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AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
GENERAL JAMES TAYLOR
OF
NEWPORT, Ky.

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BORN IN CAROLINE CO., VIRGINIA, APRIL 19, 1769.

DIED AT NEWPORT, KENTUCKY, NOVEMBER 11, 1848.

--:--

1792--1817.

April 1st., 1792.

On this day I left my place of birth and father's residence for Kentucky, accompanied by Ensign William Clark of Gen'l. Wayne's Army.

Colonel John Thruston, then of Kentucky, near Louisville, had come to Virginia on business and we were to accompany him. Clark's father had removed to Kentucky, near Louisville, some years before and his son William had come in to be placed at one of the colleges to finish his education, but the fame of his brother the late Gen'l. George Rogers Clark had procured William a commission, and he had accepted it, and was about to return. We met and engaged to go in company. We got to Winchester, Va., about 100 miles from Midway, Frederick County, where we awaited the movements of our companion, Col. Thruston, who had business with his father Col. Charles M. Thruston of the Revolution.

At this place we spent our time pleasantly and became acquainted with the Reverend Alexander Balmain, late a Chaplain of the Revolution whose wife was my relative, a daughter of my great uncle Erasmus Taylor of Orange County, Va. Two sons of W. John Taylor, brother of Mrs. Balmain, John and Gilbert were residing with the Parson and going to school.

I also renewed my acquaintance with my cousin Alice Steele, a daughter of a son of my uncle Francis Taylor who had died in the Revolutionary war. She had resided in our family some years previous, she was the only child and had lost her mother when an infant. Mr. Steele was a respectable mechanic, a hatter by trade.

In about a week we set out for Brownsville, passing through what is called "the Valley" the most fertile upland

I have ever seen. This valley is about 40 miles wide and is considered the best wheat and meadow land in Virginia. Winchester was at the time a handsome inland town of, I suppose, 2,000 inhabitants, on the waters of the Potomac river.

The road passes over the Allegheny Mountains, Laurel Ridge and Cumberland Mountains, through the Southwest corner of Maryland, then through the South West part of Pennsylvania a very rough road. After we struck the mountain region we fell into the Braddock road from Fort Cumberland to Brownsville on the East bank of the Monongahela then generally called Red Stone or Old Fort, from a Stockade Fort built at the mouth of a creek of that name putting into the river at the lower end of the town of about 100 or 150 inhabitants; passing over Gen'l Braddock's grave in the road, at what is called Little Meadows. There Braddock died on the retreat of his army, after his defeat on the East side of the Monongahela about seven miles above Pittsburg, in the year 1755. I think Gen'l Washington, then Colonel Washington, was sent by Governor of Virginia to Pittsburg, a year or two ^{before} Braddock's defeat, as I understood, to demand of the commandant of that post, held by the French and Indians, a surrender of the post to the arms of His Britannic Majesty. On his return, Washington was pursued and threw up a hasty defense at the Little Meadows, was besieged, defended himself for several days and it was agreed between the two contending armies that Washington should retire with his command unmolested, which I think was about four hundred strong. He made his report to the Governor, Dunmore, which was laid before the Virginia Assembly with his journal. For his good generalship he received a vote of thanks from that body and was raised to a high pitch of military reputation, and no doubt, it lead to his appointment as Commander-in-chief of the American Army, which achieved our glorious revolution.

The road through this mountainous ^{region} ~~area~~ was at that time remarkably rough, from 1600 to 2000 pounds ^{weight} ~~was~~ considered a good load for a wagon and team. There were three remarkable passes or dells among the mountains; one called the "Devil's Three Jumps," another the "Shades of Death," and the other "Purgatory," these were deep ravines shaded by evergreens, ~~and~~ ^{The} ~~new~~ and spruce pine, where the sun never penetrated. The "Devil's Three Jumps" was very proper ground, ~~the~~ ^X the road was covered by rocks of 18 inches or two feet thickness which had been quarried out the width of the road, the wagon wheels bounded from one ledge to the other and were really jumps and would crush any but very substantial wagon wheels.

The principal water courses crossed in this route were: the Rappahannock, the South branch of the Potomac, the two Cape Capons, Big and Little, till we reached the Monongahela. The principal mountains were the Blue Ridge, Alleghany and Cumberland mountains, near the foot of the latter is Union Town, then a small village, 12 miles short of Redstone, now Brownsville, named for a man of that name who at Colonel Proctor Roger's defeat at a remarkable sand-bar on the Kentucky side of the Ohio about two miles above the mouth of the Licking, had both arms broken in a battle with the Indians, in the year, I think, 1779 - a fuller mention of this will be hereafter made.

Redstone was the general place to take water to descend the Ohio. This river heads in Virginia or perhaps Tennessee, crosses Clarksville, Morgantown and then Brownsville and joins the Alleghany at Pittsburg and from there is called the Ohio or Belle River. Flat boat building was at that time carried on to great extent to accommodate emigrants to Kentucky Ohio and the lower country, but below Limestone, now Maysville, Cincinnati, at which was situated Fort Washington, and

Louisville, were almost the only towns and landing places on the Ohio river. Natchez, Baton Rouge and New Orleans being in the possession of the Spanish Government at that period.

At Redstone we engaged the building of our boats and lay there two weeks to get a strong fleet to descend the river in safety. We set out with a fleet of 25 boats, principally family boats. Col. George Thompson we appointed as commander. We were generally well armed. The commander had lost a dozen stand of arms, among them a sword, which was mounted on a cross beam on the boat. The boat I was in was called the Bachelor's Boat. There were 14 whites and my servant boy Adam. Our boat generally kept ahead, and we kept always in sight on account of safety, for we had not heard the fate of any boat descending the Ohio since the time John May and his party were killed the year before, to wit, 1790. The defeat of Gen'l Harmer's Army in that place 1790 and that of Gen'l St Clair on the 4th of November 1791, had emboldened the Indians under the influence of the British at Detroit and Fort Miami, at the foot of the rapids of that river, now called Maumee there being so many rivers of that name. While we lay at Redstone, Ensign Clark went down to Pittsburg, then called Fort Pitt, to make an acquaintance with ~~with~~ the officers and learn something of his profession. We called and took him in at that place. I there sold my port-manteau horse called Doctor, to a printer by the name of Shull whom I understood printed the first newspaper ever published at that town, now a flourishing city.

Most of the single men at Redstone boarded at Carrood's tavern in a log house of humble appearance, kept by an old couple where the grey mare was the better horse. But we got pretty good plain substantial fare, plenty of venison, wild turkeys and fish at about \$2. per week.

A Mr. Geatmon had met with a young woman from Caroline and a near neighbor of my father's by the name of Patsey Patty, she had gone up the country some distance to visit some of her father's relatives, he met her, engaged her affections, came to her father's to marry her, he Geatmon was of the Quaker persuasion, he came to my father who was a magistrate of the County and requested him to marry him to Miss Patty. My father informed him that magistrates of Virginia had no authority to solemnize the rite of matrimony; but Geatmon insisted, my father at length told him jocosely they might as well jump over a broom stick and go to bed together as to be married by any person other than a person, that if he wished to marry the girl he had better conform to the laws of our State, get a license and get married by a regular clergyman. He at length took my father's advice.-

Mr. Geatman kept a boat yard at Red Stone and we got our boat of him and we had several good mechanics who belonged to the Bachelor's Boat. We built a good large skiff, which we found a great convenience in our passage down the river. Just as we were about to float off from Red Stone, and were on board, Dr. Fred ~~Ripley~~ ^{daily}, late of Lexington, came riding to the landing on a long tail sorrel mare, with a cocked hat with a long shot gun on his shoulder and applied for a passage. He was told we were all full and there was no room. I observed we had but 13 horses and could take in another as well as ~~X~~not and that I would try to make room for him, that we had been lying there two weeks to make up a strong party to descend and it would be a pity not to take him in. I prevailed, I observed, "you see he is armed and has a military hat and I suppose he is a good soldier." My friendship to the Doctor in this affair attached him to me and we were warm friends to the day of his death. On our passage we saw several parties of Indians, our commander fired his swivel at

them, they fired their rifles at us, but we were too far off for their balls to reach half way to us. Our boats floated unequally, some faster and some slower, our commanders linked us two and two abreast, so the whole flotilla formed one mass of 12 deep, we floated well till we came to a short bend in the river when we narrowly escaped being crushed against a rocky shore and with great difficulty saved our boat which was the left hand one and in front, being crushed, but chopping our coupling ropes and all, separated, we did not make the same experiment again, but some would pull the oars while others would back water and so managed as to all arrive in safety at Limestone, now Maysville, then a muddy hole of a place with two or three log houses and a tavern kept by one M. Kenny. We landed on the first day of May, just that day month from leaving my father's residence. We sold our boat, or gave her away for \$1. to Mr. Barney, a merchant of Bardstown, who would land at Louisville. The company had separated generally, but some went on with us toward Lexington. Dr. ^{Deley} and myself kept company. We found Bluelick the most dreary and barren place I have ever seen, and it appeared to me I could have walked over every foot square of 300 acres of land around the Lick and never touch earth, stepping on loose rocks, and there was not a particle of vegetation, or shrub as far as I could see for that space around the Lick. The buffaloes which had been destroyed by thousands had trodden off the surface soil, I think there never was much, in descending the hills leading to the Lick I saw a number of oaks and hickories of a foot or so in diameter standing on a pedestal of six or eight feet high, a portion of the earth was held by the roots of the trees. There were several farmers in operation making salt. The water is very weak, requiring I am told, 1000 or 1100 gallons to make a bushel of salt.

I was accompanied by Dr. ~~Riley~~ ^{Agley} to my brother Hubbard Taylor's where we arrived the day after we left Limestone, passing through Paris then quite a small place. My brother Hubbard had moved about three years before, and settled on the waters of Boone's Creek, about twelve miles eastwardly of Lexington in Fayette County. My brother had built himself a good frame house with hipped roof with four rooms below and two above and had a pretty good farm opened for the time he had settled, only 3 years. He had a large horse mill moved by four horses which a remarkable man called Indian Davy Williams remarked to me in walking to see it, (I had never seen one before) "that it was what he called a horse Hell." I shall take some notice of Indian Davy hereafter. My brother had some good, intelligent and respectable neighbors, the nearest was Mr. Jacob Fishback, whose land adjoined my brother's, Major John Martin, Mr. Jonathan Taylor, a Capt. Combs, father of Gen'l Leslie, a Captain Clark, father of the late Governor of that name, Mr. Philip Bush, in what was called Bush's settlement, formerly a station, and many others whose families I became acquainted with during my stay in Kentucky. Among others a Mr. Ellis who built my brother's house and horse mill.

In a few days I visited Lexington, then principally a log village, there were a few farms and some large log buildings in one of which, at the corner of Poplar, the cross street with Main, Young and Brant kept a pretty good tavern. There was but one brick house in six at that time called Mount Hope, built by old Mr. January, but in that year several brick buildings were erected, among others a market ^{first} house was begun on the South side of Main street and in the ^{first} State House square below the Court House Square, and was turned into a State House and the first Legislature was held in it, beginning on the ²⁴th of June 1792.

I was at the organization of the Court and witnessed all the ceremonies. Gen'l Robert Breckinridge was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, he was not a candidate and appeared to be more alarmed at the appointment, but he made a good presiding officer and discharged his duties, I think, to the satisfaction of that body. Col. Thomas Todd, late Judge was elected Clerk of that body and the Hon. Buckner Thruston was elected Clerk of the Senate. Governor Shelby took the oath of office and Colonel Alexander S. Bullitt, Lieutenant Governor, of course presided over the Senate. Major Peyton Short, my brother Hubbard and Edmund Bullock, Esq. all Senators, boarded with Mr. Thomas Carnesal, father of Thomas D., and I did the same for about a week.

During my attendance in the legislature I witnessed a very extraordinary occurrence. Col. William McDowell, of Mercer, was Senator from that district and a man by the name of Spalding was the Representative from that County under the first Constitution of Kentucky the Senators filled their own vacancies. Mc Dowell was appointed Auditor of the State and the Senate translated Spalding to the Senate to fill McDowell's vacancy. He acted several days in each house. I do not recollect that there were any party divisions in the State at that time except as to whether the Seat of Government should be on the North or South side of the Kentucky River. But at any rate, Mr. Spalding did not track as truly as the party expected, who put him in the senate, and they wished to have a more pliant tool and fell on the expedient that as they had taken no special oath as electors, their proceedings were a nullity. They met, took such oath and elected a different man.

Spalding then went to the House of Representatives and claimed his seat, but was told that his resignation had been accepted and a writ of election issued and he could not

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be considered a member of that body. He remarked "well I shall feel very much like a d---d fool to go home and repeat to my constituents that I have served in both branches of the Legislature, I am not sensible that I have been guilty of any crime; but am out of both branches of the Assembly." I do not think he was returned to the House of Representatives to fill his own vacancy. I have conversed with a number of the old people of that day, June 1792, and have never met with but two persons who recollected the occurrence, Edward Bullock and Hubbard Taylor, the latter is dead, the former is alive, both were members of the senate. Mr. Bullock is the only member of that body I now recollect to be alive.

General StClair's defeat took place on the 4th of November 1791, in what is now the State of Ohio, on the waters of the Big Miami, afterwards called Fort Recovery. General James Wilkinson had been appointed to command the North West Territory. General StClair being ordered on to Philadelphia to answer charges preferred against him by Col. William Darr, an officer of the Revolution, who was in that fatal battle. The Indians had become very bold and daring and attacked and destroyed almost all the provisions going on to the outward post, Fort Jefferson, to which the defeated army of StClair fled on their defeat.

General Washington, then President of the United States, made a requisition on Gov. Shelby for a battalion of mounted men to guard the supplies out to the different posts on the route Fort Hamilton, Fort StClair and Jefferson. Major Barbee was appointed to this command and assembled at Georgetown. I wanted myself this escort to visit the mouth of the Licking where my father had a valuable tract of land on the upper side of that river on the Ohio. On about the 16th of June 1792 I met this battalion, found with it the Hon. Judge Harry Innes and the Hon. John Brown, who went on to

Cincinnati to see General Wilkinson. We proceeded along the dryridge, a mean horse path and encamped two nights before we got down. I had letters of introduction to General Wilkinson and in company with Judge Innes and Brown dined with him a day or two after our arrival. About the time of the General's appointment, he had sent on his lady to visit her friends in Philadelphia under the escort of the late General W. H. Harrison, then an Ensign in the army, who had got out two days previous. In about four days, General Wilkinson set out in a twelve oar barge to ascend the Ohio, he met his lady at Pittsburg and brought her to Fort Washington. Her maiden name was Beddle. The General had not returned when I left to return to my brother Hubbard's, in Fayette County. I found a number of wounded officers and men at Fort Washington when I got there. There were a few rude log cabins at Newport, but no accommodation for any one. I met at the garrison of Fort Washington an old acquaintance, Lieutenant Hastings Marks, who with the commandant of Fort Washington, Captain Mahlan Ford, invited me to partake with them in their mess at Fort W., which I gladly accepted. I spent my time pleasantly with the officers of the garrison, visiting frequently my father's land at the mouth of the Licking.

When the Kentucky troops went down to Fort W. to go to St Clair's campaign in 1791, my brother Hubbard went on and laid out a few lots on Front Street and called the town, "Newport."

My father had 2500 acres of land at the mouth of the Licking in an oblong square, he had promised to give me about one third of 1500 acres 1000 acres of the tract he had conveyed to Col. George Muse for whose services in Braddock's war, was granted under the proclamation of 1763. He, Muse was entitled to a Major's portion of 5333 $\frac{1}{3}$ acres. The history

of this tract of land is very remarkable and will be noticed hereafter. Intending to make my part of this tract of land my personal residence I went over frequently and examined it fully, it is a beautiful plat of land, just a mile from the river to the top of the ridge on first hill extending parallel to the river for some distance up and down there are three regular fallen branches running parallel to the river a beautiful ridge or rise is 400 yards from the river. I fixed on this ridge for a building spot, about 600 yards from the Licking which I improved when I moved out the next spring. At this time (June 1792) there were only about 150 souls in Cincinnati, independent of the Military. The Indians were so troublesome there were few settlements beyond Cincinnati and they in and about stockade forts, one at North Bend settled by ^{Judge} John C. Symmes the principal of the Miami purchase one at Columbia, a little below the mouth of the Little Miami; one at Colerain on the Big Miami about 16 miles from Cincinnati, White's Station about nine miles and Ludlow's Station about five miles, the former on the trail leading to our Military Posts.

I had heard of a singular kind of mill built on two Kentucky boats at the falls of the Little Miami. A party was made up of four of us. The original bounds of the town, up the river, was Denver a small stream into which the Maumee Canal empties, and is locked to the mouth, soon after we passed Denver we rode at half speed for fear of the Indians. The Little Miami is about six miles from Cincinnati. Symmes purchase embraced the land between the two Miamis and embraced one million acres extending up each stream for quantity. The first fall of the Little Miami is about three miles from the mouth and immediately back of Columbia. We proceeded to the mill. We found not Kentucky boats it had been so erected the two boats had been moved close up to the ripple of about

five feet fall which was increased by some brush and rock to raise a head rise in the river, had sunk the boats as the cables did not permit them to rise with the tide. Jacob Wickham was the proprietor. He had raised a cub of small logs at the shore on the East side (the Military) had filled it with rock sufficient to make it stable, had fixed a huge block in the stream just wide enough for a full wheel to ply on a wide apron, had broken up his boats and made a half fence Shelby in which his mill stones of 18 inches by two feet diameter were running. He subsequently put up more valuable works but nothing more than common country work. He, some four or five years after sold out. Some ten or twelve years after the seat got into the hands of two yankees by name Samuel and Josiah Wolley, who built a good merchant mill on the site, they broke and it got into the hands of Philip Turpen, a Scotchman, and is now owned by his sons who had added a good saw mill. This is the first mill erected in that extensive region of the Country which was kept up. There was in the fall of 1791, a temporary grist mill built at a small ripple about two miles from the mouth opposite a place called Garrard's Station, opposite the back part of Columbia, but the high water of that winter carried it off and it was not rebuilt.

A Virginian by the name of Jon. Garroid, a soldier in Braddock's war, and had been shot in the chin and much defaced by it, established a Station and Stockade Fort on a branch of the Miami bottom, the river forms a bend in the form of a horse shoe embracing near 200 acres of rich bottom land with sparse growth of Buckeye, sugar, box elder etc., of great fertility and easy to clear. Without knowing or caring to whom the land belonged he established his station and this rich bottom was mostly cleared and put in corn and

was under cultivation as I passed near it on my way to Wick-
am's. Well, I presume that it is well known that the Vir-
ginia Military tract of land embraces the land between
the Louisiana and Scioto, about 20 or 30 miles and up to the
heads of these rivers. 640 acres in entering the bottom had
been located in the name of Col. John Steele and now the
greater part of this tract of this land has good improvements
on it land such as it is fertile that my agent about three
years ago measured, out of curiosity, an acre of this bottom
land tanded in the ordinary way and found it yielded 120
bushels of good corn. I know that there had been a crop of
corn tanded full 50 years before and probably on this very
rise of ground. It flooded annually by back water from the
Ohio from 10 to 15 feet and sometimes more by which its fer-
tility kept up.

I remained at Cincinnati until the first day of July and
took my departure for my brother's near Lexington, but before
doing so visited Leitches Station about six miles from the
mouth. Major David Leitch owned $2/3$ of a tract of 1,3800
acres lying five miles on a straight line from the Ohio and
extending up the river on the N.E. side and out. Major Leitch
had in the fall of 1790 built his station and gave lessees to
settlers for improvements. He had married about that time
Keturah Moss, a young lady about 17 years of age, who came
to Kentucky in the spring of 1784 through the wilderness,
a brief account of her will given hereafter. I dined and
spent the day with the Major and lady near the Station, very
agreeably. I left Cincinnati on the first of July of that
year, fell in company with a Dr. Worley who was a volunteer
in the Kentucky Volunteers, and had his leg broken in StClair's
defeat and was just able to ride, also old Mr. Thomas Lindsey
and son Thomas, who met me on Bank Lick opposite Leitch's
Station going nupnear Lexington to drive down his stock, we

had to keep a keen lookout for the Indians. I had a gun and shot at a bear but only made him take to his heels.

We reached Campbell's Station on the dryridge 33 miles from the mouth of the Licking after night fall and encamped near the stockade for safety. Gen'l Wilkinson had furnished a Corporal and 12 men to protect the Station which was a general stopping place. Being dark when we arrived and warm, and our provisions being cooked, we did not make a fire, but spread our blankets, by accident in a bed used by the hogs, but before we got to sleep found ourselves filled with fleas and had to move our lodge.

There was also a small settlement, Littell's Station about three miles in advance, now the site of Williamstown, seat of justice of Grant County. There was a small settlement at the forks of Eagle River about 17 miles from Georgetown.

Passing over a horse path through Georgetown to Lexington 12 miles, got to my brother Hubbard's on the 3rd of August. Here and in the neighborhood I spent my time very agreeably in a good neighborhood. On the head waters of Boone's Creek a tract of 4000 acres granted to Dr. Thomas Hinde under the proclamation of 1763, he was at Quebec, a surgeon's mate when General Wolfe fell. He married Mary Hubbard, my mother's youngest sister and moved to his land about the year 1796, from Hanover County, Va.

My brother's neighbors were Messrs. Jacob Fishback, Maj. John Martin, Jonathan Taylor, son of Col. George, Captain Clark father of George Clark, Captain Combs, my brother-in-law James Babank, his wife, my oldest sister Lucy who moved out with my brother Hubbard. I visited all of these families and may mention particularly Captain Philip Bush at a settlement by his name, a particular friend of my father's from Orange County, Va.

About the first of August I set out to visit my friends and relatives near Louisville, to-wit: Col. Richard Taylor, father of Maj. General Zachery, old Captain Clark, father of Gen'l. George Rogers, Gov. Wm. ^{and} General Jonathan and Col. Richard C. Anderson, Surveyor of the Va. Con. Army Lands. Col. Wm. Croghan Surveyor of the Virginia State Line Lands, all these families I visited, they lived East and South East of Louisville from 6 to 12 miles. Also Col. John Thruston whom I accompanied to Kentucky.

The late Gov. Wm. Clark, my travelling companion, was attached to the garrison of Fort Jefferson opposite to Louisville, commanded by Maj. Boyle, where I spent several days.

A treaty was about to be held at Vincennes, Gen'l Rufus Putnam had taken the Indian prisoners from Fort Washington and had descended the Ohio and was encamped near the Port, the river was low and one of the flat boats was wrecked in getting over the falls and ~~Some~~ of the feeble squaws had to be ~~taken~~ from the boat on the backs of the men.

Among the invited guests of Major Boyle was Col. J. Thruston as well as Gen'l Putnam, at dinner a warm dispute arose between Gen'l Putnam and Col. Thruston, the former asserted that the Kentuckians were more to blame for the Indian depredations on the frontiers than the Indians were. Col. Thruston warmly resented the charge and the altercation became so warm that Gen'l. Putnam left the table without finishing his dinner and went to his camp.

Louisville at that time was a small village and I have no doubt I could have purchased the best unimproved lot in the town for \$50.

In coming to Louisville I had to come via Danville and Bardstown the route via Frankfort, Floyd's Fork, etc. being a horse path and quite dangerous from the Indians. Indeed about the time I got to Kentucky they broke up most of the settlements on Elkhorn, near Frankfort, four at least in

number, killed a negro man of Judge Innes took one prisoner and carried off his horses. The prisoner was delivered about the time of Wayne's treaty. I saw him some years afterwards near the judge's and conversed with him.

About this time Robert Todd, one of Colonel Anderson's surveyors of the Va. Military Lands in Ohio, was killed on his way to Col. Anderson's office near Middletown, in Jefferson County. The report of the rifle was heard at Frankfort, not a mile off, his horse came to the stable in Frankfort with his saddle bags, there was blood on his flanks, a party went to seek for Todd, they found him dead in the bushes, shot through the breast ~~about~~ about 200 yards from where it appeared, from the horse's he had been shot- the Indians had supposed that they had not killed him as he did not fall, he was not found by the Indians, he was brought in by the party and interred at Frankfort, or more likely at Lexington, as that was his residence, he was not of family of Col. John, Robert and Lewis Todd, his wife was the sister of Gen'l. Wm. Lytle. Todd's Fork a branch of the Little Miami was named for him. Gen'l Lytle succeeded him as Surveyor and he and I became engaged in locating and securing lands in the Va. Military D. in 1795 and could for many years locate and survey lands in that district between the Little Miami and the Scioto, for at least 7 years.

I had letters of introduction to Judge Harry Innes, I spent a day with him near Danville, where he then resided, and also with Col. George Nicholas, who resided about 7 miles from thence on the road to Bardstown, on my way I spent a day with the late Gen'l. Charles Scott, who resided at Petersburg on the South side of the Kentucky river about 8 miles from Versailles in Woodford County.

I visited and examined several tracts of land of my

father's, among others one of 1500 acres on Floyd's Fork, and surveyed it, we encamped several nights on the land and heard the Indians shoot, in going out we passed Symmes' Station and gave notice we were going out which was the regulation in those days. We were at Chenoweth Station which had been broken up about a year before and most of the family murdered. Chenoweth was absent, the wife was tomahawked and scalped, when a party visited the scene of horror next day they found her alive and she had crept into a spring house. She recovered and lived many years- an infant had fallen behind the bed on the floor and was not discovered and was found alive. All the family with the exception of those two were murdered, including a discharged soldier. This station was unoccupied at this time, the print of the pole of an axe was imbedded in the door in breaking it open. This was the frontier settlement Eastward and I think it was not again occupied for several years. Major William Taylor's was one of the frontier settlements and he gave the late Major Edmund Taylor, Richard Woolfolk, G. Wellis and friend Mr. Newman as guard for his family.

Chenoweth's Station.

In returning to Fayette County in company with these gentlemen we went the near way to Frankfort passing Brashear's Creek settlement in our boat, but it was considered very dangerous and we frequently ran our hawser at every creak of a falling branch, but got up safe. I spent my time pleasantly in the neighborhood of my brother's at Lexington.

The Eastern States were generally denominated "the old settlements" Large parties every few weeks would move.

At the Crab Orchard, to go through the wilderness, it was usual for notices to be set up at Court Houses, Mills, and public places, giving notice of the time of meeting at that place, one for this meeting was for the 10th of September 1792. I was furnished at my brother's seat, "Springhill"

with the necessary supply of provisions and corn for my horses, a bag for the latter and a wallet for my provisions. I had two horses, my old faithful servant Adam, then a lad of 17, came out with me, we reached the Crab Orchard on the 2d. day and found a large collection of persons gathered. I found in the company the Hon. John and James Brown, the former was one of our first Senators of the U. S., and the latter, then Surveyor of the State of Kentucky, afterwards a Senator of the U. S. and then our Minister to France, going in to see their friends near Abington on the waters of the Holston; Major Alexander Parker and Samuel Postlethwaite, then merchants of Lexington, going to Philadelphia for goods. Major John O'Bannon, one of Col. Anderson's surveyors of the Va. Army Lands, a man by the name of Blackmore, of Woodford County and several others of our class went out early on the morning of the 11th.

We lay about on our baggage, in our clothes. There was considerable alarm through the night that our horses were in danger from thieves, it was believed were hovering around the place, we went out frequently during the night to guard the horses but all were safe in the morning.

It was usual to halt about mid-day to what was called "nooning it" to rest our horses and take a snack of our provisions. There was no organization of our force at our halt and the front party pushed on till after dusk, our party, when we came to the Raccoon Spring, one of the usual camping grounds, concluded to go no further and encamped to guard ourselves. We stripped our horses, tied them to poplars, gave them their feed, ^{ate our supper} and agreed to be up two at a time. We [^]alked around our horses by turns and kept a lookout for the Indians. We had no alarm during the night. The main body had gone forward about a mile and encamped. We came up with

the party and proceeded along a horse track till nooning time when it was decided to be unsafe to proceed without a regular organization and every one to be enrolled and conform to orders. We found we were about 350 strong and only one woman in company. A Colonel, Lieut. Colonel, Major and several Captains were appointed. We proceeded agreeably to orders, there were a number of pack-horses and they were placed in the center, there was a front and rear guard and flankers. Our second encampment was on the bank of the Cumberland River on the North side where the bottom was quite narrow. The opposite was a rich bottom covered with the most luxurious and largest corn I have ever seen, we got a good supply for the horses tied them up within the encampment, ate our suppers and posted out our sentinels. My turn came about 9 P. M., I was posted at the base of a high ridge mountain, I took my position with my back to an elm of middle size, my position was about 80 or 100 yards from a row of camp fires. In a short time I discovered I had for a neighbor a rattlesnake whom I had disturbed, I feared to move lest I might tread on him and be bitten, I called to the camp to bring a torch, which was done, and a large snake was found at the root of the same tree, but at right angles, a projecting root forming a safe guard to me, I dispatched the snake and for this achievement was dubbed "Captain."

I think we had two other encampments before we began to disperse and travelled as we pleased, being considered out of danger, passing along Richmond and Stinking Creeks, the two lowest, Powell's and Clinch Rivers and the mountains of those names. Our party kept pretty much together, divided our "scron" as it was generally termed, each partaking of anything they liked better than their own. We arrived at Craig's tavern on Saturday afternoon, about a mile from Abington, on

the West side, an excellent house where we fared sumptuously after a travel of five or six days eating our stale provisions. We got a fine meadow after for our jaded horses. The next day, Sunday, there was a nice and great meeting of a popular preacher, where I was introduced to the late Gen. Francis Preston (near relatives of the W. Browns) and to the rich Miss Campbell, the only child of Col. Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, she owned the Holston Salt Works, she was married to W. Preston the following winter. He was elected to Congress the next April and in the winter of 93-4 Col. Wm. C. Preston was born.

We remained till Monday morning and took our departure, passing through Stanton, Charlottesville and Orange Court House, reached home in about 23 days.

I have remarked that my father had located 2500 acres of land at the mouth of the Licking, all purchased in his name and he had conveyed 1000 acres of it to Col. George Muse which lay at the upper end of the tract. There was one squatter on this one thousand acres and it was not known to whom it belonged. Washington Berry had married my sister Alice in the fall of '91, and was residing in King George County, on the North side of the Rappahannock opposite a bend called "The Nick" I advised Mr. Berry to purchase the land; it belonged to two daughters of Col. Muse. He did so and it was purchased for \$1,000.- and he concluded to move with me in the next spring.

We set out about the first of April '93 in company with his brother, John Berry and John W. Buckner, all single except Mr. Berry. My sister rode on horseback, her son Taylor, then an infant about nine months old. We had a tent, a mess back for our provisions and always encamped on the road side. When we got within 40 or 50 miles of Red Stone,

as it was then called, I went forward to engage our boats. After doing so, I understood Colonel N. G^{ist} was encamped with his blacks on the river below Red Stone Creek, a distinguished officer of the Revolution, on his way to settle in Kentucky, although I was not acquainted with him, I concluded to ride and see him. I found him alone in a large military marquee, his servants, I think about 30 or 40 about the fire. He was a large man of dark complexion and I think near six feet high and a commanding and intelligent appearance. I made myself known to him and he remarked that he was well acquainted with my father and had several years in the Virginia Assembly. I told him of our party coming on and the object in coming forward. While we were conversing we discovered a good looking young man of 18 or 19 walking around the marquee and would occasionally look in, Col. G^{ist} after several of these movements said to the young man "You have moved around the marquee and looked in, do you want to say anything to me?" he replied he did. "Well, said the Colonel, come in and take a seat," we were seated on his old military camp seats, "What is your name inquired the Colonel? It is ----- sir, Is your name G----? yes sir that is my name. Well who is your father" Why I am told you are my father. Aye, well who was your mother? I think he remarked Betty ----. Aye, I knew a girl of that name some years ago.

The Colonel had commanded a stockade fort at that place during the Revolutionary war. The young man was tall and handsome, neatly dressed, in mixed homespun clothes. I sat a few minutes and supposing the two new acquaintances, father and son, wished to have some private conversation, took my leave, and on my return to my party reached Uniontown that evening and put up for the night.

I met there Hon. John Breckinridge and family on their way Kentucky also I told him and his lady the occurrence

which a few hours before I had witnessed at which they both laughed heartily. Well, said Mr. Breckinridge, I wish you could travel with us and tell my wife your funny stories, it would keep up her spirits, for she has not even smiled since we set out on our journey. Mrs. Breckinridge was a Cabell of rather a serious and desponding disposition though a very intelligent and fine woman. Col. G., they observed had resided not far from them in Virginia, they were well acquainted with him. Some years after this, being in Washington, a daughter of Col. G. resided there, the wife of F. P. B., she is a very free and affable woman. I said to her "Mrs. B. have you a half brother? I understand you sir, yes, she said, and that young man you refer to went to Tennessee, a man of handsome property and when our family needed assistance, bestowed liberally on us. Col. G. settled in Bourbon County but did not live long after his removal, his wife was a Miss Bell and after the Colonel's death married our distinguished Gen'l. Charles Scott, his second wife.

I met my party some distance East of Uniontown and kept with them until our arrival at Brownsville. Our boats were nearly ready and we got off in a few days and descended the Monongahela via Pittsburg, where it unites with the Allegheny and forms the Ohio.

We passed Legionville, Gen'l Anthony Wayne's encampment about 16 miles below Pittsburg, where he had collected his army and trained them to march against the hostile Indians. We reached this cantonment where the troops had comfortable huts. We were hailed and ordered to come to, we remonstrated against being made to lose time saying ours were family boats removing to Kentucky and could not understand why we should be stopped, the sentinel notified us he was ordered

to hail and bring to all boats and if we did not land he should fire on us. We of course had no alternative but to comply, it was about sunset, on landing we were met by an officer and told that such order had been in existence for some time but had been annulled that day, but the sentinel then on duty at the landing had by some omission not been notified of it, and regretted the omission and we could depart if we thought proper, but as the river was high and we had landed, we concluded to remain till morning. Gen'l Wayne was not at the cantonment but was daily expected and to proceed down the river. I here met several officers, my old acquaintances, Capt. Brock, Lt. Harry Towles and Peter Marks, all from Va. who appeared very glad to see us and we spent the evening till a late hour very agreeably with them at their quarters. We left early the next morning. Lieutenant Vance, afterwards Captain and then Major, set out in company with two forage boats with oats. We kept in company till about noon when we had to land to cook, it not being safe to make a fire in the boats. Lt. Vance spent his time with us in our boats till we had to land, and we saw nothing more of him until his arrival at Fort Washington.

The land Mr. Berry had bought, though but about one and a half miles above the mouth of the Licking, was not considered entirely safe and as my sister was young, Mr. Berry concluded to move up to my brother Hubbard's and the whole party except myself landed at then Limestone (now Maysville) and proceeded to that quarter. I proceeded to Newport and landed my boat a little above the mouth of the Licking on the 3rd of May, 1793. I had two black men, Moses and Humphrey and my servant lad Adam, who had come out with me the year before as my waiter.

I had set out with my riding horse a thorough bred, and

two fine blooded mares, but an elefant young mare a few days before we got to Red Stone was kicked by a wagon horse on the stifle joint with rough shoes and so badly lamed that I deemed it unsafe to take her in the boat, her limb being badly swollen, and sold her for \$50. and took it mostly in iron ware, pots, kettles, etc.. I considered her worth at least \$125.00

I soon set about fixing my tools to clear land and make a crop, had my axes, hoes and plows. I was expecting my brother-in-law, Mr. Berry would move to his land and as I was a single man would live with him. I had no family servant my father did not like a man and his wife, and as I had some unsettled business of my Deputy Sheriffs and Surveyors that I should go back the next fall and then it might be more convenient to supply me with a woman servant. I met a British deserter by the name of Robert Christy, who had a wife and three children, who were anxious to come out to the new country and I agreed to take him and family out, bear their expenses and he was to live with me and labor for me three years on being supported, and his wife was to cook for me etc. We halved our axes and went to work at the mouth of the Licking, it had been an old encampment ground of which there was about an acre of ground cleared off and about half an acre partially cleared and the small growth cut out. I began on this piece and enclosed in the course of a week or so about six acres. There were a few cabins in the village at the time but all occupied and I remained in my boat for two weeks, but in time got a small cabin which stood on Lot No. 6., which I still own, it is the corner lot of the first square beginning near the mouth of the Licking and extending up the river. I then began to clear the second square above named, none of the lots being sold out, contain-

ing about three acres. I worked steadily myself in piling the brush, setting fire to the logs and doing some chopping, my second effort was back of the garrison above a ravine in a rich bottom on the Licking, shaded by sugar trees, box elder, buckeye and ash, and in all I made out to put corn in 15 or 16 acres. The first I planted was on the 8th, about eight acres, and the other on the 16th of June, I planted the yellow fruit corn, it was a favorable season and I made good sound corn from each piece of ground.

1793.

My servant Moses said to me that he and his fellow servants could not remain in Newport, "there are no colored people here, we have no women to wash for us, on Sundays we stalk about without being able to talk to any one, sell your land here and move up to where Master Hubbard lives." Moses, I am a stranger as well as you and my servants. I have good land here on a fine river. I have no land up there and you will in time have many black people here for neighbors. "Oh no, the country is too new and strange and it will never be much better, I dont think." Moses you must be patient and all will go well in time, all new settlers have their difficulties but depend on it we will reap the advantages in due time. Observe the fertility of the soil. We can raise four times as much corn and every kind of produce as we could in Virginia on those poor worn out lands we have left. I will not leave my good land here my father has procured and given me, you must be content, patience and industry will accomplish all we can desire.

Gen'l. Wayne had arrived about the middle of May and established his encampment at Hobson's Choice on the Ohio river on the North West side a little above the mouth of Mill Creek. I had no society on my side of the river except

Maj. Leitch and lady, and Mr. Lindsey, about six miles distant. About the first of May I went to the encampment on a Saturday evening, staid all night and spent till Sunday evening with my acquaintances and relations, Lieutenants Edmund and Jonathan Taylor of Wayne's army.

On returning home I found Moses and Humphrey had eloped taking with them all their clothes. I was informed that Jacob Fowler, then a resident of Newport, was a good woodman, I employed him to accompany me in pursuit of my slaves. I had no idea that they would take any other route than to go up to the Ohio to Limestone and take the road Mr. Berry and his companions had gone towards Lexington and had no doubt my servants had gone to my brother's and would induce me to remove there. We set out on the only two hags I had, about four miles from Newport we came across two shoe tracks, one very large supposed to be that of Moses and a middle sized one about the size of Humphrey's. There was not one person at the time in Newport, man or woman, who wore shoes, all wore moccasins made of deer skin dressed and made pliable. We followed these tracks for 8 or 10 miles till we were satisfied the wearers had steered for Limestone or Washington. The river was high for that season of the year. We had of course to go up several creeks, first Twelve Mile or Wills' Creek, then Locust, then Bracken and would follow the river and keep up on its bends generally as there was no path or trace to guide us. In going around the back water of Wills' Creek, I found an excellent Indian McKaha blanket, in a rich bottom, dropped not many days previous. I used it as a saddle blanket for a long time, they are twilled and are of excellent quality. On entering the town of Washington I met Gen'l J. Findlay, who informed me my servants were at home and that he and Capt. Robert Benhoin had overtaken them at Campbell's Station on

the dryridge, on the night after they had left home, they had travelled 34 miles on Saturday night and the next day. That Capt. B. had employed a man to take them back.

Understanding that Capt. Philip Buckner, a former neighbor of my father's had settled on the Ohio river near the mouth of Bracken Creek about 18 miles below Limestone. I took that in my route home, it is now the town of Augusta. Capt. Buckner had a cabin and a field of 10 or 12 acres, I spent a night with him and purchased of him the first cow I ever owned and I purchased of his son-in-law, Blanchard, a yoke of young oxen, which I found very useful in clearing my land, removing logs, etc. I bought and took the cow and some fowls and Fowler and myself went home by water. It was difficult to purchase cows at Newport so the first cow I ever owned I had to get 45 miles away from home.

When I got home I found my servants there but Humphrey had a severe attack of Pleurisy. Both he and Moses had tied up their clothes in their blankets and from the severe walks up and down and no doubt lying down when quite warm had brought on his sickness. However he recovered in 8 or 10 days. This was before I had planted any corn. I planted my first field on the 8th and the second on the 16th of June and made good sound corn in both fields. My horses had been turned in the range on landing when I first came down, they had no exercise under the saddle since I came and our ride through the woods, brush and high grass gave them the thumps and my riding horse took what was a common disease in those days, the yellow water, their blood was at least three fourths a yellow liquid, which when cold was quite a jelly. Their manes and tails, the hair would come out with a very small pull. My mare lived till the fall and tended my crop, but died early in the fall, she never recovered the ride. Out of

the three valuable nags I set out with I had not one of them. Salt was \$5 a bushel and for many years after that period stock required much salt, for the grass being much shaded had but little substance in it.

That fall I purchased four wornout pack-horses, which supplied me with a team, one was an injured cavalry horse which made a riding horse. In August of the year 1793, Jacob and Edward Fowler and myself marked the first road from Newport toward Lexington. It is exactly the same as now used and has since been established as a State road from Newport to Frankfort. We struck the Licking at the mouth of Plum Creek and went up the river to opposite the mouth of Grassy Creek, which we supposed would be opposite the bounds of our county when a division would take place. At the mouth of this creek there is a considerable ripple and John Roberts some years after built a grist mill, which was the first mill built below the Blue Licks, some 16 miles from the mouth by the road but nearly double the distance by the river. These mills were abated by act of the Legislature, and Licking declared a navigable stream. We were near a week in marking this road, striking out the best ridges between the waters of the Ohio and the Licking. On our return we encamped at the same place where the Indians had encamped about a week before, near Plum Creek, and used the same trees they had used for their fire. It was a rich piece of ground covered with wild rye about half a thigh. No doubt they had been in the upper counties stealing horses. I think they had about twelve and had laid them to sap with buffalo twigs long enough for the horses to feed themselves. The season was warm, the water generally staid in holes, the bad water and exposure gave me a severe spell of sickness soon after my return, from which I was a long time recovering and I have

no doubt my life was saved by the kindness of Dr. Richard Allison Lieutenant General of the Western Army, he sent over a Dr. Brown, who attended me till I recovered.

The citizens of Newport, the said two Fowlers, Uriah Hardesty and Jacob Barrackman, had planned a hunting expedition for October to hunt buffalo about the Big Bone Lick, about 20 miles West, and I was to have been of the party but had not sufficiently recovered my strength, these men all had families and proposed to me to furnish their families with what beef they needed till their return with the bones and they would give buffalo meat clear of the bones. This I did from the Contractor's stall, there was no market at that time in Cincinnati nor for some years after, I received 100 pounds of good buffalo meat beside some marrow bones, which with the rump, tongue and marrow gut, are considered the choice part of the buffalo. This party killed 23, they took down barrels and salt, cut off the flesh, salted it and brought it up in barrels. I lived upon it the whole of that fall, winter and spring. I preferred it to the best beef. The flesh is dark, and fat as yellow as gold. I lived principally on wild meats, venison, bear and wild turkeys, for several years.

There was but little pork raised for several years. At the time Gen'l. Wayne marched his army from Hobson's Choice, in September '93, hams sold at 50 cents per pound, each officer wishing to take at least a ham and no doubt the soldiers the same, but many could not be supplied, it was brought principally from Kentucky.

Those 23 buffaloes were the greatest number I ever heard of being killed by any hunting party after that period, there were scattering ones killed for several years in the same quarter. The last I recollect to have heard was 5 or 6 years afterwards, in the mountains about the head waters of the

Licking.

In the year 1794 was the first time I was at the Big Bone Lick, it had been a great resort of the buffalo and the roads leading from the rich lands on the Elkhorn and its waters were larger than any common ones now in the State and in many places worn down from 5 to 6 feet. The road leading from the Upper Lick called the Gum Spring, to the Lower Lick at the fork, called the West Fork, was large and much worn and where it was washed in gullies I discovered at least one fourth of the dirt appeared to be mixed with crushed bones, no doubt they had been masticated by the big animals of former days, whose bones were so numerous found in and about these two Licks. A Major Pennell, about 12 or 15 years ago, dug for these bones and on a rise about 10 or 12 feet above the bottom of the creek came to a well and at the depth of about 20 feet found an almost entire skeleton of one of those enormous animals, they had been buried there ages before. The well was about 20 feet in diameter and 20 feet deep. The large bones were laid around the outside of the well and so inwardly to the center and the skull placed on the top in the center. Every one of the large bones was fractured and had the print of a heavy instrument to endeavor to break them, it is believed on account of some superstitious belief. This account I had from Major Pennell. He had a partner in searching for those large bones who forced him to sell his half for \$2000. They were taken to New Orleans and sold for \$5000, from thence to New York and thence to England. I was to the Eastward when they were found or I should have gone to see them. I think it was in 1837 they were found. I was well acquainted with a Mr. Semonell Stockdale who was employed by Mr. Goforth, with several hands, to dig for those big bones, he obtained permission from David Ross of Virginia, the owner at the time, or of Thomas Carneal,

his agent, to do so. He, Stockdale, told me he found a large number and several descriptions of animals, some of the large species, carnivorous and some herbivorous. The bones of a species of elk, full the size of a large horse, whose horns hung down the side of his head and curled outward. I understood Dr. Goforth shipped these bones to New York to an agent who sent them to Europe and deprived him out of the whole proceeds. This I think, was about the year 1800. I was well acquainted with him, he was the son of old Judge Goforth, who came from Massachusetts and settled at Columbia with the first settlers on the Ohio, about a mile below the mouth of the Little Miami, in the year 1789. He was an intelligent man and had been a member of the Legislature from that State. I have been at his humble dwelling frequently. He had a son by the name of Aaron who was a man of good information and held an office of trust at Cincinnati under the Territorial Government, he died about middle age. He had several daughters, on the wife of Gen'l. John Geno, who resided also at Columbia when I first knew him, but he moved to Cincinnati and became Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, which he held to his death, some years after the late war. He was succeeded by his son Daniel who held the office till the operation of the law of that State making most officers vacate at the end of seven years. He was succeeded by Gen'l. W. H. Harrison, who held it till he was elected President of the U. S., in the year 1840. He lived at North Bend and did not remove to Cincinnati. The duties were performed by his son-in-law, W.H.H. Taylor, a first cousin of his wife. On Gen'l. Harrison's resignation Wycoff Piat was elected and still holds the office, a decided Democrat. Col. John Armstrong, late of the U. S. Army, but who resigned about the period of Gen'l. Wayne's arrival at Cincinnati, married another daughter of

Dr. Goforth. He resided in Columbia for several years, but removed to Indiana about the year 1805 or 6 and settled on a farm opposite the 18 Mile Island, above Louisville, he died many years ago.

In the winter of 1793 the small-pox raged in Cincinnati and extended to Newport. There was but one citizen physician in Cincinnati at that time and he had more than he could do. I got a citizen of Newport to inoculate my three slaves, Moses, Humphrey and Adam, also an old man near eighty years old, Jack and his wife, and four children, the property of Commodore Taylor. My father had sent the old man and his wife to me and as the Commodore's ^{servants} came down under the charge of his son Thompson, and as I had a female I prevailed upon him to hire my Jenny, Jack's wife. She and the children remained with me till spring and I let the good old man go with his wife and gave him his freedom. He was a stout old man, took care of my little stock. All of these servants took the small-pox in the natural way, Humphrey was very ill and died in 1796, he lingered till the fall of that year and died, never was able to render me any service after he took the disease.

A young man about my age, by the name of Boardell Allcock, a son of Thomas, a near neighbor of my father's had come to live with me and assist me in farming and as a companion. I was invited to spend Christmas day at Capt. Gordon's, in Cincinnati, he was invited and dined with Capt. John Bartle, in Newport, he had been inoculated by the same person who performed the operation on my slaves, with no better effect, he had been living low to guard against the effects of the disease, but at dinner he yielded to his appetite and indulged in much food and drank some spirits, in a few days he was seized with the fever of the disease and on the 9th day he expired in my bed, the only one I had

brought from Virginia. He became delirious and quite blind for several days before he died. Thus perished a worthy young man to whom I was much attached. We had been school-mates, I had boarded at his father's at about 8 years old and went to school, distant about 12 miles to John Deshmon, the second schoolmaster I ever went to school to. The first was Samuel Kemp, an Irish Catholic, he was sold for his passage and my father bought him for about \$100. He represented himself to understand the Latin and Greek languages well, my father had him examined by two good scholars, Thomas Lomax and Dr. John Tennant, but he deceived them by taking the Greek Testament, in which he had made himself master of a single chapter and went through it with such correctness that he was pronounced by those gentlemen the best Greek scholar they had ever known. My father was the guardian of his first cousin, May Battaile, son of Capt. Nicholas Battaile and his worthy wife, Hannah, the youngest sister of my grandfather, James Taylor, and wished to give Mr. Battaile and my brother both a good education and consents to open a large school and took from 20 to 30 young to board. This was in 1775, among the boarders and scholars were: two sons of old James Miller of Port Royal, Larkin Smith, Hugh Roy, Samuel Coleman, Wm. Johnson, Larkin Stannard, Walker Bayler, and Benjamin Taylor. This man Kemp turned out a perfect imposter, he was an excellent penman, read remarkably well and had a taste for drawing and was well calculated to deceive. In two or three months my brother Hubbard told my father that Kemp was an imposter and did not understand the Latin language. My father replied that it could not be so and stated the gentlemen who had pronounced him first class linguist. Hubbard remarked, "father I know but little of Latin, but I have learned enough to know how Kemp is ig-

norant of the language," our father remarked he feared his son did not wish to get a good education. My brother felt mortified and said no more. My father was a member of the Legislature, chairman of a Committee of Public Safety, and was the greater portion of his time from home. About 1775 this time Governor Dunmore dissolved the Legislature and removed the State arms from the arsenal at Williamsburg, at that time the seat of Government of Virginia. My father was a Colonel of the County during the whole period of the Revolution, was required by the Governor of Virginia to organize volunteers, called minute men, from the adjoining Counties making up a regiment. It was organized and trained at the Bowling Green, in Caroline County, commanded by Colonel Patrick Henry, who marched in that year and had a battle with the British forces near Portsmouth at the long Great Bridge, in which I think our troops were victorious. My father took me and remained till the regiment was organized. The regiment made tents of cedar brush by driving stakes in the ground and walling long brush from top to bottom, poles were laid across and coverlets or blankets covered the top, sloping to carry off the rain. I was then six years old had a cocked hat with a buck's tail for a cockade, which were in the hats of all the volunteers. The late Col. Richard Taylor, father of the late Gen'l. Zachery, Colonel F. Taylor, Majors William and Reuben, all afterwards officers of the Virginia State line, and many other gentlemen's sons were privates, also the late Col. John Taylor of Caroline who left the U. S. service as a Major. When Governor Dunmore prorogued the Assembly of Virginia a number of the daring spirits, at their head Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, the late Col. James Taylor and many others, assembled in the Rawley tavern, in Williamsburg, and passed

spirited resolutions much in form of the Declaration of Independence.

In the year 1834, I, in company with Gov. Poindexter, General Taylor and a number of others repaired from Washington to a celebration at old Jamestown, on James River, one of the anniversaries of the first settlers in North America. There was provided a handsome barbecue for from 3 to 4000 people, where was delivered an eloquent oration. Carriages and all strangers were taken to Williamsburg and entertained free of charge and sent back to meet the steam boat, which took us there and we returned to Washington on the evening of the day of the celebration. I was present at a sumptuous supper in the Apollo Room, the same where our ancestors about 60 years before had passed resolutions daring to become free or dying in the course. I felt proud to be associated with such distinguished men, who appeared to be determined to carry out the principles vouched for in those perilous times which tried men's souls.

This was the first time I had seen Jamestown, but had been at Williamsburg in 1788 to be examined for the Surveyor's office of Caroline County, by the Professors of William and Mary College (required at that time) I received my commission from Gov. Peyton Randolph, this office I held till I removed to Kentucky.

Under the Bill of Rights of Virginia (for it had a written Constitution until of late years) the oldest Justice of the Peace received the office of Sheriff in rotation. In December 1787, my father became sheriff a second time. I was in bad health from imprudence at school in overheating myself running course races- playing fox and hounds, running to my father's mill pond a mile from the school house, bathing in the pond and running back in a wet shirt and sitting on a

damp dirt floor of the school house, fixed a disease on my lungs and affected my eyes; that my physician advised that I should be taken from school, ride much on horse back, and attend the medical springs in Summer, as the most likely mode to restore my health. My father advised me to qualify myself as one of his deputies. I did so in December 1787. In '88 I attended at the election of members to the Virginia Convention to pass on the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The Hon. Edmund Pendleton and my father were elected without opposition and Judge Pendleton was President of that distinguished body. Both of them warmly advocated its adoption and voted for it. It was only ratified by a majority of 9 votes in that body. The celebrated P. Henry, Col. Grayson, Cuthbert Battaile and many other eloquent men being opposed to its adoption. I must name an incident which happened on the Court House green, between the late Col. John Taylor of Caroline and my father. He (Col. J. T.) was violently opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, came up to my father and remarked that "that instrument abounded in defects and ought not in his opinion be adopted." My father remarked that he had been waited on by many of the most influential men of the County and unsolicited called on to become a candidate with Judge Pendleton and he had consented and could not withdraw, but told Colonel Taylor if he thought proper to offer his services and assured him it should not be considered by him a breach of their friendship. About this time Colonel Pendleton stepped up and remarked, no Col. Taylor, you must not decline, my nephew John thinks he knows better than we do and will support nothing which will not accord with his opinion of perfection. We know the old confederation is like a rope of sand, nothing compulsory in it. My father remarked there were some features

in the instrument he thought required amendment, that a mode was provided in that instrument for that purpose and whenever its defects were experienced by Congress he had no doubt amendments would be affected, but reserved his remarks to offer if he thought proper, and it would give no offence.

Colonel Taylor remarked, no sir, for two very good reasons I will not be a candidate, I know I could not if I would, and I would not if I could succeed against you.

The first Congress was to meet in New York in ^{march} 1789 and General Washington to be inaugurated. Elections were to be held in the several States in the months of January and February of that year. Virginia was to have ten members. Our Congressional District was composed of the three Eastern Shore counties: Westmoreland, King George, Caroline, King William, King and Queen, Essex and I think New Kent. The Sheriffs of these ten counties met in January, 1789, and we returned the Hon. John Page of Rosehill, our member. We were required to meet on a certain Monday of that month and year and had the whole week to make our return. I got to Rappahannock, on the Rappahannock River, at which place the Sheriffs were required to meet, but we were allowed the whole week to make our return after comparing the polls of the different counties. With the exception of Col. Nutt, the Sheriff from Lancaster, in the Northern Neck, we all boarded in Bankstown. In old times taverns were not provided with separate lodging rooms, as now-a-days, the beds were placed side by side on each side of a long room, and I have seen from a dozen to twenty beds in the same room. We were all in favor of the adoption of the Constitution except Col. Nutt, who would not board with us. We would go to his lodging almost every day and a warm altercation on the merits of the new Constitution would ensue. He was a strong minded man as well as large

stature and was quite plausible and sarcastic in his arguments. I don't think he ever came to our lodgings. I think we all assembled on the first day of meeting except Joseph Fox the Sheriff from King George, who did not make his appearance until after dark on Saturday night. We had given him out and had formed our return and were about to state his non-appearance, when he made his appearance. The river had some ice in it but the Sheriffs of four other counties had crossed without much difficulty. We were pretty hard on him for his neglect in duty and keeping us a whole week waiting on him and his poll was contained on half a sheet of paper and did not contain more than 100 or 150 voters, the election was in January and held on the different Court days of the respective counties and I think his was a very stormy day. He was a sprightly and agreeable man and laughed at our remarks, and we had to put up with him in good fellowship, particularly as he was a warm approver of the Constitution. The town had considerable trade that day and we received many marks of hospitality from its citizens, among them Dr. Ritchie, father of the editor of "The Union," who gave us all a handsome dinner party which we all attended except Col. Nutt. The town did a considerable trade in tobacco at that time the staple of Virginia. It is more generally known by the cognomen of Hobs-hole where there was a tobacco inspection and most of the merchants were Scotch factors, as a general thing at that time. There were frequently more of these inspections in each county and several of them denominated "hole" from the muddy places about the warehouses, I remember there was "Baylor's hole" and several others on James River, there were two inspections in Caroline, at Port Royal and at Conway's warehouse on the same river. At the time I left Virginia there was but one American merchant in

Port Royal out of five or six stores. Mr. John Hipkins was the only exception and there were but few exceptions in Fredericksburg, all Scotch.

On our arrival on Sunday evening our landlord had provided a real dinner-supper, bacon and greens, roast turkey, etc., as many of us had no dinner that day, coming by roads, it suited us very well, but the same fare was provided the next and succeeding days and we could not eat a second dinner, and on retiring to our room at night we remarked that we had no appetite for such substantial fare. We wanted tea, coffee or milk. The next day at dinner a Capt. Gibson, a stout sea captain who had come all the way on horseback from Charlestown S. C. remarked that he had been fed the whole way on fried bacon and eggs and he really believed he felt the bristles coming out of his back. Our landlady was a portly dame with much apparent dignity, observed she feared her guests were feeling the feathers coming out of them as they had been fed so long on turkey. There was a general surprise amongst us for we could not conceive how she got to the knowledge of the remarks in our bedroom, but we learned that one of her sons and bride lodged in an adjoining room and the partition was a plank one and they could hear all our remarks, but we fared better by it for that night we had for supper coffee, tea and chocolate with a variety of tarts, which were continued during our stay.

I continued my duties as Sheriff and Surveyor of my County till July and my health being still bad I was advised to visit the Sweet Springs, then I think in Augusta County, passing through Orange, Charlottesville, Staunton, etc., accompanied by Alexander Shepherd of Orange. We spent six weeks there and our health was much improved. Miller's iron works were the first I ever saw, in Augusta. There I saw

the largest bull I had ever seen, he was imported by Dr. Miller, some of the stock were brought to Kentucky soon after by a Mr. Pollender, son-in-law of Miller, and was known in Kentucky by the "Patton" stock. I saw many of them and bought a calf of about 18 months, which made me a very fine bull and improved my breed of cattle very much. They were good milkers and large instature and I think superior to the Duchess breed, but a cross between I think were better than the whole breed of either.

On my return from the Springs I called and spent a night with old Col. James Madison, father of the late President. I there met Mr. Jefferson with his two daughters. He was on his way to Philadelphia to take charge of the State Department, he was the first official Secretary of State, his oldest daughter became the wife of Thomas M. Randolph, son of Tom, of Tuckahoe, Va., the other daughter became the wife of the Hon. J. W. Epps. Mrs. Epps did not live many years but left I think several children. Mr. Randolph was a Colonel in the late war, was Governor of Virginia but died some years after, his widow survived him many years. I saw her some years afterwards residing with her son-in-law a Mr. Trist who was at the head of one of the Departments of Government and was afterwards our minister in South America. One other daughter married a Mr. Cooledge, of Boston.

The first visit I made to Virginia after my removal to Kentucky, was in January, 1799. I spent a night at Mr. Madison's, he was then a married man, had married the widow of a Mr. Todd of Philadelphia who died with the yellow fever in 1793, her maiden name was Dolly Payne, she had one child by Mr. Todd, Payne, she had no children by Mr. Madison.

He had retired from Congress as the Federalists had got the Assembly and he found his efforts were of no avail, as I understood, and to build an addition to the old fashion

mansion-plain brick house of two stories high, built by his father (many years before).

Colonel John Taylor of Caroline had written to Mr. Madison requesting him to become a candidate for the Virginia Assembly and saying he would be a candidate if he would to endeavor to counteract the force of the Federal party of the Union. I was the bearer of Mr. Madison's letter to Col. Taylor agreeing to his proposition, which I delivered in person immediately on my arrival at my father's, they both were elected and got the Virginia Resolutions passed, drawn by Mr. Madison and presented by Col. Taylor, and were generally called Taylor's Resolutions, declaring the rights of the States, declaring all laws of Congress derogatory to the Constitution of the United States a nullity, that Constitution being the supreme law of the land, but both of these distinguished statesmen were opposed to resisting such laws by force, which South Carolina undertook to do, their plan was by remonstrance and enlightening the people, and when it could be done to have the laws decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

During my stay in Virginia I visited most of the Counties in search of land warrants both of the Virginia Continental Line and United States Military. I drew from the Register's office of Virginia at Richmond, a large amount of these warrants, for Col. John Taylor 5333 acres which he never could obtain. The law of Virginia required three years service to obtain the land bounty, Col. Taylor, finding his small estate badly managed resigned about three months short of three years but I had learned he had volunteered in one of the minute companies which marched under Col. Partick Henry in 1775, at the time Gov. Dunmore was removing the arms and stores from the arsenal at Williamsburg, I got Judge

Pendleton to give me a certificate of this service and I obtained the warrant, located it in Ohio, on the Virginia reservation, embracing the land between the ^{mouth of} Little Miami and the Scioto and to their heads and a line from one to the other.

The United States had but little land at the time and gave their officers and soldiers of the Continental Line: the privates and non-commissioned officers 100 acres, the Lieutenants etc., below Captain 150, Captains 300, Majors 400, Lt-Colonels 450, Colonels 500, and so on. I drew up these warrants for about 12000 acres. No less quantity, at first could be located than a quarter-township of 4000 acres. I located two of these quarter townships. The district set apart to satisfy these warrants extended from the East side of the Scioto to the Muskingum, about five miles north of Columbus, Ohio. The district was afterwards run off into 100 and some into 50 acre lots to satisfy each warrant, which had not been registered, to make up a quarter section. The surplus warrants drawn at that time and afterwards, I located in those subdivided tracts. In 1806 I went up into that district and spent a week or ten days examining those lands and located about 4000 acres in 100 and 50 acre lots on the waters of Walnut Creek, sometimes called "Big Belly" from some persons going to that creek, every house for five or six miles they found the women all with child. I own some of the lands yet, one of my quarter-township of land was located adjoining the National Township on which the town of Delaware stands. There was no settlement nearer than four or five miles of it. The other township was located on the dividing flat between Alum Creek and the White Stone Fork of the Scioto I got a Parson Wilburn to survey both of these tracts for me and ascertain the corners and was with him at the time.

I sold to a Mr. Bixby, this tract back of Delaware for

\$16,000, and took payment in treasury notes and with the proceeds of this and of other lands, loaned them to the United States, under an act of Congress for a loan of 12, or 14,000,000 of dollars, and got \$100 in stock bearing an interest of 6% for every \$88. Of these funds and Com. Bk. currency and by the terms of the advertisement of the Secretary of the Treasury, if any part of said loan was taken at a less rate, those taking the first were to be allowed the same rate and we got \$7. additional on each share of stock. This stock I put into the Bank of the United States. \$80 of this stock and \$20 specie paid upon a share of U. S. Bank stock. The banks of Cincinnati furnished me with the greater part of the specie funds and I owned 402 shares of this stock, sold it for a large advance, to put into operation the Farmer and M. Bank of Lexington; under the law of Kentucky establishing 42 independent banks. I reserved about \$10,000 to establish the Newport Bank, and invested about \$9,000 in the stock of the Bank of Kentucky, the stock of which was reduced by the establishment of the Commonwealth Bank of Kentucky, which was owned by the State alone.

The same party who got this law establishing these independent banks, got the law repealed after about two years, and they had to wind up this, reduce the notes of these banks to a level of the notes of the Commonwealth Bank, which passed generally at 50 cents on the dollar. By this repeal I only got Commonwealth paper for the greater part of my funds I put into those independent banks. I lost upwards of \$20,000, by the course of the Legislature pursued by establishing the Commonwealth Bank. I sold my stock to the Johnsons and John T. Mason, they paid me in their stock of the F. & M. Bank of Lexington and I lost vastly by that course and all large sum is due me still.

In 1803, I was addressed by the then Secretary of War stating a law of Congress had been passed to establish an arsenal for the Western Country somewhere between Maysville and Louisville on the Ohio and to know if in event of its being located in my quarter would I accept the agency to erect the necessary buildings, an arsenal, magazine, and small barracks. That Gen'l. Charles Scott and Governor Garrard had been requested to examine the different positions between these two points and give their opinion as to the most proper place to locate the establishment. I had not heard of the law at the time, I wrote my acceptance ^{of the agency} and set out to see Gov. Garrard and Gen'l Scott, passed through Frankfort, saw Gov. Garrard and went on to see Gen'l Scott, they had each received the Secretary's letters. I named Newport as a proper site and offered to make a donation of 5 or 6 acres of ground immediately at the mouth of the Licking, on the upper side. They both had seen the location proposed and seemed to think favorably of the position and promised to consult, come down and examine particularly its situation. I returned home. In a short time I was informed a scheme had been put into operation by the citizens of Frankfort and its vicinity, an address was drawn by the then Secretary of the State of Kentucky Harry Toulmin, a great barbecue was held at Frankfort and the address presented to the Governor and Gen'l. Scott. I went upon notice of what was going on, called on Gov. Garrard and found he was brought over to the interest of Frankfort. I went to Gen. Scott, he had received the address and invitation to be at the great barbecue, but he declined the invitation. He showed me the address. I found he agreed with me that the construction was intended for the whole Western States, at any rate Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois. I retired early took the address and took notes of the principal ar-

guments, went on to Frankfort, wrote the Secretary of War stating what was going on in favor of Frankfort, stating if the construction was intended for Kentucky alone, Frankfort being the seat of government would be a good position, but as I understood it was for the several States binding on the Ohio, it appeared to me and to Gen'l. Scott, that it was by no means an eligible position, that it was about 40 miles up that river from the mouth on a direct line and near 60 miles by any road and that a very hilly and rough one from the mouth of the Kentucky to Frankfort, that troops and ammunition of war descending the Ohio would have to land and go this circuitous route to get their supplies and deposit those sent the establishment. Offered to donate one to five more acres for the erection of the buildings. In a short time I received a letter from the Secretary directing me to make my contracts for the making the brick and doing all the work required, and drawings were sent out to me for such buildings. The arsenal is 80 by 40 feet, two stories high, beside a 7 foot cellar under the whole, with grated windows. The magazine to be of brick, also 20 feet in diameter in the clear, circular, to be from bottom to top----- and capped with a four foot stone, and made fire proof. A small barrack of 50 feet long, 20 feet wide single story with three dormer windows and divided into three rooms. The making and laying of all the brick work was to be sold to the lowest bidder by public advertisement and was taken by Mr. John Metcalf, uncle to Gov. Metcalf, who connected with him Daniel Mayo of Newport. The carpenter's work of all the buildings was let out to Stephen Lapee, a good farmer and carpenter, and the joiner's work was taken by Amos B. Walson, a very ingenious cabinet workman from New York. The whole work was completed in first rate style and military men who were ever stationed at the garrison declare that the buildings were better and more substantially built

than any public building in the United States, of their kind. We began them in 1803, furnished them in 1804 and went on to Washington in 1805 to settle my accounts.

Gen'l. Scott had been requested to go to Newport as a military man to fix the position of the respective buildings, he came accompanied by his volunteer Aid-de-camp, a Major Hobson, and performed the duty assigned him. Remained with me several weeks, he was a widower at the time and did not keep house. He was not a distant relative of Mrs. Taylor's father, Major Hugh Moss. When I reported the buildings were completed, General Scott was requested to come down and inspect them and report to the War Department as to their faithful execution. This duty he performed and reported in high terms of the manner I had executed the trust reposed in me.

In 1808, when our Government expected to have some trouble with the Spanish Government, in relation to Florida, Gen'l. Philemon Thomas late of Kentucky had raised a regiment of men, attacked the garrison at Baton Rouge and took it with the loss of only one man and some two or three wounded, there had broken out a Revolution in Mexico and the citizens on the West bank of the Mississippi considered they were no longer bound to Spain. When the fort fell they established a kind of territorial government, but soon gave up the country to the United States and in 1819, it was agreed by the United States in exchange for Texas and gave, I think, \$5,000,000 to boot.

In the spring of 1805, my father had decided on dividing a portion of his slaves among his children and invited those of us who had emigrated to Kentucky to go in and secure our parts. I was accompanied by my brothers Hubbard and Edmund and our sister Mrs. Eubank, her husband James, and brother-

in-law Washington Berry. Some time in June of that year I set out on horseback for Washington City. When I went to the Sweet Springs in 1789, in the County of Orange I traded for a remarkable riding horse, a dark bay about 14 hands high, remarkably handsome and the best riding horse I have ever backed. My good old father was pleased with his gait and gave me his own riding horse and a handsome blooded mare for him. He rode him sixteen years, (he was then 25 years old, he was nine years old when I got him) he had given him to my sister Ann Taliaferro the spring I got to Virginia. I rode him and found his spirits in good order and he had no marks of declining age, she lent me the horse.

I had two objects in view in going on my trip to Washington, one to visit Mt. Vernon, the other to visit on my return by the different counties in that direction and obtain authority to draw Virginia Military and United States land warrants. I had procured a list of a number of officers whom I found had not drawn their full quota of bounty land. A friend of mine had given me a letter of introduction to Judge Bushrod Washington, then the owner and occupant of Mt. Vernon, I called on him, dined, lodged there and breakfasted the next day and proceeded on to the City of Washington. On my way to Washington I called on Gen. Burgess Ball, who gave me his authority and I drew a warrant for his 7th year's service, his first wife was a near relative of my father's, of the Thornton family. I was sitting with him under the shade of some trees when a beggar covered in rags, old and decrepit, addressed the Colonel as an old acquaintance, which I do not think he recognized. The beggar asked him to walk aside, which he complied with, beyond the hearing of their voices. They had a short conversation and the Colonel returned and took his seat, "Well, said he to me, to what

degradation human nature can be reduced. That miserable looking being was an officer of the Revolution. I was engaged to be married to your father's relative, but her friends learned that I had a kept mistress in camp and they objected to the marriage till I would put away this woman. I gave this man \$100. to marry her, which he did. The officers of the army put this man in Coventry and would not associate with him, it drove him from the army, he reminded me of the facts of his ruin, to oblige him, and insisted I ought to help him in his forlorn situation." I discovered the Colonel putting his hand in his pocket and hand him something, he told me he had given him \$5., he departed. The Colonel remarked he was from one of the Eastern States.

While I was at Mt. Vernon, Judge Washington went with me to the old vault, unlocked the door, he stood outside, I went in, the General and Mrs. Washington's coffins were placed side by side on the frame of a table of the ordinary height. They each had been covered with black cloth, the General's was quite rotten and the coffin was bare in spots. Mrs. Washington's was entire. The vault appeared to be about 8 by 10 feet square, built of roughly finished stone, arched, covered with earth, on which was growing a number of trees, cedar, locust and others, and a variety of shrubbery. It was situated at the point of the river cliff about 60 yards in a South-east direction from the dwelling house, the back part of which fronted on the Potomac and I think about forty yards from the declivity of the bank which had been graded in waves along the summit of the bank. Double rows of trees, I think locust, diverged off diagonally from each angle of the portico which was near the level of the house, the roof of the portico was supported by large pillars extending up and above the second story of the building. The building is of frame, of

of two stories high and originally, I suppose, was 45 feet square but had received two additions of the same height, one at each end. The South end was the chamber and opposite that end was the kitchen and other outhouses, on the North end was a handsome finished room, with the handsomest marble (Italian) chimney piece I ever saw, of pink and white, beautifully variegated with a carved emblem of domestic scenery, among them the representation of a well, a basket, chair, windlass and a woman, I think drawing water. The house stands on a lofty bluff of the Potomac and it must be from 3 to 400 yards to the water, this declivity appeared to be rough and undulating and shaded by small cedars and other shrubbery, there is an extensive view both up and down the river and overlooks the Maryland side of the river. On the front, or land side, West, the land is level, extending into the grounds beyond the back enclosure of the Avenue. At each angle of the house on that side are store houses the fronts ranging with the house, a small front portico with a few flights of steps to the entrance, which is in a passage extending through the house, the right hand room is the dining room and the opposite one the parlor and back of each are other rooms as it is a double house. On the West or back view of the house, there is an oval of say 40 by 60 feet, a grass plot enclosed by handsome turned posts of say 4 feet high and a chain from one to the other all around, and around this oval is a carriage way of say 16 or 18 feet wide. The open space on that side of the house is 80 yards which I ascertained by steps. There is a curve from this carriage way extending into an avenue of a double row of Lombardy poplars with some few native poplars interspersed, about 40 feet at certain intervals. Each row of trees curved in a kind of festoon to relieve the monotony of direct lines. These

avenues, I think, are between 2 and 300 yards long curving at each end and terminating with artificial mounds of say 8 or 10 feet high, on the apex of which is a single cedar tree not then more than 10 or 12 feet high. Near each angle of the house and in advance of the store houses and between them and the entrance of the avenue stands two magnolias, as well as I remember, about 20 feet high. Next to them stand one on each side, large Spanish chestnuts at least three feet in diameter, forming a regular lap in a conical form and are remarkably handsome. I was told they bear abundantly, the nuts are at least four times as large as the common chestnut. The flower and shrubbery gardens on the North side of the Avenue, which is tastefully laid out in serpentine walks and squares bordered with dwarf box-wood interspersed with handsome flowering shrubs, with ornamental trees around the exterior of the enclosure. There is an excellent greenhouse in this garden. The first elder or shrub I ever saw was in this garden, it was said to be upwards of a hundred years old, it had only flowered once in that time I am told. There was a number of lemon and orange trees of large size full of fruit of great beauty. On the opposite or South side is the kitchen garden, well cultivated and abounding in a great variety of vegetables. West of that and parallel with the avenue on that side, is a complete wilderness of evergreens, cedars, pines, etc., resembling nature. The approach to the house is from the West through a woodland pasture or open ground of several hundred acres in extent shaded principally with post oak of moderate size and rough in appearance, the land, covered with a kind of sedge, very level and poor, of a white clay which is soft in wet weather and hard and dry in dry times and appeared to be as poor as any land I ever saw. Mt. Vernon is situated about 6 or 8 miles East of the

old road leading from Alexandria to Fredericksburg and about the same distance from the former place, nearly West of Mt. Vernon on this road, stood the ruin of Pohick Church, in the parish in which Mt. Vernon is situated and the Church Gen. Washington generally attended.

Each County of Virginia was laid off into parishes of some larger and some smaller, St. Mary's, in which Midway was situated, extended from the Spottsylvania line to below Port Royal, a distance down and bordering on the Rappahannock of 16 or 18 miles and from North to South of 10 or 12 miles. Each parish had generally a handsome brick Episcopal Church, a glebe of about 300 acres with a convenient dwelling and out houses, which the ministers occupied free of rent, and their salary was 16,000 pounds of tobacco. At the time of the Revolution, or soon after the commencement of that period, the salary was done away with but the Ministers continued to enjoy the benefit of the glebes and the salary of the ministers were of voluntary contribution. During the two years I acted as Deputy Sheriff of my father and about another year I was in closing the duties of my office, I collected these dues, but many neglected to pay and the ministers support was very meager. I think not, in our parish, to exceed \$200. or \$300. Some years after my removal to Kentucky the Virginia Legislature passed a law to sell all the glebes and the funds were I think paid into the Treasury and I think the churches were given for purposes of education, but I am not informed if the funds arising from the sale of the glebes were donated to the seminaries of learning. Under the auspices of Col. John Taylor of Caroline, Mount Church, a long handsome brick edifice was converted into Rappahannock Academy and flourished, I am told, remarkably well, but soon after his death and perhaps before it, declined and is not now occupied for that purpose. In this church was a handsome organ of

considerable size, its tones were remarkable in force and it was said to be equal to any one of its size in the United States. It was sold to the Catholic Church at Washington City many years ago for \$600.- I have frequently heard its delightful tones in a church there and regretted and removed from the Parish it has so long occupied.

I went on from Washington City to Culpepper County to see Gen'l. Moses Green with whom I had some land business. I met him a few miles from home, when I got within 20 or 30 steps of him, he stopped and said, "Sir, I do not know you but I know your horse." I told him who I was and he turned back with me to his house. He remarked to me he had owned the horse I was riding about 20 years ago, that he was a large man weighing near 200 pounds, that the horse was too low for him being not more than 14 hands high. That he rode him full 70 miles in a day with a pair of saddle bags and heavy saddle in bad muddy roads. This horse was then 28 years old and lived till he was 32 years old. In this journey I must have ridden him between 5 and 600 miles.

1805

I returned to Kentucky in the fall of that year. A Gen. Carbery had been appointed an agent of the Navy Department. He had taken up his residence in Newport, told me Col. Aaron Burr had been out, that he was an old and intimate acquaintance of his, had been much with him during his stay at Cincinnati, exalted him as one of the most elegant and fascinating men he ever knew and regretted I was not at home to become acquainted with him, but said he would be there again the next spring, when I could have that pleasure. Gen'l. Carbery had caused several gun-boats to be built, two at Marietta and two by the Hon. John Smith, near his farm at the Round Bottom on the Little Miami, about 7 or 8 miles above the mouth. Col. Burr did not get to Cincinnati till some time in October, 1806, he had called to see Gen'l. C. but he

and myself had gone to Cincinnati but did not know of the arrival of Col. Burr. In the course of the evening we called on him, Mr. Smith was with him. When we were about to take our leave Col. Burr invited us to stay and sup with him which we consented to do. We found him very agreeable and one of the most extraordinary men I have ever seen, a small light made man about five feet seven ~~or eight~~ inches, dark blue eyes, the highest forehead I ever saw, remarkably neat in his dress and person and his eyes were more like those of a rattlesnake than like a human being. He returned Col. Carbery's visit the next day, but I was not in at the time and I did not see him.- I had a strong impression his views were not honorable towards our happy government and had thought that it was my duty to notify my Governor of my impressions and the movements of this restless, spirited man. I had written Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, several letters of my opinion of his designs, but I was anxious for a better acquaintance and form a more accurate opinion from my own observations and to this end I invited him to dine with me, with Gen'l. C. and several gentlemen of both sides of the river, Gen'l. Findlay and others of Cincinnati, Washington Berry and others on my side. Col. Burr returned for answer that his business was urgent and he should leave before dinner and regretted he could not do himself the pleasure to accept my invitation. Soon after this Gen'l. Findlay, myself and some others were standing in the street in Cincinnati, I think the conversation had reference to Col. Burr's late visit to Cincinnati and the West. Mr. Smith spoke highly of the talents of Col. Burr and passed many high encomiums on him- he spoke of our interest in the West being different from the Eastern section of the Country, said we were taxed to pay for all the fortifications, ships of war, improving the

harbors, manufacture of arms, and that scarcely a dollar was expended on the Western waters. That our interest was entirely different from the Atlantic country, that our outlet was the noble mississippi, and that we ought to separate our whole country from the Atlantic, by the Alleghany mountains. Both Gen'l. Carbery and myself remarked this would dissolve the Union, that we should return to the old time of the Confederation, and would abandon one of the happiest forms of government in the world, that we considered that a dissolution of the Union would be the greatest curse which could befall our beloved country. Mr. Smith argued strongly to the contrary and that it would be a great blessing. He at length demanded of us if we did not admit a separation would take place sooner or later, we denied it ever would, that our interest and situation was different from any part of Europe that all industrious people who wished to tend the earth could acquire land, stock, etc., and we hoped our happy government would continue a thousand years and indeed to the end of time.

In 1806, I went to Chillicothe, the then seat of government, and met Mr. John Graham who told me the Government was much indebted to me for the valuable information I had given it in relation of Col. Burr's movements and his partisans and he was directed by it to say so to me, that he should make a communication to the Legislature then in Session.

I had informed the government that Burr and Blennerhassett were building large keel boats on the Muskingum, about seven miles up that river, it was supposed, to take their arms and stores from Blennerhassett's Island. Mr. Graham met the Legislature, made known to it the wish of the Government to have these boats destroyed, it passed a law or resolution empowering a company of 80 men to be raised which was done

in a few hours, by volunteers, who went, I think, mounted, and destroyed the boats. Burr and Ellenberhassett, getting notice of this, hastily fixed their guns in bundles and with cords swung them under their flat boats.

Notice had been given to military officers at Cincinnati, Louisville, etc., to search all boats descending the Ohio with arms and to detain them. These boats were searched at Cincinnati but no arms or military stores were found in them and they were suffered to depart, not suspecting where they were secreted. Mr. Graham requested me to set out and hasten to Frankfort as soon as possible and to inform Joseph H. Daviess, U. S. District Attorney, to have Burr apprehended if he was at or near Frankfort and to inform him that he had abundant evidence in his possession to convict Burr of treason to say to him he had not time to write, but requested me to write to him to Washington, Ky., where he would go as soon as he made his communication to the legislature, and would come on to Frankfort as soon as possible and deliver to Mr. Daviess the necessary evidence. I set out in the evening of the same day with one companion, night came on, the snow was about a foot deep, the roads were well beaten, my horse was smooth and slipped up from a smooth inclining part of the road on his broad-side, I had overshoes and leggings on, I rolled off unhurt, but my foot caught in one of the stirrups and I was dragged on my back about 50 yards without injury, my horse got into a long trot and was hastening his pace when my foot luckily got out of the stirrup and my life was saved. My companion soon caught my horse. We rode the greater part of the night of Saturday and got to Frankfort on the evening of the next day by sunset and immediately called on Mr. Daviess and communicated Mr. Smith's request, to which he replied that he had apprehended Burr and tried him the day

before, but had no evidence by which he could be convicted and he would not make any further attempt, that Gen'l. Wilkinson was as guilty as Burr, that he had so informed the Government and informed it if it would authorize him, he would go on to Wilkinson's encampment, apprehend him and bring him to trial, but he had received no response to his letter, that the United States administration was a damned milk and water administration and he would make no further effort to convict Burr. I immediately wrote Mr. Graham the result of my conference with Daviess and no doubt stated all his remarks. The next day I met Col. Burr in the town and we had some conversation, he inquired of me where I was from, I told him and he inquired what was said of him where I had been. I told him there was a speculation as to what his object was in his movements at which he smiled but made no direct reply. I found the citizens were to give him a great ball at Col. Richard Taylor's tavern at which most of the distinguished citizens of Frankfort attended. I was solicited to attend but declined. I put up at Taylor's but as I wished to avoid importunity I went to visit a friend some distance from the tavern. I returned about nine o'clock, P. M. and went into my room and found in it my room-mate Col. James F. Moore, Daviess, the Hon. John Rowan and George M. Bibb, who appeared to be drinking wine and laughing heartily at Daviess' sarcasms and rough speeches against the administration, speaking of it much in the same style of his remarks to me. These gentlemen ^{appeared} ~~seemed~~ to be supporting Daviess, would refuse to attend the ball, which was going on merrily as we were within hearing of the music. The whole company expressed themselves glad to see me and said they had hunted around to find me to join them in their mirth, sing some songs and show our contempt of the ball given to a man suspected of inimical views to our government. I found after-

wards that these gentlemen had begun their drinking and songs in a larger room, which was divided by a rough plank partition and on the other side of the said partition a Mr. Philip Caldwell lay very ill with the head of his bed against the partition of the room in which these gentlemen were making so much noise, they were informed there was a sick man in the adjoining room and the noise was very distressing to him and they were requested to remove to another room and I found them in the room of Col. Moore, Judge F. Cosby and myself.

Caldwell and Daviess had addressed the same lady, the youngest sister of Chief Justice Marshall, they had quarrelled and fought and there was still a great animosity between them, he had heard a great deal of Mr. Daviess' improper expressions against Mr. Jefferson's administration which he communicated to Judge Harry Innes, District Judge of Kentucky, between whom there was not a very good understanding. Daviess had married Miss Marshall. There was a great misunderstanding between the whole Marshall family and Gen'l. Wilkinson and I understood there had existed a long lawsuit between one branch of that family and Gen'l. Wilkinson and Gen'l. Thomas Sandford was a member of Congress in the winter of 1806-7. Judge Innes wrote to him that Joseph H. Daviess was very abusive of Mr. Jefferson and his administration, naming the very expression referred to and that he multiplied suits in the Federal Court in his opinion improperly, Gen'l. Sandford showed this communication to President Jefferson, which I think he was requested to do by Judge Innes, and Daviess was dismissed from office. Daviess had removed from Frankfort to Owensboro, on the Ohio. I met him in Frankfort the next fall. Gov. Greenup had appointed him a colonel of militia, over the officers in that County, which had given great

offence. It was in the street. I addressed him by his rank and offered my hand, he drew back saying, Sir, I speak to no eavesdropper, I demanded of him what he meant, I dont understand what you mean. Dr. Marshall, his brother-in-law was by his side, he took me by the arm and said, I am very sorry you have met Col. Daviess, I have a communication for you from Col. Daviess, Have you a room at Col. Taylor's? We were just opposite, I answered I had and we walked to it and he, Dr. Marshall, presented me with a very insulting letter and challenge, the letter charging me with coming into the room, hearing his conversation and his remarks as to President Jefferson and the administration, reporting it to my representative Gen. Sandford, who had informed President Jefferson of it and he had been turned out of office and degraded. I took the letter and challenge and told Dr. Marshall that Col. Daviess should hear from me. Robert Wickliffe, Esq., boarded in the same house with me, I went to his room and showed him the papers, told him how I had been insulted in the street, that I had determined not to put up with the insult, that as I was not very conversant in the rules of duelling I went to consult him and Mr. Clay and governed myself by their advice. It was near sunset and there came a violent storm and we were prevented from consulting Mr. Clay who boarded at a different house. In the morning we called on Mr. Clay before he was up, showed him the papers and made the statement such as I had made to Mr. Wickliffe. They desired I would state to them all the facts of the case, which I did, that I had gone to my own room found Col. Daviess and the other gentlemen there, with all the particulars before related, that no secrecy was enjoined upon me or any one present, that I had no recollection of having informed Gen'l. Sandford of the several harsh expressions

I had heard Daviess make about President Jefferson and his administration but had no doubt I had told him everything I had heard him, Daviess, utter, but one thing I was confident of and that I was incapable of detailing anything but what was strictly true. That I was strengthened in the impression that it was not by any procurement of mine he had been dismissed, that if I had authorized Col. Sandford to have laid the facts before the President it could not escape my recollection, and moreover when I heard of Col. Daviess' dismissal from office I did not know for what cause. I told Mr. Clay and Wickliffe I meant to accept Daviess' challenge and meant to place my honor and life to their better judgment, that I had a wife and several children who were very dear to me, but I could not think of putting up with such a gross insult. My brother Hubbard was in Frankfort at the time, left the next morning with knowing a word of the occurrence. Mr. Clay observed I should not lack a friend, but he had a similar difficulty with Col. Daviess and he would prefer Mr. Wickliffe should act as my second, but if he would not, he, Mr. Clay, would. I observed to them that I understood the challenged party had a right to choose the weapons and distance, that I was near-sighted, that I would choose pistols and the distance not more than five steps, but would prefer three, that I could fire as quick as he could. Mr. Wickliffe agreed to act as my friend and he and Mr. Clay drew up my acceptance. It was taken by Mr. Wickliffe to be delivered to Dr. Marshall, the friend of Col. Daviess, who was informed that Mr. Wickliffe, my friend, would furnish all the preliminaries for the meeting. The distance I had chosen and some other consideration, caused some doubt in the minds of the opposing party and after a day's reflection began to think that it was not only possible but probable

that they had been misinformed of the source from whence had arisen his Daviess' dismissal. The challenge was withdrawn to open the door for consideration and a full understanding of the case.

It was known that a remarkable intimacy existed between Gen'l. Sandford and myself, he had not long since married his second wife, a not very distant relative of mine. He, Daviess, had received the information from Washington, founded on these premises that I was the source of the information given by Gen'l. Sandford to President Jefferson, which was founded on mere conjectures. After a day or two Col. Daviess was satisfied he had done me great injury and made an ample apology, perfectly satisfactory to both Mr. Wickliffe and Mr. Clay, and thus the matter ended as to Col. Daviess and myself.

When I got home I saw Gen'l. Sandford and told him how near I had been in risking my life by his agency in having Col. Daviess removed from office the preceding winter. He expressed great surprise and declared he had never heard from me a word of Col. Daviess' abuse of President Jefferson and the administration, that the information had been given him by Judge Innes, that it was made by him on the information of Philip Caldwell, before referred to and the Judge had added some misconduct of Col. Daviess' in the discharge of his official duties, that he had presented this letter to President Jefferson, who caused him, Col. Daviess, to be promptly dismissed. In about a week's time from those occurrences at Frankfort, Gen'l. Sandford came to my house and presented me a challenge which had been delivered to him by Col. James F. Moore, the evening before, notifying him Col. Daviess would be at Cincinnati till 10 o'clock the next day and he, Col. Moore, would receive any communication he, Gen'l. Sandford,

had to make to Col. Daviess. I had some important business to transact with some persons from a distant part of the State-Gen. Sandford said to me that I had a family, held the office of both Clerkships, that he felt a reluctance in calling upon me to be his friend on the occasion, but said there was no other person he had the same confidence in as myself. After considerable reflection I told him I was confident if I was similarly situated with himself, he would not refuse me and I should run all risks. We made out his acceptance of the challenge, he observed he was very little accustomed to pistol shooting, but was a good marksman with a rifle, that he could take off a squirrel's head off hand at 60 yards, that he would meet Col. Daviess with a rifle, the distance 60 yards, and I was authorized to arrange the preliminaries of the meeting. We got to Cincinnati about -- o'clock A. M. Colonels Daviess and Moore were at the door of the tavern, Daviess said Colonel shall I order the horses) I suppose so replied Moore, I told Col. Moore I had a communication for him he invited me to his room. As I entered I discovered two sets of pistols and holsters in a corner of the room. I handed Col. Moore General Sandford's acceptance of the challenge. In a short time the waiter came and was about to take the baggage down, "stop, said Col. Moore, not so fast," It appeared to me that the party was in hopes Gen. Sandford would not attend or give any response to Col. Daviess' note. Col. Moore left me to seek col. Daviess, he returned, we conversed, when I told him Gen. Sandford's decision of rifles and distance. This Col. Moore seemed to think was murderous. I remarked that Gen. Sandford was ignorant of the use of the pistol, that custom gave him the right to choose the weapons and the distance, that he had made up his mind and I could not depart from it. Col. James Morrison was in Cincinnati,

whether by chance or by request I am not positively advised, but there was a great intimacy between him and the Colonels and they were joint executors of Col. Geo. Nicholas, deceased, after considerable conversation Col. Moore concluded to withdraw the challenge and to open the door for negotiations and it was proposed by Col. Moore that all matters in dispute should be left to the two seconds, he and myself, with Col. Morrison, which I made known to Gen. Sandford, we met and it was decided by us that Gen. Sandford should give, under my inspection, extracts of all letters received by him from Judge Innes, relating to Col. Daviess' dismissal, in a few days Gen. Sandford came up to my house and we made such extracts as we considered had any bearing on the case, and inclosed them to Col. Moore, as requested. At that time the Legislature met on the first Monday of November and the Federal Court the same day. Gen. Sandford had about that time received an order from the Adjutant General to furnish a full company of men by volunteer or draft from Col. Cave Johnson's Regiment of Boone and my Regiment from Campbell. Gen. Sandford had considerable military pride and was desirous that the company should be furnished by volunteers and for this purpose ordered the two regiments to meet on the line of the two counties and he would attend and endeavor to raise required force by volunteers. Gen. Sandford had been elected to the Senate, but postponed his setting off for Frankfort till after the meeting of the two regiments and particularly as I was under a subpoena to attend the Federal Court on the first day of the Court. On Saturday preceding, he took a measure of wheat with two of his men servants, went to Cincinnati and offered it for sale, but could not sell at the price he considered it worth and he concluded to take it up to a good merchant miller on the Little Miami and have it ground. The day turned out to be very stormy and the Ohio

was very high for that season of the year, he found great difficulty in stemming the current, the wheat was heavy,, only two hands and there was much drift and trees fallen in from the banks and he found he could not get up and returned that evening, re turned about, came to Cincinnati, sent one of his servants to inform the merchant to whom he had offered his wheat in the morning if he would send his drays he should have the wheat at the price he had offered. The servant did not find the merchant at his store, Gen. Sandford waited till near sunset and pushed off with the one hand. There was a grove of trees at the landing and on the boat striking the shore, the force of the current forced the steering oar against him and forced him from a platform on which he stood up to steer the boat. It was a cold wet day and he had on a stout big-coat with a large cape reaching to the waist, this fell over his head, he could not swim and he was drowned. The weather became very cold and the water froza over and at length fell, there was a large mass of ice settled on the second bank and it covered him and six weeks from the day he was drowned, some of the family were at the landing and discovered through a crack in the ice something like cloth and on examination the General was found within a few feet of where he fell overboard, he was laying on his face Mrs. Sandford and his son Alfred sent for me immediately and I went down. His residence was about three miles below the mouth of the Licking. It is the place Thomas D. Carneal bought from Gen. Sheers, he built a handsome house on it, sold it to a Mr. Bullock, an Irishman, who removed from London to the city of Mexico, but became dissatisfied with the people, was on his way Eastward, stopped in Cincinnati, became acquainted with Maj. Carneal whom he visited, and bought the whole tract of about 950 acres at \$25 per acre. He resided

on it some few years and sold it to Major Israel Ludlow, who sold several hundred acres of it to a Mr. Kenner who had lately sold it back to Ludlow, who is lately dead. It is now considered worth full \$75 per acre. On Wednesday after the first Monday of November, at Frankfort, we received the tidings of Gen. Sandford's death, it caused a considerable sensation as he was a man much esteemed as a public man and valuable citizen, he was a member of the Convention which revised our Constitution in the year 1799, in which he was considered a very useful and efficient member. Thus perished a man for whom I had formed a warm friendship, indeed I never was more intimate, and this was heightened by his marriage a few years before with Miss Margaret Bell, late of Orange County, Va., the niece of Col. Richard Taylor, she left one child a son Cassius, who is highly respectable, a steamboat captain and owner. Mrs Sandford died lately, much respected and esteemed by all who knew her, at about the age of 77 or 8. Gen. Sandford left two other sons: Alfred and Alexander Pope Sandford, both of whom have represented Campbell County in the Kentucky Legislature and are still alive. Alexander P., near Covington and Alfred near Jefferson Barracks Missouri.

Among the public buildings I erected for the Government at Newport, was a small barrack 50 by 30 feet, a single story and dormer windows, containing three rooms. Major Amos Stoddard, with two companions, was ordered to the Newport arsenal to prevent all hostile armaments from descending the Ohio, he arrived in January 1807. There were no quarters for the men and I had to fix up berths in the arsenal cellar with stoves until I could build barracks for them. The winter was extremely severe, I put up a building about 50 by 30 feet of frame, there were no bricks to be had on the Newport side and I had to haul them across the Ohio on hand sleds, by the

soldiers, and built the chimney double with a fire place in each room, making the mortar with hot water, the men then occupied this barrack. From this time I acted as the Government Agent, both as Quartermaster for all the disbursements in those departments. At the session of Congress of 1807-8 several additional regiments were authorized to be raised in Kentucky. I was directed by the Secretary of War, in August of that year, to provide barracks for a regiment of officers and men at Newport. I received my orders on the 8th and commenced work on the 16th of that month and by October, by the time the first companies arrived there, I had accommodations for them and so on as they arrived. This regiment was raised in Kentucky, Gen'l. Zachary Taylor and Gen'l. Jesup, were among the officers then appointed. For the officers' quarters I built the building of eight front rooms of 16 feet square with kitchen back of same length and twelve feet wide, it was left to my judgment to build them of frame or logs, I adopted the former. They are now standing and in good order the range in a line with the East end of the arsenal and extending at right angles Southwardly. I put up two lines of barracks beginning at the South end of the first barrack. I built extending South along the East side of the Government's property to near the South end of the lot and another line at right angles on the rear of the lot, these also of frame. This regiment was moved down and cantoned under Gen'l. Wilkinson at some distance below New Orleans and continued in that quarter till the declaration of the late war of 1812. In the spring of 1810 I went on to Wahsington to settle my account for Expenditure for the latter buildings, William Simmons was the accountant of the War Department, he embarrassed me as to my compensation although I had Gen'l. Dearborn's letter fixing my compensation at one

and a half percent on my expenditure, I demanded my accounts and said I would go to Boston and see Gen'l. Dearborn in person. In reply to my remark, "suppose Gen'l. Dearborn should be at Kennebeck." Well I will go there or wherever he may be. I had dined the same day with the Hon. Robert Smith, Secretary of State, in company with William Shaylor, a distinguished agent of the Government at distant courts. I set out the next day in company with him. I stopped at Newark, N. J., he went on, invited me to dine with him in New York, at a Mr. Ingrams, with whom he lived and was engaged in commercial business, which I engaged to do. He told me to come to a certain public house, that a second stage would pass Newark about 10 o'clock A. M. I reached the tavern and found Mr. Shaylor approaching and after changing my dress accompanied him and spent a very agreeable day. He had an uncle in the Western army I was well acquainted with, he was a Major. I had named to Mr. Shaylor I was going to Boston, that I wanted to see both land and water routes, to go or come by water and it was immaterial to me which I did first. He observed he was an old salt and would accompany me and choose me a good packet. we set out and after passing two or three squares, it blew up from the North East and began to rain, he remarked that such weather frequently held on several days, that I would not be able to be on deck to see the beautiful scenery on the East river and advised me to return and take my passage in the stage, go by land and return by water and I did so. Next morning I repaired to the stage office, it set out with its full complement.- By thence we got out of the city. Judge Hopkinson, late district Judge of the United States Court, then a distinguished lawyer remarked, Well gentlemen where are you all going? Here is myself, Dr. Glutworth and Captain Kerr,

going to Boston. I remarked that was my destination, a Mr. Swan said he was going there and all told began to drop the other passengers as we progressed. When we reached New Haven there were but us five in the stage. We dined there, Mr. Swann continued on- got a carriage and we four proceeded to Whitney's Manufactory of Arms, he had a contract with the United States for arms. He is the same person who invented the cotton gin, then and now extensively used in the South and southwestern states. This was the first manufactory of arms I had seen. It was about three or four miles from New Haven and here a very remarkable place called "Goff & Wholey's Cave" on the Eastern declivity of a high ridge, there called a mountain, was situated. These men were two of the British Parliament who condemned to death Charles the First, under Oliver Cromwell, and after his overthrow these men fled to America, a large reward was offered for their heads and they kept themselves secreted after Charles the Second ascended the throne. I, being the most expert footman, found it, we examined it and found it a curious place to be called a cave. There is a pile of rocks of considerable size and an aperture of about 6 or 8 feet wide and two columns extending up and inclining over to within about three feet at the top, this aperture we understood they closed in front and rear with poles and occupied it many years and until their death, being furnished by their friends with provisions during the time Gen. Hillhouse resided at New Haven. We got the loan of the history of Connecticut and from it found this relation: that the Indians made an incursion into the town, the citizens met them with all force, a stranger appeared among them of remarkable bearing, whom the whole force by a kind of instinct, appeared to obey. The contest was sharp and a bloody one. After the defeat of the Indians, the most prom-

inent of the citizens of the Town sought the stranger, I think Goff, but he was not to be found, he had disappeared to their hiding place and they were ignorant of this distinguished military Captain. Both Goff and Wholey lay in the old burying ground, we were shown their graves, each had rough head stones with their initial plainly cut in them. This town is the seat of Yale College, which we visited, it was time for vacation. I considered New Haven the handsomest town I had ever seen, there were a great many of the handsomest shade trees, a great deal of open space, it is situated in an extensive plain. We also visited the cemetery of about 30 acres at that time inclosed with a handsome palisade of white tipped with black, laid off in handsome avenues, planted in trees. The squares subdivided into lots of about 10 feet square, in the center of most of them were a handsome monument of 10 or 12 feet high with inscriptions on the four sides, of the deceased. I am told this burying ground has been increased to 70 acres. The town is handsomely built with good brick houses, beside the college, Court House, Churches, etc.

We lodged there and set out the next day and went on to Hartford; dined there and spent the evening with Gov. Wolcott whom we found a remarkably interesting, intelligent and agreeable man. In the course of the evening he accompanied us to the famous Charter Oak in which the Charter of the State was hid and saved. The King of England had decided to revoke the Charter of the State, a meeting was held, the charter produced a warm discussion took place, words got high, it was night, one of the company knocked over the candle, seized the charter, bore it away and hid it in this large white oak tree which was hollow. It was still alive and on the commons of the town. I am told it has long since

been enclosed, I think, with an iron railing to protect it from damage.

We set out the next morning for Boston via Providence, situated at the mouth of a river of that name, on both sides of the river but connected by a bridge, here we lodged and the next day reached Boston, passing through several villages and some very poor sandy land, much of it at that time shaded by pine not of large growth.

In Boston we put up at an excellent boarding house kept by a Mrs. Carter. I had not an acquaintance in the town for I found Gen. Dearborn was residing in Roxbury, a handsome town about 9 miles distant. A Col. Whiting, then Adjutant General, and stationed at Washington, proffered and gave me a letter of introduction to Colonel, afterward General, Boyd, who commanded Ft. Independence, on an island about three miles from town. I threw my letter into the Post Office with a note on where I would be found, he came up but we did not meet but he addressed me a note inviting me to dine with him at the fort the next or succeeding day, and informed me he would send his barge up for me at a designated wharf and at a certain hour to take me to the Fort. I repaired at the time, dined with a large party of officers, ate a good dinner and he sent me back in the evening. Those gentlemen, my travelling companions, had a number of distinguished acquaintances residing in Boston. The day after our arrival I accompanied them to the house of the distinguished Peter Stewart, who painted Gen'l. Washington, the elder John Adams, and Mrs. Madison. He was in his studio and was at the time making a portrait of the famous Jackson, generally called Copenhagen Jackson, who was in the British Fleet and caused it to bombard that town. Stewart told us he had painted, while in London, this Jackson's father and he was

desirous that this distinguished artist should paint himself. This distinguished artist told me that Capt. Jouett was the only artist he ever thought worthy of giving instructions to. He soon after the late war, painted my portrait, he (Jouett) went to New Orleans, staid too late in the season, came home to Kentucky and died soon afterward, much regretted by all who knew him.

Our parties had Mr. Stewart every day at our dining parties. We gave a dinner to a party of the gentlemen of Boston, acquaintances of our party, and never dined at our lodgings again during our stay there, and we invariably supped at a different place during our stay. We visited Bunker's and Breed's hills where the memorable battle was fought on the 17th of June 1775, three times, and at one of our visits Gen. H. Dearborn accompanied us, showed us the spot where Gen. Warren fell and gave us an account of all the principal occurrences of the battle.

Breed's hill is a bench back of Charlestown, at the junction of the Mystic and Charles Rivers. This bench extends from one river to the other, from a fourth to a half a mile distant, a post and rail fence extended the greater part of the distance, this ground was in meadow and the grass just mowed, some of the rails broken out and a kind of rack formed in which was thrown the hay which formed a good blind, our sharp shooters were placed behind this blind, of which the enemy were ignorant, they were ordered not to fire till they could see the whites of their eyes, they did so and poured a most destructive fire on them at which they recoiled but were forced to the charge several times by the officers. General Dearborn told us the British officers would generally step in advance of the platoons and invariably met their fate. He remarked that a fine looking

officer, one of the staff of the commanding general, was seen to depart for a distant part of the British line, several shots were aimed at him and he fell from his horse. The Americans had on the previous day thrown up a redoubt which was guarded by a portion of our force who did great execution to the enemy, but when our troops had to retire for want of ammunition, the greatest carnage occurred in their retreat from it. Gen. Dearborn said their powder was dealt out to them by a man from a bucket with a small tin cup, he said he saw several men, after they had received their measure pass on and get a second supply. There were, he said three regiments in the action, of about 500 men each, one commanded by then Colonels Stark, Prescott and ———. That Gen. Putnam had a considerable force on Bunker's Hill, no doubt guarding a log behind the hill, where the water at high tide flowed from one river to the other. If the British had sailed up either of these rivers, and landed their troops, they could have captured the whole American force, but they were vainglorious and many of the officers remarked in Boston they were going over for a frolic and would be back to dinner, but few of them ever ate another dinner, there were upwards of 1100 killed by our 1500 force. The enemy fortified Bunker's Hill, a beautiful flat of five acres. The hearths of their fireplaces were plainly to be seen entirely around the walls of their fort, when we were there, it had not been cultivated, nor had Breed's Hill, all lay in commons from the town as far as we could see, for a mile at least, around this eminence from which we had a most extensive view of Dorchester, Roxbury and many other heights, surrounding Boston. From this height and the cupola of the State House, I think we were told 14 villages could be seen, then counties were divided into Townships of about 5 miles square in each of which a handsome

village is established, where most of the mechanical trades are carried on, also shoe and boot making, to a great extent. We visited Salem, a seaport town, where we saw the handsomest collection of marine curiosities I ever saw. We also went to Cambridge and visited the famous College, near that town a machine had just been invented and was in full operation, for making machine and hand cards. The back of the cards, the leather for them was stretched on a frame, the grain side up. They were in a hank on a common winding reel, from which the end of the wire for the teeth to be formed is drawn through a pair of rollers which struck against a plate on the opposite side a pair of pliers took in the center drew it between a space just the width of the tooth an instrument pierced two holes in the leather and the pliers forced the staple into the holes opened and let it go and another piece of iron or steel the width of the row of teeth sprung up and gave the whole row the necessary crook which finished the row of teeth. The whole operation was performed by girls from 12 to 16 years old and was done by a crank and handle and I think each tooth was formed quicker than 60 to the minute and indeed it appeared to me nearly double that speed. It appeared to me more like clock work than anything I ever saw.

Boston at that time contained a population of only about 30,000, it now contains, I think, upward of 100,000. It appeared to me the most orderly town I was ever in, it was governed by trustees and had a Mayor. The Legislature was in session, then June 1810. We were made acquainted with a number of both branches of that body. I was invited to dine with the hon. Josiah Quincy at his country seat, near Boston, but had to decline the honor, it being the same day I had previously engaged to dine with Col. Boyd at Ft. Independence, which I regretted very much.

A Mr. Shaw, a nephew of the late President Adams, boarded at the same house with us, he was Mr. Adams' private secretary while he was president. He took me out to President Adams' private seat, at Quincy about nine miles from Boston, where we spent a very agreeable day and supped with the worthy and distinguished old pair, who both appeared to have screened old age. We left about ten o'clock P. M. and returned to Boston. While we were there the citizens gave the British Jackson a public dinner to which Judge Hopkinson had been invited, he doubted whether he ought to attend it but I as well as Glentworth and Kerr wished him to attend and give us an account of the proceedings at the festival. When Mr. Shaw came to dinner he was much mortified that Judge Hopkinson had gone to a dinner given to a man who had insulted our Government and it had required his recall and he was then on his way to England. We next morning visited the Taunton Buildings an immense edifice built in a square, with an interior arena, containing I think, 100 feet square. The edifice was destroyed by fire some years after. At our dinner, referred to, and frequently with us was Mr. Thomas Adams a son of the President. He was a fine looking man and sang as good a song as I ever heard. I understood he was somewhat intemperate and I think died long since. The artist Stewart was a fine looking man of large stature, remarkably witty and agreeable, was always with us at our dinner parties. He had spent many years in London, made large sums by his art but spent it unwisely, gave he told us a dinner to a half dozen convivial quests, generally each day, he had omitted one day to invite some friends into his dining room and found a fine roast pig on the table, he could not think of enjoying this delicacy alone, which he said he considered a very fine one in London, he took his pencil and in a minute sketched a table, put six

plates on it and the pig in the center and himself solus, his servant understood him, went off and in less than 15 minutes he had his table full and they spent a most joyful dinner and mirthful evening. I became acquainted with a Mr. Callender, an attorney, nephew of Gov. Cores, who was afterwards Senator of the United States. Mr. Callender wished me to go out with him to his country seat a few miles from Boston and dine with him, but my time was short I could not avail myself of his friendly offer. I was well acquainted with his father Capt. Ebenezer Callender who was a brave Captain of the Navy, commanded the ship "Dragoon" was a particular friend of Com. Richard Taylor, they frequently sailed in company and fought together till Com. Taylor had his thigh broken, which deprived him of activeness till the close of the war of the Revolution. Capt. Callender became much attached to the people of Virginia, settled in Fredericksburg and engaged in merchantile business and I think married his second wife there. The attorney at Boston was by a former wife.

Our party spent our time most agreeably in Boston 8 or 10 days, came on to New Haven by a different route from that which we had gone, there took a packet, came down through Hell Gate, which is between Long Island and the land side of New York on which there are a number of the handsomest country seats I ever saw. We landed in New York and went on in stages to Philadelphia. Capt. Kenn called on me and invited me to spend my time with him while in the city which I accepted and divided time with my friends Hopkinson and Glentworth, to all of whom I became much attached, which continued as long as I visited Philadelphia. Judge Hopkinson composed the famous song "hail Columbia". He was some years afterwards appointed the the District Federal Judge of Penn-

sylvania which he continued to hold until his death about three years. Both Dr. Glentworth and Capt. Kerr died about ten or twelve years ago.

On my return to Washington the Hon. Benjamin Howard of Fayette Co. Ky., a member of Congress, was appointed Governor of the Territory of Missouri. I had some business in Baltimore, where Gov. Howard went to obtain a suitable address for his station. We received considerable attention while there, 8 or 10 days, and on returning took a trip to Raspberry Plain, the seat of Gen. Armstead Mason and his widowed mother, S. T. Mason. Gov. Howard had a small acquaintance with Miss Mary Mason, daughter of S. T. M., and went up to address her which he did and they were married the next winter. She was a very accomplished and handsome woman about 20 years old. Gov. Howard was a tall and well proportioned man, I think about 35 years old, very commanding in appearance, a lawyer by profession and had been one of the judges of the Circuit Court, some years before was in Congress his mother was a Preston.

I had some business with Col. Rawling Colston, in Jefferson Co., Va., my object was to purchase part of a tract of land which covered, in part, a tract of 5000 acres on the Licking, on the North West side embracing Bank Lick, on which a saw mill had been erected but had washed away. This was Harris' 6th survey, in which I had purchased a part embracing the mill seat. Col. Colston readily sold me all of his tract which interfered with Harris' which was supposed to be about 1000 acres, but found to be about 1,300 which I was to pay for at the rate of \$2. per acre. From a connection Col. Robert Johnson had given me who surveyed Col. Colston's land, it appeared his survey covered the mouth of Bank Lick, but he had not run the closing line, but called for course and

distance and a stake on the bank of the Licking. When this line was run it struck Licking about 50 poles below the mouth of Bank Lick. I paid for the land and got my deed from Edward Colston, son and executor of Rawling Colston. I proceeded the next year to build me mills, both saw and grist, and have them in operation at this time. Maj. John Crittenden, whose wife was a daughter of Col. Harris, claimed this 5000 acres, and had sold most of it which interfered with Col. Colston, it was reserved, being the elder grant from the purchasers and I purchased all their claims and quieted the claims for improvement. I also purchased most of 5000 acres on the upper side of Bank Lick and still hold it.

In 1811, Col. Boyd came to the Newport Arsenal and barracks with the 4th U. S. regiment, which he commanded, on his way to join Gov. W. H. Harrison, and was second in command at the memorable battle of Tippecanoe on the West of the Wabash, where he defeated the Indians under "The Prophet" a brother of Tecumseh. A number of valuable officers fell there and among them Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, commanding a battalion of mounted Kentucky Volunteers.

Gov. Harrison destroyed the Indian town and a large quantity of corn and other produce and returned to Vincennes where he was Governor of Indiana.

My much esteemed brother Edmund died in the fall of that year by a malignant fever as did also Dr. E. Dogen who had married the widow of my nephew James T. Eubank, a niece of Mrs. Taylor's. My brother ^{was a clerk and subaltern for the army at} ~~was~~ a most estimable man. He had come out at 14 years old, was educated at Lexington, married a daughter of Dr. and my suht Hinde, by whom he left two daughters, the eldest one, Mary Ann was the wife of Robert Todd and the other, Martha now the wife of Col. Edmund H. Taylor, Cashier of the Bank of Kentucky, both estimable men.

Mr. Todd living in Newport and owning his wife's share of the land my father gave my brother Edmund.

In June 1812, war was declared by the United States against England. I was acting Government Agent of both the Quartermaster and Paymaster of all the disbursements in and about the New port garrison. The United States Government had early in April of that year made a requisition on the Executive of Ohio, Gov. R. I. Meigs, for three regiments of volunteers to strengthen our garrison at Detroit, the Governor appointed Col. D. McArthur to command the first, Col. James Findlay the second and Col. Lewis Cass to command the 3rd regiments ~~with~~ with all that was necessary for their march. There were arms at the arsenal of very bad quality, made by contract, and nothing else. I sent on to Lexington, bought all the good country linen I could procure, powder and lead, had tents and marquees made for the officers and men, knapsacks and camp equipage of every description. I had some recollection of a Capt. Thorp who was Gen. Anthony Wayne's principal artificer in his campaign of 1793 and '4. Sent for him and appointed him to a similar station. I was solicited by Gov. Meigs to accept the appointment of Q. M. General and march with the army to Detroit, which I accepted. He authorized me to appoint three assistants. These appointments of myself and assistants were sanctioned by the Secretary of War and by Gen'l. Hull when he came on from Washington in May. Capt. Thorp had aided me in having two ammunition wagons and a travelling forge made, all waterproof. The latter was drawn by six horses, a good supply of iron and steel, building tools, etc. A good supply of intrenching tools, spades, shovels, pick axes and axes for those of the men clearing the road &c. A good supply of medicine and hospital stores, wine, brandy and whiskey.

Gen'l. Hull remained a few days at Cincinnati, made a

these regiments were concerned at Dayton Ohio, by Gov. Meigs, who was requested by the Secretary of War to repair to Cincinnati and Newport - and call on me to advise him in furnishing these regiments

requisition on me to purchase four pack horses for his baggage; but took one for his own saddle horse, one for his aide-camp, Abraham Hull, one for his engineer Lt. Partridge, and one for his servant. The pack horses cost generally from \$30 to \$40., Col. Findlay suggested to me he was sure Gen. Hull intended these horses for the saddle for himself and party of staff and that I had better provide one rather better for the General. I think I gave \$45. for a snug sorrel near 15 hands high, stout and a good hackney for his price. It was as we supposed, neither he nor his staff procured any other horses to ride. The General did purchase a broken down horse which was never backed or was fit to be ridden during the march.

The regiment of the 4th regiment, which was with Gov. Harrison at Tippecanoe, came to Newport, while the 3rd Regiment was at Dayton, commanded by Lt. Col. James Miller, it marched to that encampment. They were organized by the talented and patriotic Gov. Meigs and had he marched and commanded that army, or had Gen'l. McArthur had the command, we should have taken Ft. Malden and all upper Canada. McArthur was an excellent woodman, brave and belonged to a company of spies in Gen. Wayne's campaign. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup was Gen. Hull's brigade Major and was better versed in military duties than any of us and Gen. Hull could not have got on without him. He had seen active duty from 1808 until that time. There was a volunteer company of Cavalry in Cincinnati commanded by a Captain Sloane, his Lt. Walker and the cornet I think Harkwalder, the latter was the only officer worth a groat. Gen. Hull was authorized to engage this troop and it marched with us. I appointed the late Major Taylor Berry my first assistant, Major Thomas Carnsall my second and Wm. K. Beall my third assistant. They marched with the army to

Darton, except the 2nd assistant, who went with me where I made some advances to the troops to get supplies, clothing etc I returned home to complete my supplies, came up with the command at Urbana.

It was first intended to march via Ft. Wayne, which is at the junction of the St Mary's and St. Joseph's forks of the Maumee of the lake and to have marched down that river by Gen. Wayne's battle ground, about two miles above the rapids, which is about three miles above old Ft. Miami, that river having that name at that time was altered, as there is the Big and Little Miami, in Ohio, mouthing in the Ohio. That is now changed to "Maumee". The three Colonels, I think, influenced Gen. Hull to change his route. We left the encampment about the middle of June. Lt. Stansberry, from Maryland, came on with about 30 recruits for the 4th Regt. and joined it at Urbana. The first encampment was at a good spring at Solomans, an Indian town at the Pigeon Prairie, there were several Indian huts still standing, covered with bark, about 12 or 14 miles from Urbana the seat of Justice for Champlain County. We passed Wayne's treaty line about two miles South of Solomon's town, at a line nearly East and West from Lawrence's Store on the Big Miami to the River Muskingum and crossing it I suppose until it struck the Ohio above Wheeling, all South of this line was yielded to the United States and North of it was assigned to the Indians. I had employed and impressed and had in my department about 136 wagons, mostly horse teams, but some ox. From this encampment there was no road, Col. McArthur went forward and opened the road and built a block house on Ft. McArthur, the South side of the Scioto. We crossed the river which was fordable and encamped about 400 yards from the block house on a branch, here we laid a day for some supplies to come up. From here Col. Findlay sent forward and opened the road to

the mouth of Blanchard's Fork of the Auglaize, a branch of the Maumee where he built a block house, Ft. Findlay. An Indian chief, an old crone with 18 or 20 warriors had joined us and here they made us three bark canoes in which we transported our iron, intrenching tools, hospital stores, etc. And discharged some wagons. At the crossing of the Maumee at the rapids, near where Ft. Meigs was afterwards built by Gen. Harrison, on the West side of the river, there were 4 or 5 old houses and some French settlers since the time of the old British Ft. Miami. Here every day the men were ordered to wash their clothes, dress themselves in their best to make a display in this small village. The next day we marched and encamped at the foot of the rapids, only about five miles distant. While we lay at the foot of the rapids, Gen. Hull introduced me to a Captain Chapin, who had come to the foot of the rapids with a small vessel and directed me to make a contract with him to transport all our heavy stores and officers' baggage to Detroit. I advised him by no means to risk his stores by such a convenience, that although he had not received notice of the declaration of war, the British at Ft. Malden would be sure to take the vessel, beside how could he be sure this Capt. Chapin was not employed by the British to get our stores and munitions of war. Oh, he said I know Capt. Chapin well and the boat can pass on the American of the Grasskill (Big Island), but I remarked if it could do so, the vessel will be many miles before she reaches Malden and capture her. That he must know they had their spies about our army from the time we marched from Urbana. He found my unwillingness to make the contract, had it made by his aid-de-camp or Lt. Partridge, and all our stores, iron, steel, intrenching tools, hospital stores and an order issued directing all the officers to put all their baggage on her

and for me to discharge all the wagons except one to a company. I discharged, I think, 36 from that place. I had an excellent chest in which was contained groceries, tea, coffee, chocolate, sugar, spices, and a half bushel of parched corn meal. With two teaspoonfuls of this with a little sugar made an agreeable and nutritious drink and would serve almost a day. I had also a keg of spirits and vinegar, all this I lost, with a trunk and portmanteau of clothes, lost all but a frock coat undressed, two shirts and the clothes I had on, and all the officers were in the same situation. As all my Q Master and hospital stores were sent by this boat I deemed it prudent to order my 3rd assistant Wm. M. Beall to accompany them to take care of them. Lts. Baker and Good along with their wives, some sick soldiers, with some arms were sent on said boat. This vessel was met by an armed British vessel 4 or 5 miles before it reached Malden and captured as I suggested to Gen. Hull and so earnestly advised him would be its fate, but all to no purpose. On arriving near Detroit, Gen. Hull sent Col. Cass with a flag to Malden to demand a restoration of at least the officers baggage and wrote to the commanding officers of that post, but nothing was ever obtained except a bundle of vouchers of mine, embracing many thousand dollars, which had in the hurry of packing up been thrown by one of my assistants into a trunk with their clothes. The night after we left the foot of the rapids of the Maumee at our encampment, we got the proclamation of the declaration of war with England. About 2 o'clock in the night I was awake and heard the sentinel challenge some one approaching the guard. I got up and passed the person in and found he had despatches for Gen. Hull. I took him to his quarters and it was the proclamation. The officers were convened at the General's marquee and it was

read. The next night we encamped at Swann Creek, in advance of the town of Raisin, a small village where Gen. Winchester was taken prisoner on the 22nd of January 1813. He had marched on to that place in advance of Gen. Harrison's army to protect the settlements there which was plundered by the Indians. A few days before a battle had taken place with the Indians and our troops had defeated them. When on the night of the 21st the British crossed the Detroit Strait on the ice with sleighs, and the Indians attacked our troops. Gen. Winchester had taken his lodgings about a mile from our encampment. The Indians got notice of it and took him and his staff. Col. Lewis with Major George Madison had encamped their Regiment of Volunteers within the garden of a tavern all of which were enclosed with pickets of split cedar of about six feet high. Col. Wells commanded a company of regulars commanded by Capt. Mead a Regiment of Volunteers or militia commanded by Col. John Allen were encamped in the East of the town on the river there was an attack on Col. Lewis' regiment, they defended themselves and did good execution.

The other command was hard pressed, without any protection, and were ordered to retreat into the garden, but not understanding the order, fled along the road they had marched on to that place, the Indians pursuing and tomahawking and shooting them in their retreat. Gen. Winchester in charge of the British and Indians appeared at the garden and advised Col. Lewis to surrender and was promised liberal terms and that private property should be respected; but no sooner had they been admitted into the encampment than the soldiers and I think some of the officers began to plunder the officers of their baggage, when the brave Lewis and Madison ordered the officers and men to stand to their arms and sell

their lives as dearly as possible. This caused one of the superior officers of the enemy to order their men to cease and promised that such conduct should not occur again, but when they laid down their arms, they were shamefully robbed of much of their valuable effects (this I had from Maj. Madison's own lips).

The whole of this force which escaped massacre was sent down to Quebec and detained many months and put in jails without fire, particularly the soldiers, and I have been assured by some of the men, denied the liberty of purchasing comforts with the funds which had been sent to them. One of these men informed me that out of the company he belonged to, upwards of 80 men, he and 13 only, came out alive.

The town of Raisin is situated on the North side of the river, is a small village principally of French and their descendants.

About three miles from the Strait, we encamped at a deep muddy stream called Carrying River, which we had to bridge, and which we completed and the army crossed that night and encamped on the bank about half a mile from its mouth in sight of a small Indian town called Brownstown. A white man of that name had become chief, he had been captured when a small boy, he then appeared to be about 60 years of age. He and other heads of the town came to see Gen. Hull and a talk was held that evening in which they were advised by Gen. Hull to be quiet and take no part in the war, which promised to observe. The British Fort Malden is about 18 miles from Raisin, on the Canada side of the Detroit River, opposite the town or South end of Gree Isle (Big Island) which is about three miles long and from $1/2$ to $3/4$ of a mile wide. The fort is situated near the bank of the river, a Strait, built of brick and had pickets in front and on the upper side but was not finished in the rear at the time we passed and strange

to say Gen. Hull instead of halting his command and building a fort or block house here, marched on to a place called Spring Wells, about six miles short of Detroit, where we encamped and lay there three days and then moved into Detroit and encamped in the upper end of the town, where we lay about 7 or 8 days and then crossed to the opposite side and encamped at the upper end of Sandwich.

When we go to Spring Wells we heard the report of cannon, many of the officers rode up and found that the British had got notice of the declaration of war at least 24 hours before our garrison at Detroit did. The ferryman at Detroit, being ignorant of this fact, pursued the regular operation of ferrying, when the Canadians siezed their boats and appropriated them to their own use and commenced firing on Detroit with two pieces of small cannon, but no damage was done. It was not renewed the next day or till we occupied the Canada shore, but there was no intercourse between the two sides till our army crossed over. There was but one old flat, with the rake broken off, belonging to the ferry. We repaired a number of lake boats we found there to cross the river, which is about 1 1/4 miles wide. Gen. Hull encamped the army opposite to Detroit, on the bank of the river, where we lay inactive, save that Col. McArthur was sent up in boats with his regiment, who took from McGregor's store some good blankets, two packages of Hummon's coarse cotton cloth, some iron and salt, also some flour from said McGregor's mill. The blankets were divided among the men, the cloth also for sheets for the hospital, the iron was put into our artificer's shop and the salt fed to our teams. Col. McArthur drove down about 1,100 head of Lord Selkirk's Merino sheep which were turned into the commons at Detroit and I understood he got them after the surrender of Detroit.

Gen. Hull's policy was by no means vigilant. It was understood the British had about 100 or at most 110 regular troops at Malden and had called to that post about 400 of the militia styled "provincials." Hull issued his proclamation, penned by Col. Cass, and he employed one Watson to go up towards the Thames and circulate them, in which the citizens were invited to return to their home, pursue their various occupations, to take no part in the contest and they should be protected in their persons and property. This induced the whole of the provincials to desert the fort, but such was the wretched policy of Gen. Hull that many of the officers at Malden visited our encampment daily. They would let their beards grow for four or five days, rub some prairie mud in their hair and dress themselves shabbily, jabber French and claim to be farmers and they were suffered to pass unmolested through our encampment. Some would call and get protections. Col. Faby (pronounced Baubee) had the only brick house near our encampment, it was of good size but unfinished, covered with loose floors. I put up a rough partition and occupied a part for lodgings and my office. Gen. Hull the other part for his residence. I was sitting in the General's room doing some writing when a Canadian came in, dressed as described and applied for a protection, one of the General's aids was directed to make it out. A Captain McCune came in and informed Gen. Hull that he could testify that the protection was the third one the man had gotten. The General rebuked the fellow, but he supposed it no harm to get several, and he was suffered to depart and I have no doubt he was a British officer.

Gen. Hull occasionally went over to Detroit on his private business and sometimes to hold talks with the Indians. Gen. McArthur commanded in his absence and when any sus-

picious character came in, he would put them under arrest but as soon as Gen. Hull returned he would release them, this occurred several times. The Indians in considerable numbers came and encamped near Detroit, Gen. Hull advised them to go to their villages and plant corn. They said their young men would not, they wanted to be fed and employed, and if he would not employ them they would join the British. The chiefs told him they would be put out of their power and others appointed, but Gen. Hull would not, he gave them one or two boats and refused to ration or employ them and they all went over to Malden and joined the British, all down at Brownstown and in every quarter any where near Detroit. On getting to that post we found the carriages of the cannon of the fort much decayed and not fit for use, Gen. Hull was urged by all the volunteers to march to Malden but he refused, saying he would as soon as the guns were mounted. I set Capt. Thorp to work with a number of mechanics and he had them mounted in about four weeks.

In the meantime, Col. McArthur solicited to go down to the Carnard Bridge over Dark River, with parts of his and Col. Cass' regiments, there they had some skirmishing with the enemy across the river, but little damage was done on either side. A few of the enemy wounded and I think one of our men had his arm broken. The bridge at that time was only partially destroyed, the frame and sleepers still perfect and nothing but the plank removed and piled up for a breast work. The enemy fled to Malden and had no doubt our troops would march and take possession of that post.

Gen. McArthur sent an express up and requested Col. Findlay and myself to see Gen. Hull and ask him to let the force go to Malden and had no doubt it would be surrendered, and to march down the effective force at our encampment. We

waited on Gen. Hull and delivered Col. McArthur and Cass' request and stated that they were of the opinion and indeed had no doubt the enemy would not fire a gun at our army, they might fire a few guns over our heads and get into their shipping and depart for Queensstown, but Gen. Hull refused and ordered McArthur and Cass back to their commands. When Col. Findlay and myself were taken to Malden we learned from the officers there that Cols. McArthur and Cass were right in their opinions that they had all their valuable moveables loaded in their ship, the Queen Charlotte, that they had put inflammable matter in the Lady Preva, a ship on the stocks, which they fired and left. As we had no boats which could transport our cannon to Malden I had constructed a kind of conveyance out of hard timber, had our cannon placed on them, our fixed ammunition all boxed up and marked, our artillery horses harnessed and ready. The army was in readiness to march when Gen. Hull convened the field officers in a council of war and stated to us that he had received notice by some intercepted letters that the enemy were coming up in great force from Queensstown with from 1800 to 2000 regular troops, about 2000 marines, a N. W. Company of men and from 5 to 7000 Indians and that he deemed it indispensable to move across and occupy the Port at Detroit, this move was strongly opposed by the three volunteer Colonels and myself. I remarked he must be misinformed that the British had no such force at Queensstown and at any rate if they left that post, our army at Lewiston under Gen. VanRensselaer would cross and take possession of all that part of Canada, and as to such an Indian force, I would venture my reputation as an officer that not 300 Indians could be convened and kept three days in a body, that they could not be subsisted, to which he replied he was better informed than we were and he must move

over. The Captains of the regular army were also in the council and sided with Gen. Hull and we had to yield and began to move over about 2 o'clock, which was on Friday, say about the 6th of August, 1812. The volunteer Colonels and myself consulted and they had a wish to refuse to move over but it would be considered mutinous and it was declined. A Major Denny, of the Ohio troops, was ordered to occupy a house and kind of stockade inclosure with a cannon or two, with some stores, wagons, etc. I completed the movement late Saturday night. We left several hundred head of cattle on the Canada side which no attempt was made to take over. In a day or two Major Denny was ordered to abandon Ft. Gowa, as it was called, the house was owned by a man of that name. I took my lodgings at the Smith tavern in Detroit, where I had boarded before moving over to the Canada side. I had upwards of \$4,000 packed up in boxes of \$2,000 each. I put these funds in Lt. John Eastman's office in the fort.

Maj. Thomas D. Carneal had petitioned and got leave to go on to Kentucky about a week before this to hasten on about 1500 troops from that State, with blank bills to be filled up, and to get funds to bring on these troops. Gen. Hull had authorized me to send an express to still hasten on this reinforcement and 500 from Ohio. I engaged a Capt McClosky and a great woodman by the name of Murray, who resided at the crossing of Wayne's road over at St. Mary's, to take these dispatches.

HULL'S SURRENDER.

August 8th, 1812.

Early this morning Gen. Hull came to my quarters and complained that I always disapproved of his plans, having reference to my objections of the moving across from Canada to Detroit. I told him his course was disapproved

of not only by me but his best friends to him and to the interest of our country. That when he required my opinion as an officer I gave it freely and to the best of my judgment. That he had promised protection to the Canadians, had induced the whole provincial force to desert from Malden. I asked if he thought they would ever again confide to the appearance of any General invading Canada &c. To which he replied, "That he felt more bound to protect our own side of the river than the Canada side." I remarked the most effectual way in my opinion was to take possession of Malden, as it would deprive the enemy of the aid of the garrison and their supplies. I observed that he had been informed of the large and overwhelming force the enemy would bring against us of which he said he had notice referred to. That if he was correctly informed we required a larger force than we had, that Gen. Scott, then Governor of Kentucky, was an old Revolutionary officer would not flinch from responsibility, that the quota of force of Kentucky was 5,000 men and Gen. Scott would send on any force he might require. Oh, said he, we shall have force enough when we get that which is ordered. To-wit 1500 from Kentucky and 500 from Ohio. What Sir! men enough to keep open the communication to Ohio, to reoccupy Canada, to strengthen Chicago and indeed there ought in my opinion be a force placed up about Saginaw Bay to keep the Indians in check in that quarter. The General left me and I made up my mind that there was no safety in relying on him, that he was fretful if we had a force larger than a brigade he would be superseded in the command and at any rate incompetent with the command he held. I went immediately and told the three volunteer Colonels that I had a long conversation with Gen. Hull and wanted to impart some important facts to them. Col. Elias Brush came up to us and learned we intended to consult on matters of importance and invited us

to a private room in his house, which we accepted and went and locked ourselves up. I gave these officers the substance of the conversation referred to and my conclusions. Each of these officers as well as myself gave the substance of different conversations we had with Gen. Hull and we found they differed in their purport of what was the General's opinion as to the defense of Michigan Territory. I remarked, now gentlemen can any of you have any confidence in this man, the United States Government knows us all and can never believe that we will suffer the little army we lead to be slaughtered like a flock of sheep. Let us go to Gen. Hull and say to him that we as well as the men comprising his command had lost confidence in him, that he had never complied with any promises he had made us in relation to the safety of the Country, that we deemed it our business and duty to take the command from him, report our proceedings to the President and await his orders. That in my opinion it was impossible to doubt but he would surrender the army and the post of Detroit if he was summoned so to do. Let us intrust the command with Col. McArthur till we can get orders from Washington, one of the officers remarked it would be mutiny to pursue that course, for the Executive would not think our patriotism a judgement. I stated that I wanted no command and was entitled to none, that I was only a staff officer, but would go with all of them or one or more of them and denounce him and take the command from him. Lt. Col. James Miller had been ordered with about 500 men to go on to the village of Racine and bring on supplies awaiting at that place for Detroit (He was at that very time fighting the battle of Maguaga, or Blue Jacket's town situated about an acre distant from Malden) that when he came back as he was the senior officer of the regulars next to Gen. Hull, we would

consult him and he would have influence with the regular force and if he would join us Gen. Hull never should surrender us, but there was discord between the volunteers and the Regulars there would be no safety in the course proposed. I had been authorized by Gen. Hulbert an express to hasten on to our relief the troops referred to. One of the volunteer Colonels had written a letter to Gov. Meigs stating our loss of confidence in Gen. Hull, that there were strong suspicions of treachery against him, that the men were clamorous against him, indeed there was a current report among the troops that Gen. Hull had crossed over to the Canada side the night before the army had crossed, we did not give credit to the report but as the men believed it we considered they would not defend the fort or our territory heroically under such a leader. It was stated to us that there was one of the privates of the 4th U. S. Regiment, then lying with his thigh broken, who was on guard at the Point when Gen. Hull crossed over. I sent for an officer of that regiment and requested him to go and see this man and ascertain the truth of the report, he did so and returned and said the man said he had heard the report but that Gen. Hull did not cross where he stood guard. This confirmed us in the fallacy of the report. Gen. Hull had a brother a resident on that side, I had seen him, a very common and ignorant looking man. The letter referred to written by one of the Colonels, he made a long Post Script in it which gave a strong opinion of Gen. Hull's incapacity and of the suspicion of treachery and presented it to us and we all signed it. One of the Colonels, I think McArthur, observed to me that I ought to write to Gov. Scott of Kentucky. I did so and presented it to the inspection of the Colonels, they directed me to sign it, I observed I had no command of men

and wished to see if it met their approbation, they said it did and I put my name to it and it was signed by all, with one exception. I remarked we had all signed his letter and was surprised he would not sign mine, observed there was nothing stronger in my letter against Gen. Hull or even as strong, that when the letter got to hand Gen. Scott would no doubt call around him Mr. Clay, Col. Johnson, and all the members of Congress within his reach, that it was well known he was with us and there would appear a want of unity among us, which urged him to sign the letter, but he refused saying Gen. Hull might come out better than we feared, he could and would venture any opinion to his Governor and he did not sign. We delivered our dispatches to our express and I understood the want of his was remarked as we were sure would be done.

Col. Miller was attacked by the Indians before he had marched more than four miles and he had running fight with them, but met the British above Blue Jacket's Town, the contest was warm and many killed on both sides. The British were commanded by Major Muir, a brave Scotchman who was wounded in the knee, but did not fall into our hands.

Capt. Snelling of the 4th Regiment acted as side-camp to Col. Miller, when the enemy retreated he came up to the Commandant of the Cincinnati troop and ordered him to charge the retreating enemy, he observed his men would not follow him, Capt. Snelling requested him to give him his fine charger and he would charge with his troop. He did so, mounted and gave Capt. Snelling his sword, he ordered the Troop to charge and only seven followed him. The Captain of the troop had two beautiful chestnut sorrel mares, one of which his servant Robert Smith, a free man of color, was mounted on, the Captain ordered him to dismount and take a

Canadian pony he had packed with his provisions and chickens, Capt. Snelling, as the troop would not charge, surrendered the mare and sword and proceeded to his duty. Col. Miller had only allowed him one day's rations for his command. He encamped on the field of battle, had no tents, had many killed and wounded and could not proceed on his march to Raisin and had to return with his wounded to Detroit. Some keel boats and some wagons were sent down for this purpose, those most badly wounded were put into the boats, but the British having a superior force on the lake and river sent a superior force from Malden and was likely to capture our boats, they had to be run ashore on a rush flat and the wounded men packed out on the men's back, Col. McArthur did much of this in person and became as bloody as a butcher. The men were put into wagons and brought up to Detroit. Col. Miller returned with his command.

On Thursday of that week, Gen. Hull ordered Col. McArthur to take 500 of his most effective men and go out at right angles from the Detroit river to a war trace leading from Saginaw Bay to the river Raisin about 40 miles up that river and to descend it to the village of Raisin to get those provisions to bring to Detroit. I was ordered to furnish the necessary transportation of pack horses, drivers, bags, etc., which I did. Col. Cass, as a part of his command was taken from his regiment, requested permission to accompany him and Col. McArthur which was granted. The command was ordered off at 2 o'clock P. M. before provisions were in readiness to accompany him and Col. McArthur objected to move without provisions. Gen. Hull ordered him to proceed without them, saying he had employed a guide for the escort and his provisions should encamp with him that night. Col. McArthur still objected and said in my presence he never

heard of a detachment marching without their provisions. Go on sir, replied Gen. Hull, your provisions shall be with you tonight, but the guide was no doubt bribed and never intended to come up with the detachment and went rambling around the prairies and never got near them.

The detachment had no provisions that night, Col. McArthur marched, the men began to be faint for want of food, but he kept on, encamped that night without anything to eat and proceeded on the third, when he found there was no prospect for rations and proceeded to retrace his steps and on Sunday morning the 16th of August, when he got within about six miles of Detroit, found some cattle grazing on the prairies, shot three and had the beef broiled, without bread or salt, to sustain the men till they could get to Detroit. At the time the detachment halted they could hear the cannon at the siege but it ceased before they moved and before it did so a messenger arrived announcing to Col. McArthur that Gen. Hull had surrendered and his detachment was included. Col. McArthur had neither provisions or transportation or he would have marched for Ohio. He had no other alternative but to march to Detroit and surrender.

By the capitulation, the fort was to be delivered at 12 noon, but the British, fearing the return of Col. McArthur urged Gen. Hull and he suffered them to take possession at 11 A. M., by which time or before twelve, McArthur had arrived, and if the fort had not been given up, would have fought his way to the fort and assumed the command and defended it, as Col. Findlay and myself had wished done before the capitulation, but it was too late and he had the mortification to surrender with his whole detachment, which was in course of the forenoon, with all the troops put on board of the lake vessels to be shipped off, fearing a revolt.

By the capitulation, all the volunteers of Ohio were paroled and with the exception of one battalion of Col. Findlay's regiment were to be landed at Cleveland, Ohio. The regulars were sent down to Queenstown and from thence to Montreal. I had about 80 wagons and teamwagons and forgemasters, pack horses, drivers, etc., and it was necessary that myself or one of my assistants must remain to get those men transported and the provisions, I concluded to remain at Detroit to effect this, particularly as Col. McArthur requested that I would let my first assistant, Major Taylor Berry, accompany his detachment, to have it transported from Cleveland to the Ohio and down to Portsmouth, which I consented to.

The evening before the surrender the commandant of the Fort suffered many of the citizens to move with a large quantity of their household goods, into the fort and occupied all the vacant quarters, and as I had no quarters in the fort myself and assistants had to go to our boarding house to get our supper. When we were about to return to the Fort, Mrs. Smith begged we would remain and protect her and her family, that her husband was on command as Captain of a volunteer troop of cavalry, that she feared the Indians would come into the town, burn it and massacre the inhabitants, she said she had twelve stand of arms in her barroom with which we could defend her house and premises, I could not resist her importunities and myself, Maj. Berry, George Williamson and Wm. S. Hatch, my assistants, remained, secured the doors as well as we could, put the arms in good order, kept a lookout until late at night, but the town was not molested in the course of the night.

About the break of day the British began their cannonade and a ball passed through the upper part of the house, we

repaired to the Fort and I found Gen. Hull lying on a blanket behind the gate which fronted the river, with his head towards the bank, the base of which full 30 feet thick, he had a large red face, and such a figure I never beheld, it was smeared all over with tobacco juice, I have no doubt he had drank to intoxication and had in his paroxysm rubbed his face over with the saliva, and his lips were actually coated over to a greater degree than I had ever seen.

Col. Findlay's regiment was encamped North of the Fort, up the river it was not known from what point the British would cross the river, the general impression was that it would be above the town at Hag Island, but it was found it had made some devastation opposite to Spring Wells about five miles below. Gen. Hull directed his aid-de-camp, Capt. A. Hull to go and direct Col. Findlay to move his regiment South of the Fort to the orchard opposite to Aury's tan-yard. Capt. Hull requested me to accompany him, I remarked it required but one person to deliver such an order, that if Gen. Hull directed me, I would take his order but would not accompany him, he went to Col. Findlay and delivered his order, he undertook to hurry him, Col. Findlay said to him, "you have delivered your orders and you may depart, my men are cooking their breakfasts and as they will probably not have another opportunity to cook again today I will move as soon as they get their breakfasts." Capt. Hull still hurried Col. Findlay and he replied, "Sir, I will with me sword cut off your ears." I left the fort and went to my lodgings to get my watch which in my hurry I had left in my room, and while there I concluded to get my breakfast, as there was no chance at the fort.

About this time Gen. Hull had ordered Col. Findlay to move his regiment into the fort and withdraw the gunners

from the battery on the rise above the river flat, the 2-24 pounders referred to, which were suffered to remain, they were mounted on carriages on low cast iron wheels, it was in a line from the fort gate to the enemies battery on the Canada side. That battery had turned their fire on the gate of the fort, I went in, a cannon shot of the enemy had struck the ground bounded over the parapet, cut off the head of Lieut. Libby, struck Lieut. Hawks in the andomen and nearly cut him in two, killed a soldier, broke both legs of Dr. Reynolds and carried off the thick underpart of the thigh of Dr. Blood who were lying on their blankets in a room opposite to the direction of the ball. I got into the fort soon after as I came in I discovered Capt. Cook of the 4th Regiment had raised a white flag. I inquired the object, he remarked he supposed Gen. Hull was about to surrender. On seeing Gen. Hull he appeared much agitated and said, Sir, one cannon shot has killed five men, I remarked I did not suppose a siege ever took place without the loss of some men. He soon after had a marquee pitched South of the Fort, about 100 yards in front of it.

Two of our 6 pounders had been ordered to near where our 24 battery was, in the road or street; and had a full view of the enemies column as it was marched up from Spring Wells and when it got within a good range of our pieces the officer was about to fire, the gunner was whirling his match to make it ignite well when he was ordered at his peril not to fire, that the white flag had been raised and he with his pieces were ordered into the Fort. As I was going into the Fort I met Maj. Scott, Marshall of the Territory, and seeing the flag up I enquired of him if he intended to go into the Fort and become a prisoner of war, to which he replied, Never! Well Major I have a pair of good horses, let us mount them

and seek Col. McArthur's detachment and save part of the army as there must be treachery in this surrender. He replied, my wife and children are in the fort and all I possess in the world. I observed under these circumstances I could not ask him to do so. A fine looking young man ~~stood~~ stepped up with a rifle in his hand and said to me calling me by my name and title, that he was a woodman and knew the country well and could take me to any part I desired. I directed Mr. Williamson to go to Smith's tavern and direct my servant Frank Reno, to saddle my two horses and have them ready, I intended with this guide to seek Col. McArthur's regiment and tell him what was going on and save part of the army from a disgraceful surrender. We had no notice of the treachery that had been played on him as to his provisions or that he was returning for the want of them. About this time an impression had got about that the flag raised for making some arrangement with Gen. Brock for the protection of the women and children and perhaps to move them from the Town. About this time Gen. Hull sent a messenger for me to come to his marquee, referred to, when I got there I found Col. Miller seated at a table and Gen. Brock's two aid-de-camps, Maj. Glegg, his regular aid, and a Col. McDonald, a provincial, a Scotchman, sitting at the table with pen, ink and papers. Gen. Hull introduced me to the British officers and observed he wished me with Col. Miller, on his part, and the British officers on the part of Gen. Brock, to draw up articles of capitulation for the surrender of Detroit and the troops under his command. I requested him to step out with me and told him I could not have anything to do with the surrender. Why Sir? it is the only thing remaining for me to do, the enemy have a large force and the Indians will be let loose on the inhabitants and it was the only

alternative left him. Gen. Hull, you have never regarded my opinions or your best friend's and I can never disgrace my name to such a document you must get some one who thinks more with you, and I left him. He applied to Col. Findlay who also refused to act, he complained that neither myself or Col. Findlay would aid him in his difficulties. I told him we did not think alike on all important subjects and of course he could not expect us to act in a case we thought disgraceful. He appointed Elias Brush (referred to) and he and Col. Miller and the British officers drew up the document of capitulation which was approved of by each General.

I am convinced that Col. Miller disapproved of the surrender as fully as any of us did, but he was a regular officer and had nothing to depend on but his commission. As soon as Col. Findlay was ordered into the fort with his regiment, and we understood that Gen. Hull intended to surrender, Col. Findlay said to Lt. Col. Miller, we, the Colonels of the volunteers, have been contending about rank, we hold commissions of full Colonels, you are only a Lt. Colonel, by the Constitution of Ohio, full Colonels are recognized, which was overlooked by Congress in approving the Constitution of that State, for not another State in the Union had full Colonels. Lt. Col. Miller claimed rank of these volunteer Colonels who declared they came into the service as full Colonels and would return so or leave the service. It was referred to the then Secretary of War, but he refused to decide and it was referred back to Gen. Hull. I understood he said the rank should be amicably arranged, which was never done, but Gen. Hull gave Col. Miller command of the Fort at Detroit while we occupied Canada. Now said Col. Findlay, I will waive rank, assume the command and I will fight under you, or if you prefer it I will assume the command and you

fight under me. I urged Col. Miller to do one or the other. He observed, gentlemen, I am an United States officer, Gen. Hull is placed here in command, if we are successful the Government may justify us, but if we fail it will doom us, and it is a responsibility I cannot venture to take, but I have reason to believe that in one hour afterwards he regretted he had not acceded to our solicitations. Col. Miller we considered a brave officer, but he had been much indisposed before he fought the battle of Maguago, or Blue Jacket's town, was exposed to a night's rain and brought on a return of ague and was still much indisposed at the time.

I had \$4,000, packed up in two boxes, of \$2,000 each, which I had reserved, supposing we should proceed lower down into Canada where my paper would not be current. I had also about \$3,000 in paper funds. When I found we were to be surrendered I concluded to try to save the specie funds. Major Harry Hunt, adjutant to Col. E. Brass's regiment of Michigan Militia had been at school at Newport, Ky. He had married a Canadian wife, I concluded to get him to take charge of these specie funds and sought him to get him to send me two black men in his employ to take the funds to his house and secure them for the Government which he agreed to do. But we were delayed in finding these men. I took them with me and got the boxes, two of them to each, got them to the Fort gate, the sergeant of the guard was not at hand and I was a few minutes delayed at the gate, when it was opened the two aids-de-camp of Gen. Brock dismounted and ordered the commanding officers to cause the men to come on parade and stack their arms, which was done. These officers saw me with the boxes as they came in and I concluded they would demand of me what they contained and that they would get the money and cause me to be ill treated. I had the

boxes put back into Lieut. Eastman's office and locked the door. I was before taking it entreated by my brother officers to open the boxes and divide among them, to which I replied what voucher could I have for it? The Government had my receipt for all funds I had received and I must have a legal voucher for its disbursement, that I would much prefer our friends should have it than our enemies but I could not afford to lose it and I could not distribute it among them. As to the paper funds I pursued this course, I divided among my friends, to-wit: Maj. Berry, \$500., Col. McArthur, the same, Col. Findlay, the same, Maj. Thomas S. Jesup, the same and retained about the same myself, and some among other friends and took their receipts. I sought Col. Cass but never saw him after his return with Col. McArthur till he was ordered on board, or should have given him the same. These These funds were very serviceable in taking home our volunteers, and we had some sick and wounded in each regiment which had to be transported in wagons, of course. I had fully expected to be searched for funds but was not, if they had, and had only found about me \$500 or \$600 they would conclude it was my private fund and would not take it from me. A Col. Nichols was Gen. Brock's Q. M. General, I was introduced to him and directed to give over to him all of my Q. M. stores which I did, he gave me a receipt for the \$4,000. and stated that \$932 had been surrendered by Lieut. John Eastman, U. S. Paymaster, with a note that no bank notes had been surrendered. It was agreed between us that this delivery should take place at 3 P. M. of that day, the 16th of August '12 the day of surrender. He called at the hour agreed upon, I told him I had a favor to ask of him which was to let me retain my public papers, he inquired what they were, I replied my vouchers for my disbursements in the Q. M. Department, and

my receipts and proofs for my disbursements in the pay Department. I opened my trunks and exhibited them to him, he examined a few of them. I told him I wanted to take them home, that no base fellows should have it in their power to say that I had surrendered up my vouchers and had defrauded the Government. After inspecting a few of them he said I could retain them, I had observed to him they were of no more value to his Government than so much waste paper.

The morning after the surrender I was passing Lieut. John Eastman's lodgings when he stepped out and handed me a paper to read, it was drawn up in his own handwriting, claiming him as District Paymaster to deliver to the Q. M. General all his books, papers, and funds, and he advised me to get a similar order, I remarked to him the first act of mine after I was a prisoner of war, was to solicit the Q. M. Gen'l. to suffer me to take home my vouchers for my disbursements, I remarked to Lieut. Eastman that if he did not retain his papers it would destroy him and warmly advised him to retain them to enable him to settle his account of disbursements. He remarked that all was lost or gone to H---.

I went on and saw Gen. Hull on some public business, he was just buckling on his sword to repair to the boat to descend to Quebec. He remarked to me I ought to pay him for his half of the hay I had mowed and secured on a farm he had inhabited, about six miles up the river Rouge, which he had proposed to me to have secured on the shares, that I should have half for the use of our public teams and he have the other half. I approved of his proposition and remarked if he would order a fatigue party and guard and would have the hay secured, there was from 60 to 100 tons secured in stacks, I remarked to Gen. Hull that he ought not to require me to do dishonorable an act. He remarked that if the army had remained at Detroit we could not have done without his

half of the hay, but sir you have surrendered you army and the hay I suppose had you not surrendered the army you could have used your part in your own stables or sold it to any one you pleased. I cannot do an act I consider so dishonorable, and left him grumbling at my refusal. About three years after that period I got a letter from him reminding me of that hay, saying if I had received pay from the Government, which I ought to have done, to send him money for his part of it and if I had not done so, requested me to send him a voucher that he might make it a voucher against the Government. I considered this a reflection on my veracity, I copied his letter in full and reminded him of his demand for pay at the time referred and my prompt refusal and informed him my accounts were in the hands of the accountant of the War Department where he could see I had not charged or had credit for a cent on that account. I demanded to know what right I had to charge for the hay, it was secured by the Government troops, they used the Government tools and ate the Government rations. I enclosed Gov. James Barbour, then Secretary of War, a copy of my letter to Gen. Hull, in order if he presented a claim for the hay, the Government could be prepared to reject it. It was the last communication I received from him on any other subject, he died some few years afterwards, a few miles from Boston, Mass.

At the time of the surrender I had belonging to the Q.M. General's Department about 84 wagons and teams, beside a wagon master, several assistants, forge master, pack horse men, making upwards of 100 men, there were not vessels sufficient to take away all the military force and those belonging to my department were considered non-combatants, and remined to procure their provisions and protection till I could procure them a passage home. Col. James Findlay could

not get passage for a battalion of his regiment and remained at Detroit with me till about the first of September, when his command with myself were taken to Malden to be sent to Cleveland in the vessels which had returned from taking McArthur's and Cass' regiment to that port.

August 19th, 1812.

Gen. Hull and our captured troops left Detroit, the U. S. Troops to go down to Queenstown and lower down, and the Ohio troops to be landed at Cleveland. McGregor came up and presented to me drafts drawn by Gen. Hull on me for near £5,000 to be paid him, McGregor, Patterson and Baby, for alleged goods taken by Col. McArthur from McGregor's mill and store near the mouth of the Thames, Baby owned the property our army was encamped on opposite Detroit, for alleged depredations on his fencing, goods taken claimed by Patterson at Sandwich. There was considerable household goods left at Sandwich, in the hurry of the people leaving their homes, when our army took possession of the Canada side and Gen. Hull had these goods taken and stored up in retaliation for the British refusing to restore the officer's baggage taken in the vessel transporting the baggage &c., from the rapids of the Maumee, to be taken to Detroit. Col. Cass with a flag went to Malden to demand the officer's baggage but the Commandant refused to give up any of it. The British goods, household furniture, etc. was stored up in Detroit under the charge of Maj. Abbaton, Asst. Q. M., and on the surrender, no doubt the owners got their property. I refused to accept the bills and draw on the Government of the United States for the amount, saying that Gen. Hull had surrendered the army and I did not consider myself under his orders, that he had disgraced himself but not the Army, that they must know they had taken my funds, which McGregor admitted, but required me

to draw a bill for the amount on my Government. This I refused saying the Government would not honor the bill if I drew it, that if Gen. Hull thought the Government ought to pay the claims he ought to have drawn himself. I was demanded to protect them if I would not draw for the amount, this I refused to do, saying I would have nothing to do with them to which McGregor remarked that Gen. Brock had declared that neither Gen. Hull or myself should return to the United States until the bills were paid or accepted, that I would be confined to the Fort and sent to Quebec. I remarked that if I was treated basely because I refused to what I deemed improper, the British Government had citizens and funds in the United States and our Government would retaliate on them, that he, McGregor, might take his own course, that no threat would compel me to do what I considered dishonorable.

The first day of September several keel boats were sent up to Detroit from Malden to take down Col. Findlay's Battalion and my Q. M. men that the lake vessels had returned from Cleveland. I was the only person styled General beside Gen. Hull. I was a Brigadier of Kentucky but had no command in the line of the army at Detroit. Gen. Brock left the third day after the surrender and left Col. Proctor in command and after about a week he left, we did not know for what place and took all the troops with him except a small guard in the Fort. and left Maj. Francis Muir in command. He sup-^{ing}posed me the senior officer sent for me to make out a requisition for tents and camp equipage for the prisoners about to return. I told him I was only a staff officer, that Col. Findlay had command of the troops, and would make the requisition. McGregor met me at Maj. Muir's quarters and demanded of him to imprison me in the Fort, saying he had the word of honor of Gen. Brock that neither Hull or myself should leave

for the United States until those bills were paid or accepted, that I had refused to draw for the ~~amount~~.

I asked permission to make some remarks which was granted. I then stated my reasons for my refusal, and observed that I considered the capitulation violated by the British authorities by taking the private property of our army and even private citizens of Detroit, wagons, teams, cavalry horses, arms and equipments, that all the property claimed payment for was taken in arms while we occupied Canada. That all private property was secured to the Army and citizens by the treaty of capitulation, that my opinion was that these differences must be referred to the respective Governments and if the two Governments made peace, which I hoped would be before long, that if the British Government could not protect their citizens in their property that their citizens must talk to their government and our citizens to our government and let the two governments adjust the business as they might deem right at the close of the war, to which Maj. Muir replied that he agreed with me in my opinion. Well said McGregor to Maj. Muir, if you will certify on these bills they shall be paid, I will let Taylor alone. I know nothing about your claims on which these bills are drawn, but will say as far as they are just they will be paid. That will not satisfy me said McGregor: and says Col. Muir, I have no orders to detain Gen. Taylor and shall not do it. Then said McGregor, I will go down to Malden, sue Taylor and Col. Findlay ^{made} ~~make~~ the required requisition and gave the required receipt for the camp equipage and to be returned or paid for. We left the next day and McGregor went in the same boat with us, we took not only Col. Findlay's battalion but most of the troops in the hospital, some few of the wounded could not be moved with safety.

The day after our arrival at Malden, Capt. Wm. Elliott came to me and said he had been applied to by McGregor to bring suit against me for the amount of certain bills of exchange Ben. Hull had drawn on me and which I refused to honor or draw for, that he had refused to bring the suit alleging that he was actively engaged in the army and could not attend to any law business, that he had received marks of kindness from me at Newport many years ago and he would not have any hand in detaining me from my family and advised me to go on board of one of the boats laying in at shore. I remarked that I could not do so that I should feel very humble and mortified to be dragged out of the vessel as a culprit, that the British Government owned the vessels and had command of the lakes, he still urged me and Col. Findlay advised me to the same course. Capt. Elliott said McGregor had searched other council and that a messenger had gone to Sandwich for the writ, that the Marshall might not follow the boat, that a suit or judgement would probably be obtained against me for the amount claimed and I might be much embarrassed by it and that I ought by no means omit to get off if possible. On more mature reflection and the advice of others I went on board and we set sail the same evening and we escaped. There was a second vessel in which Col. Findlay and his command came over in, when I saw him he told me I had not left my lodgings fifteen minutes when the Marshal came with the writ to take me. While at Malden Col. Findlay and myself were invited to dine with a Major Duer, who was Navy agent and Q. M.. There was no kind of vegetable for dinner, Major Duer ~~said~~ ^{remarked} we had ourselves to thank for this luck, that they had made no gardens, having no idea they could hold the place. We had a good ham and beef and a pudding for desert and good wine.

Among the British officers who dined at the time was a

Capt. Dickson, a Scotchman, who had arrived since the surrender. A laughable occurrence took place at the dinner which I will relate: In the fall of 1807 I went on to Washington from Burr's trial, the affair of the ^{attack} Chesapeake and the surrender of that vessel to the British had created great excitement and it was supposed it would bring on war between the two governments. Six hundred volunteers were called out and marched to Norfolk in the summer of that year and returned while Burr's trial was pending. Several of the witnesses were invited to attend a barbeque given to them at Buchanan's Spring, within the suburbs of the city. I was among the invited guests. When I got on to Washington I got acquainted with the late Capt. Abraham Hull, son of Gen. Hull and afterwards his aid-de-camp, who was sent to notify the Government at Washington that the British were issuing rations to 1,600 Indians at Malden in expectation of war with the United States, that Gov. Hull had become alarmed for the safety of Detroit and the settlements in that quarter and had addressed a note to Col. Grant, commandant at Malden, requesting a conference with him. Col. Grant informed Gen. Hull that if he had any business with him he must come to Malden. The parties, each standing on their dignities, agreed to meet on Gross Island (Big Island) laying between Malden and the American shore. Gen. Hull had a marquee and some refreshments sent there and the parties met. When Gen. Hull inquired of Col. Grant for what course he had called around him such an Indian force, for says he, if the unfortunate affair of the Chesapeake should bring on war between the two Governments, is it possible you will employ such instruments as the savage in a war with a Christian Government? Sir, said Col. Grant if we go to war, will you not employ the Kentuckians? Kentucky, Col. Grant is an inde-

pendent State and no doubt will furnish its quota of men. Then give me leave to tell you, if you employ the Kentuckians we shall employ the Indians for we consider them no better than our Indians. I was induced to tell this story at Major Duer's dinner in consequence of remarks from the superior officers of the British army remarking that they had no conception of finding so much intelligence and refinement among the Ohio and Kentucky officers and contrasted them with their militia or provincials as they called them, who they said were generally ignorant and rough in their deportment. Capt. Dickson remarked that such was his opinion of the Kentuckians. I remarked that I hoped it was not his opinion of all the Kentuckians. Findlay broke out in one of his horse laughs and exclaimed, by G-d, Taylor is from Kentucky.

Major Duer appeared much mortified and said I suppose Capt. Dickson, you were not apprised that Gen. Taylor was from Kentucky, no, he replied I was not, but such was my opinion of the Kentuckians and that they lived much like the Indians in log cabins, and dressed like them.

In the fall of 1813, on my return from Washington I visited Frankfort and had the pleasure of seeing most of the British officers who were at our surrender at Detroit in the penitentiary, and among them this Capt. Dickson, we recognized each other but he appeared ashamed to meet me. I was told these officers generally were surprised to find Kentucky so superior in improvement to the idea they had formed of it in marching through it to Frankfort. Except the mortification of being confined in this receptacle for criminals and being at large on their paroles of honor, they never lived as well in their lives. Their diet I was told was daily as good as most taverns or boarding houses in Frankfort

or in the State. Very different was the treatment of our prisoners in the custody of the British. I presume it is well known that the British Government contends that once a subject, forever a subject, and that none could alienate themselves and they ~~were~~ sent to Dartmouth Prison a large number of naturalized citizens and on a pretext of their mutiny a number of them were shot. It is well known that these men were taken from our merchant ships and in many instances our native born citizens were dragged out and made to serve in their navy.

The affair of the Chesapeake, a United States ship of war, was forced into by the British ship Guerriere, Commodore Barron, Commandant of the Chesapeake, had just gotten out of the Capes of Virginia and was unprepared for battle. I think Capt. Decres was the British Commandant, who demanded a search of the American ship for British subjects, and on Commodore Barron's refusing he fired into the Chesapeake and I think killed one man and wounded Commodore Barron in the leg by a splinter from his ship. Com. Barron struck his colors, fearing his returning the fire might bring on a war. The Commandant was sentenced by a Court Martial to be suspended for a year. This unfortunate affair was the cause of the duel between the two distinguished Naval officers, Barron and Decatur, I was at Washington City when this duel took place, and was at Decatur's funeral. I was well acquainted with Commodore Decatur and boarded with him and his lady several months at Mrs. Wilson's in the Seven Buildings. Shortly before his death he had built the handsomest house in the city at North West corner of the Square North of the President's house. Commodore Decatur gave the largest and most elegant evening entertainment I ever witnessed, at his new house, in the spring of the year 1820- on that day two

weeks from his death, at which it was stated there were 600 invited guests, members of Congress and others. On the elegant supper tables were, at each end, two elegant services of plate- one presented to him by his native city of Philadelphia and the other by the citizens of Baltimore. The evening of the day he fell, he gave a wedding party to Mr. Gouvenuer who married a daughter of President Monroe. I was honored with an invitation and was at both entertainments. Each of the combatant's received the other's ball, within an inch of the same place. Decatur was on the inside of the narrow bone in front of the hip joint which ranged on the front side of his intestines, they fought about 8 o'clock A.M. and he died about break of day, the next morning. The ball which Commodore Barron received ranged behind and was cut out of his buttock and he recovered and is still alive. He is a Virginian, born at or near Norfolk, his father was a distinguished Naval officer of the Revolution. I visited him at his lodging a few days after the duel, the first time I ever saw him. His second was Capt. Elliott, of the Navy, and I think Commodore Decatur's was Commodore Rogers, also of the Navy. I became intimately acquainted with Commodore Barron and boarded with him two winters at Brown's hotel in Washington.

On my return from my captivity in 1812, Gov. Shelby had frequent conversations with me about Hull's surrender, said he expected to furnish a large force to invade Canada and that it was probable he would be solicited to command the Kentucky troops and requested my advice, in such event, if I would advise him to accept the command. I remarked that I had no doubt he would render important service to our country if he could reconcile himself to make the sacrifice. He then said to me you are a junior Brigadier General and cannot go in

command, but will you accept an appointment in my staff? I assured him I would and considered myself highly honored by such an appointment, but I was at Washington when the expedition was organized in the fall of 1813, but had serious intentions of joining the expedition at the Lake, but when I reflected that as I was absent that Gov. Shelby had appointed his full staff and considered that if I fell, no one could explain and settle my troublesome and voluminous accounts of Q. M. Gen'l., and District Paymaster. I was advised by no means to go, my accounts had been put into the hands of a Mr. Eakin who had in the summer of that year and after going on with them for several weeks, gotten leave of absence to visit a sick and aged mother and he did not return to go on with my accounts until October.

I took a trip to Virginia to visit my aged father and other friends in Carolina, Orange &c., and was delayed at the City until late in November. I was notified to attend the trial of Gen. Hull, at Philadelphia about the middle of March of that year, 1813, I set out with my first assistant, Maj. Taylor Berry, closed my office as District Paymaster, but when we got to Chillicothe we got notice in the N. Intelligencer that the service could not dispense ~~with~~ the service with the service of the officers composing the Court Martial and all witnesses were notified to return home. I had taken with me a pack-horse and my public vouchers, intending when I had given my evidence to go on to Washington and exhibit my accounts for settlement. Of course I proceeded direct to Washington to get my accounts settled.

Some time in the summer of that year, a large Naval British force had appeared in the Patomac, there were British ships of war at a place called Kettle Bottoms a few miles below Leonard Town about the same number of vessels opposite

Blaxton's Island on which there was landed a considerable force, and at St. George's Island about the same Naval force. Col. Monroe, Secretary of State, and Gen. Armstrong, Secretary of War, concluded to go down in that quarter and make arrangements to resist the progress of the enemy's vessels, which it was supposed would endeavor to come to the Navy Yard and destroy it and Washington also.

Gen. Armstrong went down to Ft. Washington and Col. Monroe to go all along the Patomac as low as where the British fleet were stationed.

Col. Monroe invited me to accompany him as a kind of aid-de-camp which I readily agreed to do. We set out and were joined by Col. Charles F. Mercer and a Dr. Jemifer (afterwards member of Congress and late Minister to Austria) we proceeded to the farm of Col. Stewart, opposite the first British force. There was convened three companies of Maryland militia under command of a Major Jackson, Cedar Creek put into the river about a mile above the shipping and a creek called Cob Neck near a mile below, sentinels were placed at or near the mouth of each of these creeks, we got our supplies at this farm house. Maj. Jackson's command would barrack in the barn &c. About 12 o'clock we got notice that a number of the enemy's boats were approaching the shore at the lower station. These creeks headed back from the river, the upper one heading down or winding that way and the lower one upwards, and about a mile back came within about a quarter of a mile of each other, were muddy and could not be crossed and the only way out was directly back in the way the road led to the farm house. We advised Col. Monroe to go out to Col. Stewart, about 4 or 5 miles for if the enemy landed their force above and below these creeks and marched around and occupied the outlet, they could en-

close us and it would be a glorious achievement to take prisoner our Secretary of State. Col. Monroe took our advice and I think Mercer and Jenifer accompanied him, the latter was a son-in-law of Col. Stewart. I remained with Maj. Jackson and his command.

On notice of the landing of the enemy from the ships, one of the companies marched off, all the officers and men, the two remaining companies marched down, Capt. Neal's company was in advance, approached to the brow of the hill, fired on the boats, the other company about 30 yards in the rear, fired without getting in sight of the boats, killed Capt. Neal and broke the arm of Dr. Haseson. The boats put back to the shipping. The next morning several hats were seen floating near the scene of the action. I marched down as soon as I could get my horse, met Maj. Jackson who requested me to take command of the two companies and march them where I deemed best. As I came into the farm the day before I discovered a wattled cedar fence which appeared to run from one creek to another, I marched the men and posted them behind this fence and gave orders if the enemy approached to reserve their fire until they came within forty yards, fire and fall back to a second fence about 5 or 600 yards. I sent an express for Col. Monroe, who arrived about dawn of day, and who took command. He encouraged the men to stand firm and receive the enemy, he approved of my disposition of this small force. We waited, expecting the enemy, for about an hour and a half and none appearing, Col. Monroe sent down two horsemen who in a short time came in full speed back saying the enemy were in great force at the farm house. We waited another half hour and none appearing he sent down two horsemen who possessed more firmness, who reported only the sentinel with a red waistcoat, who on hearing the firing had

come in from the upper station at the mouth of Cedar Creek. The two companies marched to the farm house.

In a few hours the whole line of ships got under way, sailed up and as they passed the house fired a broadside, apparently at the house but no balls struck it. We all lay behind the house for several hours, until the shipping returned to their anchorage. About 12 o'clock, Col. Monroe and his attendants set out for Col. Ashton's camp, near Blackstone's Island, where lay a second British squadron. Col. Ashton commanded a regiment of Virginians, we were at Blackstone house and could see the enemy on the island. They had sunk barrels in the sand to get fresh water, they had sent for Blackston to come over with his accounts for wood and I think provisions, which he was obliged to furnish them to save his house and property from destruction, this induced us to think the enemy meditated an attack at night. We returned to Col. Ashton's camp. We advised Col. Monroe to go some few miles out in the country which he did. About 12 o'clock at night, just as we, Col. Monroe and aids were about going to rest, we were notified by Col. Ashton that he had received information from one of the sentinels that a number of boats were approaching the shore opposite his camp. Col. Ashton had his regiment paraded and was waiting the approach of the enemy. Gen. Mercer, Mr. Jenifer and myself volunteered to go and watch the movements of the enemy, it being dark it was difficult to ascertain distinctly but we thought we discovered a number of boats endeavoring to approach the shore in the direction of Col. Ashton's camp but they were prevented by the low tide and shallow water. Gen. Mercer and Mr. Jenifer remained to watch the enemy and I went to Col. Ashton's camp to report. The regiment was kept under arms till daylight but a force landed that night.

Col. Monroe and his suite went to Blackstone house opposite the Island, spent a few hours there, there appeared a considerable bustle on the island as if some movement was intended. Our party proceeded down to St. George's Island, a short distance ^{above} ~~over~~ the mouth of the Potomac. The British flotilla of 13 ships were anchored opposite the residence of a Major Somerville, a handsome, large two story brick house and the grounds handsomely improved. He was out with the militia at some station not distant from his residence. We lodged that night in this building, but Col. Monroe, as a measure of precaution, went a few miles back in the country. Maj. Somerville's manager lodged us in a room back from the river, saying he was careful not to suffer any light to be in that part of the house toward the river lest the enemy might be induced to burn the house. We got a comfortable supper and next morning we proceeded on our way. We met Col. Monroe by appointment and made our way to the ferry across the Yocomacca, a large branch of the Potomac up which the tide flows some distance, here we got our breakfast about 10 o'clock A. M., we got some soft crabs and had them cooked for breakfast, they are a great delicacy. Col. Monroe, as indeed we all were tired, had been up late each night and rode hard, the Colonel got asleep in his chair while waiting for breakfast, he had lost one of his spurs. A strong looking man about fifty years of age who lived somewhere in that quarter, by name of Smoote (he was a man of considerable shrewdness and wit) who had taken his bitters freely that morning was quite inquisitive and sarcastically remarked, pointing to Col. Monroe, who is that man he inquired of us who is asleep in his chair? Hush, said one of us, that is our distinguished Statesman Col. Monroe, Secretary of State. Ah, said he, I expect he is one of the road men, I see he has

but one spur on, but I suppose if one side goes the other cannot lag behind. He told us, the morning referred to, he was coming down to Col. Stewart's farm house and met the Captain and his company running off, he said he demanded where they were going in such haste up the road. Smoote cursed them as cowards and proceeded to the farm house, where he found Maj. Jackson and his two companies who had not deserted.

Smoote annoyed Col. Monroe by his quizzical conversation and remarks and very much against our will accompanied us across the ferry and to a farm house from the mouth of the Yocomacca where we were met by Col. John Taylor with a squadron of dragoons he had the command of at the city. He had furnished Col. Monroe with an escort of six when we set out but which we left with Maj. Jackson when we went on, to serve as videttes. Maj. Jackson appeared to be a good, plain, common sense man, but acknowledged himself quite ignorant of military matters, said he had been recently appointed and had never any book on military tactics, and as he understood I had seen some military service and some little experience in military matters, begged I would instruct him in his duty, and had begged, as referred to, for me to take command of his troops on the nights of the boats.

It appeared to me the common people in that part of Maryland were less informed and more ignorant than any part of the United States. Many of them acknowledged to me they had never been more than 30 miles from home in their lives. Many of them lived by fishing, ducking and trading in oysters. We did not meet a wagon on our whole trip, their domestic carriages were horse carts with no iron about them. At the farm house last referred to there were with the dragoons 40 or 50 persons.

Smoote continued with us and annoyed us very much, he

lived not far distant but said he did not like to leave pleasant company and would not go home alone and invited as many of us as chose to accompany him to his home. The dragoons kept their horses saddled for fear of an attack, some of the British ships lay opposite the mouth of the small river, only about three miles distant. Some of the officers lay down with their boots and spurs on, which were quite muddy. Ah, said Smoote, they are up the road men, see, they go to bed booted and spurred ready to run off. He kept us till after midnight, drinking freely and exercising his wit on all of us, but particularly on Col. Monroe and the officers of the cavalry. At length a citizen who happened to be there to rid us of this strange and sarcastic man, agreed to accompany him home, and much to our gratification we at length got clear of him and got some rest. We took Col. Ashton's encampment on our way back to the city; got back after an absence of about a week, Col. Montoe hoped he had rendered some service in rousing up the militia in the quarter we went through.

Before the British squadron left the Patomac a large force landed to attack Col. Ashton's camp, he was encamped about a mile from the shore in a handsome grove of pines with two openings near through which the marching of his troops could be seen distinctly from the shore where the British troops landed. He had two small pieces of cannon, which he placed in full view, and marched his regiment around five or six times so as to make his force many thousand instead of about a thousand, this ruse had the desired effect. I understood he got a soldier to pretend to desert and confirm that his force was larger than the British force about to make the attack, this induced the British to abandon the enterprise and return to their shipping. Col. Ashton was in my opinion one of the best militia officers I met in that quarter,

He was appointed by Gen. Jackson Marshall of the District of Columbia and continued in the office until his death, I became intimately acquainted with him and his amiable family and was at the city when he died about the year 1834, I think.

I was in the city when Gen. Wade Hampton passed through to take command on the northern frontier, in the summer of 1813, and became acquainted with him. He did not equal the Government's expectations and was recalled. He passed through Washington but did not report himself I understood to the Secretary of War, but went to his friend's Col. John Hoopes at the Bowling Green and resigned his commission.

About this time Gen. Wilkinson was ordered from his station, towards New Orleans, and sent to the northern frontier to command there. He had lately married a Miss Trudore and with her sister left her at Dr. Blake's, a relative of the General's, in the city. The climate and water disagreed with him and he got sick and was confined to his bed at the time of the battle of Williamsburg. It will be remembered that Generals Chandler and Winder were captured on Stony Neck, where they had a large force but had taken up their quarters a mile from the encampment. The enemy got notice of this fact and captured them. Our Government was desirous of exchanging prisoners but the British authorities refused and declared they would hang every man who had been a British subject whether naturalized or not they captured and found in arms. The President directed Gen. J. Mason, the American Commissary of Prisoners to inform the British authorities that he would retaliate and hang man for man for every one executed. Gen. Winder at this solicitation got a short parole to come to Washington and make some representations to our Government. I saw him when there and I think he returned soon after. Gen. Armstrong, Secretary of War, went

on to the headquarters of our Northern Army to spirit up the troops all along that frontier and line. The War Office was under the charge of his first clerk, Maj. Daniel Parker, an intelligent officer who was tied to the law. We boarded at the same house, had our lodging rooms adjoining with a parlor between us. We were much together out of office hours. The Government had been notified by Gen. Harrison that his army had gotten to Malden and found the place evacuated by Gen. Proctor, taking off all they could, driving off the stock, horses etc., and destroying what they could not take away. Gen. Harrison's force had with him our distinguished veteran, Gov. Shelby and the mounted armament of the Kentucky troops. Gen. Harrison mentioned all these difficulties he had to contend with and stated that Gen. Proctor had three days the start of him. The horses could not be taken across the Lake, there was a large bend in Lake Erie and by raising a fence about a mile long, 5 or 6000 acres of good prairie grass could be enclosed, which was done in a few days, a covering made for the saddles and such baggage as they could not take over or need, and a guard left over to take care of the horses. It was difficult to get a few Canadian ponies for General Harrison and Gov. Shelby and their staff to mount, no transportation for provisions. The men had to go on foot and depend on chance for subsistence. Col. R. M. Johnson's mounted regiment had gone via Detroit, crossed and joined the command before the battle. It will be recollected that Proctor's army was overtaken, defeated and captured in November, 1813. Gen. Harrison was by no means a favorite with Gen. Armstrong, and Major Parker, no doubt, partook of the same unfavorable impression as did his chief and I heard Parker remark on Gen. Harrison's letter concerning the difficulties his army had to contend with, that nothing was

to be expected from Gen. Harrison's army, and this was the general impression at the city at the time that Proctor's army would escape. Of course when the news came that Proctors army was captured, the news was so unexpected that it was received with unbounded satisfaction and applause. The express arrived about day break late in November, 1813, and delivered his despatches to Maj. Parker, acting Secretary of War. Parker flew into my room as he roused from his bed and exclaimed, by G-d Taylor, Harrison has taken the whole of Proctor's army. I was delighted at the good news. President Madison had gone to Virginia, quite sick. I had my servant and horses at the stable of our boarding house, I ordered my horse to be saddled and went off at full speed to Col. Monroe, Secretary of State, and announced to him the good news before he had risen. We rejoiced together a short time and I set off to give the good news to Mr. R. Rush and the heads of the other Departments and then went to my friend, John Graham, first Clerk in the Department of State, all was glæe and rejoicing. It so happened that same day was to be held a general muster for the whole District of Columbia and I never witnessed a day of greater rejoicing in my life. The whole common was alive with the whole city and from Alexandria, Georgetown and the surrounding country for the news flew with the wind. The parade *was very large* and the sound of artillery was grand and delight beamed in every countenance. At night, the City, as well as Georgetown and Alexandria were brilliantly illuminated. As the President's family were absent, I was assigned to attend to the illumination of the President's house and to guard against accidents and after 11 o'clock P. M. I joined the throng at the hotels and in the streets and spent the greater part of the night in rejoicing and no accident happened to mar our

enjoyment. In a few days Gen. Harrison's official despatches were received at the War Department and requesting to know what disposition should be made of the prisoners. In consequence of the treatment and imprisonment of our naturalized citizens, our Government determined to imprison all the captured officers. The Secretary of War and Gen. Mason, Co. of prisoners, sent for me to inquire of me as to the state of our jails in Kentucky. I remarked that except Lexington, they were generally small and few of them had fire places in them, it was then late in November and if they were guarded it would be very severe for the sentinels to stand guard through the winter. That we had a new penitentiary, just completed and that there were not more than about three convicts in it, that if it was wished to treat the officers harshly they could be locked up at night in cells, but to be treated leniently they could have the liberty of the yard of an acre or two. That the buildings were of substantial brick finished in good plain style well lighted. That as the Kentucky troops, principally, had captured them I thought Kentucky ought to have the keeping of them, to send them to Frankfort and put them in the Penitentiary, that I thought this course would bring the British authorities to their senses and induce them to agree to an exchange of prisoners and deter them from executing the naturalized citizens, that if it was wished I would address a letter to Gov. Shelby on the subject of what I had recommended and that I was convinced he would order the reception of the said prisoners into the penitentiary.

There were, I think, from 40 to 50 of these officers, among them Maj. Francis Muir who had command of Detroit when I left there on the 1st of Sept. 1812, and several others, field officers. As to non-commissioned officers musicians and privates, I advised that they should be sent

The order was given to the officer having the prisoners in charge to march direct to Frankfort and they
 he put in as requested into the penitentiary.

to the Newport Barracks, where there were good quarters and abundant room to accommodate them, I think upwards of 300. An order was given accordingly and they marched there. Sometime in the course of the next year an exchange of prisoners took place and all the prisoners, officers and privates were released.

I remained at Washington until the last of November, 1813. The trial of Gen. Hull was appointed to take place at Albany, N. Y. about the first of January, 1814. I was served with a subpoena to attend this trial. I knew the trial would consume several months and as I had then been absent near nine months from home and my District Paymaster Department from which large disbursements had been made and great responsibility thrown on me. I got home about the 10th or 12th of December and had to go on to Frankfort to make some arrangements in relation to my Department. On the 4th of January, 1814, I, in company with Maj. Whistler and his son, Captain William, crossed the Ohio on the ice with our horses and traveled on horse back to Albany to the trial of Gen. Hull, we got there in due time to give our evidence before the Court Martial, of which Maj. Gen. ^{W.} Dearborn was President. The trial resulted in Gen. Hull's condemnation to suffer death, for his cowardly and shameful surrender of Detroit, but from his age and services as an officer in the Revolution, he was pardoned. Indeed he was recommended to mercy by every man of the Court and was pardoned, which was right, for he had a large connection in Massachusetts who were supporters of Mr. Madison's administration and the war. Commodore Isaac Hull was raised by Gen. Hull as his father had died when he was an infant and it will be remembered that Gen. Hull gained our first naval victory and took the Guerriere, with the President, I think. It was protested

The duties of which had been confined to my assistants, I concluded to return to Kentucky to see my family and to look into the affairs of my Department.

by order of the Secretary of War. I received from the P. M.G. Daniel Brent an apology saying from the exhausted state of the Treasury they were compelled to make the protest, but assured me the bill should be taken up as soon as the Treasury was in funds. I still went on and disbursed \$53,000 more before this bill was taken up, which was not done until the 30th of January, 1815, near nine months after.

There were many unfaithful agents during the war of 1812. Gen. Thos. J. Jesup, who commanded at New Orleans wrote me requesting that I would remit to him his pay, that he could not get a dollar, that he was compelled to procure the necessary comforts for the Hospital, to procure his own notes to be discounted, ^{and} ~~but~~ did not think proper to appropriate any part of the funds so procured for his own pay and subsistence. I cheerfully complied with his request. Maj. Jonathan Taylor Dep. Q.M.Gen. for the St Louis District made a similar request to me and I paid each of these officers their pay and subsistence for at least twelve months and I have been assured by each of these officers that there were disbursing officers at each place who had in their hands from \$30 to \$40,000 with which they were speculating and the only reason they gave for refusing to disburse these funds was that there was not sufficient to pay all the claimants and therefore they would pay none. It is mortifying to sound ones own praises, but evidence of most of these acts is on record in a suit now pending before the U. S. Circuit Court for the Kentucky District, in the depositions of Gen. McArthur, Gen. Thomas, J. Jesup, Maj. Taylor Berry and many others. In the early part of the late war I gave great offence to the accountant of the War Department, but more particularly to the first Clerk in that department and I have been persecuted from that time to this. In the preceeding pages I have given a statement of the wrongs I have and am

still sustaining, under the influence of this public office. As I had become a prisoner of war in August, 1812, a D.P. Master was appointed for Ohio and some time after a second one was appointed to hold his office at Chillicothe, a more central position, but for the want of funds which the Government could not supply, and I presume other causes, resigned. Some time before the close of the war in the spring of 1815, Gen. McArthur, who had succeeded to the command of the Eighth Military District, after the resignation of Gen. Harrison, was ordered to discharge all of the troops in his district and pay them off. The D.P. Master, first alluded to, was ordered to Gen. McArthur's head quarters to pay off the army, he refused to obey the order, alleging, as I have understood, that he would disburse no more funds until his accounts were closed and would retain in his own hands a large sum until his accounts were closed, he was sued and a large sum recovered from him. Soon after the end of the war Gen. McArthur ordered me to send up two of my assistants, which I promptly did by sending my assistants T. Berry and Wm. K. Beall and followed on myself soon after. The General had received some funds and what with some had on hand and some I procured by a draft on the P.M. General, the whole military force in the district were promptly paid off and discharged in May, 1815.

I have heretofore mentioned that I was directed to pay off all the discharged officers and soldiers which had been called out from Kentucky at the latter end of the war, there were many claims by executors and administrators and I sent one of my assistants to the several counties from which they were raised and paid off all demands, which I had completed by the end of 1817 at which time my office ceased, and I here declare on honor that in no case during the war did ever an officer or soldier apply for his pay and dues, if his accounts

were regular and properly verified who would not be promptly paid, whether I had Government funds on hand or not for I kept my office supplied by my own responsibility from the Banks of Cincinnati when the U.S. Government credit was at a low ebb and the Bank of Kentucky would not purchase a bill or advance a dollar.

At the session of Congress of 1815-16, the second United States Bank was incorporated with thirty five million of dollars. The United States was to take seven millions of the stock and the balance was apportioned among the several States in proportion to their population and a portion among the territories, so that all the citizens of the Union might have an equal chance to take part of the stock. Most of the States were desirous to obtain branches of this useful fiscal institution and among others, the citizens of Cincinnati appointed Martin Baum, Esq., Judge Torrence and myself the agents to attend the meeting of the stockholders, we all attended the meeting and voted for the Directors of the Pound Bank. These gentlemen with myself made out a ticket or list for Directors of the branch at Cincinnati and they were appointed. Jacob Barnett, Esq., was the first President, and the Bank went into operation in the spring of 1817, as did the branches at Chillicothe, Lexington and Louisville. I was appointed a director for Lexington as the charter required the Directors to be residents of the respective States in which the banks were located. The distance from my residence to Lexington being too great for me to continue a member of that Board (82 miles) I declined a second appointment. Col. James Morrison was the first and only President of that branch, William Creighton of that at Chillicothe and of that at Louisville.

I spent my time very pleasantly at Philadelphia. We had

*Chillicothe in Ohio and that
be at Philadelphia. It was to be organized the latter end of the year 1816. The three Banks of Cincinnati,
Louisville Ky were among those states. The seat of the Pound Bank was to*

great attention and politeness shown us and I did not leave that city until early in February following. The agents of the branches of Kentucky and Ohio concluded to give a dinner to our friends who had so liberally entertained us and others of our acquaintances in the city, we had no regard to political parties. We invited about 100 guests, Col. James Morrison presided as President and myself as Vice-president, all appeared to enjoy themselves and the Western entertainment was the general theme of conversation in the market places and generally throughout the City as the most agreeable dinner that had ever been known in the city and had never excelled, in the opinion of all.

I returned via Washington, spent some little time to get my accounts arranged, passed through Virginia and spent a few days with my brother E. T., and other friends and pushed off for Kentucky.

It was intended to organize the Lexington branch on a certain day of March, 1817, and I was desirous of attending to elect my old friend Col. Morrison our President, which was done. J. W. Hunt, Esq., was his competitor.

As I passed through Fredericksburg, Va., I purchased from the heirs of Gen. Hugh Mercer their remaining interest of a military tract of 5,000 acres on the Ohio river granted to the said heirs for the General's services, under the British proclamation of 1763. This interest was upwards of 3000 acres, I had previously purchased the other interest, the locators claimed one-fifth part, and 1000 acres the heirs had sold Gen^l Thomas Pokey and 500 acres to Mrs. Betsy Green, this tract extended from near the mouth of Four Mile or Silama Creek, about five miles above the Licking, by the road across a bend of the Ohio, but by the river about ten miles. It extends up to the mouth of Wells Creek (generally called

Twelve Mile) It held out about 6,400 acres and embraced nine miles by the meadows. As I passed through Virginia I was joined by P. H. Jones, the son of a respectable old acquaintance of mine, Andrew Jones, near Midway. We proceeded on through Charlottesville, Mr. Jones was very desirous of seeing and becoming acquainted with our distinguished statesman, Thomas Jefferson, and I did my pleasure to accompany him to Monticello, introduce him, were invited to dine which we gladly accepted. Mr. Jones was quite delighted to become acquainted with this great statesman, we went and lodged with the venerable and highly respectable widow Lewis, the widow of Col. Nicholas Lewis deceased, and the daughter of Dr. Thomas Walker of noted memory, whose mother was aunt to my father.

We passed through Staunton and Fincastle, the latter the seat of justice of Bottetourt Co., Va., I was taken sick there and detained a week with fever, I was particularly desirous to get on to Lexington at the organization of the bank referred to, and started before I was well enough to travel, only by very moderate stages. Passed by Col. Hancock's residence, whom I met, and very politely invited me to remain until my health was restored, but I reluctantly had to decline his polite invitation, and progressed on though very feeble. We arrived at Abbington late that evening, retired early, being much fatigued, about 10 o'clock P.M. a party came into an adjoining room and made the most tremendous noise, laughing and hollowing that can be imagined. I at length called to them, Gentlemen I am a traveller, very sick, and much fatigued, am passing on to Kentucky on very important business, am short of time. I beg of you to suffer me to get some repose that I may be able to pursue my journey in the morning, which I shall not be able to do if I am so

disturbed in my rest, but my entreaties had no effect and I had to bear it until after midnight. We arose next morning to depart about sunrise. An Irishman kept a store opposite the tavern, he brought out the effigy of a female and tied it to the railing of the foot-way, she was dressed in a handsome calico dress and had on a handsome straw bonnet. The dress must have been worth \$4. and the bonnet \$2. He applied fire at the lower end which soon consumed it. I inquired what it ment ^{or} and was informed that it was a Sheeley (the wife of St Patrick).

The noisy party which annoyed me so much the preceeding night were making this Sheeley which they placed against the store door of the Irish merchant and when he opened the store in the morning, it popped Sheeley. It was the first and only effigy of the kind I had ever ~~been~~ or heard of. In the neighborhood where I was raised there were but few Irish, most of the foreigners in that quarter were Scotch.

We stopped a few days in Wyeth County, at an old bachelor's, Col. Robert Sayers, a Captain of the Revolution, for whom I had drawn a land warrant for his seventh year's service and purchased of him his former claim of about 3,000 acres all lying in the Virginia Military Tract in Ohio.

We passed on to Lexington via the old wilderness route, by Bean's station in East Tennessee, crossing Clinch and Powell's mountains and rivers, the two Rockcastles and the Cumberland mountains and river and by the noted place, Crab Orchard, from which travellers returning to the Eastern States convened and took their departure, from one to frequently several hundred, in a party. I have referred to my return through the wilderness in September, 1792, from my first visit to Kentucky in a company of 350, twenty-five years before.

The country from near Abbington to Crab Orchard is a remarkably rough and mountainous region, the trace of horse path in '92 had been improved to a rough wagon road some years thereafter. The expression at that period was when did you leave, and when will you return to the old settlements, referring to Virginia and all the Atlantic states.

We reached Lexington in the ordinary course of traveling. At that town I parted with Mr. Jones who went to Louisville where he had some friends and expected to get into business in that quarter. I had been from home from the middle of the previous October. I pushed forward and rode about 75 miles a day and part of the night, on my famous riding horse, Highlander, which I had ridden to Philadelphia and the whole route home.

The branch of the U. S. bank at Lexington went into operation about April first, 1817. Col. James Morrison was elected President and continued to be so until the expiration of its charter, I served out my appointment as one of the directors of the first board, but declined a re-appointment as it was too distant to attend without great inconvenience.

From that period I turned my attention to my land business in Ohio and Kentucky which had been much neglected during my connection with the late war. Maj. Leitch had left his widow, now Mrs. Taylor, (my wife) all of his land claims, lying some in, Jefferson, Campbell, Hardin and Grayson. Much of which was not carried into grants and much of it not divided with the locators. These lands and the large quantity I had drawn warrants for and located in the Va. Military Tract in Ohio, with some given me by my venerable father, added to considerable claims I undertook to secure on the shares, besides some large purchases kept me very busy, with two assistants, my nephew Hubbard Taylor and

Mr. Samuel Winston, who both lived with me and were surveyors. These large land claims have kept me busy up to almost the present time, but from which for ten or twelve years back I have been relieved by my son, Col. James Taylor, who has taken the bother off my hands and I am proud to acknowledge has managed them to advantage and much to my satisfaction, and by knowledge of my business has enabled him to realize something handsome for himself, both in lands in Ohio and houses and lots in Cincinnati, independent of what I have given him in land, slaves, stock, etc.

I was very desirous to have my public accounts closed and devoted much of my time to this end. I was directed by the P.M. General to close all the payments to the regiments of militia. The last Kentucky troops were raised from Harrison, Bourbon and Nicholas, this duty was performed in 1817, by my nephew Hubbard Berry who attended in the several counties and closed the business in the course of that year and the vouchers were forwarded to the Third Auditor's Office.

In December, 1819, I went on to Washington in company with Judge Thomas Todd, his son John H. Todd and Col. James Morrison, we travelled on horseback the whole way. Judge Todd held his court in Chillicothe and there we met and proceeded on. Col. Morrison had moved from Pittsburg and settled himself in Lexington I think in the year 1792. He had during the Revolution been stationed in the town of Wheeling in Virginia, where a block house was erected and commanded by a Captain Hughes of the U. S. Col. Morrison at that period learned how Wheeling got its name and related these facts to me which I understood him he had received from the old settlers who were known to the facts.

There were Indians living on the Monongahela side, a party of about twelve of them went across the Ohio, about

the mouth of Wheeling Creek, and made war upon a party of Indians on the Ohio side and defeated them. The defeated party strengthened their party and pursued the Virginia Indians and came up with them at the mouth of now Wheeling creek, attacked them and killed every one of them, twelve in number, cut off their heads and stuck them on spikes. The Indian name of heads, of the body was the name of that nation of Indians, so that Wheeling Creek is Head Creek. I inquired of a number of people in Wheeling and its neighborhood and not one could tell me how that creek got its name, they understood it was by some Indian battle, but were ignorant of any of the particulars.

When we got into Washington, Col. Morrison named to me that he had a brother-in-law boarding in the Seven Buildings a Mr. Montgomery, whom he would get to help him in preparing his accounts for settlement of his late Q.M.G. accounts. Mr. Montgomery was a clerk in one of the offices. I consented and we went to the boarding house and found the house was kept by a Mrs. Smoot, whom I had known, with her husband, in better days. Indeed, she was a Miss Hopkins whom I had known near Port Royal, before her marriage. We found her in great distress, her husband had died some years before leaving a family of ten or twelve children, the oldest a son of seventeen or eighteen years of age who had rambled off, she had a handsome and interesting daughter of sixteen years of age, the others were mostly girls, the next about twelve years of age. She had a large house and only three boarders, Mr. Montgomery, and a Mr. Filley Brown and wife. Her household goods were under execution for rent of \$4,000 and another year's rent accruing. Col. Morrison and myself endeavored to cheer her up, agreed to board with her and offered to advance her what funds she needed for her house, but she would

only take \$20. from us. I told her I had a general acquaintance in the city and would have her house filled in a few days. Col. Morrison also aided and we had her rooms filled in two or three days. Mrs. Smoote had received a stroke of the palsey and was quite lame, but had to trudge with her little daughter to the lower market near Brows and Gadsley's Tavern for her marketing. I had my valuable body servant Reuben Hawkins with me. I recommended him to Mrs. Smoote that he was trusty, did our marketing when at home, to give him such sum as she deemed necessary and for every cent she lost I would make it good, and he would rid her of the fatigue in going to market. She readily complied and declared to me Reuben saved her one third of what the same provisions would have cost her and got better articles. In a few days ours was considered one of the most agreeable and desirable boarding houses in the city. Mrs. Smoote actually gave up her own room and went into the upper or garret part. Before I left the city she had paid off the execution, relieved her property and had funds in advance. Her daughter played well on the piano, sang agreeably, as did Mr. Montgomery, and at that day was no slouch at a song myself. Col. Morrison was full of anecdotes and of war stories. It had acquired such fame that Mrs. Smoote could not accommodate half the applications. J. H. Todd, John R. Piatt and a host of others were boarders and Mr. Russell, late Commander at Ghent solicited me to let him partake of a part of my bedroom for fear of losing a berth in that agreeable house. Mrs. Smoote declared she was under lasting obligations to me, that I had saved her from ruin, and I can truly say I never felt as much satisfaction at any act in my life, than by serving this truly and unfortunate widow. As to my servant Reuben, the children all called him "Uncle," actually had his likeness

taken by paper cuts and had them framed. I received a number of messages from this worthy woman by Judge Scott another one of her boarders, saying she should never forget my friendship to her. Mr. Montgomery married Miss Smoote not long after. I did not visit Washington for some years, when I did I found she had moved to her mother's near Port Royal, Va., and I think Mr. Montgomery and his wife moved to Alabama.





