A m. 11° [.] in river 39° [.] at 3 p m. 32° & at 8 p.m. 26°—Clear & Cold, Wind N.W.

The river fell about 5 Inches during the last night, yet by noon this day we overtook the height of the flood—In about an hour passed the great cut point, shortly after, or about another hour we came to the drunken Islands & in about another hour the great Beach, & in 1½ hours more the little ecor a Fabri (little hills of Fabri) about another hour to the great ecor a Fabri (big hills of Fabri) where the Lead is said in old times (tho not believed) to have been put as a line mark with the name & arms of Louis of France between the French & Spaniards. & in about another hour to the two creeks,¹⁰⁶ also about 1 hour more came to little cut point & in about two hours more to Ross's Camp & in another hour encamped on the right bank going down, having passed about the same distance this day which took us 2½ days to go up. about ten o'clock A M. passed Campbel & a party of 4 Canadiens who had been a hunting for Bears of which they had killed about 40, & a couple of Panthers. up the little Missouri which they had left about 15 days ago having seen no signs of hostile Indians or indeed any body at all. Our Pilot informs us that about 26 leagues up the little Missouri at the Fork of Antoine,¹⁰⁷ on the lower and [word illegible] side upon a bayu that runs up to the hills and that there is a saline on the other side or

hairs in the month of December (early in the month), plundered all the white hunters and traders upon the arcansa river" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 158, 166, Boston, 1904).

On February 12, 1805, Pierre Chouteau, then agent for the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi, wrote from St. Louis to President Jefferson: "Je viens d'apprendre dans le moment qu'un Parti d'Ozages a Tué sur la Riviere des Arkansas un françois et volé dix chevaux aux chasseurs qui ont hiverné sur cette même Riviere, le chef les cheveux Blancs m'a fait avertir de ce malheureux accident par un chasseur qui est descendu de l'endroit où il est en chasse en m'assurant qu'aussitôt qu'il seroit de retour a son village il m'instruerois avec détail de toutes les circonstances de cette affaire; il me fait dire en même tems qu'il se voit au moment d'avoir la Guerre avec la bande de sa nation qui est sur la Riviere des Arkansas et sous la conduite du chef La Grande Piste. J'aurois bien désiré pouvoir me Rendre L'automne dernier chez les Ozages pour Rétablir l'union entre leurs partis differents mais le Traité conclu a cet époque entre le gouvernement Americain et les Nations Sakias et Renards ma Retenu a St Louis" (Parker Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

¹⁰⁶ One Two Bayou flows southwest between Calhoun and Ouachita Counties to enter the Ouachita River below Camden opposite another Two Bayou which flows east through Ouachita County.

¹⁰⁷ Antoine's Fork or Antoine Creek flows south between Pike and Clark Counties to join the Little Missouri at Nevada County.

upper side between the Missouri & the fork on a branch which runs into the fork & also at the three forks of the Ouachita¹⁰⁸ & at the cote blue [sic] on the little Missouri 5 leagues above the fork Antoine there are to be seen many trees called Bois jaune or Bois d'arc. (yellow wood) or Bow wood, which grow about 15 or 20 feet high[.] the wood is of a reddish orange colour, & gives a fine yellow dye; This tree resembles the chinkapin tree in external appearance, bears in the fall a fruit resembling an Orange but twice as large filled with seeds, this tree has a very knotty scrubby appearance.

Perhaps it is the famous tree which yeilds the yellow dye in so much esteem in Europe & reckoned so valuable & rare, capable of dying the finest scarlet.—M^r Le Fevre gave the same account of this tree—

Jan^y 12th. Saturday Therm at 7 a m. 26° [.] in the river 40° [.] at 3 p.m. 43° & at 8 p.m. Wind N.E Cloudy & cold

Set out at 8 a m, & in two & an half leagues by our Guide's estimation passed a place called Ross's camp on the right side going down, came one league further to the Bayu D'Acacia (Locust Bayu) on the left, & in one league from thence passed Cote a faine (beach mast hill) on the right or west side; thence three leagues to the petite Bayu on the left or west side, thence 2 leagues to the Vieille abbatis (the old clearing of timber by an hurricane) on the right[,], thence two leagues further to La Piniere (the Pine forrest[.]), thence 2 leagues to the Chemin couvert (the Covered way[.]), on the West, thence one league to the bayu de cabane a Champignole on the east side, thence one league to John Skinners camp on the west[,], thence one league to the hill of the cabbins of Champignole on the west, thence 2 leagues to the camp of flitters [fritters]¹⁰⁹ where we are now encamped for the night, having come down better than two of our days journey up.— One of our people killed a Swan which proved poor. The river rose one inch last night, yet the current here is Moderate & has been so all this day, & the river is considerably increased in size. The banks are becoming gradually lower, the Soil sandy on a bottom of clay, no stones appear on the banks of the river[.] no evergreen trees except Holleys which are very numerous & pines. The lower branches of cypress & others where they are subject to be overflowed produce an abundance of green shaggy moss for these two days journey down; but as yet we are not come to the region for the production of the long moss called spanish beard or Carolina moss.—

1805 Jan^y 13th. Sunday Therm. at 8 a m 27° [.] in the river 40° [.] at 3 p.m. 53 & at 8 p.m. Cloudy, moderate weather.

¹⁰⁸ In Montgomery County, above the Hot Springs.

¹⁰⁹ "Campement des bignets" [bignet] (fritter camp)" (Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 170, Boston, 1904). This must have been somewhere near Calion in Union County.

Set out at 8. a.m. find the river rose last night 1½ Inches by which, we have got ahead of the fresh or last flood, & go somewhat faster, or farther in the day time, that the current does in a day & a night. about 4 Leagues from our place of our encampment came to cote de Hachis on the west, thence 3 leagues to bay Moreau¹¹⁰ on the east, thence 2 leagues to Cache la Tulipe on the west side. (where a person of the name of Tulipe concealed or hid the skins acquired by hunting till he returned again to the same place), passing 3 leagues further down to sort of cleared place on the east called L'aigle (the Eagle).¹¹¹ Thence 2 leagues to la pirague d'Auguste on the east. (Augustes boat) About 1½ league below this last place we encamped for this night We are now come to the low lands, where the high freshes overflow all the banks yearly—We have come this day the same distance nearly as took us two days to come up—

Jan^y 14th. Monday Therm at 7 A M. 23° [.] in the river 40° [.] at 3 p m 53 & 8 p m. 32° Clear, little wind. Moderate. Set out at 8. a.m. & shortly after passed the Marrais de Cannes on the east side of the river, about ½ league from our encampment. Thence to the petite Marrais (little Swamp[]) on the west 2 leagues[,] thence 1½ leagues to the Bayu Poiles (Hair Creek) on the west Thence 1½ leagues to the Bayu de la Saline (saline creek[]) on the east. Thence 1 league to the Marrais de la Saline (saline swamp) on the east. Thence 3 do to the Bayu de la pelle (mortar

Creek)¹¹² Thence 3 do to the 3 battures (3 beaches) thence 1½ do to the Isle de Mallet. When the line strikes between the Territories of Orleans & Louisiana viz Lat 33°.0'.0". Thence 1½ to the bayu de long vue (long reach creek) on the east, Thence 1½ do to the bayu Franqueure¹¹³ (after a person of that name who lost his life there in chase of the Buffaloes[])—All these leagues are to be understood as the nominal measure of the country, which we have found to contain about 2 english miles to the league.—Here we encamped on a flat peice of ground about 4 feet above the present water, but much overflowed in the freshes like all the rest of the lowlands; The river rose last night 1½ Inches, The current tho more rapid than when we came up, yet is still but moderate perhaps about 1 mile p^r hour.—We dayly see before us at the distance of about 200 yards large numbers of Wild Gees & ducks who fly at our approach, so that it is difficult to get a shot at them.—

we have passed this day also about the same distance as we did in two coming up.—

At our camp observed an eclipse of the Moon when the total darkness commenced at 13^h.36^m.29". by the silver watch¹¹⁴

1805 Jan^y 15th. Tuesday Therm at 7 a m 30° [.] in the river 40° [.] at 3 p m. 63° & 8 p m. 43° Cloudy moderate weather

at 11^h.4^m.0" A m Took an Altitude of the sun, to correct the silver watch viz ☉ d. Alt ap^t. 69.59.10 Ind. error—1'.37"

Supposed Lat. 32°.48'.24"

Time of Eclipse p ^r watch	13.36.29
Error watch too fast	— 3.40
	<u>13.32.49</u>
	19.40 --
hours	6. 7.11

True time found	11 ^h .0 ^m .20"
Error of watch too fast	— 3 .40
Time p ^r watch	<u>11, 4^m.—</u>

true time
time at Greenwich
equal to Longitude West 91°, 47', 45"

Set out at 8 a.m as usual after breakfast viz less than an hour, at the distance of 1½ leagues passed the Bayu Batture a pierres (bayu of the stoney beach.) on the west. from thence at the distance of two leagues passed Bayu de buttes (Bayu of Indian mounts, or cementery) on the east side of the river, thence 2 to Bayu Mercier on the west[,] thence 1 do to bayu Asemine on the east, thence 1 do to Bayu Bartheleme on the east, thence Bayu de la L'Outre three leagues on the west, thence 1 do to grand Roquerau on the west, thence 1 do to the Bayu de l'eau noir (black water Bayu) on the east, thence passed the point aux oufs (egg Point) 2 leagues to the east. In all 14½ leagues about the same distance

that took us two days to go up—About the middle of this day's journey came again to the region of Spanish beard (Carolina moss) for above this latitude there is none to be found on the trees.¹¹⁵—The river rose 1½ Inches during the night.

The Soldiers have already expended all their pork & venison. We gave them a temporary supply out of our own rations having before given them all the flour we had left, which is also now consumed. Yet we expect to receive a supply at the garrison which is now only about 5 leagues off.

¹¹² Bayou Lapile in Union County, entering from the west below the mouth of the Saline River.

¹¹³ In Hunter's report (p. 60) this name is spelled *Franqueur*.
¹¹⁴ Dunbar, W., Journal of a voyage, 173–174, Boston, 1904.

¹¹⁵ According to Dunbar they saw the first Spanish moss about five miles above the Bayou des Buttes (Journal of a voyage, 175, Boston, 1904).

¹¹⁰ The town of Morobay, Bradley County, is at the lower side of the junction of Moro Creek with the Ouachita.

¹¹¹ Eagle Creek flowing south through Bradley County appears to join both the Saline River and the Ouachita.

Jan^y 16th. Wednesday. Set out after breakfast at 8 a.m. as usual, & arrived at the Garrison about 11 a.m. here we delivered up the boat M^r Dunbar hired & took possession of our own again which looked more weather-beaten than if we had used her all the time. The men were set to clean her out, cut & make six more oars to replace as many broken in our journey, to cut & form a new mast in the woods, to bend the sail & put all the rigging in order, & to take back again from the Garrison all our spare articles which on account of their weight we had found it necessary to leave behind, to make the boat draw as little water as possible—In the mean time we were very civilly & politely entertained by Lieu^t. Jos. Bomar commandant of the Garrison who studied to give us every facility in his power. Here we drew one months rations for the soldiers commencing the first & ending the last of Jan^y. & as it was not convenient for him to spare of his small store all the Bacon necessary he procured some fresh beef & some fresh pork & we delivered them lbs 100 Bacon for which I got a due bill on the Contractor at Natchez or Orleans for the payment, he also gave a due bill which I delivered the Sergeant for 1 bble flour & some whiskey salt & vinegar which he could not spare—I drew nothing for ourselves as I had money to get what we might stand in want of—These operations took up two days besides the part of the day we arrived here.

1805 Jan^y 19th. Saturday. This morning M^r Dunbar set out in the canoe with one hand & his servant at 7. A.M. with a view of getting to Cadets at Catahoula as soon as possible & from thence to hire horses & take a short cut home to his family whom he had received letters from at his Arrival here;¹¹⁶ He desired me to follow as soon as the boat would be ready to the Mouth of the Red river & then ascend the Mississippi to St Catherine's Creek (his landing) near Natchez where I should deposit all the remaining stores & cc to serve for the next expedition, & then to go down the Mississippi & deliver the boat & detachment to Col^o. Freeman.—from whence I expect to go by water to Philad^a. to visit my family.—At half past twelve on the same day the boat being got ready & everything on board, I set off on my way down the Ouachita. The wind Southwardly & blowing fresh is right ahead & retards our progress.

Therm. at 3 p.m. 58°. in Air, in the river 43° & at 8 p.m. 50°. This day came about 4 french leagues when the darkness of the night prevented further progress. I slept with my son on board the boat, the soldiers encamped ashore.

Jan^y 20th. Sunday. Therm. at 7 a.m. 56°, in the river 43°. at 3 p.m. 51°. & at 8 p.m. 40°. cloudy with small rain drizly.

¹¹⁶ "Judging it of importance to get to Natchez as soon as possible, I determined after being disappointed in procuring horses, to take the Canoe with one Soldier and my own Domestic, and push down to Catahoula, from whence there is a road to Concord about 30 miles across" (Dunbar, W., *Journal of a voyage*, 177, Boston, 1904).

Set out before sunrise & proceeded down the river with a moderate current, tho twice as much as when we went up here & the river about 6 feet higher, yet it is about 20 feet below the high floods in the Spring. Came this day to the lowest habitations or Settlements about 16 estimated leagues, which makes what they call 20 leagues from fort Miro.—& 32 from the solitary house of Cadits at the mouth of Catahoula. Here we staid for the night. Going ashore to enquire, learned that M^r Dunbar left this place after breakfast on his way down in the canoe.¹¹⁷ The sun was set, all was still & silent as death I saw a small encampment with two fires & apparently two families of Choctaw Indians, I heard some melancholly mourning in a female voice, it seemed to come from the heart & was very expressive. I turned to where the sound proceed[ed] from & saw a person on the ground wrapped entirely in a blanket, & leaning on a small heap of dead branches rudely piled together, to protect from the wild beasts of the wilderness, the remains of her first & only child, which I was informed died six months ago. Joy & Greif are the same in all languages—This night the wind came round to the N E & the weather grew raw & cold. in the forenoon passed a large covered boat going up rowed by 6 oars, under the direction of an elderly french Gentleman called Cap^t. Tousard (or Bousard I could not distinguish which[]) from Baton Rouge, on his way to the hot springs for the recovery of his health.¹¹⁸ He appeared to be much emaciated & complained much of pains in his lower limbs. I thought it best to give him hopes of recovery, he was very eager to know if the waters were salutary which [I] assured him they were.—I also passed the camp of an Hunter called Louis Francisque the brother in law of our later Pilot of whom I bought three bearskins for three dollars.—

Jan^y 21st. Monday Therm at 7. a.m 21°, in the river 40°, at 3. p.m. 36° & at 8 p.m. 26°. Clear & cold & raw Wind easterly & variable

Set out at day light, current as yesterday, I had previously to leaving the post, & also at the last settlement got directions to find a quarry of plaster of Paris said to be ten leagues from where we left this morning on the right side of the river going down about ten acres inland 1½ leagues below the prairie de Cote (Hill prairie) & a coal mine opposite to it on the left; yet altho I landed now & then to search, I was not more fortunate than we were in going up, for I could not find the place of either the one or the other ¹¹⁹—saw

¹¹⁷ Dunbar had "called at the house of an old hunter with whom I had conversed on my way up" (*Journal of a voyage*, 177, Boston, 1904) but he had made no entry concerning him on October 31. He now devoted two pages to the settler's remarks. Possibly this man's name was Olivo—see note 21 above.

¹¹⁸ In the official report (p. 62) Hunter gives this name as *Bousard*.

¹¹⁹ Neither could Dunbar but he had no doubt of their existence (*Journal of a voyage*, 180-181, Boston, 1904).

near the supposed place some encampments of Pascagula Indians, who did not or would not understand, english french or spanish & of course could get no information from them.—bought of them two Swans skins for two bits.—

Came this day by estimation about 14 Leagues french.

The sun set by my watch at 18 minutes past five.—

The wind being ahead the greatest part of this day our progress was thereby considerably impeded.—

1805 Jan^y 22nd Tuesday Therm at daybreak 21°. in air, in river 39°. at 3 p.m. 48° & at 8 p m. 40. Cloudy. Wind N.E. & E, raw weather.—& cold.—

Set out at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. a.m. Little current all this day & the wind being chiefly a head, went but slowly.

The rapids & shoals which we passed in coming up, were not to be seen at the same places now, the water being over them, they were all as smooth and still as a mill pond, & it was just visible which way the current run. Came this day to the rapids where we cut the channel for our boat when going up, but all is smooth now, having made about 14 leagues—here we encamped for the night. sunset 15' past 5. p m

23rd. Wednesday Set out at half past six A.M. Therm. at daybreak 49°, in air, in the river 42°[.] at 3 p.m. 64° & at 8 p m 54 Wind S. Easterly[.] drizzling rains, cloudy. The water still rises, so much so, as to take away all the current & it is now difficult to tell which way is up or down the river. I attribute this to the back water from the Mississipi. The want of current & the head winds together with the rains contributed to shorten our progress this day so that we made but about 7 french leagues & encamped about 1 league above the Bayu ha, ha,

1805 Jan^y 24th. Thursday Therm at daybreak 55° at air[.] in the river 43°. at 3 p.m. 50°, & at 8 p m 46°. Rain.—

Last night was remarkable for a long & heavy storm of thunder lightening & rain which drenched the men to the skin under their tents. Set out at day light, the rain having abated, but soon after it came on again & continued with very little intermission all this day, altho there was but little or no wind, & that mostly ahead. Went ashore at Mons^s. Cadets at the mouth of the Catahoula Lake & opposite to the mouth of the Bayu Tensa one league below the Bayu ha ha.

Here found M^r Dunbar being detained by the storm & waiting to have horses caught from the woods (where they are suffered to range) to carry him & his servant to Natchez which from this place is only 30 miles by Land altho about 150 by water & half of which is against the current of the Mississipi. Horses are now provided & he is to set out to morrow morning weather permitting.¹²⁰ We remained here the rest of this day, on acc^t. of the rain, having made only two leagues this

¹²⁰ Dunbar had arrived on the evening of the 22nd (Journal of a voyage, 181–184, Boston, 1904).

day.—M^r Dunbar has received a few cuttings, suckers & seed balls or the fruit of the famous yellow dying tree from the little Missouri which had been transplanted on the Ouachita at the last settlement. but like myself could not find the hill containing the plaster of Paris, tho he landed to look for it.—He has also received a sample of the Briar root which is sometimes used here as food instead of flour, it resembles in shape the yams of the West Indies or rather some thing between that & the Irish potatoe; the flour is extracted from it in a manner similar to what is practised with the Potatoe for that purpose, with this difference, that it gives three different sorts of feculae, first, a reddish, next a grey & then a white, which fall down distinct according to their gravity.—He got also a sample of the Patate de Chevrui (Deer's Potato) said to taste like chesnuts, Those samples as he is near his habitation he proposes to take with him & plant.¹²¹—The river has risen here last night two feet.

Memorandum[:] the Indian mounts & fortifications to be described which are here omitted ¹²²—

Jan^y. 25th. Friday Therm. in air at daybreak 36°, in the river 40°[.] at 3 p.m. 40° & at 8 p.m. 40°. Cloudy Wind N. Easterly

Set out at 7. A.M. The weather raw & cold & blustering. A considerable part of this day the wind proved favorable & we set our Sail which carried us forward at a brisk rate so that when we encamped at half past five in the evening about sun set we had made about 30 miles this day altho in many of the reaches of the river the wind blew fresh in our teeth. This night proved cold & stormy & very uncomfortable.—

26th. Saturday Therm at 7 a m. 32°[.] at the same time in the river 42°. at 3 p m. 36°. & at 8 p m. 33. Wind N Easterly[.] snow, stormy,

Set out about 7 a.m. the wind ahead, but after an hours rowing by the turns of the river, it came favorable. Hoisted sail & made good progress, we rowed & sailed alternately according to circumstances & encamped about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 pm. about sun set, about 6 miles below the mouth of black river having made about 30 miles this day.—Yesterday & to day there has been no current & indeed rather a running back of the water which as we came within about 2 leagues of the Red river we plainly perceived by the black river being quite red by the water of the red River which had overpowered its

¹²¹ From Olivos (?) on January 20 Dunbar procured "some small roots & a few seeds of the patate à chevreuil; he also took me to the next house where I saw a solitary tree of the 'bois d'Arc' (bow-wood) or yellow wood, which was raised from a seed brought from the little Misouri; I requested some large branches, but could only obtain from the Old Lady mistress of the place, two very small ones" (Journal of a voyage, 179, Boston, 1904). For the briar root see note 5 above, quoting from Hunter's report.

¹²² Although no description of the mounds was entered in the journal, Hunter did include a statement about them in his report; see note 10 above.

waters thus far.—Saw only one half torpid Alligator in our course down from the Fort.—

Jan^y 27th. Sunday Therm. at daylight in air 24°. in the river 44°. & in the river at noon 32°. At 3 p.m. 50°. & at 8 p.m. 32°—Clear[.] a light air from the Eastward. cold.—

Set out $\frac{1}{4}$ before 7. & rowed down, as usual hoisting our sail when the wind served. About 11 a.m. three leagues above the mouth of the Red River found the ice formed quite across half an Inch thick, thro which we forced our way by sailing & rowing four men at the Bow breaking the ice as we went.

At 2^h.43^m. p.m. Entered the Mississippi & observed that the high land at Fort Adams bears S 85. E. distance estimated 15 miles. proceeded than S. 85. E till 5^h. 5^m. rate p^r Log 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches p^r half minute lost. 35'. then S. 60 E — 5.25 rate 3 perches S. 40 E — 5.37

when we encamped on the right shore having made about 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles down the Red River & 3 miles 192 perches up the Mississippi in all about 21 miles this day. rose about 7 a.m. & set 5^h.32^m p.m. by the watches The Ice in this Latitude is rather uncommon & shews that this winter has been unusually severe.

1805 Jan^y 28th. Monday.

S 40 E. 7^h.15^m Set out at 6^h.45^m. Therm then in air 26°. in the river 34°. at 3 p.m. 56. at 8 p.m. 40°. Wind. N.W. Clear moderate weather. ☉ rose at 7^h. am.

S. 15 E. 8.30 rate 4 perches p^r half minute crossed to a point on the left

S. 65 E. 10.12 lost 1 hour 10. m. aground &cc, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches, rapid.

N 60 E. 10.50 Breakfast[.] lost. 30^m.

N 30 E. 2.35 to Fort Adams. Wind Fair Set sail[.] rate 5 perches[.] passed the line of demarkation at 11^h.21^m a.m. at the distance of 7 miles & 5 perches from Red River[.] Lost at the Garrison 45^m.—dinner

N 75 W. 5.40 encamped on the right. passed Buffalo creek on the right at 4^h.30. rate 3 perches[.] ☉ set at 5^h.32^m. Adams fort is 13 miles 35 perches from the mouth of Red River. Came this day 12 miles 43 perches

Jan^y 29th. Tuesday. Therm. at daylight in Air 34°. in the river 33°[.] at 3 p.m. 56° & at 8 p.m. Wind N. fine weather

Set out at 6^h.45^m rowing
 N 75 W. 7.0 rate 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches
 N 60 W. 9.0 Breakfast[.] lost 35^m
 N 20 E. 10.0
 N 50 E. 10.45 6 perches Eddy
 N 20 E. 11.50 lost. 15^m Wind N W
 N 40 W. 1.30 passed Old River, Homochetto on the right at 11^h.45^m
 Dinner[.] lost 34^m. rate 4 perches
 N 5 E. 5.15 lost 15^m. rates 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ perches
 N 20 E. 5.50 lost 8^m crossing to a point on the right[.] here we encamped on a Sand bar for the night, having made 13 miles 287 perches this day.—The water of the Missisipi has fallen yesternight 2 Inches.

1805 Jan^y. 30th. Wednesday Therm. at daylight 36° in Air. in the river 34°[.] at 3 p.m. 55 & at 8 p.m. 53.—Light airs from the N E. raw cloudy weather.

Set out at 6^h.43^m. A.M.
 N 35 E. 7.38 . lost 8^m in crossing to a point on the left. Log 3 K
 East 9.30 Breakfast[.] lost 30^m.
 N. 60 E 10.10
 N 20 E 12.45
 N 30 W. 3.0 Dinner[.] lost 35^m.
 N 40 W 3.35
 North 4.15
 N 30 E 4.35 passed between the island & the left shore
 N 70 E 5.50 lost in crossing 8 minutes Encamped 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the big Island on the left [Louisiana] shore at Hudsons new improvement Having made this day 9 miles 276 perches

Jan^y 31st. Thursday Therm in Air at daylight 56°. in the river 38°. at 3 p.m. & at 8 p.m. Wind S.E. Clouds, moderate weather

Set out at 6^h.45^m a.m.
 N 70 E 9.5 3 perches p^r Log[.] lost 5^m.
 North 9.48 lost 8^m. crossing to St Catherines Warehouse having come 3 miles & 60 perches this day

Distances from the mouth of the Red River to St Cath-
erines landing

		miles	perches
Jan ^y 27 th . Sunday	came this day	3,	192
" 28 th . Monday		12	43
" 29 th . Tuesday		13	287
" 30 th Wednesday		9	276
" 31 Thursday		3	60
		<hr/>	
		miles 42	218 perches

1805 Jan^y 31st. Having arrived at St. Catherines landing, I left the property in charge of my Son & proceeded to M^r Dunbars, 6 miles inland, found that he had come home 5 days before & was occupied making, as he informed [me,] the calculations to compleat his journal.—Here it was concluded to send down his waggon to the Landing to bring up the public property to be placed with the bulk of the Indian presents I had left there before to be ready for the expeditions up the Red & Arkansa rivers—& as the mens provisions were expended, I was to proceed up the river to Natchez 15 miles with the boat & crew to draw there a few days more provisions to enable them to reach Orleans where I was then to go with them & place the boat & c under the Charge of the Commanding officer there.

Feb^y. 1st. Friday.

The waggon being sent down this morning for the goods I followed & delivered everything that was not essential for the use of the boat during the passage to Orleans, which being done we set out after dinner for Natchez, but a strong gale blowing from the N.W. almost right ahead, we made but little progress. & encamped at sun set on the right shore, about 6 miles from where we set out. The wind blew a fresh gale all the night & the weather grew very cold.—

Feb^y. 2nd. Saturday Set out again at sun rise & rowed for three or 4 miles when the course of the river changing were enabled to set our Sail & went against the current at a smart rate & arrived at Natchez about midday.

1805 Saturday Feb^y 2nd. Having drawn 10 days provisions for the men commencing the first & ending the 10th. Ins^t & delivered M^r Dunbars 4 Packages of goods to the Collector M^r Bayley,¹²³ it being then nearly dark concluded to wait here till next morning.

Here I saw M^r John Bringhurst¹²⁴ who was very glad to see me & very attentive to serve me in every thing I might need. He has promised to make repeated enquiry at the Post office & if he should find any letters for me to forward them to the Care of W^m Donaldson Merch^t. at Orleans. I have not received any letters from M^{rs} Hunter here as I expected. The mails are very irregular. perhaps they may have been mis-carried.—

¹²³ D. Baillie (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 5: 452, Washington, 1937).

¹²⁴ Philadelphia merchant.

Sunday 3rd. The boat set out in the morning under the charge of my son George & proceeded to st. Cath-
erines Landing, whilst I rode to M^r Dunbars Seat accompanied by M^r Bringhurst in M^r. Wilkin's Gig M^r & M^{rs} Wilkins¹²⁵ were very attentive & polite to me George & I dined [&] Breakfasted there by invitation, we drank Tea at M^{rs}. Murrays, were kindly received by M^r & M^{rs} Murray who sent her profiles for M^{rs} Bryant M^{rs} Hitch & Col. Timothy Mattack, with a letter for him & a snufbox for M^{rs}. Col^o Mattack which I promised to forward. Doctor Seib¹²⁶ & D^r Pendergass¹²⁷ were also very attentive & civil. I also visited M^r Postlethwait¹²⁸ who was very attentive & polite.—M^r Bringhurst had been on John Hares land, says it is very rich but very broken—We arrived at M^r Dunbars about dinner time but as usual here there was so much company that I could not enter upon business till next day—

Monday 4th. Having lodged at M^r Dunbarrs all night. in the morning he gave me a receipt for the Indian presents & the remains of the stores, & equipments for the expedition, the Medicine chest, Mathematical Instruments watch sextant & c & c to be taken care of by him until the next expedition. I paid him also twenty six dollars in cash being the remains of the money un-expended for necessaries which I had received at Orleans in leiu of some parts of our 4 months rations, which were not issued in kind—& he returned back to me the due bill received at the post of Ouachita of Leiut^t. Bomar, for lbs 100 Hams we furnished to the Soldiers out of our rations there, which due bill I am to receive at Orleans in money of the contractors.—

After this adjustment, I rode to St. Catherines landing & after delivering a few more of the stores & c to M^r Dunbars Servant with his Team & a quantity of whetstones & samples of coal & c which we had brought down from the Ouachita, we took some wood for fuel on board & set out with the boat for Orleans, having received on board four recruits sent to Fort Adams by Cap^t. Cooper¹²⁹ at Natchez.—

¹²⁵ Thomas Wilkins? (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 5: 123, Washington, 1937).

¹²⁶ Dr. Frederick Seip served as surgeon with the Mississippi troops in the Sabine Expedition, 1806 (Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi, as a province, territory and state* 1: 266, Jackson, 1880).

¹²⁷ Garrett Elliott Pendergast, prominent physician of Natchez, in 1803 was active there as a merchant; on January 16, 1807 he was appointed surgeon of a battalion of New Orleans volunteers; in the War of 1812 he served as a Hospital surgeon (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 5: 263, Washington, 1937; *ibid.* 9: 718, Washington, 1940; Heitman, F., *Historical register United States Army, 1789-1903* 1: 782, Washington, 1903).

¹²⁸ Samuel Postlethwaite, once of Pennsylvania and Kentucky, now (or soon to be) son-in-law of William Dunbar.

¹²⁹ William L. Cooper of New York, Captain of artillery (Heitman, F., *Historical register of the United States Army* 1: 326, Washington, 1903; Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 5: 213, Washington, 1937; *ibid.* 9: 151, Washington, 1940).

We set out about 3 p.m. & proceeded down the Mississippi rowing in the day & floating in the night, having divided our crew into three watches for the night.—We run all this night & when we came within sight of Fort Adams it was about 4 in the morning, whe [we] then hauled in & waited for daylight.

Tuesday Feb^y 5th. 1805. Set out at day light, for the Garrison where we soon arrived & having delivered the recruits & drawn the rest of the flour & whiskey which remained of the mens due bill at Fort Miro, we prepared to set out again, but a heavy storm of wind & rain came on which induced me to stay a couple of hours more & when it began to abate a little we proceeded in our way down the river again. We had not gone but about an hour when the storm began again with a cold raw rain & head wind, so that even with the current in our favor & ten oars we scarcely made any head way; The people were all wet & drenched with rain, the storm still appeared likely to encrease I thought it best to make for the weather shore, where having got into a safe birth for the boat, the men pitched their tents ashore & soon had good fires & made themselves as comfortable as such circumstances would admit. here we remained till next morning having made but about 8 miles this day.—

1805 Feb^y 6th. Wednesday, set out at daybreak, the wind still ahead blowing pretty fresh, cold & raw, we continued rowing until by a change in the course of the Mississippi, the wind came favorable when we hoisted our sail & made good progress until evening, when the weather became thick, it rained & blew cold & raw so that we could not see any distance, therefore I put ashore in a proper place for the night under the weather shore, the men pitched their tents & made good fires to dry their cloaths & cc having made about 60 miles this day.—

Feb^y 7th. Thursday, set out at daybreak & after two hours the wind served to set our sail with a ruff in it, which carried us on finely[.] the weather is still thick, raw & cold & likely for rain—

1805 Feb^y 8th. Friday continued our course down the Mississippi all this day & on the 9th. Saturday about noon arrived at New Orleans, where I delivered the boat to the Orders of the Commanding officer Col. Freeman; The same day paraded all the men with the Sergeant before him in good health, he gave them three days Holiday to rest themselves—Here I delivered also, the sail mast spars, 8 oars poles, rudder & Tiller & the musket with the remains of the equipments not left with M^r Dunbar.—

10th. Feb^r Sunday, dined with my Son, (by invitation) with Governor Claiborn.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ In his report (p. 68) Hunter wrote: "In the meantime paid my respects to his Excell^y, Governor Claiborne, who next day sent an invitation for my son & me to dine with him; were treated with genuine civility & politeness.

"His feelings are much wounded by Scribblers in the newspapers."

11th. Monday, Visited Daniel Clark who being unwell, promised in two or three days to settle M^r Hares Acc^t. with me.—Saw also M^r Donaldson, who had not sold or exchanged the 927 \$ of Spanish livrances—They demand 40 pr^{cts}. exchange deduction. D^r Zerban has remitted cotton in amount about 200 \$ the balance of the former Acc^t.. Therefor the present acc^t. of 1741.65 Dollars remain outstanding.

12th. I have rec^d a Duplicate Order of Survey from Baron de Bastrop Directed to Ja^s. McLaughlan¹³¹ or any other surveyor confirmed by Col^o. Lynch¹³² for 1940 Acres of land in his Grant from the Spanish Government on the waters of the river Ouachita in leiu of my Account against the late firm of Bastrop & Nancarrow, amounting with interest to \$970.6—for which I have given him a receipt in full, the title to the same land being compleated. The original order I have delivered to Col^o. Lynch, inclosed in a letter to Cap^t. Joseph Bommar the Commandant with a 5 dollar bank note, directing Cap^t. Bommar to present the Above Order to Survey to Col^o. Morehouse in order that he may sign the following note at the foot of it, viz "I hereby consent & agree, to confirm the title to the above 1940 acres of land to George Hunter, his heirs or assigns.—" And then to record the same in his office, & transmit it to me at Philad^a.—as the title to the whole original Grant of 12 leagues square is in these three persons, viz Baron de Bastrop, Col^o. Cha^s. Lynch, & Abram Morehouse. Therefor, having all their signatures to my conveyance, my title will be compleat however they may terminate the dispute between themselves. Morehouse had promised to me, whilst I was at the Garrison in presence of Cap^t. Bommar the Commandant, to confirm my title to any tract of Land Baron Bastrop should convey to me in satisfaction of my debt due by the Baron.—

13th. Feb^y. I have this day enclosed to W^m Dunbar Esq^r. the Draft of Baron de Bastrop's grant of 12 leagues square on the Ouachita which Ab^m. Morehouse gave me for that purpose, & which I had by an inadvertance ommitted to do whilst last at Natchez.—This draft I have sent by Col^o. Cha^s. Lynch. at the same time writing to M^r Dunbar as follows viz. Sir. We arrived at Orleans on the 9th. Ins^t. at noon when I delivered the boat with the remainder of the equipments &c to the Order of the Commandant, (Col^o Freeman,) before whom I presented the men all in good

¹³¹ James McLaughlin settled at Fort Miró in 1793, was appointed surveyor there in 1799 (Mitchell, J., and Calhoun, R. D., *Maison Rouge, Bastrop, and Morhouse, La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 324, 347, and *passim*, 1937). On November 27, 1805 he was appointed treasurer at Ouachita (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 601, Washington, 1940).

¹³² Colonel Charles Lynch, late of Shelbyville, Kentucky, became involved in the Bastrop grant in 1803 (Mitchell, J., and Calhoun, R. D., *Maison Rouge, Bastrop, and Morhouse, La. Hist. Quart.* 20: 390, 1937).

health, conformably to your directions; I have since learned that the same boat & men, under the command of Leiu^t. Murray,¹³³ are sent to Natchitoches with Indian goods, to set out to morrow. As by some inadvertance, I omitted to leave with you the draft of Baron de Bastrop's grant of 12 Leagues square, on the Ouachita, given to me by Col^o. Morehouse for that purpose, I now embrace the present safe conveyance by Col^o. Lynch, who it appears will eventually become the principal proprietor of that extensive grant; The nature of whose claims on M^r Morehouse, may point out to you the necessity of attending to the amount of your late transactions with him. I purpose to set out with my son to pay a short visit to Attacapa before my return home[.] therefore should any letters for me come to your hands in the interim you will be pleased to transmit them to Orleans to be left at the Post Office, which will be an addition to the many civilities & obligations already conferred on your &c G. Hunter.— respects to M^{rs} Dunbar & family

16th. Feb^y I have been waiting these several days, dancing attendance on Daniel Clark, who had promised to pay me the balance due M^r Roberts of the Illinois country & which M^r Roberts owed to M^r Hare, by which I lost an opportunity of going to Philad^a. & another to Baltimore, & now he tells me, that this debt is attached in his hands, by a Patrick Morgan of this place on a bond due him by the late And^w. Hare, & that he has given in his Answer on jan^y. last to said Attachment. Also that a M^r Abner L Duncan¹³⁴ was employed by the court as Attorney for Hare's estate in my absence, I saw M^r Duncan who appointed me to see him at his house to morrow morning.

In the meantime, I paid a Visit to M^r Wikoff¹³⁵ of Appaloussi a member of Council here of whom I got a general account of the Attacapa & Appelousi Countries,¹³⁶ the richness of the soil, healthiness of the climate &c.—He informed me that the goods generally saleable in that country are Handkerchiefs of all kinds, not the finest, or dearest, muslins, calicoes, blankets cloths not superfine, but second & coarse, Iron Mongery for house building & spades shovels plough irons &c & for agriculture, axes, hoes &c, nails, linnens, pistol

¹³³ W. A. Murray, New York, lieutenant of artillery April 1, 1802; captain May 21, 1808; resigned October 1, 1809 (Heitman, F., *Historical register of the United States Army* 1: 738). Murray was back in New Orleans by April 8, 1805 (Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 433, Washington, 1940).

¹³⁴ A very prominent attorney in New Orleans.

¹³⁵ William Wicoff or Wikoff, an American living in Louisiana before the transfer; he was appointed treasurer at Appaloussas April 29, 1805, and auctioneer there December 30, 1805 and also served on the Legislative Council of Orleans Territory (Carter, C. E. *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 10, 281, 285, 601, Washington, 1940).

¹³⁶ The Attacapas and Opelousas districts stretched over the central southern part of Louisiana.

muslins & for the Spaniards fine cloths blue & scarlet. Black striped Velvets He advised me not to purchase any place for a residence at present or until I had been some time in the country to look round & make choice after due deliberation—That it would be better to bring my family to that country & hire or purchase a small place for a short time than hazard a large purchase which I might afterwards repent upon seeing a more eligible situation.—

20th. Feb^y. M^r Clark has delivered to me a statement of what he owes M^r Roberts, by which the sum is reduced from 600, or 700 Dollars, as he acknowledged to M^r Clay, to 188 Dollars, & even this is attached by a Patrick Morgan here, in the hands of M^r Clark as the property of And^w Hare deceased. to repel which I now write to M^r Peter January of Lexington to send down to Abner L Duncan Attorney at Law Orleans, an official certificate of the judgment obtained there on the Marriage contract of And^w. Hare with M^{rs} Hare in favor of the trustees Geo & W^m Hunter.—which will prove that a Contract debt to it will come in before any other Creditor

22^d Feb^y I have this day written to M^{rs} Hunter informing her of our sailing for New York this day, by the Brig Julian Cap^t Crooker¹³⁷—we accordingly went on board on Saturday 23rd. in the afternoon, but the vessel did not get under way untill Sunday forenoon on the 24th. Feb^y, when M^r W^m Donaldson a Merchant of Orleans came on board with a letter for me, to procure for him of Oliver Evans¹³⁸ in Philad^a. a Steam Engine & mill to saw timber with six saws at once. Upon enquiry, what sort of goods were the most proper to carry with me to Louisiana, with a view that if it should happen that I could more easily exchange some of my Lots for goods, then sell them for cash, M^r Donaldson informed me, that the following goods were always saleable viz

Britanias, Cheifly white, Platilla's, Estopillas, morlais, all these should be rather fine.—2½ & 3 point Blankets, with deep blue stripe & twilled, large sized.—Calicoes, handsom patterns wide & narrow rather fine.—as the

¹³⁷ In the official report (p. 68) Hunter noted on February 20 "Agreed with Cap^t Hooker of the Brig Julian of New York, for our passages; his terms are 100\$ each, to be found in every thing. or \$50 each to find our own provisions & stores. I chose the latter, being the cheapest."

¹³⁸ Oliver Evans (1775–1819), first American steam engine builder. William Donaldson (founder of Donaldsonville, Louisiana) in 1803 installed in his saw mill at New Orleans a steam engine which had been designed for a steamboat. According to a contemporary account, "In conversation with William Donaldson, Esq. of New Orleans, Dr. George Hunter reverted to the very important improvements Mr. Evans had made, in the construction of steam engines; which induced Mr. Donaldson to order one. . . . Mr. Donaldson's mill [at Manchac] started in January, 1807. . . ." (Bathe, G., and D. Bathe, *Oliver Evans A chronicle of early American engineering*, 78, 132, 150, 155, 184, Philadelphia, 1935).

Spaniards of late run upon white grounds & small figures—Nankeens white & yellow, chiefly yellow.—India Cottons such as Bastas[?] Cossas &ccc—Coarse Narrow cloths, such as can be sold from 5 to 9/- curr^y pr. ell, dark mixtures & blues—Marseiles Quiltings, good quality & handsome patterns, white & coloured, chiefly white.—I paid 100 Dollars to Cap^t E. Crooker for the passages of myself & son to New York & laid in our own provisions & stores, which cost 54\$. I paid Madam Chabau [blank in MS.] for our board for 14 days whil[s]t at Orleans, besides [blank in MS.] for washing & sundry small expences.¹³⁹

I left with Mess^{rs}. Chew & Relf by M^r Dunbar's desire all the stones, coal, clays, ores &cc which I had packed in a $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel as samples of what were contained on the Ouachita.¹⁴⁰—except two peices of rough stones of the Silicious kind, which had been left in the boat & thrown on the Levey at Orleans, these I took with me to have tried at my leisure to see whether they would

¹³⁹ In Journal No. 3 (p. 70) above these sums are \$46.15 and \$4.50.

¹⁴⁰ In the official report (p. 68) Hunter wrote more fully about this: "Previous to our sailing, I received a letter from M^r Dunbar intimating that he had not received enough of the Stones & samples, the coal, clays &c, that we had collected in our tour, that the whitstones &c might be of use to him on his farm &c desiring me to pack up a cagfull more assorted, & leave it with Mess^{rs} Chew & Relf at Orleans for him.

"Reflecting on what Gov^r Claiborn informed me, that he had received from M^r King, & forwarded to the President of the U. States, a variety of stones &c which that Gentleman had brought from the hot Springs on the Ouachita, where he had been much longer than we; which samples I had seen in M^r King's possession before our excursion, & found that they did not materially differ from ours.

"Also that M^r Dunbar having the direction of the expedition & through him all communications were to be made to our Government.

"I thought it right, under all these circumstances to leave with Chew & Relf agreeably to his order, the half barrel containing the samples we had collected on our Tour; that M^r Dunbar might send to the President such parts thereof as he should judge proper; writing to M^r Dunbar by mail to that effect. My only regret being, that our course had been directed to a region where my Profession could be of so little use."

Dunbar, however, writing to Jefferson from Natchez on March 16, said: "a number of Specimens were collected to be taken round by the Doctor in order that you might have the satisfaction of judging of their properties from your own view, the Doctor being arrived at New Orleans writes me that Gov. Claiborne had already sent you a number of Specimens from the Washita collected by a Richard King, from which circumstances the Doctor conceived it to be superfluous to carry you those Specimens & left them at N. O. to be sent to me: I am persuaded that Mr. King has never thought of collecting any Specimens from the Hot Springs & probably has only sought for metallic or chrysaline Specimens, or any thing possessing a showy appearance. I have therefore requested the Gentlemen at N. O. with whom the Doctor left the specimens to forward them to him at Philad. in order that the first intention of presenting them to you may be fulfilled" (Rowland, E., *Life, letters and papers of William Dunbar*, 148, 1930).

answer the same purpose as the Turkey Oil stones, which they somewhat resembled.—

Monday 25th. Having yesterday proceeded down the Mississipi till dark, & then made fast to the bank for the night, Therefore as soon as it was daylight, we carried out a small Anchor some distance in the river & hove upon it until we were sufficiently clear of the bank, when we set sail & continued our route till night, when we made fast to the banks as before

Tuesday 26th. Set out as yesterday, & at night made fast to the bank as usual. This day passed the Fort at Plaquimin[.] it was not convenient to stop to go ashore to veiw the fort which appeared to be of a square form surrounded by a ditch with brick walls in the inside as high as to form ambrasures for the cannon, a glacies &cc

Wednesday 27th. Set out at day light. At 9 a m passed the N E. Pass, one of the Mouths of the Mississipi. At 10 a.m. passed the Balize & Pilot house,¹⁴¹ got a Spanish Pilot on board, & immediately proceeded for sea; When we came closs to the Bar, the wind which had been fair, now shifted a little, & we were obliged to drop Anchor. But previous to this we as we passed the Balize we observed the Schooner 5 Brothers which had left Orleans bound for Philad^a. three days before us, & several other vessels which had been windbound who when they saw us pass them, they all hove up their anchors & followed us,—We were detained here about one hour, when the wind veered about favorably & we got up our anchor [&] stood out to sea touching the mud on the bar once or twice without sticking, & then discharged the Pilot to whom Cap^t. Crooker paid 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ dollar p^r foot as Pilotage.—

From the 26th. feb^y till the 3rd March we had fair winds tho light breezes, & fine cloudy weather tollerably pleasant. The wind became now rather variable & continued so till Tuesday 5th March when we were boarded by the Brittish Frigate Francois Cap^t. Perkins, & Politely treated; They informed us that they detained Spanish Vessels when they had money aboard, & enquired when a certain Spanish Brig should sail from Orleans, which they had learned was taking the Cannon & Military stores on board belonging to the Spanish government on evacuating Louisiana.—We were now by Observation in N. Lat. 23°.3'.0" & in sight of Cuba, & by estimation near Bayu Honda.—

March 6th. The wind is unfavorable, the current carrying us out of our way; saw a schooner to windward which kept in sight all this day. Lat. by Obs. 23°.4'.0".

M^r Wright, a gentleman from Tennessee, & now a fellow passenger with me in the Brig Julian from Or-

¹⁴¹ For glimpses of the fort at Plaquemines, the Balise, and the pilothouse as they were in September, 1803, see John Pintard to Albert Gallatin in Carter, C. E., *Territorial papers of the United States* 9: 53-54, Washington, 1940.

leans to New York, informs me that Benjⁿ. Grayson Orr, who owes me about 1000\$ for Drugs furnished by his order & for which I have his note protested, now lives on the main road from Virginia to Kentucky & Tennessee, near Bean's old station, within three miles of where the road forks, one leading to Tennessee & the other to Kentucky. He keeps a good public house in said road, & is supposed to be in good circumstances.¹⁴²—This road is on the waters of Holstein; he lives within 25, or 30 miles of Ross's Iron works on the north fork of Holstein,¹⁴³ not many miles from the Town of Abington near the borders of Virginia. M^r [name omitted] Rogers Innkeeper in Roger's Ville¹⁴⁴ will convey a letter to him, M^r Wright will pass that way on his return & will convey a letter to him.—He also informs me that M^r W^m Cummings lives in Martin's Ville North Carolina, Guildford County He now practises phisic there.—

18th. March from the 6th. to this date the wind proved unfavorable & we were beating in the Gulf of Florida, sometimes in sight of Cuba & at other times in sight of the Islands forming the promontary of Cape Florida.—

This day the wind came from the south beginning with a gentle breeze which gradually encreased till the 23rd when it blew a brisk gale & changed again to the N West & continued against us till the 26th. when it again came favorable, & on the 27th. in the morning we arrived at New York after an absence of ten months, during which time I have gone over a distance of above 7000 miles including the land & water passed.

April 1st.¹⁴⁵ Found my family in health, tho my business had suffered by my absence.

Immediately set about transcribing my rough notes, but am considerably impeded by an inflammation that has taken place in my eyes, since my arrival.

In the interim my son has gone again to M^r Patterson at the Accademy¹⁴⁶ & will begin calculating the Astronomical observations made during our tour, to compleat the journal.

¹⁴² Lewis Condict in 1795 put up at "Orr's tavern at the foot of Clinch where entertain't is exceeding good" (Journal of a trip to Kentucky, *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.* 4: 123, 1919). David Barrow on August 3, 1795, arrived at "one Major Oar's who kept a public house in Hawkins County" [Hawkins Court House was twenty-two miles east of this house] (Diary, 1795: 27).

¹⁴³ According to Lewis Condict, Ross's furnace was fifteen miles east of Hawkins Courthouse (Journal of a trip to Kentucky, *New Jersey Hist. Soc. Proc.* 4: 123, 1919).

¹⁴⁴ On August 4, 1795, David Barrow "... came to Hawkins Court House. Here I stopped at Mr. Rogers to feed. This is a little town called Rogersville, Carter's Valley, north side of Holdston" (Diary, 1795: 27).

¹⁴⁵ These last three paragraphs I have added to the journal from the report.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Patterson (1743-1824), professor of mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania, member of the American Philosophical Society since 1783, and director of the mint from 1805.

Memorandum of Articles Wanted for the expedition of W^m. Dunbar and Geo. Hunter Esq^{rs}, Viz^t.

1 bb ^{le} . Nails & spikes assorted	1 lb Cotton Match
1 small Grindstone	1 Corn Mill
2 Carpenters Hammers	2 Grid Irons
2 Caulking Mallets	1 Iron Tea Kettle
2 Boat Hook Irons	½ Doz Iron tablespoons
1 Round adze	8 Pewter plates
1 Iron square	2 Tin pans
1 Crow Bars	1 Frying pan
1 Jack screw	2 Dutch Ovens
6 spades	½ Doz Knives & forks
1 Trowel	½ Doz Tin Cups
48 lb Rope	1 Tin tea pot
1 piece Canvas 44. y ^{ds}	1 Coffee pot
9 lb. Twine	1 Funnel
2 Brass Cocks	1 Hands axe
1 Barrel Tar	1 Tinder Box
1 do pitch	
1 Fishing net	

Received of Leiut. Josiah Taylor, assistant Military Agent, One Boat fifty feet long, with mast to strike, sail, rigging, 18 Oars six setting poles, two large sculls &c, fitted up to explore Louisiana, together with the within mentioned equipments for the expedition, which I promise to deliver to William Dunbar Esq^r. at Natchez, the dangers of the River &c excepted.—New Orleans Aug^t. 31st. 1804
George Hunter

Return for Quarter Masters stores required for a Detachment under the command of Lieutenant Wilson, distined up red river with M^r Dunbar and Doctor Hunter Vizt

1 X/Cut Saw	2 wall Tents
3 Augers	1 Common Tent
3 Gouges	½ Ream W. paper
6 Axes	¼ Ream wrapping paper
6 spades	1 Tea Kettle
3 picks	1 small Iron pot
1 Hoe	1 do Kettle
5 b ^{le} . Junck [?]	
3 long chissels	

Received of Leiut Josiah Taylor from the quarter Masters Stores, the within mentioned equipments for the Boat to explore Louisiana, which I promise to deliver to William Dunbar Esq^r. at Natchez. The dangers of the River &c excepted.

George Hunter

Common Names of some of the Trees, Plants, Shrubs &c growing in the Country adjacent to the Ouachita.¹⁴⁷ viz.

¹⁴⁷ This list and the following are not in the Journal No. 4 but are found in the Hunter Papers at the American Philo-

3 Species of White Oak, 4 do of Red Oak, Black Oak.
 3 Sorts of Hicory, one do, the nut oblong white & good,
 Chinkapin
 3 " of Ash one Prickley do
 3 of Elm, 2 Maple Sugar Maple not productive
 here,
 2 " Pine. Red Cedar
 Sweet Gum, Black do. Linden
 2 Iron wood viz that on high & that on low lands.
 Sycamore, Box Elder, Holly Sweet Bay, Laurel Mag-
 nolia acuminate Persimmon, Pawpaw, Mulberry,
 Spicewood, wild Cherry, Sassafrass Black Walnut,
 Filbert, Buck Eye. Dogwood.
 3 Sorts of Locust, 3 thorned & honey do, Harle, Beach,
 wild Plumb red fruit not good
 Bois d'Arc (Bow Wood) called also Bois Jaune (yel-
 low wood) famous yellow dye.
 3 Sorts Hawthorn, berries, red, scarlet & black, Late
 Tree, for Indian Arrows.
 Bois de Cabane, small growth, good for hoops, Osier
 2 sorts. Myrtle
 Tooth Ache Tree. Magnolia
 Nine bearing large good black Grapes, in bunches,
 Beach Grape, Hill grape,
 Yellow grape, muscadine, or Fox Grapes, a variety of
 other Vines,
 Saw briar, single rose briar, China Root do,
 Wild Gooseberry, dark reddish fruit. 3 sorts whortle
 berry,
 Wild Pomgranate, Passion Flower, Sumach two Sorts.
 Winter berry, winter green, a small red farinacious
 berry like an Haw on a plant 1 inch high, grows
 under the Snow, is eaten by the Indians.
 Silk plant, Wild Endive, wild Olive, Pink root, Snake
 root,
 wild mint, 3 sorts. Coloquintida, (bitter apple) grow-
 ing along the river sides,
 Clover, sheeps do, Life everlasting, wild Liquorice,
 Mary Gold, Missletoe
 Thistle, wild Hemp, Bullrush, Dittany, white & red
 Poppy,
 Yellow Jassamine, Poke, Fern, Capillaire, Honey
 Suckle, Mosses.
 Petre to make ropes with. Worm wood, Hopes, Ipi-
 cacoaanha, Persicaria
 Indian Turnip, wild Carrot, wild onion, Ginger, wild
 Cabbage
 Bastard Indico.

sophical Society. They may, however, have been compiled by
 William Dunbar: "[Dec. 18] Having no better occupation in
 the present state of the weather, I brought up my journals and
 began to form a list of all the vegetables I had seen here and in
 the neighbourhood of the River. . . . [Dec. 19] I continue to
 augment my list of vegetables from memory & with the help
 of the pilot, who proves to be tolerably intelligent" (Journal
 of a voyage, 117, 118, Boston, 1904).

List of Vegetables (perhaps non-descripts) from the
 River Washita

Racine à Chevreuil (Deer's root) This root is a globu-
 lar farinaceous body from the size of a hen's egg to
 that of a mellow: it is without stem, leaf or any part
 above ground, & there are scarcely any perceptible
 fibres in the form of roots connected with the prin-
 cipal body. It is covered by a fibrous thin husk of a
 blackish brown colour. It is found 2 or 3 inches un-
 der the surface, growing in mellow ground. The
 Deer is fond of feeding upon it, by which it is dis-
 covered to the hunters, who make of it a nourishing
 food: they reduce it to flour and mix it with indian
 meal & bake it in form of bread under the ashes, &c.

Patate à Chevreuil. (Deer's potatoe) This vegetable
 is found generally on or near the banks of the river,
 subject to occasional inundation; the root swells to
 the size of the thumb or more from 1 to 4 or 5 inches
 in length, soft & pulpy, full of an agreeable saccarine
 juice; it shoots above ground into a small trailing
 plant or short vine bearing in the fall a species of
 peas in pods, of which a small sample is enclosed.

Bois d'Arc (Bow-wood) or yellow wood said to re-
 semble fustic: it is extremely elastic, and used by the
 Indians for both Bows and arrows, from whence it
 derives its name. This is a very handsome orna-
 mental tree; its foliage possesses the brilliancy of
 that of the orange tree, which it greatly resembles in
 summer, but is not an evergreen. It grows to the
 size of a foot or more in diameter; its flowers are
 said to be white and are followed by a fruit which
 grows to the magnitude of an Ostrige's egg and
 nearly of the Colour and brilliancy of pale gold: the
 bark of the tree is also yellowish and scaly in the
 manner of the Dog-wood bark: its branches are nu-
 merous crossing each other and armed with short
 strong thorns; it would probably make beautiful
 strong and durable hedges. The fruit contains many
 seeds resembling, but larger than, those of the orange,
 but without any pulp or juices: I have seen one of the
 trees six inches in diameter, from which I procured
 some [s]cions and cuttings with the view of propo-
 gating the tree. Some imperfect attempts have been
 made to dye with it; it is expected that it may
 furnish a yellow: upon the whole this tree may be ex-
 pected to be a great acquisition being highly orna-
 mental, and perhaps may serve as a stock, upon
 which to graft the orange, lemon &c

Dwarf Cabbage—This was found upon a high ridge
 near the hot-springs, growing in rich black mold
 amidst masses of flinty rock; it was not confined to
 a particular spot, but extended along the ridge at
 least half a league, it is not therefore probable that
 the seed of this plant was dropt there by any of the
 hunters; I conclude it to be indigenous. The Colour
 of the leaf inclines to the purple; altho' the taste of

the Cabbage is predominant yet there is a mixture of that of the raddish, which proves very agreeable & it might be eaten raw as a sallad; the root resembles the horse-raddish in form, colour and taste, but much milder—a few of the plants are thriving in my garden.

Bois à Cabane—(Cabin wood) so named from its pliancy in the construction of the indian hut: there is nothing very particular in the appearance of this small tree or shrub, excepting one circumstance, which to me is a singularity. Many trees form their buds or blossoms shut up in a Case or Covering in the fall of the year ready to burst open with the reanimating warmth of the spring season; but this vegetable actually flowers in the winter after the fall of the leaf; its blossoms consist of four short & four longer petals $\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch, the longer being narrow & slender, of the order monogynia and Class Tetrandria: the flower is of a dull yellowish colour, hardy & not liable to be injured by cold; it probably exists all winter; the tree is deciduous. a few of the plants have a place in my garden.

Osier. A species of Willow or Ossier found growing out of the gravel beaches in the upper parts of the

Washita river, not found below, and subject to be entirely covered by freshes. a few plants were brought down.

Cantac—This is the indian name of the root of an evergreen beautiful vine: the hunters convert this root as well as that of the China briar into a nourishing & palatable meal or flour by pounding and washing. The root is bulbous or rather very bulky, extending itself much under ground.

Wild hemp. I have not seen this.

Wild gooseberry—Bears a diminutive dark reddish fruit

L'Herbe à Joseph—a very efficacious vulnerary.

L'Herbe au Crocodile. Idem.

Racine rouge.—Removes female obstructions—Dyes red with the China root.

Hickory—perhaps a new variety bearing an excellent oblong and flat nut.

Grape Vines—It is supposed some are new & of excellent quality, both black, (or rather purple) and yellow. Several plants have been brought away in order to ascertain their qualities.

APPENDIX

JOURNEY TO UPPER LOUISIANA OF G HUNTER & G H HUNTER ¹ 1809

Set out from Philadelphia July 29th 1809 at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, in company with My Father, on a Journey to Louisiana, & Arrived at Chester where we slept after having called to see M^r Davis Bevan, where we found M^r Matthew L. Bevan & M^r Davis B. Lawler, M^r Lawler slept with me at Andersons, (a very good house) set out from Chester at 6 o'clock next morning and breakfasted at a small village on the Concord road, on our way to M^r Sam^l Sharps, the people at the village being all Quakers made a number of as they supposed witty remarks as to our pistols &c. Arrived at M^r Sam^l Sharps to dinner and continued there all day 30th, set out after breakfast next morning accompanied by M^r Joseph L. Sharp, who rode 9 miles with us, as far as a new Iron Forge called pleasant Garden Forge, where he left us after introducing us to the superintendent. it appears to have been established at an immense expence & every thing on the most modern construction. we arrived at Bos[?] at Night to Lodge, after having crossed the Susquehanna where we were detained some time having rode to day 39 miles.

Aug^t 1^t set out at 5 o'clock & breakfasted at the red lion. thence rode to Baltimore where we dined at Gadsons a house much on the plan of the Mansion house Hotel at Philadelphia. called on M^r Steward & family & delivered a letter from James Traquair, called also on M^{rs} Aitkens family, where we saw M^r Stall who gave us a list of the best Taverns on the rode to Kentucky & as we shall be detained a few days at the city of Washington he expects to overtake us at Fredericks town & go on to Chilicothy with us, left Baltimore & arrived at M^c Coys after having rode 39 miles to day after a hilly road & very barren country the surface bearing every appearance of Iron Ore.

Aug. 3rd 1809

PHILADELPHIA JANUARY 1st. 1795 NOTES COLLECTED BY GEORGE HUNTER CHEMIST, CONCERNING SOME OF HIS ANCESTORS; FOR THE INFORMATION OF HIS DECENDENTS.—²

George Hunter (my Grand Father) was by occupation Shepherd, born in the south of Scotland, removed to Edinburgh, & married Jean Steell about the year 1733. To them was born George Hunter (my Father) November 6th. 1733 My Grandfather died

¹ Fragment found at the close of the volume containing Journal No. 3.

² Notes in his own hand found in the Hunter Papers, American Philosophical Society.

about one year after the birth of my Father—My Grand Mother married John Linton They had one daughter Jean Linton who married John Cowper, Painter at Leith, & had several Children supposed now to be alive. My great Grandfather by the Mother's side was John Bowie, his son, My Mothers Father, was William Bowie Maltster, of Leith, Guild Brother & freeman; he was born at Tippermore in the year 1695, May 14th. They had one son, William Bowie who died about the age of 25. on his passage home from the Havanna at the Conquest of which he served on board the Culloden Man of War. & one Daughter Betty, my honoured Mother, born in the Year 1731, & married George Hunter my Father at Edinburgh May 1752. My Father was a Freeman & Burgess of Edin^h. & being a Cooper by Trade, carried on his business for seven years there, during that time, he had three sons & one Daughter. viz John, born 12th April. 1753 & died thirteen months old—Myself (George) born March 14th 1755 Brother William born December 31st. 1756. & Sister Jean Born Dec^r. 21st. 1758, who died in infancy. My Father's business not increasing as fast as his Family; he was induced to go to Jamaica in the west Indies, intending to send for his Family when he had a place prepared for their reception; But alas, that was prevented by his death, which happened in six weeks after his arrival.—My mother being thus left, disconsolate, endeavoured by continuing to carry on the business of my late Father & by opening a small shop of Goods, to bring up her Children (viz my Brother William & myself) which she did in a reputable manner; At the age of sixteen, I was put to an Eminent Druggist, & My Brother to learn the Coachma[king] Seven years after my Father's death, my Mother married again Alexander Quarrier Coachmaker, 16 years younger than her[self] And seven years after her last marriage viz in 1774 They together with my Brother William & myself, left Scotland for America, & landed at Philadelphia, where M^r Quarrier [&] William Hunter engaged with M^r Tod an eminent Coachmaker & I with Christopher & Charles Marshall Druggists. In the winter of 1776 we all three entered as Volunteers with the Philad^a. Militia, were present at the Engagements of Trenton & Princeton, which gave a turn to the scale of American affairs—The next year I joined the American Army in the Hospital Department as Assistant Apothecary where I remained three years; Then resigned. Afterwards I went as Surgeon on board the ship Hetty Bound to Teneriffe in which Capacity I remained for three years & made several voyages, with different Captains. My first adventure was very small; I never received any Prize money, was twice taken Prisoner, was six weeks on board the English Prison ship at New York; All my

gain was by fair Trade, & upon the whole I was very successfull, having encreased my first Capital Sixty-fold. Then left the sea, & entered into Partnership with M^r Patrick Garvey, we erected a large Distillery on Rancocus Creek in Jersey, which had been finished only a few months when it was totally destroyed by fire, which terminated our partnership & three fourths of my Property. I then returned to Philad^a. & began the Druggist Business on a small scale, was very succesful & three years afterwards viz 1785 entered into a general Partnership [with] Alex^r Quarrier & my Brother who had carried on successfully the Coachmakers Trade on a large scale, in Company ever since the year 1778 in Philad^a.—In the spring of 1786 we discovered an avowed connection between Alex^r. Quarrier & a Woman, to the great grief & injury of our Mother, expostulation with him, by us & his Freinds, having no avail, we dissolved our Partnership with him, paid him for his share of Stock & Buildings & out of Tenderness to our Mother obliged him to leave this State when he went to Richmond in Virginia where he now resides. My brother & I continued our Partnership for six years longer We found it necessary to sell off my stock in the Druggs to enable us to carry on the Coachmaking

to a greater extent. & in the year 1792 we dissolved all our Concerns in Trade. My Brother at this Time viz 1795 Nov^r. has been married several years[,] has had seven Children, three of whom viz William, John & Mary [are] alive.—

I was married to Phebe Bryant, (Born 16th. Feb^r 1760) on 28th december 1786.—

Our Daughter Mary Ann was born Dec^r. 9th. 1787 & our

Son George Heriot Hunter was born Aug^t. 26th. 1789. our 2nd Son, Preistly Hunter born 11th Dec^r. 1791 & died August 2nd. 1792 aged 8 months.—

Peggy, was born July 12th. 1793 & died Oct^r 9th 1794 aged 15 months nearly—

Phoebe Hunter was born August 31st. 1794

My Mother departed this life at our House on 17th. Sept^r 1794 where, & with my Brother she had lived since the departure of Alex^r. Quarrier.

Debby Hunter our Fourth Daughter was born Aug^t. 10th. 1798 at our house in 2nd Street Philad^a. during the prevalence of the Yellow Fever. By her first breath she inhaled the disease but recovered in a few days.—

Our third Son William Wallace Hunter was born April 16th. 1803, at our house in 2nd Street Philad^a.—

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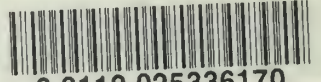
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