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COVER

Artist's conception of Mary Todd Lincoln House, restored.

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## LIVINGSTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY— STEPPING STONE TO ILLINOIS

By ROBERT TRAIL\*

THE COUNTRY along the lower reaches of the Ohio River is a land away from metropolitan turmoil. This is a scenic country. Its Ozark terrain is much in contrast with the better known prairie part of Illinois. The area offers panoramic views from cedar-crowned hills, scenery that surpasses some of the more publicized regions of the Bluegrass State. The ruggedly beautiful lower Ohio country presents a serenity the like of which is not found in the complexities of urban living.

The palisaded hills of western Kentucky and southern Illinois cast shadows across the magnificent Ohio. The grand river flows along placidly in the shadow of Rauchfuss Hill north of Golconda, Illinois; yet, seemingly it gathers momentum as it flows into the sunlight in front of this picturesque river town.

Across the river is Berry's Ferry, Kentucky. This Livingston County hamlet was once one of the important places in the lower Ohio valley. Today it is so little known that it would be hard to find except on the larger maps.

Along this beautiful river, there are willow-covered islands, eerie hollows, fertile bottoms, limestone bluffs, intriguing caves, chutes, sand bars, scenic hills and mystifying bald cypress swamps. Numerous rivers flow into this lower Ohio valley; the Cache and Saline rivers of the Illinois side contribute to the majestic river's water, and the Tradewater, Cumberland and Tennessee rivers empty into the lower Ohio before it has its confluence with the Mississippi. The Wabash and Green rivers empty into the Ohio; but these two streams are some distance upriver from the limits of old-time Livingston County, Kentucky.

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The scenic Ozark-like terrain along the lower reaches of the Ohio is found mostly in Hardin and Pope counties in Illinois and in Crittenden and Livingston counties in Kentucky. Below the confluence of the Cumberland and Ohio rivers, the hills are fewer and the valley is lower along the Ohio in Massac, Pulaski and Alexander counties in Illinois and opposite these in the Kentucky counties of Ballard, McCracken and a part of Livingston's panhandle.

Throughout the valley, whether in the hilly or lower section, its whispering river prompts reflection about the area's history. A summary of the valley's history reveals its story is one, not two, even though the valley is now divided by two states, Illinois and Kentucky; also, it reveals that old-time Livingston County's geographic position served the early pioneers as a stepping stone to the Illinois country.

The history of the lower Ohio valley during the earliest eras deals largely with the region that constituted old-time Livingston County. Presently there are nine counties within the area; four of these, Crittenden, Livingston, McCracken and Ballard are in Kentucky along the left bank; Hardin, Pope, Massac, Pulaski and Alexander counties in Illinois are along the right bank. Livingston is the oldest of these nine counties; the first attempted county, Clarksville in 1780, proved a failure. Old-time Livingston in time included not only its present area but also the territories of present-day Crittenden, McCracken, Ballard and other parts of western Kentucky. It was old-time Livingston's area from whence came many of the first settlers of the Illinois counties of the right bank; some of these were prominent in establishing the State of Illinois.

Several stories relating mostly to the Illinois country and many of those primarily pertaining to the Commonwealth of Kentucky became entwined long ago with the beginning of the formal history of the lower Ohio valley.

The recorded history of this region begins with the summer of 1673 in the area that is now Alexander County, Illinois, and Ballard County, Kentucky. This early beginning is somewhat ironic in its relationship to Kentucky's history, the irony being that this area was part of Kentucky's last acquisition for settlement but it was the locale where much of Kentucky's formal history first began.

About the first part of July, 1673, Louis Joliet and Father Marquette reached the mouth of the Ohio. The precise day is not known; also history is not sure of the names of the other five Frenchmen in the party. Only three of them can be ascertained with any degree of certainty; they were probably Pierre Porteret, Pierre Moreau and Jacques Largilliers.<sup>1</sup> These Frenchmen and dozens of others were contributing to Kentucky's history several decades before Daniel Boone's grandfather migrated to America.

In 1688, Marquis de Denonville wrote, "Sieur de La Salle having afterwards employed canoes for his trade . . . as he had already done for several years in the rivers, Oyo, Ouabache, and others . . ."<sup>2</sup> This places some nameless persons within the lower Ohio valley where the states of Kentucky and Illinois meet; also, it is reported that French *coureurs des bois* hunted and trapped along the rivers of the region and had a pre-1700 outpost along the Saline River. This French outpost and La Salle's canoes along the Oyo and Ouabache reveal there were Frenchmen within the lower Ohio area some eighty years before the Indian trader, John Finley, guided some Anglo-Americans into Kentucky.<sup>3</sup> A few years after La Salle's canoes, but long before the British colonists came westward to explore Kentucky, western parts of it were assuredly known to Frenchmen from the Illinois villages.<sup>4</sup> But they were not all Frenchmen. There was the Italian Tonti, many Anglo-Americans guided by Coutoure, and a Dutchman from New York.

Aernout Cornelissen Viele, interpreter and negotiator with the Iroquois, was for two years journeying in the country of the Shawnee.<sup>5</sup> The Shawnee were known to inhabit southern Illinois from about 1450 until the coming of the Europeans.<sup>6</sup> Joliet's early map of 1673-4 had the Chaouanons (Shawnee)

<sup>1</sup> B. B. Steck, "The Joliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673," *The Catholic University of American Studies in American Church History*, VI, 150.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Banta, *The Ohio* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), 50.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Battle, W. H. Perrin and G. C. Kniffin, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville: F. A. Battey Co., 1885), 109.

<sup>4</sup> Temple Bodley, *Our First Great West* (Louisville: John P. Morton Co., 1938), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dumas Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), XIX, 267.

<sup>6</sup> *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 21, 1967, 14.

east of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio; and Father Jacques Gravier, in 1700, noted Shawnee along the Cumberland<sup>7</sup>. This Dutch trader, among the Shawnee, was from Albany and he reached the Ohio in 1692; he spent the following year, 1693, on its waters.<sup>8</sup> Some years later, Pierre Le Moyne d' Iberville was to write of his awareness of there having been twelve white men from New York along the Ohio.<sup>9</sup> Iberville, Louisiana governor, was instrumental in securing permission for Juchereau and some thirty Frenchmen to somewhat duplicate Viele's venture in 1702 in the area that is now Ballard County, Kentucky, and Alexander and Pulaski counties in Illinois.<sup>10</sup> Iberville was correct in recalling there were twelve white men in the lower Ohio valley. Aernout Cornelissen Viele, eleven white men, and some Mohawks were among the Shawnee along the Ohio to or near its mouth until the summer of 1694.<sup>11</sup>

During the time of Viele's adventure, two Frenchmen were also in and about west Kentucky; these two Frenchmen are connected with Illinois history also because of their La Salle and Tonti associations. Martin Chartier was the first white man recorded to be within the Cumberland valley. Jean Coutoure (or Couture), a native of Rouen, France, a carpenter by trade, was in 1688 bearer to M. de Tonti of the true story of La Salle's death; however, Coutoure deserted the French between 1690-93 and made his way to South Carolina via the Tennessee River.

Chartier deserted the French of the Mississippi valley in 1689 and took up with the Shawnee. He finally worked his way eastward beyond the mountains into Virginia and reached Maryland. He returned and settled down with his Shawnee maiden in the present-day Nashville, Tennessee, area along the Cumberland River.<sup>12</sup>

The Illinois French were using the Mississippi, Ohio and

<sup>7</sup> C. A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), II, 119.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>9</sup> Banta, *op. cit.*, 51.

<sup>10</sup> J. M. Lansden, *History of the City of Cairo* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons, 1910), 21.

<sup>11</sup> Banta, *op. cit.*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> *Paducah Sun-Democrat*, July 21, 1966, Eight-A.

Cumberland river route to trade during the prenatal days of many of the renowned Anglo-American explorers of the land between the Mississippi and Appalachians. One of these Frenchmen was Jean du Charleville who was killed in 1714 along the Cumberland. Charleville was trading with the Shawnee when attacked by the Chickasaw. This early route via the lower Ohio River bisected the area that was to become old-time Livingston County, Kentucky, when the route led up the Cumberland River.

Jean Coutoure had been with Tonti in Illinois and on the Arkansas River; however, he deserted but was back in the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi river area by 1700. Governor Blake of South Carolina sent traders to the Mississippi valley via the Tennessee and Ohio with Jean Coutoure as their leader.<sup>13</sup> The South Carolinians continued to pass through the lower Ohio valley on their way to stir up the Quapaw to raid the Chickasaw for slaves until about 1712. These Carolinians preceded the influx of South Carolinian settlers in old-time Livingston's area by almost a hundred years; some of these Carolinian settlers of old-time Livingston ultimately moved over to Illinois. Many of these Carolinian families established fringe settlements along the Ohio during the Indiana Territorial days of present-day southeastern Illinois. Others moved over to the Randolph and Monroe county areas and became known as "South Carolina Irish"; but they were not really Irish, rather mostly Scots—shades of North Ireland's turbulent history.

Down through the years there were persons passing up and down the lower Ohio; they found access to the valley by using the numerous waterways that converge in the area. These earliest mobile persons passing by and through the area were mostly French with Kaskaskia, Cahokia, or Vincennes connections; these early ones were oriented mostly with the country to the north of the lower Ohio valley. However, in time, the movement of persons through the area were those oriented with the eastern country but entering the area from the south due to the bending nature of the Cumberland and Tennessee

<sup>13</sup> Anna Lewis, *Along the Arkansas* (Dallas: The Southwest Press, 1932), 23.

rivers. First, their coming was but a trickle, reaching astounding numbers in old-time Livingston in about 1800 and overlapping into Illinois after Governor William H. Harrison treated with the Indians in 1803 and 1804 for their lands between the Wabash and Ohio rivers.

Other than Coutoure's South Carolinians, it cannot be stated precisely what other Anglo-Americans were in the area during these very early years, though there undoubtedly were such persons in the general area. A clear historical view of the valley at this time is not possible if these persons are ignored. These early Anglo-Americans may be traced in bits of history gathered here and there; data strengthened by the geographic factor of the rivers Cumberland, Tennessee and Ohio. Such gleanings begin with beads and a letter.

In 1668, while Claude Allouez and Father Marquette were at Sault Sainte Marie Mission a Shawnee Indian appeared. It was noted that he had glass beads and this caused the two missionaries to deduct that his tribe had contact with Europeans.<sup>14</sup> As has been noted, the Shawnee at this time were located in the lower Ohio and Cumberland river regions. Maybe the Shawnee had secured European made products from eastern tribes located nearer the English settlements along the Atlantic; perhaps the Shawnee had traded with tribes to the south of their country, tribes that treated with the Spaniards. However, it cannot be ruled out that it may have been some wandering trader or trapper who brought the beads to the Shawnee.

When the French came upon the Quapaw, it was noted they had European made articles. Marquette, while among these Indians along the Arkansas in 1673, wrote a letter to be delivered to the Spaniards southward of the tribe's location. The Indians gave the letter to an English trader from Virginia. Two and a half years later the letter was given to William Byrd of Virginia who made a copy of it for William Penn.<sup>15</sup>

Father Jean Francois St. Cosme, at the mouth of the Ohio in 1699, wrote that the river could be used to reach the Shawnee who traded with the English.<sup>16</sup> The following year, Iber-

<sup>14</sup> Steck, *op. cit.*, 109.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>16</sup> Lansden, *op. cit.*, 20.

ville contacted Tonti to go to the Chickasaw and arrest an Englishman who had offered gifts to anyone who would kill Father Antoine Davion. This English slaver had reputedly been with the Chickasaw some ten to twelve years. Slave snatching in the lower Ohio valley had a long and ugly existence. Historical continuity, of almost two hundred years, is in the story of this English slaver to the shooting of a slave catcher in 1864 by a Federal Agent on the right bank of the Ohio.<sup>17</sup>

The Chickasaw, at the close of the century, were more of the area that is now west Tennessee. The Chickasaw had guns during the time of Joliet's visit.<sup>18</sup> La Salle's party noted that the Mississippi tribes had European articles.<sup>19</sup> The French traded with these Indians in the area of Fort Prud'homme which had been established as a rendezvous for traders from the Illinois country. The French felt themselves beset; it was speculated that the English were sending traders over the mountains from the Carolinas.<sup>20</sup> There were probably others over the Tennessee and Ohio river route before the authenticated travels of Coutoure's Carolinians in 1700.<sup>21</sup>

The Indians that favored the English drove away the hunters and tannery workers of Juchereau's colony near present-day Cairo in 1704.<sup>22</sup>

Governor Spotswood of Virginia complained, in 1711, of the imposition forced on the packmen; they had to go to South Carolina to use the routes westward to the Chickasaw.<sup>23</sup> Moll's map of 1720 shows the Tennessee River as the usual route westward.<sup>24</sup> The Tennessee River route took the traders through the lower Ohio valley in order to reach the Mississippi River country.

Father Xavier de Charlevoix, at Kaskaskia, wrote in 1721

<sup>17</sup> D. W. Lusk, *Politics in Illinois* (Springfield: H. W. Rokker Printer, 1886), 351.

<sup>18</sup> J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853), 38.

<sup>19</sup> Justin Winsor, *The Mississippi Basin* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895), 20.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Lewis, *op. cit.*, 23.

<sup>22</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, 70.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

that the lower Ohio country was fruitful, had meadows, and thousands of buffaloes. This large number of buffaloes is remarkable, for only seventeen years previously, Juchereau's colony had killed 13,000 of them in the area.

There may have been a flow of buffaloes into the area from the south; an ancient buffalo path came up from the south and split near present-day Princeton, Kentucky. One branch of this path went through present-day Crittenden County, crossed the Ohio and led up to the Illinois country's salt licks. This buffalo path was in due time an Indian trail and then a pioneer pathway; Aernout Viele may well have traversed this route during his 1693-94 sojourn among the Shawnee. The first reasonably authenticated resident in the vicinity of this section of the buffalo path was not until 1785. A cabin was built along Livingston Creek, in 1785, by a trapper from South Carolina whom tradition says was James Armstrong; from this humble beginning grew the village of Centerville.<sup>25</sup> On November 7, 1804, a court order established Centerville as the Livingston County seat of justice; the previous seat had been at Eddyville where it was established by court order March 25, 1800.<sup>26</sup>

Nathaniel Hull from Massachusetts, in 1780, trapped on this trail on the Illinois side near where pioneer George Flynn's ferry landed on the right bank. Flynn set up a ferry in 1803 at the Ohio crossing of the "Saline Trace." His Kentucky landing was in the area of Weston in what is now Crittenden County.<sup>27</sup> Hull opened a trace westward to Kaskaskia, a route used by later appearing homeseeking pioneers.<sup>28</sup> But they were not all pioneers. It was along Hull's trace—along the section that became Ford's ferry road—that the fleeing Kentuckians Moses Stegal, Joshua Fleehart and Miss Maddox were caught up with in the Illinois country by her irate brother and his friend Peak Fletcher. Joshua was shot as Miss Maddox sat on her lover's

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Robert M. Wheeler, Chairman, Crittenden County Historical Society, Nov. 14, 1967.

<sup>26</sup> Livingston County Clerk's Office, *Order Book I* (Courthouse: Smithland, Kentucky), 31.

<sup>27</sup> *The Crittenden Press*, June 27, 1968.

<sup>28</sup> *History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties* (Philadelphia: J. L. McDonough Co., 1883), 76.

lap; Moses was also killed. A lot of skulduggery occurred along this old trace.

The continuity of history also appears in the story of the western branch of the old buffalo trail: from buffalo trail, to Indian path, to later day pioneer trace and road. What happened in one century had bearing on events of a later century. This ancient path, through Kentucky and Illinois, somewhat approximated the route taken by the wretched unfortunate Cherokee of the "nuna-da-ut-sun'yi" (Cherokee Trail of Tears) in 1838-39. This route across southern Illinois was blazed as early as 1803 by Livingston County's ferryman, James Lusk.<sup>29</sup>

This western branch led through old-time Livingston, crossing the Ohio at Givens Creek opposite present-day Golconda, Illinois. James Lusk, a South Carolinian, had a ferry at this point on the Ohio, now known as Berry's Ferry, in 1799.<sup>30</sup> The Kentucky section of the western branch of the old pioneer trace became a part of the Nashville-Golconda, Illinois road. This route veered off toward the northwest of Centerville which developed into a village about 1792; it is said that in the 1820's and '30's this road was so busy that a covered wagon was never out of sight and by this time the road was getting old for it reputedly was in use during the early 1790's.<sup>31</sup> Centerville was the first settlement to become a village in the section of Kentucky west of Russellville; but Centerville faded from the scene with but now a historical marker reminding the passerby of what once was.

Immigrants, going to Illinois from Kentucky, could not bypass old-time Livingston except for about a thirty mile stretch of the Ohio from the Wabash down to the Tradewater. However, many of the immigrants floated down this stretch of the river and disembarked at Fort Massac about thirty-eight miles upriver from the Ohio's confluence with the Mississippi.

Charlevoix, in 1721, thought the French should have a

<sup>29</sup> Scerial Thompson, "The Cherokee Cross Egypt," *The Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, XLIV, (1951), 290.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs. P. T. Chapman, *A History of Johnson County, Illinois*, (Herrin: The Herrin News, 1925), 52.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from Robert M. Wheeler, Chairman, Crittenden County Historical Society, Nov. 14, 1967.

settlement on the Ouabache to impress the Cherokee.<sup>82</sup> A few years later, in 1729, M. de Lery, a Frenchman, visited "Caverne dans le Roc" (Cave In the Rock) along the lower Ohio in what is now Hardin County, Illinois. An Englishman from Virginia came down the Ohio in 1742.<sup>83</sup> John Howard's trip via canoe made of buffalo skin is fairly well authenticated.<sup>84</sup> Howard and his companion were captured by a party of French, Negroes and Indians, taken downriver and imprisoned at New Orleans for several months.<sup>85</sup> Thirty-six years after Charlevoix made his suggestion, Charles Philippe Aubrey constructed Fort Massac in 1757.

James Smith, in 1766, crossed the mountains and explored the Cumberland and Tennessee river country. Smith's party consisted of Uriah Stone, Henry Scaggins, Joshua Horton, William Baker, and an eighteen-year-old slave. They reached the mouth of the Tennessee where Smith stuck a piece of cane in his foot; Smith decided not to go any farther and he and the young slave returned eastward, reaching Carolina in October, 1767.<sup>86</sup> The others left the area of the Tennessee's confluence with the Ohio and went to the Illinois country. The country of the right bank of the Ohio was no longer a part of French America; it had become a part of British America along with the area that was to be the future Commonwealth of Kentucky. Colonel James Smith later settled in Kentucky and was a member of Kentucky's first Constitutional Convention in 1792. Smith's exploits should rank him among Kentucky's great such as Boone, Kenton, Walker and other early pioneers.

A large number of hunters from the Carolinas and Virginia met eight miles below Fort Chissell on June 2, 1769. They moved westward and divided into smaller parties; one party, under the leadership of Colonel James Knox, descended the Cumberland River. Some of the men in this party were Uriah Stone, Thomas Gordon, John Baker, Humphrey Hogan, Cash

<sup>82</sup> Lansden, *op. cit.*, 22.

<sup>83</sup> Winsor, *op. cit.*, 319.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> R. G. Thwaites, *Afloat on the Ohio* (Chicago: Way & Williams, 1897), 305.

<sup>86</sup> J. R. Albach, *Annals of the West* (St. Louis: Chambers & Knapp, 1850), 133.

Brook, a Mr. Mansco and three others; these hunters of 1769-70 were gone so long that they became known as the "Long Hunters." They had two boats and two trapping canoes loaded with the results of their hunting.<sup>87</sup> After leaving the Cumberland River, they headed down the Ohio where they were detained by savages. The Indians did not injure any of the party; however, they helped themselves by taking two guns, ammunition, salt and tobacco from the hunters. The Knox party continued down the Ohio and ran into some friendly Frenchmen trading in the Illinois Country. The Anglo-American party then went down the Mississippi to Natchez.

One of the members of the original hunting party was John Montgomery; this hunter was ultimately to play an important part in George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois country. Montgomery was, in 1778, at the mouth of the Tennessee River when the John Duff party was captured. Today John Montgomery is memorialized in Livingston County above Smithland along U. S. Highway 60.

The area where Clark and Montgomery were in 1778, about Baritaria Island, was no longer a part of Fincastle County, Virginia. Kentucky County, Virginia had come into existence in 1776.<sup>88</sup>

With Clark, at Baritaria Island, Kentucky County, Virginia, in 1778 at the mouth of the Tennessee, were several persons whose lives became entwined in events that made them a part of the lower Ohio valley's history. Among the soldiers with Clark who contributed to the valley's story were: John Montgomery, Thomas Hughes, John Duff, William Biggs, and others, including Thomas and Joseph Mason, brothers of the enterprising Samuel Mason of Cave-in-Rock and Hurricane Island fame. Some of Clark's men, while at Baritaria, boated over to the bank and landed at what is now the foot of Kentucky Avenue in Paducah, Kentucky.<sup>89</sup>

Clark's army had landed at Baritaria four days after leaving the Falls. At the mouth of the Tennessee, Clark's scouts captured a group of hunters coming down the river. These

<sup>87</sup> Ramsey, *op. cit.*, 105.

<sup>88</sup> *Henning's Statutes*, X, 257.

<sup>89</sup> Fred G. Newman, *Story of Paducah* (Paducah: Young Printing Co., 1920), 18.

hunters had recently been at Kaskaskia.<sup>40</sup> The hunting party consisted of their leader John Duff, John Saunders, James Moore, Thomas Dunn, and one other.<sup>41</sup> Clark was suspicious of these men and questioned them about the situation in the Illinois country; they were informative. The hunters offered to return to Kaskaskia with Clark, and joined the army. John Saunders was employed as guide.<sup>42</sup>

Clark's army departed, leaving Baritaria for a place to camp overnight. One of the party, as the army moved down the Ohio, was Thomas Hughes. This soldier was then traveling the very route that would be his last, six years later.

Thomas Hughes was back in the Illinois country after the war. He settled along Nine Mile Creek in Randolph County. Having established a home and gained some security from his labors by cultivating his land, he returned to Pennsylvania for his family. Along the lower Ohio, within the area visible from the present-day Paducah-Brookport Bridge, his party was attacked by Indians. Thomas Hughes, his child, and two friends were killed. The baby was shot in the head, its brains spattered over its mother's breast. Mrs. Hughes was shot in the shoulder. The rest of the party escaped and they went back to Pennsylvania taking Mrs. Hughes with them.<sup>43</sup>

Clark's army landed at the creek above Fort Massac on the Illinois side of the Ohio and spent the night of June 30, 1778 there; next day, the Virginian army started marching north-westward toward Kaskaskia. Out in the flat country, John Saunders was acting as guide.<sup>44</sup> Tradition has John Duff as guide at this point, but Clark's records recall Saunders.<sup>45</sup> The guide became bewildered, the troops became suspicious and a cry arose to put him to death; the guide, under guard, searched for the right trail. In time, the relieved guide yelled, "I know that point of timber!" Back on the trail, Clark's army

<sup>40</sup> Alexander Davidson and B. Stuve, *A Complete History of Illinois* (Springfield: H. W. Rokker, Printer, 1884), 177.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> Albach, *op. cit.*, 193.

<sup>43</sup> *History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, op. cit.*, 65.

<sup>44</sup> Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, 177.

<sup>45</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, "George Rogers Clark's Papers 1771-1781," *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, VIII, (1912), 119.

reached Kaskaskia on July 4th. The Virginians captured Kaskaskia and its fort by surprise during the night; the occupation was done so quietly and quickly that the commandant, Philippe de Rastel, Chevalier de Rocheblave was literally caught in bed.

The Duff party, that had been captured in the lower Ohio valley, played an important part in the capture of Kaskaskia. This campaign assured Clark's mark on Kentucky and Illinois history; and the then eighteen-year-old South Carolinian, John Duff, who had left his stepfather in Natchez, did not fade away into obscurity. Duff was yet to make another imprint. He served in the Virginia forces of the Illinois country for three years. Part of his service was under Lieutenant Colonel John Montgomery.

John Montgomery was born in 1748, in Bottecourt County, Virginia. He fought under Colonel Christian and took part in the Point Pleasant campaign in Dunmore's War. When Clark was at Corn Island getting ready to capture the Illinois country, he had not received the support that he desired; however, Clark's little army was greatly helped when Captain John Montgomery joined bringing with him twenty volunteers. Montgomery was a man full of fight and engaged in the Illinois campaign with enthusiasm. In 1778, Montgomery was made lieutenant colonel and became Commander-in-chief of the Virginia Troops in the County of Illinois. During his service in Illinois County, Montgomery with some 300 French, Spaniards and Americans pursued retreating British and Indians to Lake Peoria. Then he attacked the Rock River town of the Sacs and Foxes; Lieutenant Colonel Montgomery's army also attacked the Indians about Prairie du Chien. This 1780 campaign of Montgomery's was the most northwestern of any of the Revolutionary War. This campaign and its leader seemingly have been neglected in history; yet, there is a wee tombstone in the lower Ohio valley in the memory of Lieutenant Colonel John Montgomery (1748-1794). This marker is along U. S. Highway 60 above Smithland, Kentucky, upriver about fifteen miles from Baritaria where Montgomery and Duff's lives became entwined.

Duff was discharged in June, 1781, and by August he was in trouble. John Duff, David Hicks, Henry Smith, Elisha Fornelson, Shadrach Bond and Benjamin Brown were accused



of killing the cattle and other animals of the people of Kaskaskia.<sup>46</sup> At his arrest, Duff claimed he was only a little rogue; he was banished from Illinois for life as a vagabond but the court by special grace then limited the banishment to three years. Bond, Smith, and Brown (or Byrun) were fined; banishment was the penalty for Hicks, Fornelson and Duff.

Following Clark's troops within the area of the lower Ohio valley was the Donelson Party. The Colonel John Donelson party was a large flotilla down the Tennessee River from Boatyard (Kingsport), in 1779-80, headed for settlement in central Tennessee.<sup>47</sup> Along the lower Tennessee, the party was plagued with smallpox. They were attacked by Indians; during the attack, the women threw things overboard in order to stay afloat and an infant delivered the night before was killed.<sup>48</sup> James Colbert, a leader of the Chickasaw, wrote that they were "evidently rebels."<sup>49</sup> They landed at the mouth of the Tennessee at the lower point on the banks of the Ohio; they were fatigued, hungry, melancholy, their boats were in poor shape, and the Ohio's rapid current seemed too much of a challenge. A few migrants decided it would be easier to go with the current to the Mississippi; among those going downriver were Donelson's daughter and son-in-law who went to the Illinois country; others went down the Mississippi.

Colonel Donelson and the rest of the flotilla pushed upriver and on the fourth day they reached the mouth of the Cumberland Friday afternoon, March 24, 1780; today the sleepy little river town of Smithland is located at the mouth of the Cumberland. At this confluence, the Donelson party killed a buffalo, a swan, and had some Shawnee salad.<sup>50</sup> This was probably poke salad which is known to some as "sal'it."

Kentucky County was divided in 1780, and one of the newly created counties was Lincoln County, Virginia, which

<sup>46</sup> Mary Allinson, "A Trial Scene in Kaskaskia in 1781," *Illinois State Historical Society, Publication II*, (1906), 258-269.

<sup>47</sup> Ethel C. Leahy, *Who's Who on the Ohio River* (Cincinnati: The E. C. Leahy Publishing Co., 1931), 20.

<sup>48</sup> Ward Dorrance, *Where the Rivers Meet* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), 201.

<sup>49</sup> John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport: Southern Publishers Inc., 1938), 179.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 185.

included the western section of Kentucky that ultimately evolved into old-time Livingston County. The extreme western section of the territory was in a rather fluid state.

When Kentucky County was formed, in 1776, it was thought that it extended to the Mississippi River. However, before the Revolutionary War Colonial Virginia had some differences with the mother country. The King revoked Virginia's right to extend its boundaries as far west as it wished; it was never made clear whether the extension of Virginia's territory to the Mississippi also was rescinded.<sup>51</sup> This dubious situation was further compounded by the Chickasaw. Virginia wished to further the claim that the Mississippi River was the western boundary below the Ohio.<sup>52</sup>

Governor Thomas Jefferson repeated former Governor Henry's suggestion that there be a fort near the mouth of the Ohio. During the late spring of 1780, some weeks after the Donelson party's feast of buffalo and "sal'it" at the mouth of the Cumberland, George Rogers Clark proceeded five miles below the mouth of the Ohio and erected several blockhouses near Mayfield Creek. There was a large body of troops and settlers about Fort Jefferson, the name of the new fortification. Several persons about Fort Jefferson, which was the first attempted settlement within the area later to be part of old-time Livingston, became associated with the Anglo-American settlements in the Illinois country.

The Virginians made a mistake in thinking the fort was in Cherokee country; rather it was Chickasaw country and *verboten* to the Virginians. Captain James Colbert, a leader of some of the Chickasaw, instigated the Indians into harassing the troops and settlers.

Fort Jefferson's settlers petitioned for the establishment of Clarksville County in June, 1780; but within a year Colbert's followers had caused the settlers to become too discouraged to continue their plan to settle the area. The killing of Lieutenant Mark Kerr, Henry Kerr and Conrad Kerr on June 7, 1780, and the deaths of John Aldar, Daniel Merridith, John Hutsill and Ensign Edward Wilson during the following

<sup>51</sup> *Paducah Sun-Democrat*, January 19, 1967.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1966), II, 40.

months gave the settlers added incentive to moving elsewhere.

Captain James Colbert, stated to be a Scotsman, claimed to be an English citizen and was an enemy of those Americans not loyal to King George. He sided with the Tories; he helped some Tories that fled northward from Natchez. Among the leading Tories at Natchez were Philip and John Alston.<sup>53</sup> Philip Alston, a counterfeiter, played a part in the lower Ohio valley's story, for he was connected with Cave-in-Rock's Duff, another counterfeiter. However, John Alston did not escape northward to Colbert's country; he was made a captive by the Creek Indians and handed over to the Spanish and pardoned in 1781, afterwards to enter into the history of western Kentucky.

James Logan Colbert, a Scot turned Chickasaw, reputedly had to leave Scotland because of his participation in the Jacobite uprising. Colbert arrived in America in January, 1736, and immediately headed for the wilderness.<sup>54</sup> He became a leader among the Chickasaw and gained the reputation of pirate; he had numerous Chickasaw wives and several of his progeny became leaders of the Chickasaw. This reputed Scotsman wrote in French.<sup>55</sup> Colbert worked at being a pirate mostly along the Tennessee and Mississippi; he was rather well aware of what was going on in his part of the world. He wrote of the Donelson party as "evidently rebels."<sup>56</sup> He captured a boat headed for New Orleans, in 1782, found 4,500 pesos on board and Madame Francis Cruzat, wife of the Spanish Commander at St. Louis. Colbert held Madame Cruzat hostage to trade for some of the Tory exiles from Natchez. Madame was very talkative and reported Colbert had 150 slaves and resided in a rich lodging.

James Logan Colbert was on his way to persuade other chiefs in November, 1784, that it would probably be best to become friends with the Americans. A slave brought back word that Colbert was thrown from his horse and died. Some

<sup>53</sup> Albert J. Pickett, *History of Alabama* (Birmingham: The Webb Book Co., 1900), 352.

<sup>54</sup> Jonathan Daniels, *The Devil's Backbone* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962), 39.

<sup>55</sup> Lewis, *op. cit.*, 175.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, 179.

thought the slave murdered his owner. But with the death of James Colbert, the lower Ohio valley was yet to deal with the Colbert progeny.

Colbert was probably one of the more prominent of the early river pirates, and his attacks on Fort Jefferson and his tribe's control of the area west of the Tennessee makes him a part of the story of the lower Ohio valley. The more colorful river pirate, Colonel Fluger, applied his trade along the lower Ohio, primarily in the area in Illinois just across the Ohio from Colbert's Chickasaw lands in Kentucky.

Colbert's pirates preceded the "Sharkers" that inhabited the right bank of the lower Ohio just before it flows into the Mississippi. This group of villains had been abetted when Captain Young drove those of hell-born iniquities out of Henderson County, Kentucky; these pirates, murderers, robbers, counterfeiters, criminals of all sorts fled downriver to the Illinois country. These nefarious persons established themselves at Cave-in-Rock, Hurricane Island (part of Kentucky), and other points downriver in the Illinois country which was yet unsettled and yet Indian territory where the "law" was lackadaisical—rather nonexistent.

There along the Cache was Colonel Fluger, known as Colonel Plug, a pirate extraordinary with a bag of tricks when it came to robbing immigrants and keelboatmen, only to drown when his "deplugging" calculations erred. Upriver, from the Chickasaw domain, the valley became infested with a variety of rogues.

Among the earliest was the coiner Duff; he and his passers Blakely, Hall, and Hazel worked both sides of the river. Big Blossom and other painted ladies regaled during the era of keelboats; those, with a penchant for flowery names, waved red flags along the river's bank. Counterfeiting Sturdevants could blast on a horn and an army of their neighbors answered to repel the law. Samuel Mason, Cave-in-Rock and Hurricane Island entrepreneur, adopted the Harpe method of disposing of his victims: slitting the stomach and filling it with rocks before consigning the victim to a watery grave in the Ohio. Mason departed the area where his sister-in-law's brother, William H. Harrison, became governor. Mason worked along the Mississippi but in time his head was collected by Wiley

Harpe whose brother Micajah's head had been cleaved by Moses Stegal—Micajah first having been shot by John Leeper. Moses died in the pitching-woo-shooting in the Illinois country; the two Harpe brothers' three wives were escorted to Russellville by Kuykendall who was noted for riding bareback bare. The Harpes had previously disposed of most of the "law" in old-time Livingston, the seat of justice first being where Major William Love chose to hold court. This native of South Carolina, being 38 years old, was the eldest justice of the area but he snored. Major Love's two bedfellows at the Moses Stegal cabin happened to be the Harpe brothers; the Harpe brothers became enraged at Love's snoring. One of the Harpes tomahawked Love as he lay snoring.<sup>57</sup> Thusly, in August, 1799, old-time Livingston County's government was damaged. This left Justice of the Peace William Prince the eldest who began a move to the establishment of a county seat. He preferred Eddyville.

In the valley, there was slave-catching with blood-hounds, free Negroes kidnapped and sold downriver in Arkansas and Mississippi, slave selling in the "free" country by a politico-ferryman, and slave butchering by a president's nephews. There was "Satan's Ferryman."<sup>58</sup>

These frontier tales are wicked and vibrant, but what the tales do not tell, though, is that most of the settlers were law-abiding people. However, the first attempted settlement in the area failed. The Virginians left Fort Jefferson in June, 1781. This marked the coming of the first considerable group of Americans to settle in Illinois. James Piggott and Henry Smith had been Trustees at Clarksville but moved to Illinois.

Henry Smith, in a few weeks after leaving Fort Jefferson, was involved along with Duff in the trial at Kaskaskia.<sup>59</sup> Smith, a Virginian, settled at Bellefontaine; he was elected by the Americans to the court and served as president at the court's first session in 1787. Piggott built Piggott's fort at Grand

<sup>57</sup> Paul I. Wellman, *Spawn of Evil* (New York: Pyramid Publications, 1965), 85.

<sup>58</sup> Wm. D. Snively, Jr., "Satan's Ferryman," (Paper read at the sixty-eighth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, Benton, October 1, 1967).

<sup>59</sup> Allison, *op. cit.*, 258-269.

Ruisseau; he became prominent when his old commander St. Clair came to Illinois. Piggott was appointed a justice of the court of St. Clair County. Along with Piggott to Illinois had come John Doyle, Robert Whitehead and Jacob Groots.

James Moore, another of the veterans to settle in the Illinois country, was also residing in Henry Smith's neighborhood at Bellefontaine. Moore led a group of emigrants from Virginia to Illinois in 1781.<sup>60</sup> His son, James B. Moore, was a keelboatman on the Mississippi and Ohio; also, this son was a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1818. Another son, John Moore, married a sister of General John D. Whiteside, an early state treasurer in the new State of Illinois. The brothers, John and William Whiteside, came to Illinois in 1793 from North Carolina after a sojourn in Kentucky. William Whiteside had fought at King's Mountain as had several settlers of old-time Livingston, the most prominent being Colonel Edward Lacey. William and John Whiteside settled four miles from Waterloo in Monroe County, Illinois.

The Whitesides were a most numerous family. One branch was by 1803 located in the lower Ohio country in what is now Pope County. James Whiteside, William Belford, D. Shearer, Joseph Newton, Trammel, Hays, Collier and Modglin were early families settled inland in the area of Pope County during Indiana Territorial days. Gras Baie (Big Bay) settlement had started by 1803.<sup>61</sup>

There were as early as 1803-05 connections between Givens Creek (now Berry's Ferry) in Livingston County, Kentucky, Gras Baie, and the American settlements in the Monroe, Randolph and Perry county areas. The 1806 Memorial for the Division of Indiana Territory and admission of slaves into said territory reveals this connection. Also, John T. Lusk, son of the Kentucky ferryman who had come to Kentucky in 1791, moved to Edwardsville in 1805.<sup>62</sup> John

<sup>60</sup> Newton Bateman and P. Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago: Munsell Publishers, 1917), I, 382.

<sup>61</sup> George W. Smith, *History of Illinois and Her People* (Chicago: The American Historical Society Inc., 1927), I, 407.

<sup>62</sup> Bateman and Selby, *op. cit.*, I, 347.

T. Lusk built the first hotel in Edwardsville and served in various Madison County, Illinois, offices.

Back to the unsuccessful adventure at Fort Jefferson, it is noted that others came to the Illinois country in 1781 from Kentucky.

Among the soldiers of Gen. Clark, at Fort Jefferson, were Wm. Biggs, Jas. Curry, Levi Teel, David Pagon, John Vallis, Pickett, Seybold, Groots, Hildebrand, Dodge, Camp, Lunceford, Anderson, Doyle, Montgomery, Hughes, and many others. After its abandonment, some of these went to Illinois, grew up with the country, and became prominent citizens; others came to Louisville.<sup>63</sup>

William Biggs, born in Maryland in 1755, was with Clark at Baritara and Fort Jefferson. He was again in the lower Ohio valley, in 1788, on his way home from Indian captivity. John Vallis, Joseph and Benjamin Ogle, and William Biggs were going from Bellefontaine to Cahokia when they were attacked by Kickapoo. The two Ogle men escaped, Vallis was shot and died later; Biggs was captured and taken across Illinois to Matocush along the Wabash.<sup>64</sup> The chief gave Biggs his freedom and he searched for a way to get back home. A Mr. Brazedone told Biggs that a Mr. Duff who lived in the Illinois country was coming to Vincennes to move a Mrs. Moredock to Illinois. Biggs joined the Widow Moredock and her three sons with Duff as pilot; the party went down the Wabash, lower Ohio and up the Mississippi.

The first section of the flotilla embarked at Grand Tower to drag the boats past the rocky impediment and was ambushed by Indians. All in this section of the party were murdered; John Moredock was with the other group. Young Moredock was filled with hatred at the murder of his mother and two brothers. He set out for revenge, and reputedly got all of those responsible for these horrible murders.

John Moredock became a good friend of legislator Shadrach Bond Sr. He also served in the territorial legislature as colonel during the 1812 Indian trouble, and was mentioned for governor.

Biggs was sheriff of St. Clair County in 1790.<sup>65</sup> He also

<sup>63</sup> Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 40.

<sup>64</sup> Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, 222.

<sup>65</sup> Albach, *op. cit.*, 705.

served in both the Indiana and Illinois Territorial legislatures where he became acquainted with other representatives who had connections with old-time Livingston County.

After the departure of the Americans from Fort Jefferson in 1781, the Chickasaw continued masters of the area west of the Tennessee to the Mississippi. Some stray whites from the east and Frenchmen from the various Midwest posts were in the area as Chickasaw cohorts.<sup>66</sup> It was several years before settlers came to the area; however, hunting parties invaded the area.

Moses Shelby was with a west Kentucky hunting party on January 18, 1793, and saw his brother, Major Evan Shelby, Jr., killed by Indians. These brothers of Kentucky's first governor were of New Madrid and Livingston County. Moses and David Shelby resided at New Madrid; Isaac Shelby (the nephew of Governor Isaac Shelby) was of Kentucky, and several of the family are buried at Mills Pioneer Cemetery at Salem (On April 24, 1809, Salem became Livingston's county seat). A branch of the Shelby family was established across the Ohio during early territorial days near present-day Temple Hill in Pope County, Illinois.

The year before Major Evan Shelby, Jr. was killed, Livingston's area had become a part of Logan County; then the area was part of Christian County in 1797, but old-time Livingston became an entity in 1798.<sup>67</sup> This old-time Livingston was a massive area. It extended along the lower Ohio from the Tradewater down to the Mississippi—supposedly for the Chickasaw land west of the Tennessee was yet in a fluid state. The area of the right bank of the lower Ohio had gone through some changes also; the era of anarchy and the tyranny of Kaskaskia's John Dodge came to an end. Anarchy came to an end when St. Clair put into effect his governmental plans.<sup>68</sup> St. Clair created St. Clair County, Northwest Territory, April 27, 1790. This county, as far as the area considered herein, extended from the mouth of Massac Creek downriver to the Ohio's confluence with the Mississippi. The area considered

<sup>66</sup> Lewis, *op. cit.*, 175.

<sup>67</sup> Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 478.

<sup>68</sup> Charles E. Burgess, "John Rice Jones, Citizen of Many Territories," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LXI, (1968), 80.

herein along the lower Ohio, upriver from Massac Creek, was a part of Knox County and remained so until February 3, 1801 when it became a part of Randolph.<sup>69</sup>

Livingston County, in 1798, was wedged in between two Indian territories; Chickasaw beyond the Tennessee and the wilderness of St. Clair and Knox counties along the right bank of the Ohio. However, Duff the counterfeiter was probably applying his trade in or about Cave-in-Rock before 1790.<sup>70</sup> Philip Alston, the Natchez Tory, reputedly visited the Illinois wilderness and Livingston County areas about 1790. Duff and Alston were both counterfeiters; the stories of Alston and Kaskaskia's "little rogue," John Duff, have a striking similarity. Alston and John Duff both were from South Carolina, both early migrants to Natchez—John Duff being taken there by his step-father. Alston was a known Tory and John Duff was suspected by Clark of being a Tory. Duff, the coiner, was probably the same person as John Duff who was Clark's soldier and Kaskaskia's little rogue.<sup>71</sup> Duff's wife was perhaps a sister of Samuel Mason.<sup>72</sup> Duff, the coiner, is sometimes confused with the Sturdevant counterfeiters; however, Duff was coining as early as 1790. The Sturdevants were run out of the country in 1831.<sup>73</sup>

Rosewell and Merrick Sturdevant had a land transaction with Samuel O'Melvaney in 1820 for property in the Rosiclare area. The Sturdevant gang was made up of robbers, horse thieves and counterfeiters.<sup>74</sup> Regulators attacked Sturdevant's fort in 1831; after the "battle" some of the members of the gang were thrashed on Hurricane Island and thereafter this gang laid "shady." Regulators also attempted to run out other unsavory elements and embroiled Kentuckians and Illinoisians in the Regulator-Flathead War.<sup>75</sup> This war was decades after

<sup>69</sup> Paducah Sun-Democrat, September 8, 1966, Nine-A.

<sup>70</sup> O. A. Rothert, *The Outlaws of Cave-in-Rock* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1924), 273.

<sup>71</sup> Wellman, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>73</sup> O. J. Page, *History of Massac County, Illinois* (Metropolis: Journal Republican, 1900), 78.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> James A. Rose, "Regulators and Flatheads in Southern Illinois," (Manuscripts of the Illinois State Historical Library).

Duff began coining. Duff was killed in 1799.<sup>76</sup>

The wilderness of the right bank became Indian Territory in 1800. William Henry Harrison secured the passage of an act dividing the Northwest Territory that made the western part Indiana Territory; he also secured his own appointment as governor of the new territory.<sup>77</sup>

The wilderness of Indiana Territory ended northwestward from the lower Ohio valley over at the Mississippi where were located the French Villages. Also, there were the settlements of Bellefontaine, Eagle, and scattered hamlets in what is now Monroe County, Illinois. The only "Illinois" populated area of any size near Livingston County, Kentucky, in 1800, was downriver at Fort Massac. Fort Massac had some 90 people in 1800.<sup>78</sup>

A few years earlier, in 1796, Captain Zebulon Pike was in charge at Fort Massac; this was before he found his peak, but after he had served under General Wayne with William Clark and Meriwether Lewis. Lewis and Clark enter into the stories of the lower Ohio valley.

William Clark, younger brother of George Rogers Clark, platted Paducah in 1827; General Clark conveyed over to brother William, in 1803, his 36,400 acres in the Paducah area.<sup>79</sup>

Meriwether Lewis was kindred of Dr. Charles L. Lewis who had settled at Rocky Hill in Livingston County in 1808. Meriwether had served as secretary to Thomas Jefferson who was a brother to Lucy Jefferson Lewis, wife of Dr. Charles Lewis. Lucy Jefferson and her husband, Charles Lewis, were first cousins. Tradition has Meriwether Lewis as being a brother to Dr. Charles Lewis; however, Meriwether Lewis and Dr. Charles Lewis were distantly related. Dr. Charles Lewis was a second cousin once removed to Meriwether. Colonel Robert Lewis, grandfather of Meriwether, was a first cousin to Charles Lewis who was the father of Dr. Charles

<sup>76</sup> Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 150.

<sup>77</sup> Solon J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 183.

<sup>78</sup> *Centennial History of Illinois*, I, 407.

<sup>79</sup> Newman, *op. cit.*, 11.

Lewis.<sup>80</sup> Meriwether Lewis was a third cousin to Dr. Lewis' sons Randolph, Isham and Lilburn (also recorded Lilbourne).

Governor Meriwether Lewis was shot in Tennessee in 1809. Randolph Lewis died from a snake bite in 1811. Lilburn and Isham Lewis were involved in butchering a young slave in 1812. Lilburn's will and his "My beloved but Cruel Letitia" directive to James McCawley referring to Letitia Rutter (his second wife) are pathetic segments of the lower Ohio valley's story.<sup>81</sup>

Lucy Lewis, the president's youngest sister, often sat at a favorite spot on Rocky Hill overlooking the Ohio into the rolling hill country of Illinois; there she was buried in 1811. Dr. Lewis returned to Albemarle County, Virginia, from whence the Lewis family came, where Jefferson resided and where George Rogers Clark was born. Lucy Jefferson Lewis' memorial is there above Smithland on Route 60 along with Lieutenant Colonel John Montgomery's marker. These markers are about twenty-five miles upriver from Fort Massac.

Fort Massac's Captain Pike, in 1796, was visited by the Frenchman Victor Collot. Collot noted, as he went down the Ohio before reaching Fort Massac, the "defile" where Golconda is now located. He reported the hills about the mouth of the Cumberland were already inhabited, and that there was a small wooden fort against the Indians located on the Kentucky side between the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers.<sup>82</sup> Collot also reported there were seven or eight houses or huts near Fort Massac and that the occupants were Canadian French who made their living by hunting and dragging boats.

Fort Massac was a disembarkment point for Kaskaskia-bound immigrants. They used the old trace that led northward; one section of the trace led toward Bay Bottoms. This route crossed the old buffalo-Indian path which was blazed for immigrants by the ferryman, James Lusk, in 1803. Near

<sup>80</sup> Mary Rawlings, *Albemarle County* (Charlottesville: The Michie Co., 1925), 63.

<sup>81</sup> Livingston County Clerk's Office, *Will Book A*, (*Courthouse: Smithland, Kentucky*).

<sup>82</sup> Victor Collot, "A Journey in North America," *Illinois State Historical Transactions*, XXXIII, (1908), 274.

the junction of these traces, there was an early string of scattered settlers. Coui LeRoy, a Frenchman, was early settled near the Kaskaskia Trace south of Bay Creek; the soldiers from Fort Massac assisted him in clearing his land. LeRoy may have been the first or one of the first to settle within present-day Pope County's area. LeRoy, born 1780, Americanized his name to Charles King.<sup>83</sup> Early neighbors of LeRoy were John Ditterline, Charles Shelby, James Green and Jacob Shelby.

The population of Illinois was rather thinly scattered during the Indiana Territorial days. However, in the 1810 census of Randolph County under the Big Bay, Grampear sections down to the Fort Massac area are many surnames that are yet existing in the area of the right bank of the Ohio. There in the area, which is now Hardin, Pope and the eastern part of Massac the early settlers were scattered along the Ohio and sparsely dispersed along the traces and larger creeks. The riverbank settlements were visited in the early days by Elders Stephen Stilley and William Jones.<sup>84</sup> They sought out Baptist families and organized Big Creek Baptist Church July 19, 1806, in Randolph County, Indiana Territory. Randolph County was divided September 14, 1812, during Illinois Territorial days, leaving the area from Lusk Creek to the Mississippi as Johnson County and upriver the area was Gallatin—then Big Creek Church was in Gallatin County. On January 10, 1816, Pope County was created from parts of Johnson and Gallatin—then Big Creek Church was in Pope's northeastern area. Hardin County was created March 2, 1839.<sup>85</sup> This early Baptist congregation, after continuous service through all the territorial and county changes, is today Elizabethtown's First Baptist Church. This is the oldest Baptist church in Illinois in continuous service.<sup>86</sup>

It appears that the early settlers along the river turned to religion as soon as they drove the "painters" out of their hog lots. Some years after Big Creek was organized, Reverends Stilley and William Rondeau formed Grand Pierre Baptist

<sup>83</sup> LeRoy Family Bible (owned by Callie Modglin); personal interview.

<sup>84</sup> *Herald-Enterprise*, April 25, 1968, Three.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Powell, *1965-1966 Illinois Blue Book* (Printed by the authority of the State of Illinois, Paul Powell, Secretary of State), 825.

<sup>86</sup> *Herald-Enterprise*, *op. cit.*

Church. Rondeau resided on Golconda Island in Livingston County. He was shot in the left shoulder during the Sturdevant raid.

The Methodists became active during the later territorial days.<sup>87</sup> Jesse Walker, J. Patterson and John Scripps held the Massac camp meeting at the Rock and Cave on the Ohio River during territorial days.<sup>88</sup> Scripps got the measles at this meeting; measles were prevalent in the congregation. Peter Cartwright and Jacob Whiteside were early Methodists active in the valley.

Reverend Terrah Templin, noted Kentucky pioneer preacher, organized a Presbyterian church at Centerville in 1797.<sup>89</sup> This was probably the first Christian church of any denomination within the lower Ohio valley area being viewed herein. Nathan B. Darrow on October 24, 1819, with sixteen charter members, organized Golconda's Presbyterian Church which is the oldest extant Presbyterian Church in Illinois.<sup>90</sup> This congregation's early meetings were held at various places: the courthouse, schoolhouse, and at the homes of charter members Francis Glass and David B. Glass. An early preacher was Benjamin Franklin Spilman. Kentucky-born Benjamin Spilman achieved recognition as "the Father of Presbyterianism in Illinois."<sup>91</sup> Benjamin Spilman's brother, Rev. Jonathan E. Spilman, composed the music to "Flow Gently Sweet Afton."<sup>92</sup>

The Illinois shore was not open to receive settlers until Governor Harrison treated with the Indians in 1803-1804. However, across the river in Livingston, there were 2,856 people in 1800; during the next few years many of Livingston's people moved across the Ohio. Many of these settlers during Indiana Territorial days had first come to Livingston from the Carolinas, some from Virginia and Maryland, a few from Pennsylvania and even a few New Englanders. There were a few natives of Europe, notably Samuel O'Melvaney.

<sup>87</sup> Buck, *op. cit.*, 175.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>89</sup> Letter from Robert M. Wheeler, *op. cit.*

<sup>90</sup> *Herald-Enterprise, op. cit.*

<sup>91</sup> Earl R. Hoover, "J. E. Spilman," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, LXVI, (July, 1968), 229, no. 11.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

The Carolina background of so many of the settlers possibly had some bearing on the valley's history during the Civil War. South Carolina's Statesman, John C. Calhoun, had numerous relatives in the area; William Love, for illustration, the early Justice of the Peace, was married to Esther Calhoun, a first cousin to Senator Calhoun.<sup>93</sup> Pope County, Illinois, had an open meeting early expressing sympathy with South Carolina's secession.<sup>94</sup> James Lusk Alcorn, native of Pope County and grandson of the ferryman James Lusk from South Carolina, was an officer in the Confederacy. Brigadier General James L. Alcorn, C.S.A., was also a senator and governor of Mississippi after the War.<sup>95</sup> On the Union side, was Golconda's Green B. Raum, son of John Raum who was born in Pennsylvania in 1793. Green B. Raum has the honor of having probably made the first public Pro-Union speech in the valley at Metropolis where he had gone for legal purposes. Brigadier General Green Berry Raum was U.S. Commissioner of Pensions under President Benjamin Harrison.<sup>96</sup>

Livingston County's Carolinians were mostly hardy Scots, largely from Camden District, Chester County, South Carolina. This area of the Piedmont was settled by Scots down from Pennsylvania descendants of those oppressed Scots who fled to North Ireland only to be ill-treated there. By the thousands they poured through the Piedmont collecting on their way some Huguenots, Germans and English but remaining mostly Scottish. They were the people of Andrew Jackson. Among those down from Pennsylvania had come Colonel Edward Lacey.<sup>97</sup> After the Revolutionary War, these people poured over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky.

Edward Lacey became a brigadier general near the end of the war. In 1799, General Lacey's family migrated to Liv-

<sup>93</sup> *The Crittenden Press*, August 15, 1968, Three.

<sup>94</sup> Clarence W. Alvord, "The Era of the Civil War 1848-1870," *Centennial History of Illinois*, III, (1919), 260.

<sup>95</sup> J. K. Betterworth, *Mississippi: A History* (Austin: The Steck Co., 1959), 322.

<sup>96</sup> William Barlow, "U.S. Commissioner of Pensions Green B. Raum," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, LX, (1967), 297.

<sup>97</sup> Henry Savage Jr., *River of the Carolinas: The Santee* (New York: Rinehart Publishers, 1956), 129.

Livingston County, Kentucky, and settled along Deer Creek near the Ohio River. He settled among many of the veterans of King's Mountain, Eutaw Springs, Fish Dam Ford, and Cowpens. General Lacey was riding his horse in flooded Deer Creek March 20, 1813; seized with catalepsy he fell into the water and drowned.<sup>98</sup> The general's son, Robert Lacey, married Nancy Love. They moved to Illinois where Robert became a judge of the Pope County Court in 1816 along with Samuel O'Melvaney and James Alcorn. This Alcorn was a son-in-law of James Lusk.

General Lacey's son-in-law, Richard Miles, operated a ferry across the Ohio to where Miles' trace began in Illinois. O'Melvaney, in 1810, established a ferry opposite Miles' old ferry where the trace began.<sup>99</sup>

O'Melvaney, native of Ireland, sojourned in Kentucky, moved over to the Illinois side and engaged in flatboating and politics. He was located on the Illinois side about 1805.<sup>100</sup> O'Melvaney was a justice of the peace in 1807 and resided among the people of the fringe settlement that stretched from Grand Pierre Creek upriver toward present-day Rosiclare. Some of the earliest settlers of this Pope-Hardin area were: Alex. Blair, John Crawford, James Steele, Hugh Robertson, and after 1810 James Cowsert, Alex. Parkinson, George Hamilton, Samuel Glass, and Larken Kesterson. O'Melvaney was a Pope County officer, census taker, member of the territorial assembly in 1816, and delegate to the constitutional convention in 1818.

Upriver, Lewis Barker and some Carolinians settled where Elizabethtown now is. The first settlers were probably James McFarland Sr., Wm. McFarland in 1808, and Benoni Lee in 1809. Other early ones were John King, and Reverend Stilley. James McFarland Sr. may have been there as early as 1803; he furnished beef for the garrison at Fort Massac.<sup>101</sup> Lewis Barker was a state senator in the first General Assembly of the

<sup>98</sup> Thomas M. Owens, "Colonel Edward Lacey," *Gulf States Historical Magazine*, I, (July-May, 1902-1903), 41-44.

<sup>99</sup> Davidson and Stuve, *op. cit.*, 349.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> George W. Smith, *A History of Southern Illinois* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1912), I, 479.

State of Illinois. Lewis Barker, James McFarland, Isaac White and Jonathan Taylor were early ferry operators at Elizabethtown. Upriver beyond Cave in Rock, James Ford ran a ferry. Ford, a brother-in-law to ferryman Richard Miles, was in Livingston County in 1803. He moved to the Illinois side and while there served as an overseer of the poor.<sup>102</sup> Major Ford was back in Kentucky by 1815 serving as a Justice of the Peace, but in time Ford was thought of as being a satanic character.

About six miles downriver from the site of Miles' ferry, James Lusk operated a ferry. In 1799, Lusk was visited by four Shawnee Indians. They loitered about the Lusk home finally killing Mr. Duff from up near the Tradewater.<sup>103</sup> It was thought that someone at Fort Massac had hired the Indians to do the killing.<sup>104</sup> There are other versions about the death of Duff, including Governor John Reynolds's in "My Own Times."

Robert Reynolds and his son John camped at Givens Creek, Livingston County, Kentucky in 1800. Twelve-year-old John asked Mr. Lusk, the ferryman, how far it was to the next town. Mr. Lusk laughed and said, "One hundred and ten miles to Kaskaskia the first settlement on the route."<sup>105</sup> Robert Reynolds served in the territorial legislature; John, in 1818, was one of the three Associate Justices of the Illinois Supreme Court.

James Lusk died in 1803 and was buried at Carrsville, Kentucky, near where his mother's cabin was located. Guer-shom Clemens was executor of the Lusk Will.<sup>106</sup> Sarah Lusk, the widow, wished to operate the ferry. Mrs. Lusk and executor Clemens had some difference over who was to possess the ferry. The Lusk Will was probated at the October, 1803, County Court at Livingston's county seat which was then Eddyville. The will stipulated the ferry and plantation were

<sup>102</sup> John W. Allen, *Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois* (Binghamton: Vail-Ballou Press, 1964), 120.

<sup>103</sup> Statement by the late Francis Buel (daughter of pioneer settlers at Golconda, Illinois).

<sup>104</sup> Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 150.

<sup>105</sup> *History of Randolph, Monroe and Perry Counties, op. cit.*, 68.

<sup>106</sup> Livingston County Clerk's Office, *Will Book A* (Courthouse: Smithland, Kentucky).



to be rented and the income was to go for the children's education.<sup>107</sup> Clemens at this time resided on Golconda (Rondeau) Island near the Kentucky ferry landing. Clemens and Isaac Trimble were the two wagonmakers serving the pioneers and immigrants using the ferry routes into the territory of the right bank. Clemens was a great-uncle to Mark Twain who wrote some intriguing stories about rivers, islands, and caves such as are also found in the lower Ohio valley.

Widow Lusk appeared at Kaskaskia in December, 1804, filing bonds for a ferry. Sarah Lusk was licensed to operate a ferry by Governor William H. Harrison May 7, 1804.<sup>108</sup> This ferry was opposite the one kept by James Lusk. Sarah Lusk may well have been a willful person; Clemens backed down when Widow Lusk pointed her gun in his direction. Her grandson, Brigadier General Alcorn, C.S., was headstrong; he had a running spat with Jefferson Davis.<sup>109</sup> General Alcorn became disgusted with the lack of respect shown him by the Union people of Hopkinsville, Kentucky. He arrested several and was planning to make examples of them when General Buckner restrained him.<sup>110</sup> During the latter years of the war, Alcorn sulked and grew cotton on his Delta plantation.<sup>111</sup> Sarah Lusk and Thomas Ferguson got a license to marry in April, 1805, at the then Livingston County seat at Centerville.

Thomas Ferguson was from the Waxhaw area of South Carolina as were the Lusks. The Livingston County Tax List of 1804 shows he resided near the Ohio.<sup>112</sup> He was a justice of the peace, on the Illinois side, in 1806. On September 19, 1812, Thomas Ferguson was appointed a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Johnson County and a justice of the peace in the new county December 2, 1812. Johnson County's seat was Elvira, where the Bradshaw, Thornton, Wiggs, and Worley families were among the first to settle. The first settlers

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Pope County Recorder's Office, *Record Book "A"*, (Courthouse: Golconda, Illinois).

<sup>109</sup> Betterworth, *op. cit.*, 322.

<sup>110</sup> Battle, Perrin, Kniffin, *op. cit.*, 367.

<sup>111</sup> Betterworth, *op. cit.*

<sup>112</sup> Eurie Pearl Neel, *Trigg County-Gateway to the Jackson Purchase*, (Nashville: Rich Printing Co., 1961), III, 45.

are said to have been in the area by 1806.<sup>113</sup> John Bradshaw, of the Elvira area, had been appointed a justice September 22, 1809, when the area was a part of Randolph County. Thomas Ferguson served in the First Illinois Territorial Legislature in 1812 from Johnson County. The legislative council met at Kaskaskia and was composed of William Biggs, Pierre Menard and Thomas Ferguson. Ferguson was tardy at the 1812 meeting, but was back again as a member of the second territorial legislature and as a member of the council in 1814. The Lusk-Ferguson ferry, operated from the Illinois side, continued to be one of the most used by the Illinois bound pioneers. This ferry site became known as Sarahsville and finally present-day Golconda, Illinois.

Some fifteen miles downriver at Smithland, Hamlet Ferguson operated a two-sectioned ferry, one to the large island from Smithland and another from the island to where Hamletsburg, Illinois, is now. Hamlet was a brother of Thomas Ferguson. He married Caty Givens in 1805. The Givens family was early prominent in Livingston County. Hamlet Ferguson was a large slave owner in 1804 in Livingston County. He was a justice of the peace on the Illinois side in 1806, colonel of the 6th Regiment in 1817, Sheriff of Pope County in 1816, and a delegate to the Illinois Constitutional Convention in 1818.

Smithland, where Hamlet Ferguson had his ferry, appeared during the early days to have a promising future. Today it has the intriguing aura found in river towns that revel in their past. Smithland's past includes many an interesting tale, including those of the visionaries Aaron Burr and Zachariah Cox. These two men had cause to consider General James Wilkinson a dubitable person.

Upriver from Smithland, along the Cumberland, was Livingston's early county seat, Eddyville. Its leading citizen, Matthew Lyon, was the county's representative in 1802. Matthew Lyon and party, including his two sons-in-law, Dr. George Caldwell and John Messinger, descended the Ohio in 1799 and landed at Eddyville on the Cumberland.<sup>114</sup> Dr.

<sup>113</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, 346.

<sup>114</sup> Bateman and Selby, *op. cit.*, I, 72.

Caldwell and Messinger then moved to Illinois in 1802, landing at Old Fort Chartres. Dr. Caldwell held various public offices in St. Clair and Madison counties and was a state senator in the First Illinois General Assembly in 1818. Messinger settled in the New Design area of Monroe County. In 1808 he served in the Indiana Territorial Legislature and took a part in separating Illinois from Indiana Territory; he was a delegate to the Illinois State Constitutional Convention in 1818 and the first Speaker of the House of Representatives of the new State of Illinois.

While Messinger and Caldwell were in old-time Livingston, one of their county compatriots gave up his race horse, gambling and the sinful life. The change, in the sixteen-year-old youth Peter Cartwright, was brought about at a camp meeting in 1801; by 1803 he was received into the Methodist Ministry. As a circuit riding preacher, Cartwright traversed west Kentucky and southern Illinois along the lower Ohio.

The Peter Cartwright will at the Livingston County Courthouse names Peter's wife as Christians and their son Reverend Peter Cartwright. This record has Caldwell enclosed in parenthesis; Caldwell County was created in 1809 out of old-time Livingston.<sup>115</sup>

While Messinger, Caldwell and Cartwright went some distance into the Illinois country, others settled in the scenic lower Ohio valley. James Conyers and family went down the river to settle near the Cache. Thomas Clark settled, in 1803, in the area of present-day Mound City. Jesse Perry and family, in 1806, settled near the Cache along with George Hacker. Rice Sams was settled near the Cache by 1810. Sams served as a county commissioner along with the colorful John Grammer while Abner Field was Clerk of the Court. Grammer was a member of the Illinois Territorial Legislature. This area of the lower Ohio was part of Union County, established January 2, 1818, and then included present-day Union, Alexander and a part of Pulaski; then the rest of Pulaski and a part of Massac were in Johnson. The "inland" early settlers of Union were the Abram Hunsaker and George Wolf families along the Cache south of Jonesboro by 1803. Then in 1805, David

<sup>115</sup> Livingston County Clerk's Office, *Will Book A*, *op. cit.*

Green settled in the Mississippi bottom area and in 1809, the Capps and Lawrences settled along Mill Creek.<sup>116</sup> Southward, in what is now Alexander, Joseph Standlee, John McElmurry, Joshua Flannary, Abraham Flannary and Thomas Flannary were very early settlers.

Trinity was laid out as a town just above the mouth of the Cache in 1817. A growing sand bar put an end to its prosperity.<sup>117</sup> Six miles upriver America was laid out in 1818. It was the county seat of Alexander when that county was established. Earlier, upriver from America toward Fort Massac, Wilkinsonville had flourished and then faded.

Union County's Alexander Pope Field was a member of the Illinois General Assembly and secretary of state in 1829. A precedent of this relative of George Washington's was Alexander's uncle, Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Illinois Territory beginning in 1809. The Field and Pope families were early established in Kentucky and prominent in Jefferson County, Kentucky. Union County's Abner Field was Illinois state treasurer in 1823. There were Fields over in Pope County also; Daniel Field, born in Jefferson County, Kentucky, came to Golconda in 1818 and in a few years owned the franchise of the Lusk-Ferguson ferry. Dan Field was the father of Maria Field, wife of Brigadier General Green B. Raum. Green B. Field, a cousin to Daniel Field, came to Pope County in 1817. He was a member of the First General Assembly in 1818, and grandfather of Green B. Raum.

During this time of emigration, Livingston County grew in population and size. Kentucky's Governor Gabriel Slaughter was aware that the land beyond the Tennessee, though regarded as Kentucky's, was yet owned by the Chickasaw. Kentucky got the Federal Government to clear up the situation. Isaac Shelby and Andrew Jackson were commissioned to deal with the Indians and the James Colbert progeny. The Chickasaw preferred to deal with Rachel Donelson Jackson's husband, Andrew, rather than with Governor Shelby. The Indians' preference, Jackson to Shelby, may well have turned on other factors than differentiating between Indians taking pot shots

<sup>116</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 541.

<sup>117</sup> Buck, *op. cit.*, 78.

at one's in-laws thirty-nine years previously and Indians killing one's nephew twenty-five years previously.

The resulting Jackson Purchase Treaty, signed October 19, 1818, in Monroe County, Mississippi, thus assured Kentucky and its old-time Livingston County's boundary down the lower Ohio to the Mississippi. Thirteen days previously, the country on the right bank inaugurated Shadrach Bond on October 6, 1818, as the first governor of the new State of Illinois. This Bond was a nephew to the Shadrach Bond associated with John Duff.

Thus the valley of panoramic views, cedar-crowned hills and magnificent streams was divided into two states. Its history reveals its story is one, not two . . . it is a narration of old-time Livingston County, a stepping stone to Illinois.