

SKETCH OF DOCTOR THOMAS WALKER.

DOCTOR THOMAS WALKER was born in King and Queen County, Virginia, January 25, 1715. His father, of the same name, was of a family long settled in the tide-water section of Virginia, his first American ancestor having come from Staffordshire, England, in 1650, and been a member of the Colonial Assembly in 1662, as a representative from Gloucester County. While the records of the family do not contain much of the details of the lives of its earlier representatives, they show them to have been of a sturdy stock, and to have belonged to the class of Virginia planters which constituted the most respectable and influential element of the colonial population. Doctor Walker's mother was Susanna Peachy, to whom his father was married September 24, 1709. Their children were Mary Peachy, born in 1710, who married Doctor George Gilmer, of Williamsburg, Virginia, who left many descendants of distinction, including a Governor each of Virginia and Georgia; John, born April 29, 1810, who married Miss Baylor, of Essex County, and Thomas, the subject of this sketch. It is to be regretted that but

little is known of the early life of Doctor Walker or of his educational advantages, but it is inferred that he enjoyed the best afforded at that time in the Colony, and that he attended the academical or medical course, one or both, of William and Mary College. That, as the title which he bore indicates, he was a physician, though not confining himself strictly to the practice, may be inferred from the evidence afforded by his journal. But, as one of his biographers says in correcting an error stating that he was a divine, "a more conclusive proof of his being a physician is the fact that in June, July, and August, 1757, he made oft-repeated visits to Colonel Peter Jefferson, and stood by his bedside when he died on the 17th of August in that year." It is more than probable that with an adventurous spirit he preferred a more active life and one which offered more remunerative returns, and laid aside his saddle-bags to become a surveyor—a profession which at that time and later drew to its service the most representative Virginians. Besides, another inducement naturally led him to make this change. In 1741, when he was twenty-six years of age, he married a lady who brought to him a landed estate of fifteen thousand acres, and the proper care and subdivision of it afterward made it an object of sufficient importance to induce him to take this step. The companion whom he chose and

who became the mother of his twelve children and the ancestress of a long line of distinguished descendants was a young widow several years older than himself—Mrs. Nicholas Meriwether, whose maiden name was Mildred Thornton. She was a second cousin of Washington, whose elder brother Samuel had married one of her near relatives. Her land was situated in Albemarle County, east of Charlottesville, in one of the most historic portions of Virginia, and here he afterward erected the homestead known as Castle Hill, which is still occupied by his lineal descendants. He was the intimate friend of Peter Jefferson, the father of the author of the Declaration of Independence, and at his death became his executor and the guardian of his illustrious son. From association with him it is easy to conceive how naturally his mind was influenced and his life turned into the current of adventure for which his new calling so well fitted him. The civilization of Virginia had long been confined to a comparatively narrow strip of territory between the Blue Ridge and the Atlantic. In 1728 the increase in population prompted the extension of the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, and in that and the succeeding year it was established as far west as the foot of the Alleghany Mountains by a commission, at the head of which was Colonel William Byrd, of Westover. His account

of the survey, as given in the "Westover Papers," is one of the most interesting contributions to colonial history, and discloses the fact that he ran the line seventy-two miles beyond the limit fixed by his associates, who protested that they had already reached a point to which it would require fifty years for the settlements to extend. Yet in twenty years the tide of immigration had reached the base of the Alleghanies, and a further extension of the line westward was required. For this service were selected by the Colonial Assembly Joshua Fry, a graduate of Oxford, the distinguished Professor of Mathematics of William and Mary College, and Peter Jefferson, whose calling was that of a surveyor. In 1749, accompanied by Daniel Weldon and William Churton, Commissioners on the part of North Carolina, they extended the line on the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ seventy-three miles further to Steep Rock, a point about twenty-five miles southeast of Abingdon, Virginia. Fry and Jefferson were further associated as civil engineers in the preparation of the map of Virginia which bears their name, published by them in 1751, and which was used in the treaty of peace between England and the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War. To still further show the impetus which had required this extension and its rapid progress, it was only thirty years when, in 1779, this line was extended five hundred miles further

westward by Doctor Walker himself. In 1748 the spirit of western adventure was quickened by the desire of the English Government to occupy, as against the adverse claim of the French, the rich lands beyond the Alleghanies, and, in that and the succeeding year, two great land companies, having for their object the settlement of this territory, were organized—the Ohio Company looking to the occupation of the land upon the Ohio and its upper tributaries, and the Loyal Land Company having for its object the territory in Southwestern Virginia and Kentucky. In 1748 Doctor Walker, who had become known for his skill as a surveyor, his good judgment as a locator of eligible surveys, and his fondness for exploring regions beyond the settlements, in company with a number of gentlemen in search of good land, made an expedition through Southwestern Virginia. Among the party were Colonel James Patton, who had theretofore received a grant of about one hundred and twenty thousand acres of land in the Valley of Virginia, Colonel John Buchanan, his son-in-law, Colonel Wood, and Major Charles Campbell, all names prominent in the annals of the Colony. They penetrated the country of the Cherokees along the Holston, now in East Tennessee, and the result of their trip doubtless contributed to the extension of the line by Fry and Jefferson and the settlements which followed; so

that in the following year, when the Loyal Land Company was organized with a grant of eight hundred thousand acres of land, Doctor Walker was selected as the agent and surveyor of the company to make their locations. His journal shows that on the 12th of December, 1749, he had contracted "to go to the westward, in order to discover a proper place for a settlement," and that he started on his long and perilous journey in company with five companions on the 12th of March following. The character of the man is well portrayed in his quaint and simple but concise and intelligent record of that notable expedition, the hardships endured and the obstacles overcome. The time occupied in making this great circuit through Kentucky was just four months, along the route of which for the greater part railroads now run, enabling the trip to be made in comfort in forty-eight hours. But the results, except in the experience and knowledge of the country, valuable for future purposes, were of no immediate advantage. By a singular perversity of fate, although for many weary weeks he skirted, at the distance of a day or two of travel, the rich bluegrass region of Kentucky, he saw only the most rugged mountain region, and floundered through rocky laurel thickets and swollen streams. But his energy was not impaired, and his enthusiasm never flagged. The geographical and topo-

graphical information derived by Doctor Walker on this trip was early utilized by the historians and map-makers. Vaugondy's map (Map by Sr. Robert de Vaugondy, *Geographie Ordinaire du Roy*, 1755) lays down Doctor Walker's settlement on the Cumberland quite accurately as to latitude, but too far west, and Crooked Creek, Powell's, Lawless, Hughes, and Frederick's River, but makes them all flow into the Ohio, when, except the latter, they are tributaries of the Cumberland. Mitchell's map and the map of Lewis Evans, published in Philadelphia, 1755, also contain data evidently furnished by him. Evans is the only one who makes acknowledgment. He says (Pownall, page 34): "As for the branches of Ohio, which head in New Virginia, I am particularly obliged to Doctor Thomas Walker for the intelligence of what names they bear, and what rivers they fall into northward and westward; but this gentleman, being on a journey when I happened to see him, had not his notes, whereby he might have rendered those parts more perfect." He made numerous trips to other localities, though not so remote, and was frequently for long periods absent from home, acquiring great influence among the Indians and a thorough knowledge of their character. He continued without intermission as the agent of the company until 1775, when in April of that year he settled his accounts

to their full satisfaction. Not much is known of the details of his operations or the particular localities in which he was engaged, but in the Colonial Records of Virginia, Volume II, page 298, appears a letter from him, in which he states that for five years his headquarters were in Southwestern Virginia, at what is now Abingdon, which he calls Washington Court House, and which had been previously known as Wolf Hills.

During this long term of service Doctor Walker did not confine himself to the duties of a surveyor and land agent, but in the stirring conflicts of the frontier he bore his part in the field, and gave to his country the benefit of his valuable experience gained as a frontiersman. In 1755, when the French and Indians threatened to exterminate the whites or drive the settlers eastward of the Blue Ridge, he was made Commissary, with the rank of Major, to the Virginia troops which accompanied Braddock in his disastrous campaign. His preliminary duties required him to make an extensive trip to the extreme western part of Maryland and thence into Pennsylvania, his journal recounting many incidents of adventure by flood and field. Among other items is one in which he speaks of dining with "the ingenious Doctor Benjamin Franklin," who was then "Postmaster General of America," upon whom devolved the singular duty of furnishing transportation for General Brad-

dock, and who visited his headquarters at Will's Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland. In the battle or massacre which followed, Doctor Walker narrowly escaped death or capture with Washington. In 1768 he was appointed with Andrew Lewis a Commissioner on the part of Virginia to a congress with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, the site of Rome, New York, when on the 5th of November a treaty was signed by which was conveyed to the English, for a sum approximating ten thousand pounds sterling, a vast territory west of the Alleghanies, including all of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River. The name of Doctor Walker appears signed to the treaty, but that of Andrew Lewis does not. This is explained by Doctor Walker in a deposition given December 3, 1777, to the effect that, before the signing, General Lewis was called off. (Virginia Colonial Records, Volume I, page 297.)

In 1774, after the battle of Point Pleasant, when on the 10th of October Andrew Lewis defeated the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk in that most notable contest between the whites and Indians, Doctor Walker was again appointed a Commissioner with John Harvie, and concluded a treaty with the Indians. In the following year, when a member of the House of Burgesses, he was appointed, next in order of nomination to Washington, one of the Commissioners to arrange a treaty with the Ohio Indians, whose friend-

ship it was desirable to retain in view of the pending difficulties with the mother country; and his name, with that of Andrew Lewis, James Wood, and Adam Stephens, appears signed to the transcript of proceedings held at Fort Pitt, from September 12th to October 21st, 1775, as having presided over the conferences. Besides being a member of the House of Burgesses, he was a member of the Revolutionary Convention, and also of the Committee of Public Safety. In 1777 he was a member of the Council of State, consisting of eight members chosen by the joint ballot of the two houses composing the legislature of Virginia. It was a body of important functions, as it shared with the Governor in all his executive powers, and without whose concurrence he could perform no official act. But Doctor Walker was not the only member of his family who bore an active part in the events of this period. His son, Colonel John Walker, who was afterward a member of Congress and United States Senator, served as aid-de-camp to Washington, and elicited the expression of that great officer's confidence in his "abilities, honor, and prudence."

Although Doctor Walker had now reached an age when he might well have retired from the arduous labors which had characterized his life, in 1779 he was chosen by the Legislature of Virginia a Commissioner on the part

of the State to extend the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, from the end of Fry and Jefferson's line westward to the Tennessee. It is commonly said that he was appointed by Jefferson, Governor of Virginia, but the record shows that he was chosen by the legislature before Mr. Jefferson became Governor and while he was a member of the House of Delegates. (See Journal House of Delegates for December 19, 1778.) The people of Virginia, who had rebelled against the exercise of arbitrary executive power, besides providing a council to restrain the executive, denied him the power of appointment in such cases. As his associate Commissioner they selected Daniel Smith, a cultivated surveyor, who had been long associated with Doctor Walker in the business of the Loyal Land Company, having been five years with him at Abingdon.

Daniel Smith, son of Henry and Sarah (Crosby) Smith, was born in Stafford County, Virginia, October 17, 1748 (O. S.), and died in Sumner County, Tennessee, June 16, 1818. He moved early to the western part of Virginia and settled on Clinch River, and was a surveyor by occupation. Shortly after concluding his service with Doctor Walker in running the boundary line he moved to that part of Tennessee, near Nashville, by the fertility of which he had been attracted while on this service. He

was one of the earliest settlers of the State, being contemporary with John Donelson, whose son, Samuel Donelson, law partner of Andrew Jackson, married his daughter, and whose daughter married one of Smith's sons. Andrew Jackson Donelson was his grandson, and Donelson Caffery, Senator from Louisiana, is a lineal descendant of John Donelson. He filled many public offices; was Captain in and Colonel of the Second Battalion of Washington County, Virginia; was Major-General of militia; appointed by Washington Secretary of the Territory south of the Ohio in 1790; member of the North Carolina Legislature; member of the convention that framed the Constitution of Tennessee; United States Senator in 1798-99 in place of Andrew Jackson, resigned, and again from 1805 until his own resignation in 1809. He published the first map of Tennessee and a geography of the State (Philadelphia, 1799).

The Commissioners on the part of North Carolina were Colonel Richard Henderson and William B. Smith. They entered on their duties September 6, 1779, but owing to a disagreement the Commissioners of each State ran a separate line as far as Cumberland Gap, where those from North Carolina ceased operations. Doctor Walker and Daniel Smith continued the survey amid the severity of a winter still known by tradition as the cold winter of

1780, and finished it at the Tennessee River March 23, 1780. Their report, which is full of interest and further illustrates the energy, skill, and endurance of Doctor Walker, will be found in Hening's Virginia Reports, Volume IX, page 562. It is stated in the report that "After we had returned homeward one hundred and sixty miles we met with orders from his Excellency, the Governor (Jefferson), to do another piece of service which we suppose he has made you acquainted with." This was, most probably, to run an experimental line from the late terminus still further westward. It had been supposed that it would strike the Ohio, but it came out on the Mississippi, and in that year George Rogers Clark, under the direction of Jefferson, erected Fort Jefferson on that stream for the protection of American interests. The country between the Tennessee and the Mississippi then belonged to the Chickasaws, and was acquired from them by treaty concluded October 19, 1818, Andrew Jackson and Isaac Shelby being the Commissioners on the part of the United States. The price paid for that part of Tennessee and Kentucky west of the Tennessee River was three hundred thousand dollars, and that portion of Kentucky has since been known locally as the Jackson Purchase.

Doctor Walker continued for several years after this to participate actively in civil affairs, but declined further

service in the field. In the Virginia Colonial Records, Volume II, page 298, is a letter from him, written August 7, 1781, to Governor Nelson, regretting his inability to accept the appointment made by the General Assembly of Virginia as Commissioner to settle all accounts of disbursements and claims in the part of the State including Kentucky, as he was admonished by the infirmities of increasing age not to undertake such an arduous task. The Revolutionary War was drawing to a close, involving Virginia in its last throes in the devastation of an invading army. The whole eastern portion was overrun by the British forces under Arnold and Tarleton, the capital taken, and much public and private property destroyed everywhere. Charlottesville, to which the legislature had adjourned, Monticello, and Castle Hill were raided by Tarleton's dragoons, and the legislature, Mr. Jefferson, and Doctor Walker barely escaped capture. An interesting incident of the raid is recorded, well illustrating the spirit which actuated the American women of that period. Not far distant from Charlottesville, on an estate known as "The Farm," resided Nicholas Lewis, the uncle and guardian of Meriwether Lewis, of the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific. His wife was Mary Walker, the eldest daughter of Doctor Walker. Her husband was absent in the army when Tarleton with his raiders swooped

down on her home and proceeded to appropriate forage and every thing eatable and portable. She received the British cavalryman with spirit and dignity, and upbraided him sharply for his war on defenseless women, telling him to go to the armies of Virginia and meet her men. Tarleton parried her thrusts with politeness as well as he could, and after his men were rested, resumed his march. After his departure Mrs. Lewis discovered that his men had carried off all her ducks except a single old drake. This she caused to be caught and sent it to Tarleton by a messenger, who overtook him, with her compliments, saying that the drake was lonesome without his companions, and as he had evidently overlooked it, she wished to reunite them. From that time she was known as "Captain Moll," and bears that sobriquet in the family records. She was a woman of strong character, was still living at "The Farm" in 1817, and left many descendants in Virginia and in and near Louisville, Kentucky. On the 19th of October, 1781, Tarleton's career closed, and Virginia was relieved from similar devastation for a period of eighty years by the surrender at Yorktown.

In 1782 Doctor Walker, then a member of the General Assembly, is mentioned as a member of the "committee to prepare a full and detailed vindication of the claims of Virginia to her western territory," and it can not be

doubted that his services contributed to the establishment of the boundaries fixed in the ultimate treaty of peace; by which the British surrendered their claim to the territory north of the Ohio, now comprising five States and part of a sixth, won by the valor of George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia and Vincennes. The following interesting glimpse of Doctor Walker may be valuable to his descendants, where the record of the personal details of his life is otherwise so restricted. It is taken from *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America*, by T. Anburey, Vol. II, 1789. In a letter of April 18, 1780, he says: "Some short time since I became acquainted with a Colonel Walker (evidently Colonel John Walker, aide-de-camp to Washington, etc.), who has lately been elected a Delegate to represent this State in Congress. The usual hospitality of the country presides at his house; but what renders it unpleasant, the family will chiefly converse on politics, but always with moderation. I was much pleased with a very noble and animated speech of the Colonel's father, a man possessing all his faculties with strong understanding, though considerably above eighty years of age [overestimated—ED.]. One day in chat, while each was delivering his sentiment of what would be the state of America a century hence, the old man, with great fire and spirit, declared his opinion that

‘the Americans would then reverence the resolution of their forefathers and would eagerly impress an adequate idea of the sacred value of freedom in the minds of their children, that it may descend to the latest posterity ; that if, in any future ages, they should be again called forth to revenge public injuries to secure that freedom, they should adopt the same measures that secured it to them by their brave ancestors.’”

The scope of this sketch will not admit of the introduction of many matters of historical interest which might appropriately be introduced in an extended biography. Among these are the details of Doctor Walker's large land transactions, together with copies of many curious deeds of transfer, a few of which, with the polysyllabic and unpronounceable names of subscribing Indian chiefs, accompanied by their hieroglyphic marks, some of them resembling Chinese letters and others natural objects, as the turtle, the deer, and the wolf, are preserved in the “Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia, by Doctor R. C. M. Page, New York, 1893.” To one only can special reference be made, showing as it does the magnitude of some of his transactions. This is a deed dated July 30, 1779, from George Croghan, the noted Indian trader and deputy Indian agent of Pennsylvania, in which for a consideration of five thousand Spanish dollars he conveys the forty-eighth

part of six million acres of land, being one hundred and twenty-five thousand acres, to the following persons: Thomas Walker, John Walker, Thomas Walker, junior, Nicholas Lewis, George Gilmer, Matthew Maury, Reuben Lindsay, Henry Fry, and Joseph Hornsby; the grantees being Doctor Walker, his two sons, and six sons-in-law.

All the evidence presented in the life of Doctor Walker indicates that he was a man of a large mould, that while careful in detail he had a broad, comprehensive mind, and exerted a large influence for the good of his fellow-man. In fact, it is not asserting too much to say that, if the full measure of the influence which he exerted in the matter of the exploration, acquisition, and settlement of the West were known, he would be entitled to vastly more credit than has been accorded to him. His relations with the father of Thomas Jefferson brought him in contact with the latter at an impressible age, and from the interest manifested by him through his long life in the same lines, it is easy to conclude that he imbibed from Doctor Walker much of that spirit of inquiry into the natural resources, geography, anthropology, zoölogy, and botany which made him the best informed man on such subjects, and has rendered his Notes on Virginia, crude as he called them, a standard authority to this day. How much of that varied information which surprised not only his own countrymen,

but the learned of all nations, he derived from Doctor Walker is matter of conjecture, but it is certain that he consulted him much, and in one of his letters of inquiry extant he tells him that he knows "nobody else who can give me equal information on all points." That the accurate reports derived from Doctor Walker of the value of the western country as a heritage worth preserving led him to throw his whole official as well as personal influence in seconding the plans of George Rogers Clark for the acquisition of the Northwest Territory can admit of little doubt, while the magnetism of Doctor Walker's love for adventure and the extension of Virginia's boundary may well be supposed to have planted the germ which expanded into the purchase of Louisiana and the expedition of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific immediately thereafter. Throughout Jefferson's correspondence evidences that he entertained such ideas crop out twenty years before their accomplishment.

The wife of Doctor Walker died November 16, 1778, and some years thereafter he married Elizabeth Thornton, a cousin of his first wife. Washington refers to her in a letter to Doctor Walker, April 10, 1784: "I hope it is unnecessary to give you assurance of the pleasure I should feel in seeing you and my cousin here at this retreat (Mount Vernon) from all my public employments."

The children of Doctor Walker, all the fruit of his first marriage, were twelve in number, all born at Castle Hill:

1. Mary Walker, known as "Captain Moll," born July 24, 1742, and married Nicholas Lewis.

2. Honorable John Walker, born February 13, 1744, who married Elizabeth Moore, granddaughter of Governor Spottswood.

3. Susan Walker, born December 14, 1746, who married Henry Fry, son of Colonel Joshua Fry, senior.

4. Thomas Walker, junior, second and only son to have male issue, born March 17, 1749, who married Margaret Hoops, of Pennsylvania.

5. Lucy Walker, born May 5, 1751, who married Doctor George Gilmer, of Albemarle County, Virginia, and was the grandmother of Governor Thomas Walker Gilmer, of Virginia, killed by the bursting of a gun on the man-of-war "Princeton," February 28, 1844, while Secretary of the Navy. Another descendant of this couple was George Rockingham Gilmer, twice Governor of Georgia, and member of Congress three terms.

6. Elizabeth (called Betsey), born August 1, 1753, who married Reverend Matthew Maury, son of Reverend James Maury, of the "Parson Case," in which Patrick Henry made his first reputation as an orator. Among

their descendants were Matthew F. Maury, the distinguished naval officer and scientist, and General Dabney H. Maury, of the Confederate Army.

7. Mildred Walker, born June 5, 1755, who married Joseph Hornsby. No issue.

8. Sarah Walker, born March 28, 1758, who married Reuben Lindsay.

9. Martha Walker, born May 2, 1760, who married George Divers. No issue.

10. Reuben Walker, born October 8, 1762, who died at three years of age.

11. Honorable Francis Walker, member of Congress, born June 22, 1764, who married Jane Byrd Nelson, granddaughter of Colonel William Byrd, of Westover. Their children were: (1) Jane Francis Walker, who married Doctor Mann Page, to whom were born twelve children, of whom Doctor Richard Channing Moore Page, of New York, author of the Page Family in Virginia, is the youngest; (2) Thomas Hugh Walker, born in 1800 and died 1805; (3) Judith Page Walker, who was born March 24, 1802, and married Honorable William C. Rives, United States Senator from Virginia and twice Minister to France. Their children were: (a) Francis Robert Rives, Secretary of Legation in London to Mr. Everett. His children were: a, George Lockhart Rives, Assistant

Secretary of State, United States, 1887-89, married first, Caroline Kean, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, who died leaving issue; second, Mrs. Belmont, of New York, by whom he has also issue; *b*, Ella Louise Rives, married David King, junior, of Newport, Rhode Island, and has children; *c*, Francis R. Rives, junior, married first, Georgia Fellows, of New York, who died without issue; he married a second time and died without issue; *d*, Constance Rives, married ——— Borland and has issue; *e*, Maud Rives, twin sister of Constance, married Walker Bruce Smith, of New York City, and has issue; *f*, Reginald William Rives, married, and has issue. (*b*) William Cabell Rives, who first published Doctor Walker's Journal in 1888, married Grace Winthrop Sears, of Boston, and left three children: Doctor William C. Rives, of New York, married Mary F. Rhinelanders; Alice Rives, and Arthur Landon Rives; (*c*) Colonel Alfred Landon Rives, who was a prominent officer in the Engineer Corps in the Confederate service, and has latterly been in charge of the Panama Railway; he is the father of Amélie Rives, the authoress; (*d*) Amélie Louise Rives, who married Henry Sigourney, of Boston, and they, with their three children, were lost on the steamship Ville du Havre in 1873; (*e*) Ella Rives, died single in 1891.

12. The twelfth and last child of Doctor Walker was Peachy Walker, born February 6, 1767, who married Joshua Fry, son of John Fry, and grandson of Joshua Fry, senior, heretofore referred to. They came to Kentucky in 1788, and settled at Danville. Doctor Fry was a man of classical education and was a noted educator, taking into his family a few young men whom he taught with his own children. Among his scholars were some of the most prominent men of Kentucky. His descendants in Kentucky and other trans-Alleghany States are numerous and include many distinguished names. Their children were :

1. Sallie, who married Honorable John Green.
2. Lucy Gilmer, who became the second wife of Judge John Speed, of Jefferson County, Kentucky. Their children were : (a) Thomas, died in infancy ; (b) Lucy Fry, married Honorable James D. Breckinridge, of Louisville, Kentucky, member of Congress 1821-23, no issue ; (c) James, a distinguished lawyer of Louisville, and Attorney General in President Lincoln's Cabinet, married Jane Cochran and had issue ; (d) Peachy Walker, married Austin Peay, of Louisville, and had issue ; (e) Joshua Fry, married Fanny Henning, and had no issue ; he was the bosom friend of President Lincoln ; (f) William Pope, married first, Mary Ellen Shallcross,

and had one son, James B. Speed, now a leading business man of Louisville; second, Ardell Hutchinson, and had issue; (*g*) Susan Fry, married B. O. Davis, and had issue; (*h*) Philip, Major and Collector of Internal Revenue, married Emma Keats, niece of John Keats, the poet, and left issue; he was an estimable man; (*i*) J. Smith, married first, Elizabeth Williamson, and had no issue; second, Susan Phillips, and left issue; (*j*) Susan Bell, married Thomas Adams, and had issue; (*k*) Ann Pope, died in early childhood.

3. Martha, who married David Bell, an Irish merchant of Danville, Kentucky, and was the mother of Honorable Joshua Fry Bell, a noted orator and member of Congress.

4. Mildred Ann, who married Honorable William C. Bullitt, of Jefferson County, Kentucky, and was the mother of (*a*) Joshua F. Bullitt, Chief Justice of Kentucky, 1865; (*b*) John C. Bullitt, Esquire, a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia; (*c*) Helen M., who married Doctor Henry Chenoweth, of Jefferson County, Kentucky; (*d*) Thomas Walker Bullitt, Esquire, a leading member of the Louisville bar; (*e*) Henry Massie Bullitt, of Jefferson County, Kentucky; (*f*) Susan, relict of Honorable Archibald Dixon, Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky and United States Senator; (*g*) James, Confederate soldier, killed in the war.

One of their sons, Thomas, was the father of General Speed Smith Fry, a distinguished officer in the Mexican War and of the Federal service in the late war, and of the second wife of Doctor Lewis W. Green, whose daughter is the wife of ex-Vice President Adlai E. Stevenson.

Another son, John, was the father of Major Carey Fry, of the regular army, and of Colonel John Fry, of the Kentucky Volunteers.

This list might be expanded to the size of a volume without enumerating all the descendants of Doctor Walker, but this lies more in the domain of genealogy, upon which it is not well to trench too much. Enough has been given to show how widely the family tree planted by their distinguished progenitor has expanded its branches.

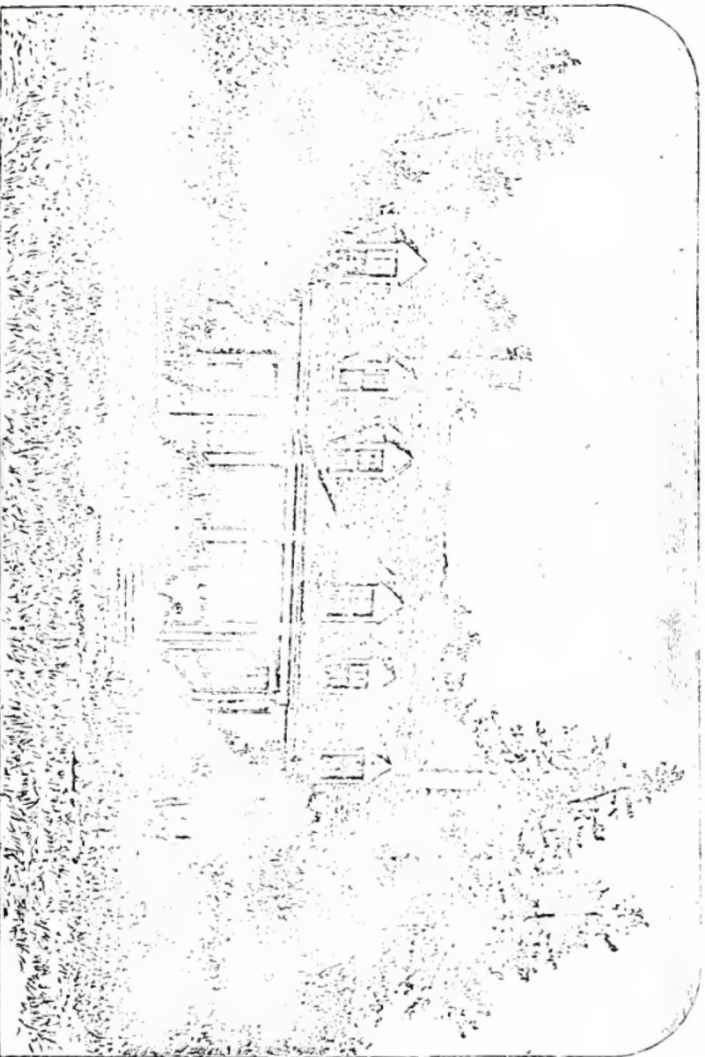
Doctor Walker, after he had passed the allotted span by nearly a decade, died at his home on November 9, 1794.

I know not how I can more appropriately close this sketch than by quoting the following concluding words of the memoir accompanying his journal, published in 1888, and written by his great-grandson, William Cabell Rives, LL. B.:

"He was cheered in his declining years by the happiness and prosperity of his many children, and by seeing

two of his sons in distinguished public positions, the eldest, who had been on the staff of Washington, a Senator, and the youngest a member of the House of Representatives of the United States. At his much-loved home, Castle Hill, Albemarle County, Virginia, he had built a house in 1765 which stands to-day in excellent preservation. It is one of the few buildings still remaining on the soil of Virginia which are older than the beginning of the War of Independence. Its northwest front, looking on the neighboring Southwest mountains, is represented in the frontispiece of the volume now published by an engraving due to Mr. Whympere, of London, the intrepid climber of the Alps and of the Andes.

“This house is yet the home of some of the descendants of its first owner, who do honor to their lineage. For five generations it has been a seat of hospitality and culture, and many time-honored associations now cluster about the house itself and the surrounding grounds. The slow-growing box trees, with archways cut through their evergreen sides, which border the lawn have climbed to the height of more than thirty feet, and tell the story to the most casual observer of the long years of their gradual ascent. The small panes of glass in the venerable-looking windows and the large brass door-locks of the house were brought from London, and are suggestive of ‘ye



CASTLE HILL, ALBEMARLE COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1765
HOME OF DOCTOR THOMAS WALKER

olden time' when Virginia was a colony and looked for her supplies to the great mother city beyond the sea. In the ample square hall the youthful, music-loving Jefferson has played the violin while the still younger Madison has danced. Here Thomas Walker has gathered around him the Indians who had learned to know and respect him in the fastnesses of the primeval forest, and has given shelter to the Nelsons and other patriots from 'the lower country' in the stormy times of the British invasion. Here the doors have opened to welcome five men who were either to be or were actually at the time presidents of the United States, and to many others who have made their mark as statesmen, judges, diplomatists, and soldiers; and here with the flight of years the voices of mirth have been often hushed by the coming of the footsteps of sorrow.

"In this home, the birthplace of his twelve children, the old pioneer, near the end of his eightieth year, on the 9th of November, 1794, closed his eyes on earthly scenes. He lies in the midst of a neighboring grove, to which the purple redbud and the white dogwood lend in succession the beauty of their vernal bloom, and where the secular oak, the tall tulip tree, and the fragrant wild grape make a bower for the birds which in spring and summer time ceaselessly carol his requiem."

PREFACE TO DOCTOR WALKER'S JOURNAL.

THE following letters from Doctor W. C. Rives, son of William Cabell Rives, Esquire, who, in 1888, published the journal of Doctor Walker, were written to the editor after reading the latter's paper read before the Filson Club, in 1894, on Doctor Walker's exploration, and in response to his request that he would endeavor to find the missing leaves of the journal:

NEW YORK, December 21, 1894.

Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston:

DEAR SIR: I was much pleased to receive your very kind letter and the valuable paper on Doctor Walker and his route, and will keep the latter carefully a little longer before returning it. . . .

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM C. RIVES.

NEW YORK, December 29, 1894.

Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston:

DEAR SIR: I have been intending at some time to publish a new edition of Doctor Walker's Journal, but in the mean while, to aid you in tracing out his route further, I have much pleasure in sending you a copy of the missing part of the journal describing his crossing of Powell's River and passage of Cumberland Gap. So much detail is given that I suppose this part of his journey will be especially easy to follow. Beargrass, the name he gave to Powell's River, appears on Mitchell's Treaty Map of

1785. With regard to the position of the settlement, I suppose that the details must have been given by Doctor Walker, and that by chance more or less the latitude and longitude were put down correctly, while in other respects the map is incorrect. I very soon saw after the publication of the journal, by a more careful study of the maps, that he had not gone anywhere near the Salt or Green River, and your location of his settlement is just about where I should have supposed it to be. With regard to Roosevelt's statement, Colonel John P. Hale (*Trans-Alleghany Pioneer Sketches*, page 15) says that Doctor Walker, Colonel James Patton, Colonel Buchanan, Colonel Wood, and Major Campbell penetrated through Cumberland Gap in 1748, but this is of course not true. Mention of this party's visit to Tennessee is to be found in Morse's *Geography*, and I think it is referred to in Haywood's *Tennessee*, though at the moment I can not refer to either. . . .

Yours truly,

WILLIAM C. RIVES.

The missing leaves referred to in the above letter covered the ten days from April 10th to April 20th, 1750. The following letter refers to the missing leaves covering the first ten days of the trip, which were sent to me in full some time later:

NEW YORK, January 23, 1895.

Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston:

DEAR SIR: Please excuse me for having kept your paper so long, which I now return with my thanks. . . . I am able to confirm your supposition about Doctor Walker's companions from the unpublished beginning of his journal. He commences: "Having on the 12th day of December last been employed for a consideration

to go to the westward to discover a proper place for a settlement. I left my house on the Sixth day of March, at 10 o'clock, 1749-50, in company with Ambrose Powell, William Tomlinson, Colby Chew, Henry Lawless, and John Hughes. Each man had a horse, and we had two to carry baggage." . . .

Yours truly,

WILLIAM C. RIVES.

When I first conceived the idea of making Doctor Walker's Journal the subject of a Filson publication, I wrote to Doctor Rives with regard to his intention as stated in one of the foregoing letters, and in reply received the following letter :

NEW YORK, December 11, 1895.

Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston :

MY DEAR SIR: It will give me much pleasure to consent to your reprinting the whole journal and making use of the memoir, and I feel that it is very appropriate that it should appear as a Filson Club publication. Your valuable paper and the entire journal published together under such auspices will no doubt attract attention and cause an increased interest to be felt in Doctor Walker and his expedition. . . . I will shortly send you a copy of the first ten days' journal.

Very truly yours,

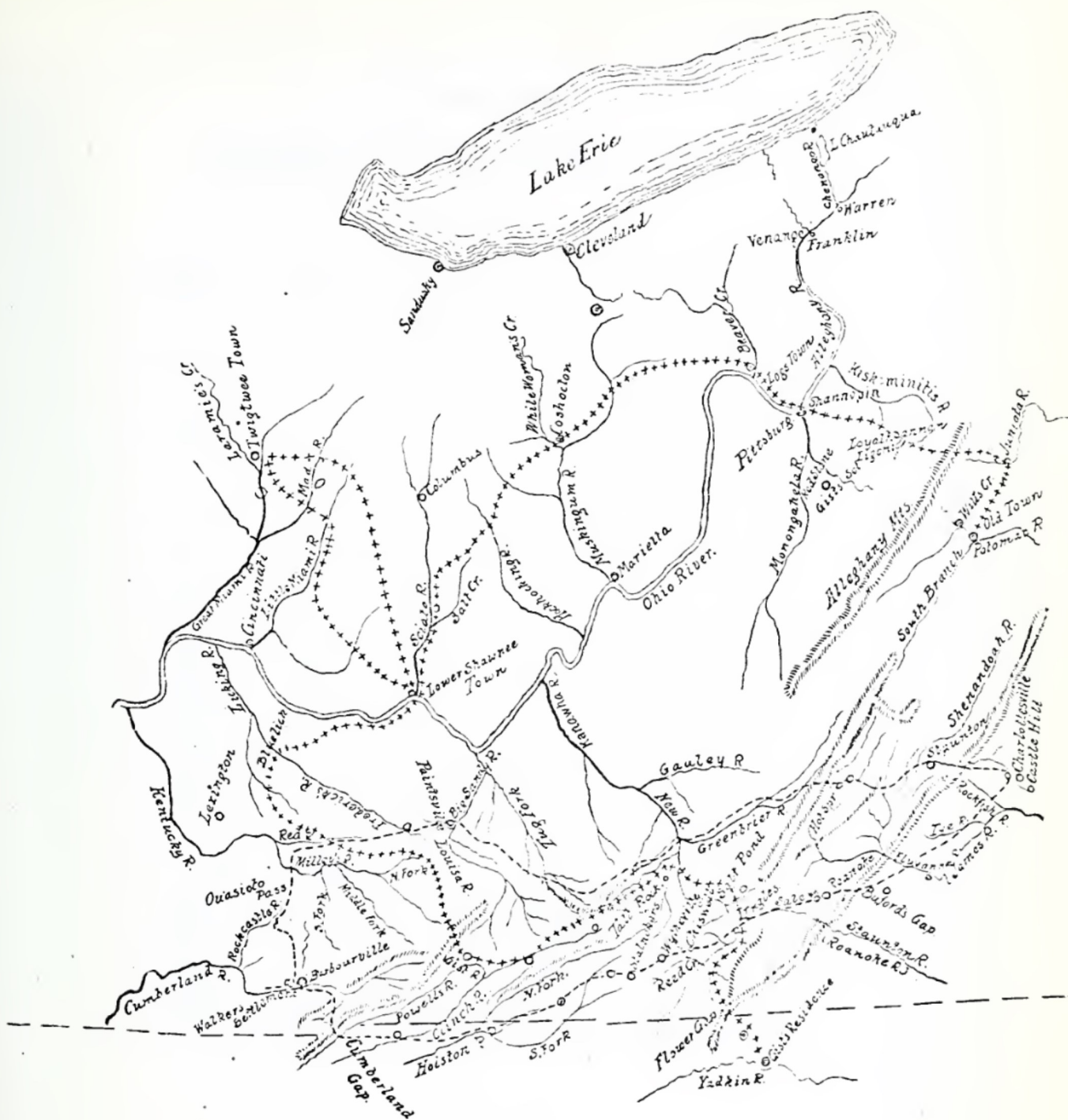
WILLIAM C. RIVES.

It had been my purpose to bring out this publication a year sooner, but the Siege of Bryan's Station having precedence, it was postponed until now. The additional time thus gained has enabled me to give more thorough

notes to the text of the journal and to include in the publication the journal of Christopher Gist, the two forming the very foundation of Kentucky's history.

I can not too fully express my obligations to Doctor Rives for his valuable assistance in my work.

J. STODDARD JOHNSTON.



MAP SHOWING
ROUTES OF WALKER AND GIST

..... WALKER'S ROUTE
xxxxx GIST'S ROUTE

JOURNAL OF
Doctor Thomas Walker¹

1749-50.²

HAVING, on the 12th of December last, been employed for a certain consideration³ to go to the Westward in order to discover a proper Place for a Settlement, I left my house on the Sixth day of March, at 10 o'clock, 1749-50, in Company with Ambrose Powell,⁴ William Tomlinson,⁵ Colby Chew,⁶ Henry Lawless & John Hughs.

¹In Mr. Rives' text the journal of the first ten days is missing, but is here supplied from the lost leaves recovered as stated in preface.

²At this time the new year in England and its Colonies began on the 25th of March, so that when this journal began it was still the year 1749. The change by which the first of January began the new year was made in 1752.

³His contract was with the Loyal Land Company, which had a grant of eight hundred thousand acres of land to be located north of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina, comprised in the territory now embraced in Kentucky.

⁴Ambrose Powell was a surveyor and prominent citizen of Culpeper County, Virginia, of enterprise and note. He was the great-grandfather of General Ambrose Powell Hill, of the Confederate army. He had a son named Ambrose Powell, who was an officer in the Revolution. A descendant of the same name was County Judge of Jackson County, Kentucky, and another represented the county in the legislature. Other descendants are in Boyle and Mercer counties.

⁵William Tomlinson was a Virginian who afterward became one of the settlers at Bryan's Station, near Lexington, Kentucky, and was in the fort when it was besieged, August 16, 1782. He settled near Lexington, Kentucky, and left descendants. He is sometimes referred to as William Tomerlin. See Daniel Bryan's letter, Appendix A.

⁶Colby Chew was the son of Colonel Thomas Chew and Martha Taylor. His paternal grandfather was Larkin Chew, and his paternal grandmother

Each man had a Horse and we had two to carry the Baggage. I lodged this night at Col. Joshua Fry's,¹ in Albemarle, which County includes the Chief of the head Branches of James River on the East side of the Blue Ridge.

March 7th. Wee set off about 8, but the day proving wet, we only went to Thomas Joplin's on Rockfish. This is a pretty River, which might at a small expense be made fit for transporting Tobacco; but it has lately been stopped by a Mill Dam near the Mouth to the prejudice of the upper inhabitants who would at their own expense clear and make it navigable, were they permitted.

March 8th. We left Joplin's early. It began to rain about Noon. I left my People at Thomas Jones's and

Hannah Ross. His mother, Martha Taylor, was a daughter of James Taylor and Martha Thompson. The grandfather of President Taylor was a brother of James Taylor, and a sister, Frances Taylor, was the grandmother of President Madison. The Chews were from Orange County, Virginia, a branch of the Maryland Chew family. Colby Chew was a Captain in Washington's regiment, 1757-8, and was killed in Grant's defeat in Bouquet's expedition in front of Fort Duquesne, 1758. His name is frequently mentioned in Washington's correspondence.

¹Colonel Joshua Fry, Washington's senior in command of the Virginia forces, died May 31, 1754, after the troops had reached the mouth of Will's Creek. Joint author, with Peter Jefferson, of Fry and Jefferson's Map of Virginia. His grandson, Joshua Fry, married Peachy, the youngest daughter of Doctor Walker. He was also one of the Commissioners of the Crown in continuing the line between Virginia and North Carolina. See "Memoirs of Colonel Joshua Fry," by Reverend Philip Slaughter, D. D.

went to the Reverend Mr. Robert Rose's¹ on Tye River. This is about the Size of Rockfish, as yet open, but how long the Avarice of Millers will permit it to be so, I know not. At present, the Inhabitants enjoy plenty of fine fish, as Shad in their Season, Carp, Rocks, Fat-Backs which I suppose to be Tench, Perch, Mulletts, etc.

9th. As the weather continues unlikely, I moved only to Baylor Walker's² Quarters.

March 10th. The weather is still cloudy, and leaving my People at the Quarter I rode to Mr. John Harvie's,³ where I dined and return'd to the Quarter in ye Evening.

11th. The Sabbath.⁴

March 12th. We crossed the Fluvanna⁵ & lodged at Thomas Hunt's.

¹ Mentioned in Bishop Mead's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia."

² This could hardly have been Baylor Walker, the son of Doctor Walker's brother John, who would have been about fourteen years old at this time. See "Page Family in Virginia," Second Edition, page 200.

³ John Harvie, born in Gargannock, Scotland, emigrated to Virginia in early manhood, and settled in Albemarle County. He was a lawyer of ability, and speedily attained a large and lucrative practice, thus laying the basis of his subsequent wealth. In 1774 he was appointed with Doctor Thomas Walker, by the General Assembly, a Commissioner to treat with the Western Indians after their defeat at Point Pleasant, October 10th, by Andrew Lewis. He represented West Augusta County in the Conventions of 1775 and 1776, etc. See "Virginia Historical Collections," Volume VI, New Series, Richmond, 1887, note on page 83.

⁴ It will be noticed in this journal that Doctor Walker, save in one or two instances when necessity required it, did not travel on Sunday.

⁵ The Upper James, above the mouth of the Rivanna.

13th. We went early to William Calloway's¹ and supplied ourselves with Rum, Thread, and other necessities & from thence took the main Waggon Road leading to Wood's or the New² River. It is not well clear'd or beaten yet, but will be a very good one with proper management. This night we lodged in Adam Beard's low grounds. Beard is an ignorant, impudent, brutish fellow, and would have taken us up, had it not been for a reason, easily to be suggested.

14th. We went from Beard's to Nicholas Welches, where we bought corn for our horses, and had some Victuals dress'd for Breakfast, afterwards we crossed the Blue Ridge. The Ascent and Descent is so easie that

¹Brother of Colonel Richard Callaway, who accompanied Boone to Kentucky in 1775.

²This river was first discovered in 1671 by Colonel Abraham Wood, who lived at the falls of the Appomattox, now Petersburg, Virginia. The line of his exploration was near and parallel to that of the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina as run in 1728-29, and described by Colonel William Byrd, one of the Virginia Commissioners, in "The West-over Papers." He crossed the Alleghany Mountains by a gap called Wood's (now Flower) Gap, and, passing down Little River, reached New River not a great distance above Ingles' Ferry, mentioned later in these notes. It was long called both Wood's and New River, but the latter name is now used exclusively. (Manuscript journal of Thomas Batts, 1671, in Colonel Durrett's library gives the details of Colonel Wood's expedition.)

The Kanawha River was in early days commonly supposed to signify, in the Indian tongue, "River of the Woods," but the name of Wood's River, as it was for some time called, evidently came from that of New River, its main branch. Hale, page 43.

a Stranger would not know when he crossed the Ridge.¹ It began to rain about Noon and continued till night. We lodged at William Armstrong's. Corn is very scarce in these Parts.

March 15th. We went to the great Lick² on A Branch of the Staunton & bought Corn of Michael Campbell for our Horses. This Lick has been one of the best places for Game in these parts and would have been of much greater advantage to the Inhabitants than it has been if the Hunters had not killed the Buffaloes³ for diversion, and the Elks and Deer for their skins. This afternoon we got to the Staunton where the Houses of the Inhabitants had been carried off with their grain and Fences by the Fresh last Summer, and lodged at James Robinson's, the only place I could hear of where they had Corn to spare, notwithstanding the land is such that an industrious man might make 100 barrels a share in a Seasonable year.

¹This was at Buford's Gap (one thousand two hundred and ninety-three feet), in Bedford County, through which the Norfolk & Western Railroad now passes.

²This locality is now occupied by the thriving town of Roanoke, in the county of the same name.

³It has been a generally received opinion that there were no buffalo east of the Blue Ridge, but while the locality here named is west of that mountain, it is not likely that the limit of their range was bounded by it. Colonel Byrd killed buffalo in 1729 at points on the boundary line southeast of Roanoke, between which and the coast there was no mountain. He states that it was not believed that they went further north than the latitude of 40.

16th March.¹ We kept up the Staunton² to William Englishes.^{3*} He lives on a small Branch, and was not much hurt by the Fresh. He has a mill, which is the furthest back except one lately built by the Sect of People, who call themselves of the Brotherhood of Euphrates,

¹First hiatus ends here, and Mr. Rives' text first begins with this date.

²The north fork of the Roanoke River formed by the junction of the Staunton and the Dan rivers in Halifax County, about ten miles north of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. It rises in the Alleghany Mountains and flows southeast. The upper portion of Staunton River is now called Roanoke, the lower portion Staunton, and after the junction with the Dan the Roanoke again.

³William English, properly Ingles, with his father, Thomas Ingles, and family, and a family named Draper, all Scotch-Irish, had recently come from Pennsylvania. They, together with Colonel James Patton and William Preston, his nephew, lived neighbors in what was called Draper's Bottom, the scene of a bloody tragedy five years later. On the 8th of July, 1755, the day before Braddock's defeat, a party of Shawnee Indians from Ohio fell upon the settlement and killed, wounded, or captured nearly every soul there. Colonel James Patton, Mrs. George Draper, Casper Barrier, and a child of John Draper were killed; Mrs. John Draper and James Cull were wounded; Mrs. William Ingles and two children, boys, two and four years old, Mrs. John Draper, and Henry Leonard were taken prisoners; and William Preston, afterwards Surveyor of Fincastle, escaped by having gone to a distant neighbor's a short time before the incursion. Mrs. Mary Ingles, wife of William Ingles, was taken to Ohio and thence to Big Bone Lick, Kentucky, whence she made her escape and reached home afoot in forty days, after many perils and hardships. She was the first white woman recorded as having been in Kentucky. See Collins' "History of Kentucky," Volume I, pages 53-4. "Draper's Meadows" afterward became the home of William Preston, and was called by him Smithfield.

*Near the present village of Blacksburg, Montgomery County, Virginia. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

(17th) and are commonly called the Duncards,¹ who are the upper inhabitants of the New River, which is about 400 yards wide at this place. They live on the west side, and we were obliged to swim our Horses over.² The Duncards are an odd set of people, who make it a matter of Religion not to Shave their Beards, ly on Beds, or eat Flesh, though at present, in the last, they transgress, being constrained to it, as they say, by the want of a sufficiency of Grain and Roots. they having not long been seated here. I doubt the plenty and deliciousness of the Venison & Turkeys has contributed not a little to this. The unmarried have no private Property, but live on a common Stock. They dont baptize either Young or Old, they keep their Sabbath on Saturday, & hold that all men shall be happy hereafter, but first must pass through punishment according to their Sins. They are very hospitable.

¹ Dunkards, Dunkers, and Tunkers, a German Baptist sect, with some features of Quakerism, who formed a settlement called Euphrata, in Pennsylvania, forty miles from Philadelphia, and at an early day spread up the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia. The Shenandoah River was first named the Euphrates by Governor Spotswood in 1716, when he crossed the Blue Ridge at Swift Run Gap, in his celebrated "Horse Shoe" expedition, and viewed the fertility of that region for the first time.

² This crossing of New River was near the present crossing of the turnpike which runs from Wytheville to Christiansburg, and several miles above the crossing of the East Tennessee, Virginia & Georgia Railroad. It was afterward known as Ingles' Ferry. It is still owned and occupied by descendants of William and Mary Ingles.

March 18th. The Sabbath.

19th. We could not find our Horses and spent the day in Looking for them. In the evening we found their track.

20th. We went very early to the track of our Horses & after following them six or seven miles, we found them all together. we returned to the Duncards about 10 o'clock, and having purchased half a Bussell of meal and as much small Homony we set off and Lodged on a small Run between Peak Creek¹ and Reedy² Creek.

March 21st. We got to Reedy³ Creek and Camped near James McCall's. I went to his House and Lodged and bought what Bacon I wanted.

¹ Peak Creek enters the New River near the village of Newbern, in Pulaski County. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

² Probably Reed Creek, in Wythe County. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

³ This is now called Reed Creek, which heads west of Wytheville and runs east a little south of the town, emptying into New River above Ingles'. Its waters interlock with those of the Holston. The watershed is low and the valley fertile. The site of Fort Chiswell, built by the second Colonel William Byrd, under direction of Washington, in 1753, is between New River and Wytheville on this trail, parallel and near to which the turnpike and railroad run. It was named for Colonel John Chiswell, then in charge of the lead works nearby, from which the principal supply of lead used in the Revolutionary War and the Confederate supply in the late Civil War were obtained. Colonel Chiswell was succeeded in charge of the lead works by the father of Stephen F. Austin, of Texas, for whom the Capital of that State is named, and who was born here. Hale's

22nd. I returned to my People early. We got to a large Spring about five miles below Davises Bottom on Holstons' River and Camped.

23rd. We kept down Holston's' River about four miles and Camped; and then Mr. Powel and I went to look for Samuel Stalnaker,² who I had been inform'd was just moved out to settle. We found his Camp, and returned to our own in the Evening.

24th. We went to Stalnaker's, helped him to raise his house and Camped about a quarter of a mile below

Trans-Alleghany Sketches. To the north of the valley there is a range known yet as Walker's Mountain.

¹This was the Middle Fork of the Holston, which joins the French Broad near Knoxville and forms the Tennessee. The Holston was called by the Indians first the Cat-Cloo, afterward the Watauga. It took its present name from an early hunter and explorer named Holston. Haywood's Tennessee.

²Samuel Stalnaker was probably, as his name indicates, one of the early pioneers from the Lower Shenandoah Valley or from Pennsylvania, of German descent, the family having numerous representatives in the valley. He was doubtless a hunter and Indian trader who had visited the Cherokees and was acquainted with the route to Cumberland Gap, upon which Doctor Walker had never been, or he would not have needed a guide. It was from him evidently that Doctor Walker received information as to certain localities he was about to visit, as Clinch River, Cave Gap, and other points of which, as he advanced into Kentucky, he gave evidence of previous information. It is not improbable that the route from the Ohio River to Cumberland Gap and the Cherokee country, which at that time was defined and known as "the Warriors' Path," was traveled by hunters and traders, and that Stalnaker was acquainted with it personally or from others. On Fry and Jefferson's Map, 1751, Stalnaker's settlement is put down as the extreme western habitation.

him. In April, 1748,¹ I met the above mentioned Stal-naker between the Reedy Creek Settlement and Holstons River, on his way to the Cherokee Indians,² and expected him to pilate me as far as he knew but his affairs would not permit him to go with me.

March 25th. The Sabbath. Grass is plenty in the low grounds.

26th. We left the Inhabitans,³ and kept nigh West to a large Spring on a Branch of the North fork of Holston. Thunder, Lightning, and Rain before Day.

27th. It began to Snow in the morning and continued till Noon. The Land is very hilly from West to

¹From the fact that Doctor Walker was here in 1748, Historians have fallen into the error of stating that it was in this year that he went to Cumberland Gap, in company with Colonel James Patton, Major Charles Campbell, and others, but there is nothing upon which the assertion rests except a misty tradition. It is doubtless based upon the fact that these gentlemen, in 1748, Doctor Walker being one of the number, made an exploration, with a view to taking up lands, as some of them did, on the Holston, in East Tennessee. This region then began to excite attention for settlement, and in the following year the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina was extended to a point beyond that at which Doctor Walker was this day.

²The Cherokee Indians occupied East Tennessee and a part of North-west Georgia adjacent. They were at that time, and until 1759, friendly and very faithful to the whites, furnishing volunteers in the early part of the French and Indian War. They were thus deadly enemies of the Shawnees and other tribes north of the Ohio, but in the Revolutionary War they united with them under British influence against the Americans.

³Inhabitans—inhabitants, settlers, meaning that he had passed the frontier of civilization.

North. Some Snow lies on the tops of the mountains N. W. from us.

28th. We travelled to the lower end of Giant's Ditch on Reedy Creek.¹

29th. Our Dogs were very uneasie most of this Night.

30th. We kept down Reedy Creek,² and discover'd the tracks of about 20 Indians, that had gone up the Creek between the time we Camped last Night, and set off this Morning. We suppose they made our Dogs so restless last Night. We Camped on Reedy Creek.

March 30th. We caught two young Buffaloes one of which we killed, and having cut and marked the other we turn'd him out.

31st. We kept down Reedy Creek to Holston where we measured an Elm 25 feet round 3 feet from the

¹Enters the South Fork of the Holston River a short distance above its junction with the North Fork. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

²Reedy Creek empties into the Holston at the foot of Long Island, a noted locality in the early history of Tennessee. Nearby a fort was erected, by advice of Washington, in 1758, by Colonel William Byrd, which was known later as Fort Patrick Henry. Just below the mouth of Reedy Creek is the town of Kingsport, Sullivan County, and a short distance below the town the North Fork puts into the Holston. It was at this place the treaty of Watauga was held in March, 1775, when the Cherokees sold to Richard Henderson and Company the land in Kentucky called Transylvania.

Ground. we saw young Sheldrakes,¹ we went down the River to the north Fork and up the north Fork about a quarter of a mile to a Ford, and then crossed it. In the Fork between Holstons and the North River, are five Indian Houses built with loggs and covered with Bark, and there were abundance of Bones, some whole Pots and Pans, some broken, and many pieces of mats and Cloth. On the West Side of the North River, is four Indian Houses such as before mentioned. we went four miles Below the North River and Camped on the Bank of Holstons, opposite to a large Indian Fort.

April ye 1st. The Sabbath. we saw Perch, Mullets, and Carp in plenty, and caught one of the large Sort of Cat Fish. I marked my Name, the day of the Month, and date of the year on Several Beech Trees.

2nd. we left Holston² & travelled through small Hills till about Noon, when one of our Horses being choaked by eating Reeds³ too gredily, we stopped having travelled 7 miles.

3rd. Our horse being recover'd, we travelled to the

¹A large migratory duck, with some resemblance to a goose of the genus Tadorna. By some it is ascribed to the Merganser family. Mr. Jefferson in his Notes speaks of it as a canvasback.

²On leaving the Holston River his route was northwest.

³The cane common to the South and West, known to the pioneers as Carolina cane—*Arundinaria macrosperma*.

Rocky Ridge.¹ I went up to the top, to look for a Pass, but found it so Rocky that I concluded not to Attempt it there. This Ridge may be known by Sight, at a distance. To the Eastward are many small Mountains, and a Buffaloe Road between them and the Ridge. The growth is Pine on the Top and the Rocks look white at a distance. we went Seven miles this day.

4th. We kept under the Rocky Ridge crossing several small Branches to the head of Holly Creek. we saw many small Licks and plenty of Deer.

April 5th. we went down Holly Creek. There is much Holly in the Low Grounds & some Laurel and Ivy. About 3 in the afternoon, the Ridge appeared less stony and we passed it,² and Camped on a small Branch about

¹The Clinch Mountain, which runs through part of East Tennessee and Southwest Virginia in a northeasterly direction, a very regular chain with gaps at long intervals. The small hills referred to are the parallel outliers of Clinch Mountain.

²He crossed Clinch Mountain most probably at Looney's Gap and reached the Clinch River above the present site of Sneedville, Hancock County, Tennessee. Thence he went up Greasy Creek northwestward and entered the narrow valley between Newman's Ridge and Powell's Mountain, running parallel to the Clinch. The former, or Eastern Ridge, as Doctor Walker calls it, is twenty-five hundred feet high, and the latter, or Western Ridge, two thousand feet high, as shown by the excellent contour map of the United States Geological Survey, with the details of which Doctor Walker's route, as indicated by his journal, agrees with striking accuracy. On the 11th Doctor Walker went down Big Sycamore Creek, which runs southwest between these ridges, to its junction with an unnamed creek coming into it from the southwest. He traveled up the latter by a buffalo road over several divides, and on the 12th reached Powell's River, ten miles from Cumberland Gap.

a mile from the top. my Riding Horse choaked himself this Evening and I drenched him with water to wash down the Reeds, and it answered the End.

6th. It proving wet we did not move.

7th. We rode 8 miles over broken Land. It snowed most of the day. In the Evening our dogs caught a large He Bear, which before we could come up to shoot him had wounded a dog of mine, so that he could not Travel, and we carried him on Horseback,¹ till he recovered.

8th. The Sabbath. Still Snow.

9th. We travelled to a river, which I suppose to be that which the hunters Call Clinches River² from one Clinch a Hunter, who first found it. we marked several Beeches on the East side. we could not find a ford

¹Doctor Walker's humanity to the dogs on this trip is notable. His fondness for them was long traditional in his family. On one occasion when he returned home after a long absence on a surveying or exploring trip, a favorite dog, which was shut up in a room, hearing his voice in the yard, is said to have jumped through a window-shutter in his eagerness to greet him.

²A tributary of the Tennessee running parallel with Clinch Mountain, rising in Tazewell and Bland counties, Virginia, and interlocking with the Bluestone River and Wolf Creek, tributaries of New River. His correct nomenclature of the river indicates that he had received information concerning the route traveled from Stalnaker or other source. Haywood's History of Tennessee, in accounting for the name, ascribes it to an incident, which dates eleven years later than Doctor Walker's visit, in which a man on the point of drowning called to his companions, "Clinch me! clinch me!"

Shallow enough to carry our Baggage over on our horses. Ambrose Powell Forded over on one horse, and we drove the others after him. We then made a Raft and carried over one Load of Baggage, but when the Raft was brought back, it was so heavy that it would not carry anything more dry.

April 10th. we waded and carryed the remainder of our Baggage on our shoulders at two turns over the River, which is about one hundred and thirty yards wide, we went on about five miles and Camped on a small Branch.

April 11th.¹ Having travelled 5 miles to and over an High Mountain, we came to Turkey Creek, which we kept down 4 miles. It lies between two Ridges of Mountains, that to the Eastward being the highest.²

12th. We kept down the Creek 2 miles further, where it meets with a large Branch coming from the South West, and thence runs through the East Ridge making a very good Pass; and a large Buffaloe Road goes from that Fork to the Creek over the West Ridge, which we took and found the Ascent and Descent tollerably easie. From this Mountain we rode four miles to Beargrass

¹The second hiatus of ten days in Rives' text, now supplied by the missing leaves, began here.

²Now Big Sycamore Creek. See note to entry of April 5th, ante.

River.¹ Small Cedar Trees are very plenty on the flat ground nigh the River, and some Barberry trees on the East side of the River. on the Banks is some Bear-Grass. We kept up the River two miles. I found some Small pieces of Coal² and a great plenty of very good yellow Flint. The water is the most transparent I ever saw. It is about 70 yds. wide.

April 13th. We went four miles to large Creek, which we called Cedar Creek, being a Branch of Bear-Grass, and from thence Six miles to Cave Gap,³ the land being Level. On the North side of the Gap is a large Spring, which

¹Appears as such on Mitchell's Treaty Map, 1785. Named afterward Powell's River, as now called, by the Long Hunters—a body of fifteen or twenty Virginians who reached Kentucky in 1770—from finding a tree with "A. Powell," one of Doctor Walker's companions, cut on it. It was named by Doctor Walker from the bear-grass (*Yucca filamentosa*) growing on its banks. The bear were said to be fond of its spike of white umbelliferous flowers, growing to the height of four or five feet, and very sweet with honey within them.

²There is no coal hereabouts, but this was doubtless washed down from the headwaters, above Big Stone Gap, where it is abundant. The yellow flint abounds in this geological horizon in Powell's Valley.

³Named later by Doctor Walker Cumberland Gap, after William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, son of George II and Queen Caroline. He was born April 15, 1731, and at nineteen entered the navy, but two years later became a soldier. In 1743 he commanded the left wing under his father at the battle of Dettingen, and in 1745 was in command of the army in Flanders. On the 16th of April, 1746, in the last battle fought in Great Britain, at Culloden he defeated with great slaughter the Highland forces which supported the fortunes of the young Pretender, refusing quarter to the wounded and prisoners. He died October 31, 1765. Byron calls him "The Butcher."

falls very fast, and just above the Spring is a small Entrance to a large Cave, which the Spring¹ runs through, and there is a constant Stream of Cool air issuing out. The Spring is sufficient to turn a Mill. Just at the foot of the Hill is a Laurel Thicket, and the Spring Water runs through it. On the South side is a plain Indian Road. on the top of the Ridge are Laurel Trees marked with crosses, others Blazed and several Figures on them. As I went down on the Other Side, I soon came to some Laurel² in the head of a Branch. A Beech³ stands on the left hand, on which I cut my name. This Gap may be seen at a considerable distance, and there is no other, that I know of, except one about two miles to the North of it,⁴ which does not appear to be So low as the other. The Mountain on the North Side of the Gap is very Steep and Rocky, but on the South side it is not So. We called it Steep Ridge. At the foot of the hill on the

¹The spring, which later turned a mill, and the cave are still prominent features.

²*Rhododendron maximum*, generally a shrubby growth, but sometimes attains a diameter of six inches or over.

³In 1779, when Doctor Walker passed here as a Commissioner on the part of Virginia running the present boundary line between Kentucky and Tennessee, he pointed out the tree to Isaac Shelby, who commanded the escort, telling him his name had been cut on it in 1750, and on going to it they found it as stated. Bradford's manuscript notes, Colonel Durrett's Library.

⁴There is no gap at the point indicated—merely a slight depression of the range of mountains, without approaches.

North West Side we came to a Branch, that made a great deal of flat Land. We kept down it 2 miles, Several other Branches Coming in to make it a large Creek, and we called it Flat Creek.¹ We camped on the Bank where we found very good Coal. I did not Se any Lime Stone beyond this Ridge. We rode 13 miles this day.

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

15th. Easter Sunday. Being in bad grounds for our Horses we moved 7 miles along the Indian Road, to Clover Creek. Clover and Hop Vines are plenty here.

April 16th. Rai(n). I made a Pair of Indian Shoes, those I brought out being bad.

17th. Still Rain. I went down the Creek² a hunting and found that it went into a River about a mile below our Camp. This, which is Flat Creek and Some others join'd, I called Cumberland River.

18th. Still Cloudy. We kept down the Creek to the River along the Indian Road to where it crosses.³

¹Present Yellow Creek, upon which, nearby, is now the site of Middleborough. Coal abounds in this vicinity.

²Clear (Clover) Creek empties into Cumberland River just above Pineville, where the river breaks through Pine Mountain, a range parallel to Cumberland Mountain, eight or ten miles distant. Yellow (Flat) Creek empties into it several miles above.

³This crossing was just below the present Pineville Station of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, and the bridge which crosses from it to

Indians have lived about this Ford Some years ago. We kept on down the South Side. After riding 5 miles from our Camp, we left the River, it being very crooked. In Rideing 3 miles we came on it again. It is about 60 or 70 yds. wide. We rode 8 (?) miles this day.

19th. We left the River but in four miles we came on it again at the Mouth of Licking Creek, which we went up and down another.¹ In the Fork of Licking Creek is a Lick much used by Buffaloes and many large² Roads lead to it. This afternoon Ambrose Powell was bit by a Bear in his Knee. We rode 7 miles this day.

20th. we kept down the Creek³ 2 miles to the River again. It appears not any wider here than at the mouth

Pineville, the county-seat of Bell County, immediately opposite. It was long known as Cumberland Ford, the crossing of the Indian warpath and the Wilderness Road, blazed by Boone in 1775. General Bragg's army forded the Cumberland here in October, 1862, on its retreat South after the battle of Perryville.

¹These diversions from the river were caused by encountering the streams which were not fordable at or near their mouths and necessitated a detour to their head or a place where they could be forded. The point at which Dr. Walker crossed the Cumberland to the north side was about four miles below the present site of Barbourville, the county-seat of Knox County, and about fifteen miles below the crossing at Pineville by the ordinarily traveled road on the north side.

²The second hiatus ended here, the word large being the first one in the entry of the 19th in Mr. Rives' text.

³This creek, now known as Swan Pond Creek, was named by Daniel Boone.

of Clover Creek, but much deeper. I thought it proper to Cross the River and began a bark Conoe.¹

April 21st. We finished the Conoe and tryed her. About noon it began to thunder, lighten, hail and rain prodigiously and continued about 2 hours.

22d. The Sabbath. One of the horses was found unable to walk this morning. I then Propos'd that with 2 of the Company I would proceed, and the other three should Continue here till our return, which was agreed to, and Lots were drawn to determine who should go, they all being desirous of it. Ambrose Powell, and Colby Chew were the fortunate Persons.

23rd. Having carried our Baggage over in the Bark Conoe, and Swam our horses, we all crossed the River. Then Ambrose Powell, Colby Chew, and I departed, Leaving the others to provide and salt some Bear, build an house, and plant some Peach Stones and Corn.

¹ A bark canoe was made from the bark of a hickory or elm tree of suitable size. The process was to cut through the bark near the ground and at a height of fifteen or twenty feet; then to make a vertical slit from top to bottom and gradually detach the whole from the tree, which could be easily done at this season of the year when the sap was up. By cutting a wedge-shaped piece from each end and bringing the parts together, a rake fore and aft was given. The seams at the end were sewed together with sinews or young bark, and made water-tight by smearing with the fat of the deer. The edges of the bark were held apart by cleats or sticks of proper width, and a canoe could thus be made in a short time.

We travelled about 12 miles and encamped on Crooked Creek.¹ The mountains are very small hereabouts and here is a great deal of flat Land. We got through the Coal today.

April 24th. We kept on Westerly 18 miles, got Clear of the mountains and found the Land poor and the woods very Thick beyond them, and Laurel & Ivy² in and near the Branches. Our Horses suffered very much here for want of food. This day we Came on the fresh Track of 7 or 8 Indians, but could not overtake them.³

25th. We kept on West 5 miles, the Land continuing much Same, the Laurel rather growing worse, and the food scarcer. I got up a tree on a Ridge and saw the Growth of the Land much the same as Far as my

¹The general course taken by Doctor Walker was northwest and westerly. The topography of the country to-day is true to the description. From the Valley of the Cumberland, which is not broad, the hills rise, not precipitously or in cliffs, to the height of several hundred feet, and coal veins, or "the blossom," as it is called, can be seen in exposed places. When the summit of the hill is reached, it spreads out to the northwest as a table-land with slashes wooded chiefly with oak, laurel, and spice-wood.

²*Kalmia latifolia*.

³It will be observed that the discovery of these tracks excited no alarm, but, on the contrary, a desire to come up with the Indians. There was peace between the English and all the Western tribes until the latter were incited to hostility by the French in the movements preceding Braddock's defeat, in 1755, and followed by the Seven Years' War between England and France, terminated by the treaty of Paris, 1763, and known to the Western settlers as the French and Indian War.

Sight could reach. I then concluded to return to the rest of my Company. I kept on my track 1 mile then turn'd Southerly & went to Cumberland River at the mouth of a water Course, that I named Rocky Creek.¹

26th. The River is 150 yards wide and appears to be navigable from this place almost to the mouth of Clover Creek. Rocky Creek runs within 40 yards of the River Bank then turns off, and runs up the River, Surrounding about 25 acres of Land before it falls into the River. The Banks of the River and Creek are a sufficient Fence almost all the way. On the Lower Side of the mouth of the Creek is an Ash mark'd T. W., a Red Oak A. P., a white Hicory C. C. besides several Trees blazed Several ways with 3 Chops over each blaze. we went up the North Side of the River 8 miles, and Camped on a Small Branch. A Bear Broke one of my Dogs forelegs.

April 27th. We crossed Indian Creek² and Went down Meadow Creek³ to the River. There Comes in another from the Southward as big as this we are on. Below the mouth of this Creek, and above the mouth are the remains of Several Indian Cabbins and amongst them a

¹ The point at which Doctor Walker here reached Cumberland River is about twenty miles below that at which he crossed it on the 23d. The creek which he named Rocky Creek is now called Patterson's, and the topography at its mouth conforms to his description.

² This creek is now called Maple Creek.

³ It bears the same name now.

round Hill¹ made by Art about 20 feet high and 60 over the Top. we went up the River, and Camped on the Bank.

28th. We kept up the River to our Company whom we found all well, but the lame Horse was as bad as we left him, and another had been bit in the Nose by a Snake. I rub'd the wounds with Bears oil, and gave him a drench of the same and another of the decoction of Rattle Snake root some time after. The People I left had built an House² 12 by 8, clear'd and broke up some ground, & planted Corn, and Peach Stones. They also had killed several Bears and cured the meat. This day Colby Chew and his Horse fell down the Bank. I Bled and gave him Volatile drops, & he soon recovered.

¹A mound, corresponding to the one here described, but reduced in size, is still in existence near the bank of the river west of Meadow Creek, on the Evans farm.

²This was evidently not what was called an "improver's" cabin, which consisted of a pen of logs, four or five feet in height, without a roof, but a cabin such as was usually built for occupation. It was intended, no doubt, as an evidence of his claim to the body of land he had come out to locate for the Loyal Land Company, and also for occupation in the future by himself or other agents of the company. It was the first house built in Kentucky by white man of which there is any record, and was occupied with additions until 1835. The site, which is identified by the debris of the chimney, is on the farm of George M. Faulkner, four miles below Barboursville. Within a few years past a tomahawk and other relics have been found here.

April 29th. The Sabbath. The bitten Horse is better. 3 Quarters of A mile below the House is a Pond¹ in the low Ground of the River, a Quarter of a mile in Length and 200 yds. wide much frequented by Fowl.

30th. I blazed a way from our House to the River. On the other side of the River is a large Elm² cut down and barked about 20 feet and another standing just by it with the Bark cut around at the root and about 15 feet above. About 200 yards below this is a white Hicory Barked about 15 feet. The depth of water here, when the lowest that I have seen it, is about 7 or 8 feet, the Bottom of the River Sandy, ye Banks very high, & the Current very Slow. The bitten Horse being much mended, we set off and left the lame one. He is white, branded on the near Buttock with a swivil Stirrup Iron, and is old. We left the River and having Crossed Several Hills and Branches, Camped in a Valley North from the House.

May the 1st. Another Horse being bit, I applyed Bears Oil as before mention'd. We got to Powell's River³ in

¹The pond described still exists. It was named later by Daniel Boone "Swan Pond," by which it is now known. It is put down on Munseil's and other early large maps of Kentucky. It has decreased in size somewhat, and is about a mile below the house, on the land of a Mrs. Jackson.

²Here is where the canoe was made on the 20th-21st.

³This was the first of the series of streams named successively after his companions, Powell, Chew, Tomlinson, Lawless, and Hughes, by which

the afternoon and went down it along an Indian Road, much frequented, to the mouth of a Creek on the West side of the River, where we camped. The Indian Road goes up the Creek, and I think it is that Which goes through Cave Gap.¹

2d. We kept down the River. At the mouth of a Creek that comes in on the East side is a Lick, and I believe there was a hundred Buffaloes at it. About 2 o'Clock we had a Shower of rain. we Camped on the River, which is very crooked.

May 3rd. We crossed a narrow Neck of Land, came on the River again and kept Down it to an Indian Camp,

the editor foretold the names of the two last members of the party, not disclosed until the discovery of the missing leaves of the journal, which confirmed his surmise. It and the others were tributaries of Rockcastle River. His general course was a little west of north. In Mr. Rives' text is the following note: "This Powell's River and Crooked Creek are in Kentucky, and are represented on Pownall's Map as flowing into what seems to be Green River." It was what is now known as the main Laurel River.

¹The Indian road which he struck here was that which crossed the Cumberland River below Clover Creek, the trail by which immigration came in later, and the Old Wilderness State Road. It is the main road of that county now, along which the Louisville & Nashville Railroad runs. See "Wilderness Road," Filson Club Publications No. 2, by Captain Thomas Speed. Doctor Walker's reference to Cave Gap and the fact that this road led to it is further confirmation that he had been furnished information as to the region through which he was traveling. His diversion from the beaten Indian road when he went down the south side of the Cumberland, instead of crossing at Pineville, was doubtless for the purpose of inspecting the land in that direction.

that had been built this Spring, and in it we took up our Quarters. It began to rain about Noon and continued until Night.

4th. We crossed a narrow Neck of Land and came on the River again, which we kept down till it turn'd to the Westward, we then left it, and went up a Creek, which we Called Colby's Creek. The River is about 50 yards over where we left it.

5th. We got to Tomlinson's River, which is about the size of Powell's River, and I cut my name on a Beech, that Stands on the North Side of the River. Here is plenty of Coal in the South Bank opposite to our Camp.

6th. The Sabbath. I saw Goslings, which shows that wild Geese stay here all the year. Ambrose Powell had the misfortune to sprain his well knee.

7th. We went down Tomlinson's River the Land being very broken and our way embarrassed by trees, that had been blown down about 2 years ago.

May 8th. We went up a Creek on the North Side of the River.

9th. We got to Lawlesses River which is much like the others. The Mountains here are very Steep and on Some of them there is Laurel and Ivy. The tops of the Mountains are very Rocky and some part of the Rocks seem to be composed of Shells, Nuts and many

other Substances petrified and cemented together with a kind of Flint.¹ We left the River and after travelling some Miles we got among Trees that had been Blown down about 2 years, and were obliged to go down a Creek to the River again. the Small Branches and Mountains being impassable.

10th. We Staid on the River, and dressed an Elk skin to make Indian Shoes — most of ours being quite worn out.

11th. We left the River, found the Mountains very bad, and got to a Rock² by the side of a Creek Sufficient to shelter 200 men from Rain. Finding it so convenient, we concluded to stay and put our Elk skin in order for shoes and make them.

¹The topographical and geological description is accurate. The rock described is the conglomerate or millstone grit, and the coal mentioned on the 5th is the interconglomerate coal, extensively mined now in the Livingston region and at Pine Hill.

²This was one of the numerous shelving rocks, now locally known as rock houses. The name of Rockcastle River was doubtless derived from them. This was the farthest western point reached by Doctor Walker. He did not cross the main Rockcastle River, and, therefore, was never on the waters of Salt or Green rivers, as claimed by some. A day or two's travel to the west or northwest would have brought him to the fertile lands of Lincoln or Madison County, his description of which would have left no doubt of his having passed the water-shed between the Rockcastle, the Salt, and the rivers to the westward. I have lately visited the locality, and near the junction of the Louisville & Nashville and Kentucky Central railroads, in Rockcastle County, found a cave or rock house as large as that described by Doctor Walker, and doubtless the one occupied by him.

May 12th. Under the Rock is a Soft Kind of Stone almost like Allum in taste; below it A Layer of Coal about 12 Inches thick and white Clay under that. I called the Run Allum Creek. I have observed several mornings past, that the Trees begin to drop just before day & continue dripping till almost Sun rise, as if it rain'd slowly. we had some rain this day.

13th. The Sabbath.

14th. When our Elk's Skin was prepared we had lost every Awl that we brought out, and I made one with the Shank of an old Fishing hook, the other People made two of Horse Shoe Nails, and with these we made our Shoes or Moccasons. We wrote several of our Names with Coal under the Rock, & I wrote our names, the time of our coming and leaving this place on paper and stuck it to the Rock with Morter, and then set off. We Crossed Hughes's¹ River and Lay on a large Branch of it. There is no dew this morning but a shower of Rain about 6 o'Clock. The River is about 50 yards wide.

May 15th. Laurel and Ivy encrease upon us as we go up the Branch. About noon it began to rain & we took up our Quarters in a Valley between very Steep Hills.

¹ Principal fork of Rockcastle River, which here runs nearly west. The large branch on which he lay was Middle Fork.

16th. We crossed Several Ridges and Branches. About two in the afternoon, I was taken with a Violent Pain in my Hip.

17th. Laurel and Ivy are very plenty and the Hills still very steep. The Woods have been burnt some years past, and are now very thick, the Timber being almost all kill'd. We Camped on a Branch of Naked Creek.¹ The pain in my Hip is something asswaged.

18th. We went up Naked Creek to the head and had a plain Buffaloe Road most of the way. From thence we proceeded down Wolf Creek and on it we camped.

19th. We kept down ye Creek to Hunting² Creek,³ which we crossed and left. It rained most of the afternoon.

¹Probably Laurel Fork of Middle Fork, in Jackson County. He had been traveling, since leaving the rock house, in a northeasterly direction, and reached the summit of the divide between the waters of the Rockcastle and South Fork of the Kentucky, the buffalo road noted being doubtless the warriors' path leading direct from Cumberland Gap, along which Boone came with John Findlay in 1769. This John Findlay must not be confounded with Captain John Finley, who was at the Upper Blue Lick in 1773, a Captain in the Continental Line, and of the same family whence came Samuel Finley B. Morse, of telegraph fame.

²Hunting Creek, Milley's River, and Frederick's River are set down on Pownall's Map as branches of the Catawba or Cuttawba, now called the Kentucky River. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

³This was Station Camp Creek, which empties into the Kentucky River just above Irvine, county-seat of Estill County. At the mouth of this creek Daniel Boone lived alone in 1770, while his brother, Squire Boone, returned to North Carolina for ammunition, and there they spent the fol-

May 20th. The Sabbath. It began to Rain about Noon and continued till next day.

21st. It left off raining about 8. we crossed several Ridges and small Branches & Camped on a Branch of Hunting Creek. in the Evening it rained very hard.

lowing winter. The Indian trace up Station Camp Creek was known as "Ouasiota Pass," and when they reached the summit they thought they were on top of the Cumberland Mountains, the name "Ouasiota" Mountains being given to that range, together with all its elevated region eastwardly to the main chain. "Ouasiota Pass" is laid down on Pownall's Map, 1776, with routes converging to it from Big Bone Lick, near the Ohio, the lower Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto, and from the mouth of the Big Sandy, called Totteroy.

In speaking of the Sandusky River, Ohio, Lewis Evans, in the text which accompanies his map of 1755, published by Pownall, makes further allusion to this pass, showing the importance attached to it as an inter-continental route. "This river (the Sandusky) is an important pass, and the French have secured it as such. The northern Indians cross the lake here from island to island, land at Sanduski, and go by a direct path to the lower Shawnee town, and thence to the gap of Ouasiota on their way to the Cuttawas' country. This will no doubt be the way the French will take from Detroit and Mowille (Mobile), unless the English be advised to secure it, now that it is in their power." A Topographical Description of North America, etc., with map, by T. Pownall, M. P., London, 1776, pages 41, 42.

Captain Thomas Hutchins, Geographer General of North America, in his "Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, London, 1778," also refers to this pass. In a tour down the Ohio River, in 1766, he describes the various rivers passed, and after speaking of the Great Salt Creek (Licking River), says: "Kentucke is a larger stream than the last; it is surrounded with high clay banks, fertile lands, and salt springs. Its navigation is interrupted with shoals, but passable with small boats to the gap where the warpath goes through the Ouasiota Mountains."

22d. We went down the Branch to Hunting Creek & kept it to Milley's¹ River.

23rd. We attempted to go down the River but could not. We then Crossed Hunting Creek and attempted to go up the River but could not. it being very deep we began a Bark Canoe. The River is about 90 or 100 yards wide. I Blazed several Trees in the Fork and marked T. W. on a Sycomore Tree 40 feet around. It has a large Hole on the N: W: side about 20 feet from the Ground and is divided into 3 Branches just by the hole, and it stands about 80 yards above the mouth of Hunting Creek.

May 24th. We finished the Conoe and crossed the River² about noon, and I marked a Sycomore 30 feet round and several Beeches on the North side of the River opposite to the mouth of the Creek. Game is very scarce hereabouts.

¹This was the Kentucky River. No stream has been called by more names. The histories of Kentucky generally credited Doctor Walker with having given to it the name of Louisa, but there is no foundation whatever for this assumption, as this journal fully shows. It is put down on Pownall's and other of the early maps as Milley's River, and it was probably known to the traders and hunters as such at the time of Doctor Walker's expedition, from the Miami Indian name, which was "Mille-wakame." Of the rivers named by Doctor Walker, he never leaves us in doubt, always saying so in express terms when he names one. Other names by which the Kentucky River was known were Cuttawa, Cuttawba, Catawba, Chenoka, and Chenoa.

²For a long time Doctor Walker was accredited with having gone hence up the Kentucky River and upon the North Fork, naming the latter Fred.

25th. It began to rain before the day and continued till about noon. We travelled about 4 miles on a Ridge and Camped on a small Branch.

26th. We kept down the Branch almost to the River, and up a Creek, and then along a Ridge till our Dogs roused a large Buck Elk, which we followed down to a Creek. He killed Ambrose Powell's Dog in the Chase, and we named the Run Tumbler's Creek, the Dog being of that Name.

27th. The Sabbath.

28th. Cloudy. We could not get our Horses till almost Night, when we went down the Branch. We lay on to the main Creek,¹ and turn'd up it.

May 29th. We proceeded up the Creek 7 miles. and then took a North Branch² & went up it 5 miles and then encamped on it.

erick's River. But this is an error, as a close reading of the context will show. He crossed the river, and, taking a northeasterly course, on the 28th came to Red River—known also as the Warrior Fork of Kentucky River, the warpath from the Big Sandy leading down it, a tributary of the Kentucky, flowing west and emptying into it twenty or thirty miles below where he crossed it—at a point between Clay City and Stanton, county-seat of Powell County. He was then fifteen or twenty miles east of Indian Old Fields, near which the Boone, Findlay, and Stewart party wintered in 1769, and from Lulibegrud Creek, named by them, they having with them a copy of "Gulliver's Travels."

¹This was Red River, which in ordinary seasons is a small stream, but becomes quite formidable after heavy rains on its headwaters.

²This was the North Fork of Red River, up which he traveled nearly due east,

30th. We went to the head of the Branch we lay on 12 miles. A shower of Rain fell this day. The Woods are burnt fresh about here and are the only fresh burnt Woods we have seen these Six Weeks.

31st. We crossed 2 Mountains and camped just by a Wolf's Den. They were very impudent and after they had been twice shot at, they kept howling about the Camp. It rained till Noon this day.

June ye 1st. We found the Wolf's Den and caught 4 of the young ones. It rained this morning. we went up a Creek crossed a mountain and went through a Gap,¹ and then, camped on the head of A Branch.

2d. We went down the Branch to a River 70 yards wide, which I called Fredericks River.² we kept up it a half mile to a Ford, where we crossed and proceeded up on the North Side 3 miles. It rained most of the afternoon. Elks³ are very Plenty on this River.

June 3rd. Whit-Sunday. It rained most of the day.

¹ Here he passed the divide between the waters of the Kentucky and Licking rivers, passing east down Johnson's Creek.

² This was the Licking River, which he named Frederick's River from Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of George II, and father of George III. The point at which he reached it was in Magoffin County, near Salyersville, the county-seat.

³ A fork of the Licking, putting in from the northeast, higher up the river, is at this day called Elk Fork.

4th. I blazed several trees four ways on the outside of the low Grounds by a Buffaloe Road, and marked my Name on Several Beech Trees. Also I marked some by the River side just below a 'mossing'² place with an Island in it. We left the River about 10 o'Clock & got to Falling Creek, and went up it till 5 in the Afternoon, when a very black Cloud appearing, we turn'd out our Horses, got tent Poles up, and were just stretching a Tent, when it began to rain and hail, and was succeeded by a violent Wind which Blew down our Tent & a great many Trees about it, several large ones within 30 yds. of the Tent. we all left the place in confusion and ran different ways for shelter. After the Storm was over, we met at the Tent, and found all safe.

5th. There was a violent Shower of Rain before day. This morning we went up the Creek about 3 miles, and then were obliged to leave it, the Timber being so blown down that we could not get through. After we left the Creek, we kept on a Ridge³ 4 miles, then turned down to the head of a Branch, and it began to rain and continued raining very hard till Night.

¹Crossing(?). (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

²A mossing-place is one selected for wintering by a band of elk (*Cervus Americanus*) or other species of that genus. It is generally in a wooded valley, where they feed upon the moss, lichens, and buds of the shrubs and young trees.

³This was the watershed between the Licking and Big Sandy rivers.

June 6th. We went down the Branch till it became a large Creek.¹ It runs very Swift, falling more than any of the Branches we have been on of late. I called it Rapid Creek. After we had gone 8 miles we could not ford, and we Camped in the low Ground. There is great sign of Indians on this Creek.

7th. The Creek being fordable, we Crossed it & kept down 12 miles to a River about 100 yards over, which We called Louisa² River.³ The Creek is about 30 yards wide, & part of ye River breaks into ye Creek—making an Island on which we Camped.

8th. The River is so deep we Cannot ford it and as it is falling we conclude to stay & hunt. In the afternoon Mr. Powell and my Self was a hunting about a mile & a half from the Camp, and heard a gun just below us on the other side of the River, and as none of

¹This was evidently Paint Creek, near the mouth of which is Paintsville, the county-seat of Johnson County. The valley of the Upper Licking is much more elevated than that of the Big Sandy, and the descent to the latter is quite abrupt.

²The West or Louisa Fork of the Big Sandy River. (Note in Mr. Rives' text.)

³This river was named Louisa, after the sister of the Duke of Cumberland, for which soldier Doctor Walker seems to have had a great partiality. It has always been said that it was named for the wife of the Duke, but he was never married. The stream is known as the Louisa or Levisa Fork of the Big Sandy, and is joined by the Tug Fork, the northeast boundary between Virginia and Kentucky, at Louisa, county-seat of Lawrence County, forty miles north of Paintsville. The Indian name of the Big Sandy was Chattaroi or Chattarawha. It was also called Totteroi.

our People could cross, I was in hopes of getting some direction from the Person, but could not find him.

June 9th. We crossed the River & went down it to the mouth of a Creek & up the Creek to the head and over a Ridge into a steep Valley and Camped.

10th. Trinity Sunday. Being in very bad ground for our Horses, we concluded to move. we were very much hindered by the Trees, that were blown down on Monday last. we Camped on a Small Branch.

11th. It rained violently the Latter part of the night & till 9 o'Clock. The Branch is impassable at present. We lost a Tomohawk¹ and a Cann by the Flood.

12th. The Water being low we went down the Branch to a large Creek, & up the Creek. Many of the

¹This tomahawk was found nearly one hundred years afterward under a shelving rock on the upper waters of Salt River, in Mercer County, Kentucky, which seemed to confirm the theory that Doctor Walker had penetrated that country. As, however, it is evident from a more correct interpretation of his journal that he never went west of Rockcastle River, the finding of the tomahawk must be explained by its having been washed down the branch by the heavy flood referred to in a locality frequented by Indians, and being found by some passing traveler, by whom it was taken to Mercer County. It is now in possession of Colonel Thomas Walker Bullitt, of Louisville, a great-grandson of Doctor Walker. The name, "T. Walker," is plainly stamped on it. It is a piece of fine workmanship in steel, in a state of perfect preservation, with its edges sharp and with no sign of corrosion. See also account of Robert B. McAfee in postscript of letter of L. C. Draper, Appendix A, brought to light since this note was written.

trees in the Branches are Wash'd up by the Roots and others barked by the old trees, that went down ye Stream. The Roots in the Bottom of the Runs are Barked by the Stones.

June 13th. We are much hindered by the Gust & a shower of Rain about Noon. Game is very scarce here, and the mountains very bad, the tops of the Ridges being so covered with Ivy and the sides so steep and stony, that we were obliged to cut our way through with our Tomohawks.

14th. The Woods are still bad and Game scarce. It rained today about Noon & we Camped on the top of A Ridge.¹

15th-16th. We got on a large Creek where Turkey are plenty and some Elks. we went a hunting & killed 3 Turkeys. Hunted & killed 3 Bears & some Turkeys.

17th. The Sabbath. We killed a large Buck Elk.

18th. having prepared a good stock of Meat, we left the Creek crossing several Branches and Ridges. the Woods still continuing bad the weather hot & our Horses so far spent, that we are all obliged to walk.

¹This was the dividing ridge between the two forks of the Big Sandy. He was now traveling toward the southeast, having this day passed the divide between the waters of the Louisa and Tug forks of the Big Sandy.

June 19th. We got to Laurel Creek¹ early this morning, and met so impudent a Bull Buffalo that we were obliged to shoot him, or he would have been amongst us. we then went up the Creek six miles, thence up a North

¹Headwaters of Tug Fork. This stream is the one down which General Andrew Lewis passed on his expedition to the Ohio, in March, 1756, with the intention of invading the Indian country north of that stream as a means of retaliation for their incursions up the Monongahela and Kanawha Valleys, by which the settlers had been driven back to the Blue Ridge and their extermination threatened. He was recalled, however, by Governor Dinwiddie when within two days' march of the mouth of the Big Sandy, and returned reluctantly, but not until he had advanced to the Ohio and seriously contemplated disobeying the order. His command was composed of Captain Peter Hogg with forty men of his company, a draft of sixty men from the companies of Captains William Preston and James Smith under command of the latter, Captains Samuel Overton and Obadiah Woodson with forty men each, a small company under Captain McNutt, and one hundred and fifty Cherokee warriors under Captain Richard Pearis. See *Virginia Calendar*, *Dinwiddie Papers*, Volume II, pages 200, 293. Withers, in his *Border Warfare*, erroneously gives the date of the expedition a year later, and is at fault as to the number of men and the names of subordinate commanders, giving them as Captains William Preston, Paul Alexander, Hogg, Smith, Breckinridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, and Dunlap. Had General Lewis carried out his purpose, he would have anticipated by twenty-two years the movement of similar strategy by George Rogers Clark, and might have saved Virginia from Indian depredation. The stream was then known as Sandy Creek, and was named by Lewis Tug Fork, from the fact that on his retreat up it his troops, being pressed by hunger, cut up into strips or tugs some buffalo hides which he had hung on a tree on his first passage, and sustained life by chewing them. (Withers' "*Border Warfare*.") General Andrew Lewis was made second in command to Washington in the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Washington said he ought to have been placed first. He distinguished himself in the Revolution, and died in 1781. His expedition was known as the "*Voyage down Sandy Creek*." His statue is one of those which surround the Washington Monument at Richmond, Virginia.

Branch of it to the Head, and attempted to cross a mountain, but it proved so high and difficult, that we were obliged to Camp on the side of it. This Ridge is nigh the eastern edge of the Coal Land.¹

20th. We got to the top of the Mountain and Could discover a flat² to the South & South East. we went down from the Ridge to a Branch and down the Branch to Laurel Creek not far from where we left it yesterday & Camped. my riding Horse was bit by a Snake this day, and having no Bear's Oil I rub'd the place with a piece of fat meat, which had the desired effect.

21st. We found the Level Nigh the Creek so full of Laurel that we were obliged to go up a Small Branch, and from the head of that to the Creek again, and found it good travelling a Small distance from the Creek. we Camped on the Creek. Deer are very scarce on the Coal Land, I having seen but 4, since the 30th of April.

June 22nd. We kept up to the head of the Creek, the Land being Leveller than we have lately seen, and

¹This was the outcrop of the Pocahontas coal field in West Virginia, now extensively mined, the Norfolk & Western Railroad penetrating that region and having been extended down the Tug Fork to the Ohio at Kenova, just above the mouth of the Big Sandy.

²He was then on the Flat-top Mountain, which extends in the direction indicated in Raleigh and adjacent counties of West Virginia.

here are some large Savanna's. Many of the Branches are full of Laurel and Ivy. Deer and Bears are plenty.

23rd. Land continues level with Laurel and Ivy & we got to a large Creek with very high & steep Banks full of Rocks, which I call'd Clifty Creek, the Rocks are 100 feet perpendicular in some Places.

24th. The Sabbath.

25th. We Crossed Clifty Creek. Here is a little Coal and the Land still flat.

26th. We crossed a Creek that we called Dismal Creek, the Banks being the worst and the Laurel the thickest I have seen. The Land is Mountainous on the East Side of the Dismal Creek, and the Laurels end in a few miles. We camped on a Small Branch.

June 27th. The Land is very high & we crossed several Ridges and camped on a small Branch. it rained about Noon and continued till the next day.

28th. It continued raining till Noon, and we set off as soon as it ceased and went down the Branch we lay on to the New River,¹ just below the mouth of Green

¹He had traveled on the Flat-top Mountain for five or six days, heading the streams which flow into Bluestone River, a tributary of New River, on the south and the Kanawha northward. The low ground in which he camped at the junction of Greenbrier and New rivers is the present site of Hinton, the county-seat of Summers County, on the line of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad.

Bryer. Powell, Tomlinson and my self striped, and went into the New River to try if we could wade over at any place. After some time having found a place we return'd to the others and took such things as would take damage by Water on our Shoulders, and waded over Leading our Horses. The bottom is very uneven, the Rocks very slippery and the Current very Strong most of the way. We Camped in the Low Ground opposite to the mouth of Green Bryer.

29th. We kept up Green Bryer.¹ It being a wet day we went only 2 miles, and Camped on the North Side.

June 30th. We went 7 miles up the River, which is very crooked.

July ye 1st. The Sabbath. Our Salt being almost spent, We travelled 10 miles sometimes on the River, and at other times some distance from it.

2nd. We kept up the River the chief part of this day and we travelled about 10 miles.

3rd. we went up the River 10 miles to day.

¹The route of Doctor Walker from this point homeward needs but little comment. He followed substantially the present line of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, crossing the Alleghany divide on the 8th of July, passing the Hot Springs on the 9th, and reaching Augusta Court House (Staunton, Virginia) on the 11th. Crossing the Shenandoah Valley and passing over the Blue Ridge at Rock Fish Gap, he completed the circle of his arduous expedition of four months and seven days by arriving at Castle Hill on the 16th of July.

4th. We went up the River 10 miles through very bad Woods.

5th. The way growing worse, we travelled 9 mile only.

6th. We left the River. The low grounds on it are of very little Value, but on the Branches are very good, and there is a great deal of it, and the high land is very good in many places. We got on a large Creek called Anthony's Creek, which affords a great deal of Very good Land, and it is chiefly bought. we kept up the creek 4 miles and Camped. This Creek took it Name from an Indian, called John Anthony, that frequently hunts in these Woods. There are some inhabitants on the Branches of Green Bryer, but we missed their Plantations.

July 7th. We kept up the Creek, and about Noon 5 men overtook us and inform'd us we were only 8 miles from the inhabitants on a Branch of James River called Jackson's River. We exchanged Some Tallow for Meal & parted. We Camped on a Creek nigh the top of the Alleghany Ridge, which we named Ragged Creek.

8th. Having Shaved, Shifted, & made new Shoes we left our useless Raggs at ye Camp & got to Walker Johnston's about Noon. We moved over to Robert Armstrong's in the Afternoon & staid there all Night. The People here are very hospitable and would be better able to support Travellers was it not for the great number of

