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The Sequence of the Human Occupance in Wayne County, Kentucky: An Historical Study

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THE SEQUENCE OF THE HUMAN OCCUPANCE
IN WAYNE COUNTY, KENTUCKY:
AN HISTORICAL STUDY

By
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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the University of Michigan.

Ann Arbor, 1934.
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PREFACE

Forty years ago, Professor Turner advanced his frontier hypothesis which changed the study of American History. This hypothesis was accepted by scholars, and in the rewriting of American History facts were poured into this new mould. However, this now familiar hypothesis has never been completely tested. It is not the purpose of this thesis to test the hypothesis. Professor Paxson recently pointed out the necessity of a large number of studies in local history from which larger generalizations can be drawn. This thesis, while a study of a single county, should be interpreted in its broader aspects. If studies of each county on the Western Cumberland and Allegheny Piedmont were made, certain generalizations could be pronounced. The purpose of this dissertation will be completely gained if it provides the reader with an intelligible understanding of the problems of the county, if it clearly describes how the citizens of this political unit have attempted to solve those problems, and if it inspires similar studies so that generalizations can, in the future, be drawn.

The author is indebted to Professor Arthur S. Alton who gave unspARINGLY of his time to render invaluable ad-
vice; to Professor Preston E. James who encouraged the work from the beginning, and Professor Robert B. Hall for first suggesting the possibilities of such a study in Wayne County. The privilege and opportunity afforded the author by Wayne County Clerk Bertrand (1930-31), to examine and study all county records, and those same privileges and opportunities granted by county clerks of counties along the Wilderness Road and in the Valley of Virginia, must be acknowledged. Any mistakes in fact or interpretation, and any errors in cartography, must be laid to the author.
CHAPTER I
THE SETTING AND EARLIEST OCCUPANCE.

Wayne County, Kentucky, seems to offer the investigator an ideal region, political in nature, for the study of the sequence of human occupancy. It affords an opportunity to trace the successive appearance of occupiers of the land, their utilization of the resources of the region, changes they have effected, and, the most recent comer, the European's efforts, once he had settled, to break through the isolation which shut him off from the outer world. This county is located about 100 miles south of Lexington at the western edge of the Cumberland Plateau. The Cumberland River forms a rough northern boundary of the county, while on the east the Big and Little South Forks of the Cumberland, to the south the State of Tennessee, and on the west the Kentucky counties of Clinton and Cumberland constitute approximate boundaries. Isolation has been the chief problem of the county. The navigability of the Cumberland River for part of the year aided, at least until about 1910, in breaking this isolation. There are no railroads in the county, the nearest railhead is Burnside, twenty-one miles from
Monticello, the county seat. One improved state highway now traverses the county from northeast to southwest and other highways are planned radiating from Monticello. In this relatively isolated county the need for and the desire to obtain better transportation facilities must, perhaps, be made the main theme of this study. When the white man first entered this region it was unoccupied, although the Indian had left only a short time previous to the invasion of the frontiersman. This condition allows us to discuss briefly those changes the Indian made in the local situation, and the changes the European made through his development and use of the local natural resources.

Before entering upon a discussion of the problems set before us, it is desirable to attempt a description of the surface configuration of the county. It lies astride two of the major physiographic provinces of the United States.

1 Ky. 90 has been routed from Burnside to the Tennessee line via Frazier, Mill Springs, Monticello, and Albany. This highway connects at Burnside with U. S. 27, a main north-south highway uniting Cincinnati with Chattanooga via Lexington, Stanford, Somerset, Burnside, Stearns, Pine Knott, Harriman, Tenn., Rockwood and Layton. Ky. 90 joins, at the Tenn. Line, Tenn. 28 to Jamestown, Crossville, and Chattanooga via the Sequatchie Valley, and Tenn. 24 to Nashville via Livingston, Cookeville and Lebanon. When Ky. 90 is completed it will unite Monticello with Glasgow and U. S. 31-E via Albany and Burksville.
the Cumberland Plateau and the Interior Low Plateaux.  

For purposes of pointing out contrasts, the present level of the Cumberland River which is from three to four hundred feet below the Highland Rim, one of the chief subdivisions of the Interior Low Plateaux, may be considered another great division of the county. There are then three great divisions in this particular county: the Cumberland Plateau, the Interior Low Plateaux, and the present level of the Cumberland River. Each of these divisions will be discussed in turn.

The Cumberland Plateau, rising to an elevation of from 1200 to 1500 feet, and from 300 to 600 feet above the Highland Rim to the west, occupies the eastern, southeastern, and southern parts of Wayne County. The main body of the Plateau is relatively flat, but this western edge is heavily dissected by many surface streams. To the west, or in front of the main body of the Plateau, are a number of high hills, some connected to the Plateau by long ridges and others completely isolated. These

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1-River Flats;
2-Dissected Highland Rim;
3-Level Upland of the Highland Rim;
4-Cumberland Plateau and its Outliers;
5-Urban area of Monticello;
6-Rural Stores;
7-Main roads;
8-Limits of the Monticello Domain
isolated hills and the long ridges are the outliers of the Plateau. Some of the isolated hills are conical shaped while others have the appearance of truncated cones. The ridges, broad where they become an integral part of the Plateau, become narrower toward the west, ending usually in a conical or truncated cone-like hill with another well-rounded hill in front showing the very gradual cutting down of the whole plateau surface. Between many of the ridges, the surface is about the same elevation as the Highland Rim. This lower surface may be considered an intrusion of the Highland Rim into the Plateau and a level to which, in time, the Plateau will be reduced. In some instances two ridges rejoin enclosing a basin whose rolling floor is approximately the elevation of the rim. An outlet for this basin is provided through the relatively low gap where the ridges join and through which gap the stream draining the basin flows toward the Cumberland or tributaries of that stream. On a map the Plateau edge is irregular, having a scalloped appearance. The slopes to the Plateau from the rim are, at first, moderate, but become steeper as one climbs upward, and in some places rise cliff-like from the steep lower slopes. The soils of the plateau section are uniformly poor in quality. The capstone, or the rock which maintains the nearly level plateau surface, is a
hard massive conglomerate containing much sand. Upon disintegration of this capstone, sand becomes the main constituent of the soil. The less steep slopes are cultivated, but large rock fragments hinder tilling. When these less steep slopes are plowed, looseness sets in, and shortly much of the scaly slope is washed away exposing bare rock ledges. The agricultural areas in this section are the relatively flat ridge tops, and the less steep slope immediately below the plateau top or near the base of the plateau where it merges into the rim. 3

Of this particular section of the Highland Rim (about 900 feet above sea level) extending westward from the Plateau front, and which is the part of the Interior Low Plateaux found in this region, two distinct subdivisions are noted: the area south and east of Mill Springs, and the area north and west of Mill Springs. The section south and east of Mill Springs, back from the river cliffs, suggests an old river bed. The section is relatively level and extends in a southwesterly direction from Fairside to beyond Monticello including the uplands.

3 A type study of the Plateau margin has been made by R. W. Glendinning, "Spann: A Community in the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XIV, pp. 329-341. This series is hereafter referred to as the Papers of the Michigan Academy.
of Beaver and Otter Creeks. A level surface is interrupted here and there by outliers of the plateau and by numerous sink holes. A soil of medium fertility covers the section. It is developed from a cherty limestone which produces a relatively deep soil, red in color, but with masses of chert (locally called niggerheads or sheepskulls) throughout.  

4 The drainage of the section is chiefly subterranean. Surface streams are not lacking, for there are Meadow Creek, Elk Spring Creek, and others; but these are in part subterranean, coming wholly to the surface only in times of high water or excessive rain when the underground channels are unable to accommodate the large amounts of moisture. Toward the west sink holes become more numerous, and the section, more dissected, merges gradually into the heavily dissected area north and west of Mill Springs.

The second division of the Highland Rim, north, west, and southwest of Mill Springs, is more heavily eroded than

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the area east and south of Mill Springs; and has numerous
short creeks, which, cutting headward from the Cumberland,
have eroded and projected many steep-sided ravines into
the Upland. On examining this section closely one is
favorably impressed with the idea that these conditions
are partially due to the breaking down of the cavern
roofs. If the sink holes, headward from these streams, are
examined, they will usually be found aligned with a creek
flowing in a v-shaped ravine toward the Cumberland. One
concludes then that this area at one time was relatively
level like the region south and east of Mill Springs,
that the streams developed the largest caverns near the
Cumberland, and that the roofs of the caverns nearest the
Cumberland have been the first to collapse, and so partial-
ly explain the heavy dissection of the region. The inter-
fluves are narrow and near the Cumberland are distinctly
sharp. They widen, somewhat, back from the river but
never attain great width. In contrast to the more level
area to the east and south, this strongly eroded section
has surface drainage. There are a few subterranean
streams, but they are not important. The soils of this
section are of poor quality. The limestone, from which
the red, medium fertile soils of the previous section were

5 MacLachan, op. cit., p. 298.
developed, is confined to the higher interfluves. Thus the areal extent of this type of soil is small. The remainder of the soil is brown and reddish-brown in color, indicating the presence of sand and therefore a soil of low fertility. The dominating features of the section are the v-shaped ravines, the narrow interfluves and surface drainage.

The third great division of the county is the immediate valley of the Cumberland, four to five hundred feet below the Rim or Upland. Downstream from Burnside the river, entrenched in a broad valley, tends to meander, developing scroll-shaped bottoms which are about forty feet above the normal river level. Two divisions of the bottoms or flats can be distinguished: the first bottom, or that part of the flats nearest the river, and which in flood season is covered with water; and the second bottom between the first bottom and the slope leading to the upland, and flooded by the river only during exceptionally high water stages. On the stream side of the second bottom there is usually found a small creek paralleling the main stream and the upland slope. This small creek outlines the second bottom until forced to join the creek which crosses the flat or the main river, because the small creek is pinched out by the meander of the Cumberland. These bottoms are nearly level, sloping very
gently away from the main river. The soil of the first bottom is the more fertile. It is dark brown or black in color, and its fertility is replenished every year by the flooding Cumberland; while the soil of the second flat is light tan in color and locally termed 'crayfish'. The small creek between the first and second bottom provided the section with drainage, there being numerous rills flowing across the first bottom which slopes gradually from the main stream to the small creek. On the landward side of the second bottom the slope to the upland is first gentle, then becomes steeper, and sometimes ends in a cliff face.

In this county, then, there are three major divisions, with certain subdivisions, which, if desired, can be further subdivided. The Cumberland Plateau rising to an elevation of 1200 to 1500 feet, with its ridges and isolated outliers lying in front of the main part of the Plateau, is in the eastern and southeastern part of the county. West of the plateau is the Highland Rim Province of the Interior Low Plateaux, which can be subdivided in this county into the level area, with subterranean

6 A type study of this area is to be found in C.V.V. Crittenden, "End Flat as a Type Area of the River Flats on the Cumberland," Papers of the Michigan Academy, X, pp. 149-159.
drainage east and southeast of Mill Springs; and the
heavily eroded subdivision north and west of Mill Springs
with surface drainage. Across the northern section of
the county is the broad, deep valley of the Cumberland
River, with its scroll-like flats consisting of a first
bottom, flooded annually by the river, and the second
bottom, rarely flooded by the river.

Drainage of the entire area is provided by the
Cumberland River and its tributaries. The main river
flows across the northern part of the county, and directly
drains part of the plateau section and all of the upland.
The remainder of the plateau section is drained by the
Big and Little South Forks, which cross the plateau at
approximately the eastern boundary of the county.

Westward flowing streams from the plateau are in deep
valleys, and usually enter upon the upland through one of
the intruding valleys between outlier ridges. Flowing
along the valley floor for a short or long distance, the
stream may enter a large sink hole and become a subter-
anean stream until it nearly reaches the high Cumberland
valley wall or the heavily eroded section. The stream
then comes to the surface and enters the Cumberland,
rushing and tumbling over rocks and obstructions in its
path. If the stream rises to the surface near the
Cumberland but in the level area, its valley across the
upland is shallow and broad until the river cliffs are reached; here the valley becomes steep-sided and filled with debris. The creeks near Monticello are tributary to Beaver and Otter Creeks which are in narrow, deep valleys; and the tributaries flow in narrow valleys not very deep, but deepening as the major creeks are neared. The streams on the east section of the Plateau flowing to the Big and Little South Forks are in narrow, deep valleys, with cliff-like walls for the most part. Only the Big South Fork has excavated a valley of any size, and this is confined to the area near Burnside. The flats are drained by the creeks flowing across them from the upland, and the creeks which outline the second bottom.

Water for man and beast is obtained from the creeks and springs. There are a large number of springs located where the depressions have cut the water-table or water-bearing strata. The usual locations of springs are three in number: (1) at the base of the plateau, (2) in sink holes, (3) on the flats where the more gentle slope meets the steep slope from the upland. Springs, however, may be found in unusual places. North of the Cumberland water of a spring was found bubbling from the stream bed of a creek, probably because at this point the creek had cut across a subterranean stream and the pressure of the underground stream was forcing the water upward.
The county is in the mixed forest region, but there was the unusual condition of a grassland covering much of the upland. The plateau was originally well forested, the leading species being the oaks, maples, pine, poplar, chestnut, ash, hemlock, walnut, and tulip. Where the soil was thin or sterile, stands of cedar, the cedar glade, were and are existent. The same types of trees were found on the slopes of the plateau and on the slopes of the upland leading down to the Cumberland. The bottoms were probably a grassland or canebrake with scattered trees. Cane, poplar, and willow grew along the Cumberland, while along the small creeks which outline the second bottom cane was found. The upland was partially forest covered, the remainder being called the "Barrens". The trees of the forested upland were the same as those of the plateau with the addition of cherry and hickory.


9 Bowman, op. cit., p. 698.
The "Barrens" seem to have been located principally south of the Cumberland in this section,¹⁰ and are the beginning of the famous Kentucky Barrens between the Barren and Green Rivers of south central Kentucky. The tendency of the settler was to shun the grassland for a time as he was yet not too well acquainted with this type of area, and because he had difficulty in breaking the sod cover.

This barren may have received its name because of one of two phenomena: first, from its lack of a large and extended tree growth with the accompanying extension of grassland due, perhaps, to the cavernous character of the area;¹¹ and second, because of the stony nature of the soil. Barrens of various kinds were already familiar to the settlers of the Valley of Virginia. There were, for example, the pine tree barrens described by Burnaby in 1758.¹² There was also a section of the Valley from the

¹⁰ Wayne County Deed Book, E, p. 268, description of the land as follows: "... on the South Side of the Cumberland in the Earrings (sic) and about 1-1/2 miles from the said River, ..." Sept., 1830; Smith, History of Kentucky, p. 9.

¹¹ Procter, "The Mammoth Cave of Kentucky," Century Magazine, L.V, n.s. XXXIII, pp. 643-658. On p. 645 the author points out the coincidence of the outlines of cavernous members of the Subcarboniferous limestones and of the original Kentucky "Barrens," but states the "Barrens" were caused by the annual burning of the barren grass which killed tree seedlings.

¹² Burnaby's Travels in America, edited by Wilson, p. 37.
Shenandoah to Little North Mountain now (1853?) covered by trees but in the memory of its oldest inhabitants a vast prairie. Surveyors in 1780 surveying the North Carolina-Virginia boundary across the Green and Red Rivers, traversed a section which they called the Barrens because there was little or no timber. Travelers at a later date crossing the Kentucky Barrens described them as "... a beautiful prairie, where the grass was from two to three feet high, or as an area ... covered over with small canoe wood, as hazel and briars, also with grasses and an immense variety of deciduous plants," with the name Barren being derived from the "... lands so dominated not producing such a large growth of vegetable matter as the forests, rather than from sterility." Other writers inform us the name 'barren' arises, in part, from the numerous cherty masses which are found in the soil as the result of the weathering of the limestone, and

13 Kercheval, History of the Valley of Virginia, 3rd edition, p. 46, and note. The 1st edition of this work appears to have been issued in 1833 as the work was entered in that year in the clerk's office of the Western District of Virginia under Act of Congress.

14 Henion, Virginia Statutes at Large, IX, p. 568 and note.

15 Thwaites, Early Western Travels, III, p. 218. F. A. Michaux's 'Travels of 1802'.

16 Ibid., IX, pp. 290-291. Flint's 'Letters from America, 1918-20'.

14
in part, from the absence of timber over large tracts of land.\textsuperscript{17} Local tradition tends to uphold the former idea, for the farmers today call stony land 'barrenland' which may be 'barrenland' with phonetical changes.\textsuperscript{18}

In our county both types of barrens, the treeless area and the stony area, existed. The treeless section usually became known as a meadow; for example, Meadow Creek Valley, where the soil is black in color, and when uncultivated, today sustains a heavy growth of grass. Most of the broad sinks may be classified in this group. Part of the upland was a vast canebrake instead of a grass prairie. We are informed by inhabitants that about one mile from Mill Springs toward Monticello a vast canebrake began and continued to the river cliffs. While it is difficult to determine the exact extent of this canebrake along the river cliffs, it is known to have extended as far eastward as Wartburg.\textsuperscript{19} The stone barren was not continuous, but located here and there, usually near the base of a great outlier of the plateau; its location today marked by stone fences of chert surrounding the fields.

\textsuperscript{17} Safford, op. cit., p. 388.

\textsuperscript{18} 'Barrenland' to 'barrinland' to 'barnland'.

\textsuperscript{19} Kentucky Geological Survey, 2nd Series, Ill. Map at rear of volume entitled, "Reconnaissance of a Baseline for the Eastern Coal Field and Geological Section Along Same."
Although these barrens covered much of the upland, the entire section was not denuded of trees. The mouth of Elk Spring Valley, east of Monticello, contained a heavy growth of trees. Also the farms about one mile from Mill Springs, on the road toward Monticello, were located in timber, and this condition continued into the gap between Mill Springs and Steubenville.

These mixed vegetation conditions were developed under a climate similar to that of the southeastern part of the United States. Such climatic conditions are generally found on the east coasts of continents between 25° and 40° of latitude. The climate is humid, there being sufficient moisture at all times throughout the year. The summers are hot, while the winters are mild. Snow seldom falls during the mild winter, but if snow does fall, it remains a short time only. In unusual years there may be dry summers or cold winters when snow remains on the ground for some time. The conditions of this area

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20 Wayne-County Land Book, E, p. 125. Articles of Agreement by which three partners are to have all the wood necessary for their businesses from a 200 acre tract of land at the mouth of Elk Spring Valley.
are very similar to the climatic conditions of Piedmont Virginia. 21

Before the study of the transplanting and development of the culture of the European on this setting, let us consider the changes which have been made by prehistoric man and the Indian. While the Indian confined his dwellings to the fringe of Kentucky and shunned the interior when frontiersmen in large numbers first ventured into the state, there is evidence that Kentucky had been occupied by prehistoric peoples, and groups of these peoples had dwelt in Wayne County. Two groups of prehistoric people, the Mound-Builders and the Cave and Rockhouse dwellers, are prominent; but only the latter have left remains in the county. Their occupancy has been studied from two types of remains, the mounds, either burial, ceremonial, or kitchen midden, and the caves and rockhouses, by excavating the present dirt floors to the original rock floor, and examining the talus heaps at the doors of these caves and rockhouses which were occupied.

21 Climate has been scientifically studied and classified by the German School of Geography in W. Koppen, Die Klima der Erde (1923 edition), map used as a frontispiece and pp. 120-121, 155; by the American School of Geography in C. W. Thornthwaite, "The Climates of North America according to a New Classification," Geographical Review, XXI, pp. 635-656 and map facing p. 654. See also H. E. Kendall, "The Highland Rim in the Vicinity of Mill Springs, Kentucky," op. cit., p. 226 and note 2.
While there is no evidence which will lead us to declare that the county was occupied by the Mound-Builders or their kinfolk, the River People, certain elements of their culture could have been developed in Wayne County. The Mound-Builders are not a distinctive race but a group of peoples having the peculiarity of building mounds, which are usually located in relatively level areas and never in swamps or mountains, and always in close proximity to water and water courses which were their main arteries of travel. It is also pointed out that their mounds are always found in areas of good soil. The northern comparatively level section of Wayne County would fit part of this description. The district is fairly level, is near a good water course and water supply, and has soil of moderate fertility. However, there is one important consideration which makes this district unsuited for occupancy by these people. War played an important part in their lives and as a result they became proficient in the construction of fortification mounds which gave them an extensive view of the surrounding country.


24 Jillson, *The Big Sandy Valley*, p. 27.

There is no place in Wayne County from which an exceptional view may be obtained. There is always something to obstruct the view. Occupation of this region by the River People, closely akin to the Mound-Builders, is more likely. This name has been applied to a group of Mound-Builders who have left mounds containing more shells and fish remains than the usual Mound-Builder. In Kentucky much work has been done along the Green River where the River People had a large population. While in the mounds left by both of these people, the Mound-Builders and the River People, the same wild animal bones are found, in the mounds of the River People an unusual number of mussel shells and fishing artifacts are found in addition. This leads to the supposition that the River People were fishermen as well as hunters and supplemented their agriculture by hunting and fishing.26 These people may have had a small settlement in Wayne County. On the flats there are a number of mounds which are above flood waters and may be mounds of the River People. No excavations have been carried on at this time and thus there is no substantial evidence for these assertions.

ith the Cave Dwellers one can be more positive, for excavation of certain Wayne County caves proves their occupation by a very ancient group of people. The particular type of development found here has been called the Pre-Cherokee culture. These new investigations have established the existence of this culture, originally thought to have been confined to the area between Nashville and Chattanooga, as far north as Wayne County, Kentucky.\textsuperscript{27} The chief elements of this Indian civilization are: a fair quality of pottery, the use of hoes and agricultural implements of limestone, pipes of burnt clay, engraved shell gorgets of pleasing design, skin, bark, and grass matting, woven bags and moccasins.\textsuperscript{28} The excavation of Minoa Cave brought to light many kinds of animal and fish bones, with deer and buffalo bones the most common. From these remains one would state that the Cave Dwellers were chiefly hunters, but carried on agriculture, probably corn, bean, and tobacco culture, in the more favored areas, and elementary manufacturing such as weaving and pottery making.

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., pp. 67-68.

\textsuperscript{28} Shelton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 420.
What changes did these very ancient peoples make in the natural setting? Since these people were essentially huntsmen, hunting for a living and not seeking animals for their hides or furs, they would make few changes in the natural setting. Some writers have pointed out that the prairie in this section and between the Green and Harrods Rivers is unnatural, and was originally caused by the annual burning of these sections by the aborigines to improve the hunting. This change, compared to the changes the European made, is small. What the white settler found, then, was approximately what the prehistoric man left.

The first traders in Kentucky became acquainted with the Shawnee tribes in the Elkhorn region, but by the time of the movement of the settlers into the State, the Indians had moved to the periphery of the State. Particularly in Wayne County it seems safe to say that after the Cave Dwellers there were no permanent inhabitants until the frontiersman came in 1770.
CHAPTER II
EARLY EXPLORER-HUNTERS AND FIRST COLONIES

To trace the sequent occupancy of a political unit or a region from the earliest times to the present, it is necessary to understand first, the physical setting, and second, the uses and changes brought about by primitive peoples. With the physical setting and the changes made by ancient inhabitants in mind, a study of the earliest contacts of Europeans with the natives and the manner in which the Caucasian procures a living in the region and his methods in attacking the many social and economic problems of his complex civilization is opened. Leaving the physical setting and the brief and merger statement of a possible ancient occupancy, it is feasible to discuss the first contacts of explorers and hunters and the earliest settlements in the state. From this endeavor an understanding of the impulses in the movement toward the state may arise.

Until the explorations of Dr. Thomas Walker and Christopher Mast in the middle of the Eighteenth Century, the early discoverers and explorers are obscure. A
certain English Colonel Wood⁠¹ is believed to have made
discoveries in Kentucky as early as 1654. Other explorers
whose work is as vague as his followed Colonel Wood.
Thomas Ratts and Robert Fallam are reputed to have dis-
covered the middle waters of the Kanawha River in 1671.²
These men were followed by Gabriel Arthur, an illiterate,
but clever, Virginian, who accompanied James Needham on a
trading expedition to the Cherokee towns in 1673.³ Later
Needham was killed, but Arthur was retained by the Indians.
in 1674 it is believed that Arthur, while a member of a
Cherokee war party against the Shawnee, visited the Ohio
River at the mouth of the Scioto.⁴ To travel northward

¹ Z. C. Smith, History of Kentucky, p. 3. Hereafter
this work will be cited as Smith, Kentucky. Who Colonel
Wood was is difficult to tell. The work of a Capt.
Athenham Wood is discussed in Alvord and Bidgood, First
Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny regions by the
54-55.

² Jilson, The Big Sandy Valley, p. 56; Alvord and
Bidgood, op. cit., pp. 70-75; and the Ratts and Fallam
Journal, pp. 103-203.

³ Ibid., p. 79.

⁴ Jilson, Big Sandy Valley, pp. 39-40; Alvord and
Bidgood, op. cit., p. 87. They make the mouth of the
Kanawha the place where Arthur and the Cherokee met the
211-226.
the Cherokees, no doubt, used the Warrior's Path, which ran almost due north from Cumberland Gap to the Ohio River. Thus Arthur would have traversed the mountainous section of eastern Kentucky. His Journal is not too enlightening, for it informs us, "They (Cherokees and Arthur) . . . travelled ten days due north and then arrived at ye monyton towne situated upon a very great river. . . . This river runes northwest and out of the westly side of it goeth another very great river about a days journey lower . . .". From this description the river may be either the Big Sandy or the Kanawha, and the westerly flowing river may be the Ohio. Nothing of importance immediately followed these explorations, but they reveal the English trader as early as the last quarter of the Seventeenth Century already pushing slowly westward, and that traders had inspected the poor lands of eastern Kentucky. Prior to these early Englishmen, French traders probably had been along the Ohio River, and Spanish traders may have been in Tennessee and southeastern Kentucky, for the Cherokees were familiar with the white race; but unfortunately no known accounts remain of these.

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5 Ibid., p. 221.

possible earlier explorers of Kentucky. For the succeeding eighty years, there is no record of exploration in Kentucky. There must have been certain adventurous persons, yet unknown, who pushed over the mountain barrier at the same time that the first Valley of Virginia settlements, the outgrowth of the Pennsylvania colonies around York, Lancaster, and Chambersburg, were founded.

Our next and our first exact account of Kentucky exploration is the investigation of Dr. Thomas Walker for the Loyal Land Company of London in 1749-50. The Loyal Land Company was organized under a royal charter in 1748, and authorized to locate and survey 300,000 acres north of 36° 30', or the southern boundary of Kentucky. Dr. Walker was selected for the task of locating this land for an agricultural colony. He left the Virginia settlements for Kentucky in late 1749 accompanied by Ambrose Powell,

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8 Cotterill, *History of Pioneer Kentucky*, p. 42. Hereafter cited as *Pioneer Kentucky*. Bogart, *Life of Boone*, p. 46; Ramsay, *Annals of Tennessee*, p. 65; Smith, *Kentucky*, p. 3; Shaler, *Kentucky*, pp. 59-61; Johnston, op. cit., p. The Journal gives Dec. 15, 1749, as the date of employment, and March 6, 1749-50, as the date of departure. At this time the new year began on March 23; so the year of departure was still 1749. The change to January 1 as the beginning of the new year was made January 1, 1752.
William Tomlinson, Colby Chew, John Hurhs, and other hunters. The company proceeded down the Holston Valley and, turning west, crossed the Clinch and Powell Rivers and Clinch Mountain and discovered a gap, the most favorable approach to Kentucky for miles north or south, which they named after the Duke of Cumberland.

Following a rapid survey of the Middlesboro basin, the party turned northeast crossing the Cumberland, Kentucky, and Licking Rivers, and on the return journey to Virginia ascended the Big Sandy Valley and passed through the gaps at its headwaters to the valleys of the New and Greenbrier, and finally to the Valley of Virginia.

Dr. Walker's route traversed the rough and mountainous part of the state. After passing through the Gap and crossing the Middlesboro basin, he proceeded northwest toward present day Barbourville. Near Barbourville part of the group planted corn and peach stones and built a

9 Johnston, op. cit., p. 2.

10 Tablet erected in Cumberland Gap at the base of the Pinnacle, Smith, Kentucky, p. 3. The gap was first named Cave Gap by Walker, Johnston, op. cit., p. 48.

11 Jillson, Big Sandy Valley, pp. 41-42; Bogart, op. cit., p. 46; Johnston, op. cit., map facing p. 33 and pp. 72-74; Rives, Journal of an Exploration in the Spring of the Year 1750 by Dr. Thomas Walker, pp. 65-68.
cabin, shown on many maps as 'Walker's Settlement, 1750,' probably to confirm the Land Company's claims to this western territory. The remainder of the party, exploring farther westward for three days, returned to the small cabin and the reunited group turned northeastward. 12

This change of direction took the company parallel to the Allegheny Front or the great fault which marks the Cumberland Plateau from the Great Valley, and also parallel to the lower lands to the west known today as the Highland Rim. Thus the possible agricultural lands Dr. Walker and his party would discover were confined to the thicketed and sterile plateau ridge tops and the small relatively fertile creek bottoms. His Journal reflects these conditions, although he did discover the mineral best known here, coal. On April 13, the explorers were in the

Niclasboro basin, a basin eroded out of the plateau by Yellow Creek, having much flat fertile land. Dr. Walker records in his Journal that on coming over Cumberland Gap they discovered a spring which gradually became a creek, later receiving many tributaries, and providing 'a great deal of flat land.' In the hills 'a very good coal' was

seen. 13 By May 9 the party was in the vicinity of Lawlesses River, one of the eastern branches of the Rockcastle, where the country was well covered with laurel and ivy and the land very rocky. 14 The party returned to Virginia by July 13, 1750, without emerging from the mountainous part of the State. The amount of good level land discovered was small but game was abundant. Dr. Walker informs us the party could have killed three times as much game if they had desired, although during the month ending June 21, while the party was in the coal lands, they had seen only four deer. 15 His report must have discouraged the company for no persons are known to have been settled in Kentucky. Dr. Walker, according to one author only, made other trips to Kentucky; one in 1754 with James McRide and another in 1758, on which trip he discovered Hick's (Hix) River. 16

The second important English explorer in this region was Christopher Gist engaged by the Ohio Company in 1750-51 to survey 500,000 acres along the Ohio River. He entered

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13 Johnstone, ibid., pp. 47-50.
14 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
15 Ibid., pp. 71, 75.
16 Smith, Kentucky, p. 3. Walker's latest biographer, Archibald Henderson, in his "Walker and the Loyal Land Company" does not mention these journeys.
the country from the Forks of the Ohio arriving there from near Cumberland, Maryland. Almost immediately large areas of good agricultural land were found, his Journal being very enthusiastic about the Ohio Valley lands from the Scioto to the Great Miami River. 17 Proceeding down the stream toward the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), he decided to investigate Big Bone Lick, and then continue to the Falls. This side trip into the State caused the party to cross the extreme eastern section of the Blue Grass and to note its fertility. He tells us that from a mountain (hills) near Big Bone Lick he saw a fine, level, rich country. 18 Later, because of illness, Cist decided to return home and not go to the Falls. His return was made by way of the branches of the Kentucky River and the rough mountain area of eastern Kentucky. After sending his report to the organizers of the Company, Cist returned to his home in the Upper Yadkin Valley where Daniel Boone was one of his neighbors. 19

Previous to 1750 traders had been active along the Ohio River, but after 1750 their increased activity took


18 Ibid., pp. 152-153.

19 Ibid., p. 36; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 44.
them into Kentucky. George Croghan and John Finley were traders of special importance. Croghan was in the vicinity of Kentucky in 1750-51, trading at the Shawnee towns at the mouth of the Scioto. 20 He met and accompanied Cist when Cist made his trip into Ohio to meet the Indians. 21 Croghan's chief competitor was John Finley who was born in Ireland in 1722, and who emigrated to Pennsylvania with his parents and settled near Lancaster, Pa. Later he moved to Carlisle, Pa., and while living there received in 1743 a Pennsylvania Indian trading license for the years 1744 to 1747. 22 What Finley did between 1747 and 1752, when he next appears in the literature of the west, is unknown. Probably he was trading in western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley. In 1752 it is rumored that in company with Thomas Kenton, he was trading on the Ohio. 23 It is certain that he was in Kentucky in 1752-53; for on January 26, 1753, while camped at a place called

20 Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I, p. 276.

21 Johnston, op. cit., p. 118.


23 Kenton, Simon Kenton, p. 10; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 46.
Eskippakithiki, identified as a post on Lublegrud Creek, a tributary of the Red River in the central part of the State, six traders of Finlay's group were attacked and captured by a party of French Mohawks and taken to Montreal, where they were later released.\textsuperscript{24} Alexander HaGinty (McGinty?), one of the captured traders, in his deposition gives the location of their post as "... a place about Twenty-Five Miles from the Blue-Lick Town, and on the South Bank of the Cantucky [sic] River, which empties itself into the Alleghany (Ohio) River about Two Hundred Miles below the Lower Shawanestown, (mouth of the Scioto)..."\textsuperscript{25} A James McBride is said to have been in Kentucky in 1754. John Filson in his study of Kentucky claims McBride was the first white man to see the State, having landed at the mouth of the Kentucky River from a trip down the Ohio and reconnoitered the country from this camp. He returned to the settlements with the report of having discovered "... the best


\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Ibid.}, V, p. 663. Deposition of Alex. McGinty, Oct. 12, 1753.
tract of land in North America and probably in the world." Later researches, as quoted above, prove Filson in error, but McBride, in all likelihood, made this trip and related his story of a rich western country.

Hunters and other traders also aided in the dissemination of information concerning a rich western country. It is reported that in 1763 a group, known as Allen's company, crossed Cumberland Gap and hunted for a whole season in the vicinity of the Cumberland and Rockcastle Rivers and as far west as the Crab Orchard. Three years later, Isaac Lindsay and four others of South Carolina went west to hunt. They crossed the mountains and the Cumberland River at the 'usual place' and hunted along the Rockcastle River. Later they proceeded down the Cumberland to Stone's River (Tennessee) where they met Michael Stoner and a hunter by the name of Harrod, very likely James Harrod. Winsor informs us, without stating the time, that James Harrod and Michael Stover.


28 Ibid., p. 95.
had adventured into the Nashville region, while Hulbert says James Harrod and Stoner were hunting in Kentucky, but gives no date. Both authors may be referring to the 1766 expedition; for in 1774 when we next hear of James Harrod, he is making an improvement at Harrodsburg, and Stoner is one of the messengers sent west to warn surveyors of possible Indian troubles. In 1766, an explorer by the name of James Smith was in Kentucky, exactly where is uncertain. Possibly he was in the vicinity of the Licking River; for a James Smith claims, in a petition to the Virginia House of Burgesses, that he was in Kentucky in 1767 and made an improvement on the Licking River in 1773. Again in 1766 Croghan made a trip down the Ohio to investigate Big Bone Lick in

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29 Minor, The Westward Movement, p. 44; Hulbert, Historic Highways, VI, p. 79; Forrester, op. cit., p. 104; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, p. 106.

30 Hulbert, op. cit., VI, p. 79; Robertson, Petitions of Early Inhabitants of Kentucky, pp. 154-155, petition no. 96. This petition was rejected. Darlington, An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith during His Captivity with Indians in years 1755 to 1758, pp. 113-114. The relation tells us that in 1766 in company with Joshua Horton, Uriah Stone, William Baker, and another James Smith, he explored the Kentucky area south of the Kentucky River and to the site of Nashville. The second James Smith may be the James Smith who was later to make the improvement on the Licking River. The first James Smith in his narrative gives no indication that he was in Kentucky after 1766 until the year 1786 when he settled in Bourbon County.
Kentucky, whence he returned with specimens, some of which were forwarded to Benjamin Franklin in London. Colonel Harry Gordon in the same year made a trip down the Ohio to investigate Big Bone Lick. He saw the eastern part of the Blue Grass which he describes as "being pasturage of the best kind with mixed grass and herbage and . . . well watered . . . " It is clear that from 1750 to 1769 when Boone made his first trip to Kentucky, which is romantically ascribed as the beginning of the exploration of the State, it had been visited by many hunters and traders who might have contributed to the stories of rich lands to the west. Both of the great avenues of approach to Kentucky, the Ohio River and Cumberland Gap, were regularly traveled. It was only necessary for some pioneer to start the people of the Valley region on their trek to these rich lands, and Daniel Boone became that pioneer.

The Boone family is rather typical of families in the early history of the Great Valley. Daniel's father, 

31 Volwiler, op. cit., p. 136; The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (Grylls edition), V, pp. 35, 32; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, pp. 49-50; Thwaite, Early Western Travels, I, p. 135.

32 Moreness, Travels in the American Colonies, p. 466; Hanna, op. cit., II, p. 42.
Squire Boone, settled near North Wales, Pa., about 1720, but soon tiring of the section moved southwest to Oley Township, Berks County, Pa., where his son Daniel was born on November 2, 1734. In 1750 the family moved to North Carolina, traveling almost the length of the Great Valley before turning eastward to settle in the Upper Pasch Valley near Christopher Gist, who explored the Ohio-Kentucky country a year later. In 1755 Boone, as a member of Braddock's Army assigned to the rear as wagoner and mechanic because of his ability as blacksmith, met John Finlay who had been in Kentucky in 1753. Very likely Finlay told the young Boone of the rich hunting south of the Ohio, and Boone became filled with the desire to go there and hunt, for as a youth he had shown ability as a hunter.

For the period of the French and Indian War and a few years after, little or nothing is heard of these two.

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33 Bruce, Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road, pp. 4-6; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, pp. 15-16; McClung, Sketches of Early Western Adventure, pp. 48-49; says Boone was born in Virginia, but I accept the evidence of Bruce and Thwaites.


35 Bruce, op. cit., p. 29; Kenton, op. cit., p. 10; Mann, op. cit., II, p. 214; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, pp. 21-23.
mon; then in 1767 both reappear in the literature. In that year Finlay returned to Kentucky and explored further along the Kentucky River. The trip appears to have been made alone as a hunter, but undoubtedly Finlay had the idea of returning to his old post at Lulbee and Creek and to resume trading. The same year, 1767, Daniel Boone and his brother, Squire, made an abortive attempt to reach Kentucky. Leaving the Clinch-Holston River settlements, they planned to reach the rich Kentucky lands and the Ohio Valley via the Big Sandy Valley. Their project failed when they became snowbound and were forced to spend the winter of 1767-68 in the upper Big Sandy Valley. They were influenced, perhaps, by the tales of Cist and Finlay and apparently planned to gain the fine western hunting grounds by Cist's return route to Virginia.

The Boones returned to the Yadkin Valley in the spring of 1768, and unexpectedly a visitor arrived in the fall of 1768 who would permit Daniel to accomplish what he had planned for 1767. During the winter of 1768-69,

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36 Inlay, op. cit., pp. 276-277; Ramsey, op. cit., p. 70; Marshall, History of Kentucky, I, p. 2; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, pp. 49-50; Smith, Kentucky, p. 4; McClung, op. cit., p. 49; Bogart, op. cit., p. 48; Halbert, Historic Highways, VI, p. 79.

37 Bruce, op. cit., p. 48; Jillson, Big Sandy Valley, p. 53; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, pp. 69-70.
John Finlay visited Boone and agreed to guide him to the
lands Finlay had explored in 1753 and 1767.\textsuperscript{38} The winter
was spent in gaining recruits for the adventure, but on
May 1, 1769, only four others, John Stuart, Joseph Holden,
James Mooney, and William Cool or Cooley,\textsuperscript{39} besides Boone
and Finlay departed from North Carolina. Late in 1769
squire Boone left the Yadkin settlements to convey
supplies to his brother. He found only Daniel and Stuart
for Finlay, and the others had returned to the settlements.
As it was necessary to carry the furs and skins to market
to pay for and to purchase additional supplies, Squire and
his companion turned eastward, leaving Daniel and Stuart.
Early in 1770 Stuart was killed by Indians. This misfor-
tune left Daniel alone, and while alone he discovered the
Blue Grass region.\textsuperscript{40} Squire returned in July, 1770, met
Daniel, and together they continued to hunt in the rich
fur country. They turned toward the southwest to hunt
between the Cumberland and Green Rivers, and perhaps
entered Wayne County.\textsuperscript{41} One writer states they spent some
weeks with Virginia hunters who are known to have been in

\textsuperscript{38} Hanna, op. cit., II, p. 214; Bruce, op. cit., p.
42; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, p. 71.

\textsuperscript{39} Bruce, op. cit., p. 52; Dougart, op. cit., p. 49;
Thwaites, Daniel Boone, p. 72.

\textsuperscript{40} Hulbert, Historic Highways, VI, p. 79; Thwaites,
Daniel Boone, pp. 81-84.

\textsuperscript{41} Smith, Kentucky, p. 7; Bruce, op. cit., p. 66.
There is, in addition, a story in Wayne County that a tree
in Meadow Creek Valley, near the big spring, had Boone’s
name cut into it.
this district. In March, 1771, the brothers returned home
and spread the tale of the rich and fertile land they had
visited.

While Boone and his friends were exploring central
Kentucky, other persons looked into the southern part of
the State. These hunter-explorers were known as "Long-
hunters." In 1769, a group from the New, Clinch, and
Holston River country, pushed through Cumberland Gap,
followed the Cumberland River, and stopped at what
later known as "Price's Meadow" (Meadow Creek Valley) in
Wayne County, about six miles from Monticello. Their
rendezvous, located near a spring, was to provide solely a
collecting place for supplies and furs, while the party
divided itself into hunting groups of two or three. The
names of the leaders are extremely hard to determine, for
writers disagree. One would feel that there were two
parties. The first, led by James Rains, Kasper Mansco or
Mansker, Abraham Bledsoe, and Joseph Drake, came to
Wayne County in 1769, and pushed down the Cumberland toward
Nashville about the time the second party led by James

42 Verhoeven, The Kentucky Mountains, pp. 62-63 and
note c; Smith, Kentucky, p. 7; Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 65-
97; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky; Alteheler, "The Long
Hunters and James Knox, Their Leader," Historical
Quarterly-Press Club, V, p. 171.
Knox appeared in 1771. Later these parties, whether one or two, returned to their homes after a long absence; therefore their name, "Long-Hunters," and repeated stories of rich land in the southern part of Kentucky. Other parties explored the southern section of the State, especially along the Barren River, when the Long-Hunters were in Wayne County.

While these investigations continued in southeastern and central Kentucky, the exploration of northeastern Kentucky was being carried on by Simon Kenton or Butler, as he wished to be known at this time. In 1771, Kenton, fleeing from Virginia believing he had committed a murder, finally arrived at Pitt, where he met John Strader and George Yeager, both of whom claimed to have visited Kentucky. They asked Kenton to join them in an attempt to rediscover and hunt in that district. The three pioneers floated down the Ohio seeking the cane lands of Yeager's story. After having floated almost to the mouth of the Kentucky River without finding the lands they sought, the discouraged hunters turned upstream and, winter coming on,

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43 Thwaites and Kelley, Documentary History of Lord Dunmore's War, p. 88, note 88. This work hereafter will be cited as Lord Dunmore's War. Marshall, op. cit., I, p. 9; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, pp. 91-95; Bogart, op. cit., p. 95; Smith, Kentucky, p. 5; Alshuler, "The Long Hunters and James Knox, Their Leader," op. cit., pp. 160-161.
pushed up the Great Kanawha to the mouth of the Elk River (site of Charleston, W. Va.). During the winters of 1771-72 and 1772-73, the three dropped down the Ohio to the Great Kanawha which they ascended to the Elk River, hunting and trading as they proceeded. They were undisturbed until March 1773, when Indians attacked them, killing Yeager. This tragedy caused the abandonment of their trading enterprise. Through the remainder of 1773 Kenton joined many surveying parties going to Kentucky, and soon became acquainted with the northeastern part of the State. In 1774, during Lord Dunmore's War, Kenton became a scout for Lord Dunmore's column, moving from Ft. Pitt to unite with Levy's Greenbrier column at Point Pleasant. After his discharge from army service at Ft. Pitt in 1775, Kenton, taking young Thomas Williams as partner, again attempted to find the cane lands of Yeager's stories. This time he was successful, discovering the rich lands at the mouth of Limestone Creek. Later Kenton was to guide other surveying parties to this section of the state and personally establish the settlements of Limestone and Washington.44

Parallel to this increase in the exploration of the state is the desire to settle it. The two companies already mentioned, The Loyal and the Ohio Companies, were the first in the field, but they did little in the way of settlement because of French opposition. To win recruits for the Virginia regiments for service in the French and Indian War, Governor Dinwiddie proclaimed, on February 19, 1754, a land bounty over and above regular colonial pay, the bounty lands to be located in the west near Ft. Pitt. There were to be set aside for the recruits 200,000 acres, 100,000 acres continuous to the newly planned Ft. Pitt, and the remainder on or near the Ohio. Although the bounty land was located in west Pennsylvania, east Ohio, and west West Virginia, it marks a step in the attempt to establish a permanent English colony on the western waters.

With the expulsion of the French from North America in 1763, plans for the development of the west could go forward unhindered. King George III on October 7, 1763, proclaimed the right of each officer and soldier, residing in America, and who should present himself to the governor of his province, to a land bounty varying in size according to his station in the late war. The small acreage

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45 Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, VII, pp. 661-662; Calendar-Preston—Virginia Papers; p. 148; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 229.
allotted was subject only to the laws of the particular colony in which the land was located. To execute the idea of an orderly advance of settlement onto the newly acquired western territories through purchase of those lands by royal agents as expressed in the Proclamation of 1763, treaties were negotiated with the Indians. The Treaty of Hard Labor (October 14, 1768) with the Cherokees, who claimed the land north and east of the Cherokee (Tennessee) River, transferred to the English, by purchase, all Cherokee claims north and east of a line from the mouth of the Kanawha River to Cumberland Mountain and to the provisional line of the Proclamation. By the Treaty of Ft. Stanwix (1768) with the Iroquois, the line of Hard Labor was extended northward. By this Treaty, the

46 American Archives, 4th Series, I, pp. 172-175, particularly p. 175. This same proclamation stated the new British General land policy of an orderly advance of the frontier. P. 173, "... we do hereby command and empower our Governors of our said three new Colonies (Quebec, East and West Florida), and all other our Governors of our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant, without fee or reward to such reduced officers as have served in North America during the late war, and to such private soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following quantities of land, subject, at the expiration of ten years to the same quit-rents as other lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz:—(Then follows the bounty rates).
Iroquois ceded their claim to the lands east of a line from the mouth of the Tennessee, up the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers to Kittanning, and east to the west branch of the Susquehanna River. Only the lands north and east of the Kanawha River were, by these two treaties, entirely freed of Indian claims; for the Cherokees retained their rights to the territory south of the Kanawha and west of the general Proclamation Line, although this right was, according to the Iroquois spokesman, extremely shadowy, for they claimed all lands as far south as the Cherokee River by conquest. The line of Hard Labor was rearranged and clarified in 1770 by the Treaty of Locohar. The new line was run from the mouth of the Kanawha to a point six miles above Big Island on the Holston, and then to the Virginia Colonial line and to the Proclamation Line. When this new line was surveyed by Colonel John Donelson, a Cherokee delegation suggested following a natural boundary, and Donelson obliged, surveying west from the Holston to the headwaters of the Louisa River. Unfortunately the location of the mouth of the Louisa River were unknown. Officers and surveyors, John Floyd and Thomas Hanson, of Orange County, Virginia, declared the Kentucky River to be the Louisa River, and the Cherokees tacitly acquiesced.
Upon this claim, Virginia surveyors, from 1770 to 1774, with their bounty warrants adventured onto the vacant lands of Kentucky to locate the bounties, either singly or in groups.

Patrick Henry was also extremely interested in Kentucky lands. In a letter to William Fleming of Augusta County dated June 10, 1767, Henry suggested that Fleming go as far west as the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and inspect the country with a view to planting a settlement there. Again, in 1774, Henry with William Byrd and John Page, decided to send an emissary to the Cherokee Indians to discover if they would sell to the Virginians certain Cherokee lands. Mr. William Kennedy was selected as emissary, but when the trouble with England became serious the matter was dropped.


48 Calendar-Preston-Virginia Papers, p. 155.

49 Calendar of Virginia State Papers, I, pp. 289-290, Deposition of Patrick Henry, taken at Williamsburg, June 4, 1777; Ibid., pp. 503-504, Deposition of Arthur Campbell, taken at Williamsburg, Oct. 21, 1778; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 73.
failure of the Virginians to apply to the Crown for permission to make the purchase, such permission being necessary before the contemplated transaction could be completed, is an interesting thing to be noted in the whole affair.

Between Patrick Henry's first and second adventure in western land speculation, other persons entered the field for Kentucky lands. Petitions requested grants in various parts of Kentucky, some petitions asking for land near the future Wayne County. In December, 1769, Joseph Cabell, Joseph Cabell, Junior, Nicholas Cabell, William Bowman, William Dorsley and others50 presented a petition to Governor Lord Botetourt, desiring that they be permitted to locate 60,000 acres in Kentucky beginning at the falls of the Cumberland and extending downstream.51 This land would have been located east of Wayne County in present day McCreary County in relatively rough country and on the Cumberland Plateau. Walker Talisferro and others in January, 1769, petitioned for a grant west of the Alleghenies. The 20,000 acres they proposed to locate

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50 The 'and others' are given by last name only. Calendar Virginia State Papers, I, p. 262.

51 Ibid., I, p. 262; Robertson, Petitions of Early Inhabitants of Kentucky, p. 35.
were very remote from the later Wayne County. The suggested
acres were to begin at the mouth of the Cumberland and
extend upstream. While in 1772 William Lyrd and others
presented a petition for western lands, though not
Kentucky lands, at the mouth of the Little Kanawha or Elk
River as rewards for their services in the armies of
England. Nothing came of these petitions, no grants
were made, and the outbreak of the Revolution ended an
example for petitioning for land. All the pioneers had now
to do was to migrate west and locate their land in the
face of a grave Indian menace if they so desired.

Virginia, to gain recruits for the Virginia line
regiments during the Revolution, again used Kentucky
lands as bounty lands. A law of October, 1776, provided
for the rate of bounty, and in October, 1779, the bounty
area was delimited. The Virginia Military Reserve was
designated as those lands lying south of the Green, and the
southeast course of the Cumberland to the Tennessee River,
and west of Cumberland Mountain with the exception of the
Henderson compensation for the Transylvania grant at the

52 Calendar Virginia State Papers, I, p. 266.
53 Ibid., I, pp. 265-266.
54 Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, IX, p. 179.
mound of the Cumberland River. Wayne County is thus in the Virginia Military Reserve.

When Boone in 1771 returned from his hunting and exploring expedition in Kentucky, he determined to settle with his family in the new found rich land. Not until September, 1773, was he prepared to begin his advance. In that month the Boone family, his two brothers and their families of the Yadkin country and later joined by 40 other families, started west for Cumberland Gap and Kentucky by way of the Watauga Settlements and the Holston, Clinch, and Powell Valleys. The start became premature for the loss of certain men guarding the cattle and the desertion of some families because of the large number of Indian signs forced a return to the Watauga Settlements for at least the winter of 1773-74. Before Boone could again make an advance toward Kentucky he was asked to make a trip to warn surveyors in Kentucky of possible Indian troubles and not to trespass west of the Kentucky River, for the region was Indian land. This abortive attempt at settlement and the sending of messengers of warning to Kentucky

55 Ibid., X, pp. 55-56, 159.

56 Bruce, op. cit., p. 85; Bogart, op. cit., p. 35; Smith, Kentucky, p. 17; Thwaites, Daniel Boone, pp. 101-103; Archibald Henderson, "The Occupation of Kentucky," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, I, p. 349.
indicated the interest which had been aroused in the valley
and coastal regions of the colonies in the region known as
Kentucky. Those many surveyors were locating their per-
sonal French and Indian War bounty claims or claims of
their friends, groups of friends, or employers. Some were
surveying out the land for farms and towns in spite of the
proclamation of 1763. These surveyors only increased the
fame of Kentucky in the east.

What areas were being surveyed or visited? In 1773
a party led by Colonel Thomas Bullitt, coming down the
Ohio to survey certain Virginia French and Indian War
Claims, spent some time at Big Bone Lick,57 and then pro-
ceeded to the mouth of the Kentucky River where the party
divided. One group under Bullitt continued down the Ohio
to the site of Louisville,58 while the other party, under
the McAfee brothers, went up the Kentucky to the mouth of
the Dix River, then turned west to the site of Frankfort.59
The next year more parties were in the field. James

57 Smith, Kentucky, p. 20.
58 Bogart, op. cit., pp. 97-101; Cotterill, Pioneer
Kentucky, p. 61; Smith, Kentucky, pp. 20-21.
59 Ibid., pp. 21-22; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p.
61; Winsor, The Westward Movement, p. 57.
Harrod was at present day Harrodsburg making an improve-
ment,\textsuperscript{60} and John Floyd, deputy sheriff of Fincastle
County, Virginia, was leading a second party to survey
county claims of Virginia French and Indian War
veterans.\textsuperscript{61} It was to warn these surveyors that Boone and
Michael Stoner were selected to make an express trip to
Kentucky, Stoner being the second man because "He had
hunted on Cumberland River, and was familiar with wood-
craft." The two scouts crossed Cumberland Gap, proceeded
to Harrodsburg, found and warned Harrod, continued to
Louisville, then turned south to Nashville, whence they
returned home over the mountains.\textsuperscript{62}

These investigations into Kentucky caused a rise in
interest which can best be illustrated by two letters from
an officer in the frontier army marching against the
Indians of Ohio from the Greenbrier River. The first,

\textsuperscript{60} Rogart, op. cit., pp. 97-101; Calendar Virginia
State Papers, I, p. 309; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p.
68; Thwaites and Kellogg, Lord Dunmore's War, pp. 121-122;
Smith, Kentucky, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{61} Thwaites and Kellogg, Lord Dunmore's War, p. 9 and
note.

\textsuperscript{62} Smith, Kentucky, p. 31; Bruce, op. cit., pp. 62-63;
Rogart, op. cit., p. 104; Thwaites and Kellogg, Lord
Dunmore's War, pp. 49-51; letter of Capt. Wm. Russell to
Col. Wm. Preston, June 26, 1774; p. 51, letter of Col.
Christian to Col. Preston, July 12, 1774. On this point
of warning the surveyors in Kentucky and the route taken
24-34.
dated September 28, 1774, from the Levels of the Greenbrier, in which the writer reveals that, "My company seem all anxious to come by Kentucky, but if I can't do it time enough to be at your house by Christmas I shall return & go down in the spring," 63 and the second, dated October 16, 1774, from Point Pleasant, in which the writer regrets "The season is so far advanced, I imagine I shan't return by Kentucky this time; ...." 64

Before describing the actual colonization of Kentucky and the subsequent movement of settlers into Wayne County, it seems desirable to briefly describe the inhabiting of the Great Valley, and why colonists pushed from these settlements into Kentucky when there were easier routes to the far north and far south. In the populating of the Great Valley and in particular the founding of stations in the immediate area which later became the 'jumping off' place for persons leaving for Kentucky, the Watauga, Clinch, and Holston settlements, three streams of people are discerned. These streams of colonists into the Great Valley are, first, the Virginians from east of the Blue Ridge, largely indentured servants who had worked out their service, and small farmers who had sold their land to the oncoming plantation owner; second, the slow movement from Pennsylvania, whose center was the port of A

64 Ibid., p. 269, Floyd to Preston.
Philadelphia, and whose lead was the great trough which swings west and southwest through Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee; and third, the return migration from Piedmont Carolina of those people who had traveled the length of the valley from Pennsylvania and Maryland, and turned east to the Carolina Piedmont and now turned westward accompanied by Carolina frontiersmen who had pushed through to the Piedmont from the Carolina coast. These three streams were to meet at the North Carolina-Virginia border in the Valley, turn westward through the passes in the center of the Allegheny barrier, and spread fanwise from central Kentucky and Tennessee.

In the movement across the Blue Ridge the speculation of William Byrd is conspicuous. Between 1730 and 1738 he patented 5,200 acres at the junction of the Dan and Stony Rivers (present site of Roanoke, Va.), partly because he was impressed by the fertility of the soil and partly because of its location with reference to an


66 Boyd, Byrd's Dividing Line History, introduction, p. xxv.
access to the Virginia Piedmont; for the river gap is extremely easy to travel, and the Bedford Gap to the north, which the present day highway uses, is correspondingly low.

The stream of population which traveled the whole Valley of Virginia and turned into the Piedmont of Carolina has been mentioned, as it is typified by the migration of the Boone family in the 1760's. The move from Piedmont Carolina to the Valley is best shown by westward movement after the failure of the Regulation movement in 1768-71.

The most important stream of population from the point of view of population supplied is the slow migration from Pennsylvania down the Great Valley. This stream of population began to trickle into Valley Virginia in 1730 when John and Isaac Van Meter obtained a 40,000 acre grant in the lower valley from the Governor of Virginia. The Van Meters later sold certain tracts to Jacob Hite of Pennsylvania in 1731, who settled at Winchester in 1732.

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67 Supra, notes 33 and 34 of this chapter; Bruce, op. cit., pp. 13-14.
68 Summers, History of Southwest Virginia, p. 41; Kercheval, History of the Valley of Virginia, p. 46; Wayland, The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, pp. 32-34.
The movement continued when, in 1738, a Quaker named Ross
received a grant north of Winchester on which grant
Pennsylvania Quakers settled. 69 About 1745 the Governor
and Council of Virginia permitted the establishment and
erection of dissenting churches in the Valley. The
purpose was to increase the population of Valley Virginia,
for the back country was lagging behind other colonies,
and to establish a more effective human barrier, as well
as to augment His Majesty's revenues through the additional
quit-rents. This liberal church policy encouraged the
settlement of southwest Virginia, and led to a large influx
of Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. 70 In 1749-50, when Dr.
Walker left the Virginia Valley settlements on his trip to
Kentucky, the last small station was about four miles
south of present day Lythovaile, Va. on a branch of the
South Fork of Holston River. 71 Travelers journeying the
usual road of the Valley from north to south point out, in
their journals, the decrease in the size of the towns as
they progressed southward. A Moravian missionary traveling

69 Kercheval, op. cit., p. 47. In 1744, in Farquier
County, a Quaker meeting house was established; Kenton,
op. cit., p. 13.

70 Summers, op. cit., p. 43; Koontz, "The Virginia
frontier," op. cit., p. 218(34); Journals of the House of
Lordsesses of Virginia, 1752-58, pp. xiii-xiv.

71 Johnston, op. cit., p. 42; Rives, op. cit., p. 42.
this route in 1753 relates that Friedericktown (present day Washington) was of 'about 60 houses rather badly built' and Augs(tu) (sic) Court House (present day Stanton) was 'a little village of twenty houses.' By 1754 the English had pushed to the westward flowing rivers in northwest Virginia, and into Powell's Valley in southwest Virginia. In 1756 Ft. Loudon, thirty miles from Knoxville, on the Holston, was built by the colony of North Carolina to protect the Valley settlements from the Cherokees, while in 1758 Colonel William Byrd built Ft. Lewis near Salem, Botetourt County, against the French at Ft. Duquesne, Ft. Chiswell, near New River on the road leading south to Inglis' Ferry, and in the fall a fort at the junction of the main and North Fork of the Holston. These were the outposts of westward colonization. During the French and Indian War the outlying posts were constricted, but with the end of the war they were again thrust forward. By 1768 colonies were planted on the headwaters of the Kanawha, and on the North Fork of Holston near Watauga; and in 1769 Virginians were led into Watauga by William Bean. In 1771 the Carter Valley

72 Mereness, op. cit., pp. 334, 338.

73 same, op. cit., pp. 51-54; These are but examples of the chain of forts which were on the outer edge of civilization from 1754 to 1760. For all of these frontier posts see Koonz, "The Virginia Frontier," op. cit., pp. 235-332(111-148).
settlements were started; and by 1772 the people of Watauga and Carter Valley, finding themselves beyond the jurisdiction of constituted authority, joined together in the Watauga Association for governing the district. 74 One might ask, why this appeal of an expose frontier? It is best explained by the free fertile land, the pressure of immigrants back of the frontier, and the hand to mouth existence of tenants on estates. 75 The people felt that beyond the region in which they now dwelt was Utopia and economic betterment.

One might ask the question, if a rich country to the west was known about from 1750 to 1763, and well explored and probably well discussed between 1763 and 1772, why was it not settled until 1774? From 1754 to 1763 the French and Indian War held back adventurers. After the war, the frontier remained uneasy until Indian treaties negotiated by royal agents opened the country to hunters, trappers, and settlers. In the early months of 1765 Pontiac kept...

74 Ramsay, op. cit., pp. 73, 93; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 69; Turner, "Western State-Making in the Revolutionary Era," American Historical Review, I, pp. 76-77, quoting Haywood, History of Tennessee, says the Watauga Ass'n was a temporary affair lasting from 1772-1775 when the region became Washington County, T.C. My point is that by 1772 the population was large enough to cause people to wish, demand, and form permanent county organization, or they would establish their own government.

the Indians of the Ohio continually uneasy. The tribes chiefly affected were the Miamis, Shawnees, and the Senecas of the Six Nations. It was this border uneasiness which the Proclamation of 1763 was supposed to quiet. This frontier disturbance continued on into 1764, especially along the upper reaches of the Ohio. The Senecas and the Delawares harassed the country around Forts Pitt and Cumberland, in opposition to a recent treaty made at Detroit. By late September, Sir William Johnson thought this frontier would not be safe from Indian depredations until the tribes were forced to peace by arms. The trouble was forcibly settled in

76 Sir William Johnson's Papers, IV, p. 97; Report of Speech of the Miami to Ensign Holmes, March 30, 1763; Ibid., p. 95, extract of letter from Major Gladwin commanding at Detroit to Sir Jeffery Amherst, April 20, 1763; Journal of Jeffery Amherst, pp. 505-526 passim.


November, 1764, when Colonel Bouquet marched overland from Ft. Pitt and made new treaties with the Shawnees and delawares. 79 Throughout 1763 the middle frontier returned to a state of uneasiness because of the slaying of an Iroquois tribesman in Pennsylvania, 80 but this uneasiness slowly quieted until the English were able to purchase the Iroquois claim to part of Kentucky by the Treaty of Ft. Stanwix in 1768. This purchase gave England the Iroquois title as far south as the Tennessee River and, with the Cherokee treaties of Hard Labor and Locohare, Valley Virginia legally became open to settlement. This is emphasized by the creation of western Virginia counties, Bedford, 1771, Botetourt, 1770, Franklin, 1772, and West Augusta, 1774. 81 When in 1774 the Indians of this frontier again became discontented, Lord Dunmore's War resulted. The surveyors in Kentucky were warned; a large expedition under Colonel Lewis pushed down the Kanawha from the plains of the


80 Ibid., V, p. 119, Sir William to George Croghan, Mar. 28, 1766.

81 Volwiler, op. cit., pp. 223-224.
Greenbrier (Lewisburg, W. Va.) to the mouth of the Kanawha at Point Pleasant, while Lord Dunmore personally led an expedition down the Ohio, intending to make contact with the Kanawha column and attack the Indians in Ohio. The Indians, under Chief Cornstalk, attempting to defeat the Virginians in detail, struck at the Kanawha column in the Battle of Point Pleasant and were defeated. A union of the two white columns foreshadowing complete Indian disaster, Cornstalk offered to surrender and Lord Dunmore was able to obtain a favorable treaty which extinguished the Shawnee title to Kentucky, assured a period of peace, and permitted the first permanent settlements to be made in Kentucky.62

The first permanent colony in Kentucky was made by the Transylvania Company at Boonesborough on a tributary of the Kentucky River. This land, together with all the country from the Kentucky to the Cumberland River, was purchased from the Cherokee Indians at Watauga in May, 1775. Colonel Richard Henderson and his associates, after completing their purchase, sent Daniel Boone ahead to locate a site for a colony and to mark a trail or trace from the Holston settlements to Kentucky. This trace, which became the famous Wilderness Road or Trace,

62 Withers, Chronicles of Border Warfare, (edited by Thwaites), p. 137; Bruce, op. cit., p. 95.
crossed Cumberland Gap and, striking northwest, skirted the mountain lands and entered the Blue Grass region near its eastern margin. A very liberal land policy had been adopted by the company prior to the purchase; each settler was to receive 500 acres at 20s per hundred, subject to an annual quit-rent of 2s per hundred acres. Special inducements were offered to colonists who would develop necessary industries. Whether this land policy attracted many settlers is uncertain. In some instances it did attract them. Moreover, emigration to Kentucky became so important by September, 1775, that it drew a protest from the Governor of North Carolina. One author informs us that by the close of 1775 over 800 men were in Kentucky concentrated at Boonesborough, Harrodsburg, Logan's (Stafford), Boiling Springs, Keaton's (Washington), and four other stations.

During the early years the population of the state fluctuated greatly. Many people returned to the settled areas of the east when Indian signs became very numerous;
for example, in 1777 there were only 600 persons in Kentucky with about one half capable of bearing arms. After 1777, the population increased continuously. It has been estimated, probably in favor of Kentucky, that in the decade ending 1787 the average number of persons entering the State was no fewer than 2,700, and they traveled routes endangered by Indians. The influx was very great. In the severe winter of 1779-80 one traveler in Kentucky mentions that over 3,000 people entered the State. The loss of their cattle, the loss of cattle in Kentucky, and the general lack of provisions caused an extraordinary rise in provision prices; yet, in spite of these hardships, the same writer had been informed there was another 3,000 persons at Pittsburg waiting to make the trip. The population increased sufficiently rapidly to cause the creation of three counties, Fayette in the northeast, Lincoln in the south, and Jefferson in the northwest. By 1781 militia rolls sent to the Governor of Virginia showing men under arms disclosed the following numbers: for Fayette, 156;

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36 Winsor, op. cit., p. 111.
37 Henderson, Star of Empire, p. 66.
for Lincoln, 600; and for Jefferson, 800. By the close of the decade ending 1787 a fourth county, Madison, just north of Richmond, Kentucky, on the northeastern side of the Blue Grass, had been created, and the population was estimated at over 30,000. In this decade, 1777–1787, settlements were first made in the Nashville Basin under the leadership of James Robertson.

The main routes to Kentucky were the Ohio River and Boone's Wilderness Road with its branches. In the early years of travel toward Kentucky, especially around 1777, only large groups, necessary for mutual protection because of the Indian dangers, migrated to the State. In 1780, a change in the origin of settlers, the improvement of trails to Pittsburg, and the relatively hard traveling for families over the Wilderness Road brought a corresponding change in the importance of routes to Kentucky, and the Ohio River became the main traveled route. Pennsylvania and Maryland now began to predominate as immigration sources. These settlers used the roads to Pittsburg and the Ohio rather than the long

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90 Ibid., p. 206; Smith, Kentucky, p. 261.
land journey via Cumberland Gap. This substitution of routes meant also a change in the area of settlement. The northern edge of the Blue Grass instead of the eastern and southern edge became important, and Louisville (Falls of the Ohio and Bear Grass Creek) and Limestone (Maysville) were important ports of entry.91 The northern Indians still menaced this water route and throughout the decade 1780-1790 Indians repeatedly attacked flatboats and other conveyances bringing settlers to Kentucky,92 usually between Pittsburg and Limestone. It became necessary to place patrols on the Ohio River and along the Wilderness Road to protect travelers and to watch for Indian signs.93

After 1780 a new note is found in the migrations to the State. The Virginia gentry became interested in the rich western area and brought their slaves into the more settled and secure parts of the State. This social group served to temper the rudeness of the first Kentuckians and provided the State with the beginnings of its own Blue Grass gentry.94

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91 Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. 161.
94 Winsor, op. cit., p. 526.
The settlements of Kentucky were at first on the periphery of the Blue Grass, fed by two streams of colonists traveling the Ohio and the Wilderness Road routes. In a short time, improvements were pushed into the Blue Grass and stations were founded on the main avenues of approach, that is, settlements were located on the main arteries of travel from the Ohio River to central Kentucky and on the Wilderness Road, but, with few exceptions, outside the mountain and plateau areas.

The Nashville basin was fed by two important streams of settlers: overland from the Valley via Cumberland Gap and a branch of the Wilderness Road north of the Cumberland River to Nashville; or down the Tennessee River to the Ohio and up the Cumberland to the settlements. With the relatively dense populating of the Blue Grass and the Nashville Basin, the frontier farmers began to push out in all directions, using the main arteries of travel until the plateau was reached in the west. Colonists avoided the plateau, except the hollows or coves, and concentrated on the western part of the state. Population soon began to leave the marginal producing regions of Kentucky for the Northwest Territories and the Missouri country and, on the opening of the Erie Canal and the removal of the southern Indian barrier the two important avenues of approach to
Kentucky declined and the State, as a whole, declined, some parts becoming so isolated that they are today only gradually reawakening.

The first permanent colonies were made on the edges of the Blue Grass. Boonesborough, founded by Boone and the Transylvania Company in 1775 and incorporated in 1779, was on the eastern side of the Blue Grass. Harrodsburg, toward the southwest side of the Blue Grass, was established under the independent leadership of James Harrod in 1774, abandoned in that year because of Lord Dunmore's War, and reestablished in 1775. The village was incorporated in October, 1785. The same year, 1775, the McAfee family occupied the improvements they had made on the Salt River on the western side of the Blue Grass. Also in 1775 Logan's Fort and St. Asaph's, about one mile west of present day Stanford, was established by Irish Benjamin Logan, migratory from the Holston country. This settlement was on the southern edge of the Blue Grass. The station was broken up in the winter of 1776-77, but was re-established in the spring of 1777 when Logan moved his family to Kentucky. The town of Stanford was incorporated


96 Marshall, op. cit., I, p. 12; Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, XII, p. 223; Winsoor, op. cit., p. 82.

97 Ibid., p. 82.
in 1786 and the settlers of St. Asaph's moved there. A rendezvous was soon placed in the heart of the Blue Grass on the Licking River between Paris and Cynthiana, east of Lexington, but it was not a station of great importance. Limestone, present day Maysville, was founded by Kenton in 1785, and became a port of entry for goods to be shipped to the interior from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. About four miles inland from Limestone the town of Washington was established in 1793. Both of these towns are in the extreme northeast corner of the Blue Grass. At the northwest corner of the Blue Grass, George Rogers Clarke, in 1778, established the post which developed into Louisville as a base of supplies for operations into the Northwest Territory and for the defense of the Ohio River against Indian attacks. By 1780 the population was sufficient to bring incorporation.

The movement into the intervening area, between the Blue Grass and the Nashville Basin, is noticeable by 1780.

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98 McClung, op. cit., p. 125; Smith, Kentucky, p. 57; Robertson, Petitions of Early Inhabitants of Kentucky, pp. 93-94, petition no. 35; Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, XII, p. 396.

99 Kenton, op. cit., p. 73; Smith, Kentucky, pp. 243-244; Thwaites, Early Western Travels, III, p. 35, 'Travels of Andre Michaux.'

100 Smith, Kentucky, pp. 120-121; Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, X, p. 293.
In that year the movement onto the Barrens began with the establishment of Russellville, Logan County, which forced the surveying of the southern boundary farther westward. Other settlements are noted along the routes of travel. Stations were established on the road to Cumberland Gap and on the extension of the Wilderness Trace north toward Limestone, as the founding of Stills Station and George Boone's Station in Madison County north of Boonesborough. Danville, on the road from Crab Orchard on the east side of the Blue Grass to Harrodsburg and Louisville, was established in 1783, and incorporated in 1787. *101* This town was to serve as the seat of the district court for the new Virginia judicial district of Kentucky. Throughout this last decade the movement into the Blue Grass is also conspicuous. While there is reputed to have been a small station near Lexington as early as 1777 the present town dates its founding, after much controversy, from the middle of April, 1779. *102* In 1781 it requested incorporation, a request which was granted by Virginia in 1782.

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Frankfort was incorporated in 1786 on the lands of James Wilkinson, and a ferry established across the Kentucky River at the same time to facilitate travel to the settlements west of Lexington. In the same year, the town of New Market was incorporated on the lands of James Curd, at the junction of the Dix and Kentucky Rivers, who was permitted to conduct a ferry over the Kentucky River. In the very heart of the Blue Grass, in this decade, the towns of Georgetown, 1780, and Versailles, 1793, were founded.

No doubt it has occurred to the reader that this magnificent conquest of a new frontier by settlement was taking place when the political history of the country was in an extreme crisis. The first colonies were founded during the Revolution, and the work of colonization was carried to completion in the years of the Confederation and the early years of the Constitution. We have attempted to point out that the gravity of the Indian menace forbade occupation after the French and Indian War; but now the district was settled, during the Revolution, in face of a graver Indian peril. Why? A short answer to


104 Ibid., XII, pp. 400-402.
this! why! seems to be economic amelioration. The removal of the French barrier was the first step in opening the west to settlers. Edmund Burke felt that the removal of the French would make the colonists feel freer to move.105 The colonists did not have to migrate from a region of one allegiance to an area of another allegiance. The increasing population made a movement westward necessary. Not that the Thirteen Colonies were overpopulated, but the pressure to gain free or cheap land caused people to push forward. Perhaps another reason was the restlessness of the frontiersman and his love of adventure. Lord Dunmore describes the Americans as people who "... do and will remove as their avidity and restlessness incite them. But wandering about seems ingrained in their nature, ..."106 In addition, and of some importance, is the appearance of corrupt officials, especially in back country North Carolina. These officials, together with the lack of bullion, and the increasing taxes, caused the Regulator Movement. The defeat of the Regulators at the Battle of Alamance in 1771 forced the more ardent followers of

105 Alvord, Mississippi Valley in British Politics, 1, p. 59.

regulation to move west. 107 With the defeat of their attempt at reform the leaders had but two alternatives, death by hanging for rebellion against the lawful forces of the colony, or removal from the jurisdiction of the colony. Many of the followers of Regulation, choosing the latter, migrated to Watauga believing they were entering the jurisdiction of Virginia. From Watauga many continued to Kentucky and Tennessee with the general stream of population. Two impeti came from Virginia. the general opening, by proclamation, of the Ohio Valley as bounty lands for soldiers of the French and Indian War and the freeing of Kentucky, in its early years, of an Indian menace. This menace, at the time it was broken by Lord Dunmore, was threatening Valley Virginia, and the defeat of Chief Cornstalk at Point Pleasant and the following favorable treaty freed, for a time, Valley Virginia, and at the same time permitted Kentucky settlements to have a safe and permanent beginning before the Indians were again loosed on the frontier. The greatest impetus was the desire for economic betterment through the occupation of rich and fertile lands. Here the influence of the early

107 Bruce, op. cit., pp. 50-51; Henderson, Star of Empire, p. 46; Bassett, The Regulator Movement of North Carolina, op. cit., p. 206 quoting Morgan Edwards who visited the North Carolina back country in 1772, states over 1,500 persons had fled since the Battle of Alamance.
explorer and the companies is noticeable. A petition from a group of the Transylvania settlers to Virginia points out they came to Kentucky, first, because of favorable reports by their friends who had explored the area, and second, because of the easy terms of buying land.\footnote{108} Lord Dunmore struck the same note in his report to Lord Dartmouth. After speaking of the frontier characteristic restlessness, Dunmore went on to say that "... it is a weakness incident to it (restlessness) that they imagine the lands further off, are still better than those upon which they are already settled."\footnote{109} After the Revolution the large increase of population may be due to the defeats of the Northwest Indians by Clarke and of the Cherokees by "cower and Shelby which made this western territory safer, and because people, ruined by the Revolution, were leaving the east to obtain a new start in the west."\footnote{110} That many immigrants were extremely poor is recognized by the Virginia law which openly asserts people did not have cash to purchase land and provided for time payments.\footnote{111} But


\footnote{110} Winsor, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 230.

\footnote{111} Hening, \textit{Virginia Statutes at Large}, XI, p. 296.
all these causes for a westward movement after 1774 seem
to be based on three fundamental items: (1) accumulation
of stories of rich western lands; (2) removal of the
Indian menace for a short time; and (3) the pressure of
incoming population and a desire for economic ameliora-
tion.
CHAPTER III
EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT
OF WAYNE COUNTY TO 1815

The brief discussion of the exploration and the early settlement of Kentucky indicates that the increase in the number of expeditions multiplied interest in the district, and that by 1774 attempts had been made to inhabit the State. The trend of settlement was from the outer Blue Grass toward the center followed by an outward movement from the Blue Grass with the main roads as radiating avenues of colonization until, in the east, the plateau was reached, then the progress of settlement was quickened toward the north, west, and south. The area of Wayne County was explored and colonized by this migration from the Blue Grass. In Wayne County, pioneers from Valley Virginia and Carolina established themselves, undertaking small farming and stock raising to which they soon added manufacturing to make the section as self-sufficient as possible. Small numbers of slaves were introduced about 1815 to assist in agriculture. Wayne County followed the example of other parts of Kentucky and provided volunteers for the United States Armies in the west in the War of 1812. This county did not fall far behind other parts of the State in supplying primary
and higher education and also providing, in some manner, education for unfortunate children.

The examination of the section of Kentucky of which Wayne County is a part proceeded with the exploration of other parts of the State. The Mill Springs area was first visited between 1769 and 1771 by the "Long-Hunters" who examined and hunted in this region, using a cave near the Big Spring in Meadow Creek Valley about six miles from Monticello as their rendezvous. Other explorers, who themselves may be called 'Long-Hunters,' soon followed the first "Long-Hunters." In 1775 Nathaniel Buckhannon, in company with Benjamin Price and others, launched a canoe on the north side of the Cumberland River and, when opposite Meadow Creek, crossed the Cumberland to the north of the creek which landing place became known as Price's Landing in honor of the leader of the party. A road was marked from the river to the upland and to the Great Meadows (Meadow Creek Valley) where a cabin was built. Buckhannon returned to the region in 1779 and marked a new trace which passed the Saltpetre Cave and intersected the trace he had blazed in 1775. While the

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1Supra, Chapter II, notes 41, 42, and 43.

expedition of 1779 was hunting in this district, other
hunters came to their camp among whom was Michael Stoner.
By 1779 other traces and base camps had been established.
The most prominent rendezvous near the Meadow Creek Camp
was Gesses Station Camp on the south side of the Cumberland
opposite the mouth of Pitman's Creek.\(^2\) The main
traveled route to and from Price's Meadows, at this time,
was via Gesses and Pitman's Creek which led the travelers
directly to the later site of Somerset which, in turn,
was united by a trail to the Wilderness Road and the Blue
Grass settlements. In 1795 Buckhannon and Price returned
a second time to this area to hunt. The expeditions of
1779 and 1795 are an evidence of the skirmish line of
colonists advancing from central Kentucky.

Between the 1779 and 1795 visits of Buckhannon, two
important parties, one a hunting group, the other a sur-
veying company, entered the district. In 1783 or 1784 a
party, led by John McCluer, came down the Cumberland to
hunt south of the river and searched for Price's Landing.
The landing, they were informed by a Mr. Forbes, could be
located by the noise made by a creek near its mouth.\(^4\)

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\(^2\) Deposition of Buckhannon.

\(^4\) This I identify with Meadow Creek for it is the
first place, downstream from Burnsides, where the noise
of falling water attracts attention.
The landing was located and the party followed a well-marked and traveled trace to Saltpetre Cave where they camped for seven months pursuing their business of hunting.\textsuperscript{5} The first large survey made in this area was the military claim survey of 1,800 acres in Price's Meadow (Meadow Creek Valley) for Thomas Young by Charles Smith, Robert Lead, William Henderson, and Michael Stoner in October 1793.\textsuperscript{6}

The steps toward colonization were rapidly making their way southward from the Blue Grass. North of the future Wayne County many persons had located on Pitman's, Fishing, Sinking, and Buck Creeks, which colonized districts in 1799 were organized as Pulaski County. At this time it became necessary to open a road southward.


\textsuperscript{6}Deposition of Charles Smith, Aug. 28, 1805, \textit{Ibid.}, A, p. 209; \textit{Jillson, Kentucky Land Grants}, p. 254. Thirteenth entry from the bottom of the page is this record, "Young, Thos., 1,800 acres, Book 13, p. 163, date of survey, 10-12-1793, location, Military Lands-Cumberland River."

All lands south of the Cumberland had been reserved for soldiers of the Virginia Line, Hening, \textit{Virginia Statutes at Large}, X, pp. 55-56, 159. In the deed Young to McGee, Wayne County Deed Book, A, p. 140, we learn the military claim of Young was located about four miles from Price's Landing. When Robert McGee sold parts of this Military Claim, the water course is given as Meadow Creek, \textit{Ibid.}, A, pp. 151, 152, 154, Robert McGee to John McGee, Nov. 3, Robert McGee to Samuel Hutchinson.
This road was ordered in 1799 from the Pitman's Creek settlements southward via Stoners Ferry (Waitsboro), Isaac West's (one mile south of Mill Springs), Hinds' and William Beard's, who lived near present day Monticello. 7

An effort can now be made to conjecture when the first permanent settlement was founded in present day Wayne County. One late writer infers permanent colonization in the county as early as 1777. 8 He maintains the same argument in his edition of Withers' Chronicles of Border Warfare. 9 Other persons writing on the occupation of the west in these years mention only Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and Logan's station (St. Asaph's), as

7 Pulaski County, Kentucky, Court Record Book, 1, p. 14.

8 Thwaites, Daniel Boone, p. 139. "Early in 1777 Indian signs began to multiply. McClellan's was now abandoned leaving Boonesborough and Harrodsburg the only settlements maintained—except perhaps Price's on the Cumberland, although Logan's Station was re-occupied in February." This could not have been the Nashville settlements for they were first made in 1779. It may refer to the Nathaniel Buckhannon-Benjamin Price improvement of 1775 and 1779 but these expeditions have been shown to have been temporary, although in 1775 an improvement, the building of a cabin, was made. Deposition of Nathaniel Buckhannon, Wayne County Deed Book, A, pp. 213-217.

9 Withers, Chronicles of Border Warfare, (3rd edition) edited by R. G. Thwaites, p. 200 and note by the editor.
permanent in 1777. Another writer states that a colony
had been established in the county by 1790, and produces a
map of the routes of travel of about this year showing a
road from Crab Orchard toward Nashville crossing the Cumberland in the vicinity of Meadow Creek. There was a per-
manent colony in Wayne County by 1794 for a London map at
that date shows Price’s on the the Cumberland at approxi-
mately the site of Mill Springs on a minor trace toward
Nashville. From the information at hand, it seems safe to
infer a temporary occupancy of the region between 1775 and
1790, and that permanent settlements were established in
the period 1790 to 1795. By 1799 the density of population
in this southern district was sufficient to result in the
Pulaski County Court road order, and by 1800 sufficient to
initiate the local discussions which led to the establish-
ment of Wayne County late in the year.

What groups of ideas did these new settlers represent?
The changes produced through the following century and a
quarter were to be based on the ideas and background of the
first colonists. It seems correct then, to turn to the

10 Marshall, Kentucky, I, P. 35; Butterfield, History
of the Girty’s, II, p. 71; Roosevelt, “The Winning of the
West,” Works, [Executive edition, published by P. F.
Collier and Son], VI, p. 41; Roosevelt, “The Winning of
the West,” (Presidential Edition, published by G. P. Putnam’s
Sons), II, pp. 17-13, although Roosevelt mentions four
settlements, the correction being from materials in the
Naffee House; Cotterill, Pioneer Kentucky, p. III.

11 Sauer, Geography of the Pennyrivals, p. 135 and map
p. 134.
question of whence the settlers came. The first county
clerk in his memoirs informs us that the majority of the
population were backwoodsmen from western Virginia and
eastern Tennessee. As other writers present the same
opinion, the question arises, were these people es-
entially Virginian in their ideas? The Valley of Vir-
ginia and the extension, the Valley of East Tennessee,
was a great melting pot for many nationalities. The
flow of population into Wayne County was part of the
stream which has its sources in Pennsylvania, Piedmont,
Virginia, and North Carolina. What is observed on examin-
ing the individual pioneers of Wayne County? Many families
came from Valley, Virginia. Robert Beatty and John Camp-
bell were from Lee County, Virginia, just northeast of
Cumberland Gap. Samuel Witten and Larkin Kidd were from
Fayette County, Virginia, on the upper Clinch River, while the Boman and Hannah families came from Berkeley
County, Virginia, now West Virginia, on the Potomac

12. "Memorials of Micah Taul," Register of the Kentucky
Historical Society, XXVII, pp. 361-362. Taul was from
eastern Virginia.

13. Lee County is given as their home residence in
Transactions in 1804.

River. Additional colonists moved to Wayne County, Kentucky from Piedmont Virginia, some from counties near the gaps leading to the valley, others from a distance. The Ward family was from Franklin County, Virginia, northeast of the Roanoke River Gap, and Mahlon Collins came from Grayson County on the Piedmont sources of the New River. Piedmont Carolina contributed settlers to Wayne County. Joel Coffey and the Fishers were from Burke County. The Metcalfe family, which settled at Mill Springs about 1800, was also from North Carolina. Tennesse sent the Wells, the Dabney's, John Scallion, Robert Easley, Lester Cocke, the Ingram's, and the Crumbaugh. It is interesting to scan the names of early settlers and note the intermingling of nationalities. There were a few Netherlanders, as the names Van Hoozer, Vandover, Vandiver, and Van Winkle suggest. Persons of French descent are represented by Rapier, Lefleurs and Lanier. The latter family, according to its present Kentucky head, Robert B. Le Lanier, came to South Carolina a year or so after the

16 Ibid., B, p. 11.
17 Ibid., A, p. 257; B, p. 183.
Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. After a short struggle, the family pushed into Piedmont, North Carolina, and from there moved to Tennessee and finally to Wayne County in the 1850's. The Rapier family apparently died out or emigrated for the name does not appear in any record after 1870. The German element seems represented by the Wolf- scale and Copenhaver families, and possibly by the Cholson's, although the family is claimed locally to be Irish. The Irish are represented by Dunagan, Driscoll and Doughterty; the Scotch and Scotch-Irish by Denny, Duncan, McGee, Mc- Castland, McBeath, Beatty and Rankin; there is perhaps a Spanish and Italian element in Castilo which, however, may be the Irish Costello. The English were the most prominent as the names Moore, Anderson, Isbell, Haven, Canterbury, Shewsbury, Johnson, Beard, Taul, East, and West suggest. Of these names, Johnson, Anderson, and Beard may be Scotch or English; Dabney may be a corruption of the French d'Aubigne, although locally the family claims Irish descent; and the German Mohr and Fischer may be the 20

English More and Fisher. The region was settled by persons of many nationalities, but they had migrated from the frontier or areas relatively adjacent to the frontier and, although their names suggest numerous nationalities, their culture was that of Valley Virginia, Tennessee, Piedmont Virginia, Carolina, and Plateau Tennessee, tempered somewhat by colonists from Tidewater Virginia, and Blue Grass Kentucky. They were essentially farmers accustomed to the cultivation of the cereal grains in small areas. They tended to be self-sufficient, providing their own non-agricultural articles as best they could. To aid them in their work, in the fields or in the home, the settlers used slaves but not in large numbers, the free farmer working alongside his bondman. Their culture was the training of a region near the frontier, but not the extreme exposed frontier. These settlers were unfamiliar with the large farms, the large slave gangs, or the production of the great staple crops. They were hard workers and an excellent group to open this district. All these excellent qualities were combined in the hard drinking, quick tempered, crude, and rude frontiersman.

On this western Piedmont, or northwest flank of the Cumberland Plateau, settlements came to be made. These grew into villages, towns, and cities, some grow-
ing more rapidly than others and increasing in importance. Can there by a reason or group of reasons why certain towns grow and others decline to the class of 'ghost towns'? It has been stated by observers that towns develop where major routes of travel cross, where shipments must be broken, where great routes of commerce converge, or where the subsoil wealth indicates the necessity of town development with advancing civilization. Often politics or influential persons dictate the location of a town, but its subsequent growth will depend on the routes of travel the town can draw to itself. An arbitrarily located state capital may become a great city if it has the ability to draw to itself routes of travel which gain in importance as the state develops; industry arises, and prosperity and the future greatness of the city are assured. The possibility of obtaining water for a proposed town not on a body of water may also influence the location of the original town site. Miss Semple has stated the principle of importance of Piedmont towns in observing that, "they flourish in proportion to their local resources, in which mineral wealth is particularly important, and the number and practicability of their transmontane connections. Hence they often receive their stamp from the
Mountains behind them as from the bordering plain."

Monticello, the county seat and only town of importance in Wayne County, is a Piedmont town such as Miss Semple describes. The town site is located near the base of great outliers of the Cumberland Plateau and at the mouth of Elk Spring Valley. It opens into the more level part of the Upland to the north, while to the south, the site gives entrance to a number of coves. Although the site is not on the Cumberland or any of its major tributaries, it is favored by the location of a number of springs. The chief areas of settlement in the proposed new county were, Meadow Creek Valley, the level section of the Upland, Elk Spring Valley, and the uplands of Beaver and Otter Creeks. Thus the site for the county seat in 1800 was relatively near all agglomerations of population of the new county. The situation of the proposed town, or its connections with other parts of the State, was the best in the region. The main line of travel into the new county, although a minor one when considering all Blue Grass-Nashville communications, was the predecessor of the present Monticello-Burnside Pike leading from Somerset, with its Blue Grass Connections, to the Nashville basin.

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The principal transmontane routes, small though they were, entered the site from Elk Spring Valley and from the southern coves. The town was located, therefore, at the converging of the main through road and the major transmontane connections. The controlling factor, however, apparently was the liberal sale of the town site by William and Joseph Beard to the Court Commissioners. The original site of 13 acres was purchased for 5 shillings,\(^22\) on the condition that William Beard erect a suitable courthouse for the county.\(^23\)

The Beards were able to do this for they owned considerable acreage adjacent to the new town, their land being located in Elk Spring Valley and on Elk Spring Creek,\(^24\) and they expected settlers to be drawn to the new town and the value of their nearby land would rise by reason of the increased demand.

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\(^{22}\) Wayne County \textit{Deed Book}, A, pp. 19-21, recorded Feb. 15, 1802.

\(^{23}\) Wayne County \textit{Court Record Book}, A, p. 7. Court unanimously gave preference to the land of William Beard on, "...condition he build a courthouse of good hewn logs, 30 by 20 feet, 2 stories high, 2 floors and 2 doors within 12 calendar months."

\(^{24}\) Joseph Beard had gained control of the Thomas Carmean and Thomas Mathews Military Survey on Elk Spring Creek and was reselling, Beard to Wm. Jones, Wayne County \textit{Deed Book}, A, p. 52; Beard to Jones, Joshua, \textit{Ibid.}, A, p. 56.
For purposes of convenience it is advisable to create arbitrary divisions in the county's history. The best divisions appear to be, first, the beginnings to 1815; second, 1815 to 1865; third, 1865 to 1900, and lastly, 1900 to the present, with a glimpse into the future. The year 1815 is taken as the end of the first period for it marks the approximate conclusion of the large influx of population and the beginning of the employment of the negro as a field laborer. The termination of the Civil War apparently supplies a natural division for the citizens of the County had to undertake the work of reconstruction and the beginnings of a new advance become visible. The turn of the century marks the completion of preparation for the oil prosperity which permeated the county in the first two decades of the Twentieth Century. Since 1920 the county has been recovering from the effects of this short term of prosperity and attempting to lay the foundations for a more stable advance. It is now proposed to relate the developments in this county in each of these arbitrary divisions and connect those events to the general history of the United States. So far an examination of the advance of settlement into Wayne County and the establishment of the county seat has been made. The region was a frontier for a short time; the frontier rapidly passed and these people remained isolated for many years and only recently
have they been able to establish suitable connections with the outside world.

The first concern of the frontier is the problem of self-sufficiency in food supply. A settler in Wayne County was confronted with two types of vegetation cover. Along the river, as has already been mentioned, was a canebrake and grassland, while the timber began about one mile south of the river. The earliest colonists avoided the prairie and caveland and settled in the woods. Trees, which provided logs for a home, were swiftly felled, the others were girdled. Shrubs and bushes were grubbed up and the land cleared sufficiently to plant maize, the almost universal food, for it served both man and beast. Live stock was added early to the small farm but little anxiety was held for pastur- ing. Sheep, cattle, milk cows and hogs were permitted to wander at will in the woods. The sheep and milk cows were driven home in the evening to protect them from predatory animals and to obtain milk, while the hogs were allowed to roam until butchering time. The cultivation of other small grains was soon added to the raising of corn; wheat, oats, and rye were attempted, the best success being obtained with wheat. This success was not exceptional, for the section is almost the southern limit of winter wheat and even to-day one good crop in three is considered
a fair return. Sufficient wheat was raised, however, to provide white flour and afford relief to the corn diet. Flour may have been exported, for two inspection places for flour were established by the State, one at Burksville, Cumberland County, on the Cumberland in 1799, the second at Jackson’s in 1802 but transferred to Montgomery’s, mouth of Indian Creek, in 1804.

Clothing likewise had to be provided. Flax may have been planted early in this region, for at Kenton’s Station on Quick Run near Harrodsburg, established in the winter of 1783-84, flax, together with corn, was planted in the first spring. The main reliance of the colonists was on wool and accounts for the large number of sheep. Cotton, however, was not forgotten. Although, at this time, cotton was not the great export or great world crop, locally it was used for clothing. Cotton was raised in the county in small quantities as early as 1804, for in that year two persons, at least, were bailed into court on charges of stealing cotton. Neither does hemp appear to have been neglected, although only 1½ tons

27 Kenton, Simon Kenton, p. 163.
28 Drake, Pioneer Life in Kentucky, p. 100.
29 Wayne County Court Record Book, 4, pp. 125, 130.
were raised in 1810.\(^{30}\) The same laws which established
Bucks ville and Jackson’s, and later Montgomery’s, as
inspection places for flour, named these places as hemp
inspection places. No doubt, what little hemp was
raised was exported.

To break the endlessness of the diet, sweets and
fruits were introduced. Sugar was obtained from the
plentiful sugar maple. Ground was quickly cleared and
orchards planted. Peach trees,\(^{31}\) probably because it
was soon discovered they would flourish and also provide
raw material for the favorite peach brandy, and apple
trees were the most favored.

Other luxuries were raised, if tobacco can be called
a luxury. This crop, most likely, was solely for home
consumption, although inspection places were established,\(^{32}\)
which may indicate a small export and a State desirous of
marketing high class tobacco.

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\(^{30}\) Cox, Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of
the United States in 1810, Table, 128.

\(^{31}\) Peach trees were planted as early as 1800. Today
few peach trees are seen but there are many apple trees.
Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America in the Years
1809, 1810, 1811, p. 295 speaks of the abundance of
fruits, especially peaches and apples.

\(^{32}\) Supra, notes 25 and 26.
To become self-sufficient, the settlers of Wayne County soon turned to various types of manufacturing. The three most important items of the frontier, iron, salt, and powder, were first considered. Until a supply of these items could be obtained locally, they had to be imported from other producing areas in exchange for skins, furs, dried venison, ginseng or whiskey. 33

By 1810 four iron furnaces and three forges had been established. One furnace in that year produced four tons of iron, valued at $1,000, and a forge produced two and one half tons of iron valued at $600. 34 One of these producing units was the Jones Iron Works on Elk Spring Creek northeast of Monticello. 35 This furnace perhaps was established in 1800 with state aid, for in that year the State granted 1,000 acres to Joshua Jones at $30 per 100 acres. The law furnishes

33 Connelley, The Founding of Harmon's Station, pp. 21-22; Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States, II, p. 869 mentions the ginseng trade, and Ibid., II, p. 871 the whiskey trade.
34 Coxe, op. cit., Tables 9, 10, and 124.
35 Wayne County Court Record Book, A, p. 2, petition no. 6 of John Sanders for 200 additional acres. The petition was allowed, April 1801, the land to be located near Jones' Iron Works.
no particulars as to location, merely stating the grant is made to permit the grantee to carry on a bloomery, but at this time in Wayne County one of the leading citizens was Joshua Jones with whom Micah Taal, the first county clerk, had many verbal battles. With nothing more for a guide than the county records, it may be guessed that the Jones iron Works was a processing as well as an extracting plant. Another iron operation was the Beaver Creek Furnace southwest of Monticello. This furnace apparently was erected between 1803 and 1806. In 1803 the county court ordered a road built by the nearest and best way from Van Winkle's mill to the place where a furnace is about to be erected on Beaver Creek, while in 1806 another road was ordered passing by the Beaver Creek furnace and Isaac Crabtree's to intersect


37 "Memoirs of Micah Taal," Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, XXVII, p. 363. The most famous of these battles was over the naming of the new town. Jones held out for Jonesville or Jonesboro while Taal fought for Monticello, after Jefferson's home. Taal finally convinced the court commissioners.

38 Wayne County Court Record Book, p. 57, June Court, 1803. The underlining is mine.
the road leading to Burksville. Evidence of this furnace remained as late as 1870 for it is mentioned by Director Shaler of the Kentucky Geological Survey and was mapped on his reconnaissance baseline map of the eastern Kentucky coal fields. This furnace may have belonged to Joshua Jones and certain eastern capitalists, for in 1821 James Crockett of Wythe County, Virginia, transferred his one half interest in a parcel of land on Beaver Creek, said to contain an iron furnace, to John Crockett. The Commonwealth of Kentucky followed the policy of the mother state and Transylvania in encouraging the production of iron. The colony of Virginia in 1748 through a law entitled "An Act encouraging adventurers in Iron-Works" provided for the building of roads to iron operations to permit the easy conveyance of raw materials and the agencies of production and transportation of the finished product.

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39 Ibid., A, p. 104, August Court, 1806.


41 Wayne County Deed Book, G, p. 181, power of attorney, James Crockett to John Crockett. The reading of the power of attorney gives the impression that Jones and Crockett were equal partners.

42 Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, VI, p. 137.
The Transylvania Company went a step further and pledged itself to provide aid through land grants. Any person who, within six months, would erect an iron furnace and produce a quantity of iron, the quantity not mentioned, would receive 5,000 acres, subject to an annual quitrent of 2s per hundred acres.\textsuperscript{43} The Commonwealth of Kentucky, having large tracts of land, leaned toward the Transylvania policy. Already mentioned as possible encouragement to Wayne County iron operations is the Act of 1800 granting 1,000 acres to Joshua Jones at the price of $30 per hundred acres.\textsuperscript{44} Other state aids to iron operations in Wayne County and adjacent areas are those to George Wolfscale and Solomon Brunts who obtained, in 1801, a grant of 1,000 acres at $30 per hundred for discovering an ore bank on vacant land, but with the added stipulation that the land must be paid for before December 1805;\textsuperscript{45} the aid to Micah Taul in 1808 in the form of the right to 500 to 2,000 acres in not more than 5 surveys, including an iron ore bank, to be paid for at the rate of $20 per hundred, but the grantee must produce bar

\begin{footnotes}
\item[43] Colonial Records of North Carolina, IX, pp. 1129-1130.
\item[44] Littell, Laws of Kentucky, II, p. 425.
\item[45] Ibid., II, p. 488.
\end{footnotes}
iron within six years or his grant would be forfeited; and the aid to John Love in 1811 to locate a number of acres for the discovery of an iron ore bank in Pulaski County. The grants to Wolf scale, Brunts and Love, no doubt, were rewards for their discovery of ore, while the grants to Jones and Taul, from the wording of the Act, were direct assistance for the erection and management of a bloomery and an iron works which are iron processing plants.

The necessity for a local supply of gunpowder caused a search for dry caves, containing nitrogenous earth, to be instituted. By 1793 such caves, in some parts of the State, had been discovered. Wayne County early became a producer of saltpetre. Probably the Saltpetre Cave of the 'Long-Hunters' and of Nathaniel Buckhannon was used because it provided the hunters and trappers with that essential product. By 1810 the county produced

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48. Imlay, Topographical Description, p. 138; Miller, Geology of Kentucky, p. 208; Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America, p. 287 informs us that the region of the Green, Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers has many caves yielding saltpetre.
over one fourth of the State's total production of salt-

petre, most of which was probably exported to pay for im-
ported manufactures. Gunpowder was also manufactured.

In 1810 no gunpowder mills are recorded by Cox, but he
lists 2,000 lbs. of the product. In all probability this
was made in the home.

West of the Alleghenies, salt was obtained by boil-
ing saline waters. These waters compared with ocean
water were weak, from 400 to 600 gallons of water being
required to obtain one bushel of salt, but even this
laborious process was cheaper than importing salt from
the East. Wayne County was unfortunate in this parti-
cular, it having no important salt licks. Salt had to
be imported from the Goose Creek Salt Works near Man-
chester on the South Fork of the Kentucky River. To
assist in the transportation of this product to the
southern part of the State a road was cut from Somerset
over the hills to the salt works.

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49 Cox, op. cit., Table 128. Wayne County produced
51,700 lbs. of saltpetre out of the State's 201,000 lbs.

50 Inlay, op. cit., p. 135; Thwaites, Early Western
Travels, IV, p. 165; Ranck, Boone'sborough, p. 64 and
note 3.

51 Vernoff, The Kentucky Mountains, p. 128, note a.
Sugar making was also added to the group of industries. Sap of the sugar maple was boiled down and a brown sugar produced. The manufacture of sugar was usually carried on by each farmer to provide his own needs. However, by 1810 a sizeable industry had developed in Wayne County, 25,000 lbs. of sugar being produced. 52

The planting and harvesting of small grains quickly necessitated the construction of grist mills which used water for power. Nicholas Cogar built such a mill on Kennedy's Creek west of Mill Springs and William Baird or Beard built one near Monticello on Elk Spring Creek. 53

Other persons realized the small profits which could be obtained from the timber resources of the area. Tanning plants were erected, sawmills started and even a furniture factory established. One of the better sawmills was that of Hugo Carigan on Meadow Creek, 54 while the Metcalfe family built their furniture factory at Mill Springs at the edge of the canebrake. Cherry, maple, and the better furniture woods were fabricated at this establishment.

52 Imlay, op. cit., pp. 128-174 passim; Pulaski County Deed Book, I, pp. 39-40; Gore, op. cit., Table 128.
53 Wayne County Deed Book, A, pp. 16, 22.
Of necessity other minor industries had to be undertaken. Of these distilling was the most important. By 1810 there were 21 distilleries producing 12,000 gallons of liquor.\textsuperscript{55} Most of the distilleries were small plants, doing business for local consumption, although some whiskey was exported to pay for imported merchandise. Mercantile firms with eastern capital were also established. These firms supplied the lack of money lending houses as well as being trade houses. In this early period the firm mentioned lending money and aid to farmers was John S. Moore and Company, established in 1805. Part of the capital probably was supplied by Samuel Fulton of Washington County, Virginia.\textsuperscript{56}

Added to these small establishments were the handiwork of each farm, the spinning and weaving in the homes, the woodmaking of each farmer, the valuable smithy in town and the smithing each farmer did for himself. If all types of processing were considered, the county was moderately self-sufficient, although it was young in settlement. The district could boast of ironworks, a furniture factory, tanning plants, saw and grist mills, saltpetre works and distilleries. Industrially the outlook was reasonably bright.

\textsuperscript{55} Cox, \textit{op. cit.}, Table 124.

\textsuperscript{56} Wayne County Deed Book, B, pp. 230-231.
Labor in a region under development is of prime importance. The people who moved into Kentucky were familiar with slavery and it is not unusual that negroes were taken to the new district. It is stated that Richard Henderson, on leaving Wataga in 1775 to establish Boonesborough, took a number of slaves. Another writer tells us that in 1777 Benjamin Logan took slaves to St. Asaph's. The peculiar fact to note is that throughout 1777 there were numerous Indian signs and frequent troubles with the Indians, but the slaves seem to have aided considerably in the development of the Stanford area. However, in the mountain margin sections, the value of slaves was confined to the richer bottom lands. In Wayne County, the earliest bondsmen appear to have been bought by the wealthier settlers for household servants. The first mention of negroes in the records is noted in 1802 when William Beard sold an eleven year-old negress. The following few years the records show the transfer of negroes but usually youthful. However, an instance occurs in the records to break this generalization.

58 Smith, *Kentucky*, p. 90.
59 *Wayne County Deed Book, A*, p. 42.
60 *Ibid., A*, pp. 106, 133.
In 1804 Anthony Gholson, a wealthy farmer living near Steubenville, purchased a 26 year old negro, Cambridge, probably a prime field hand, from William Nelly of Mississippi Territory. 61 The census of 1810 enumerates 250 negroes in a population of 5,430, about 4% of the total population. After 1813 deeds tell of the transfer of field hand age. 62 However, the heavy importation of negroes of field hand age does not occur until around 1820. One might infer, therefore, that in this early period slaves were desired to assist in the household and in the fields, working alongside the mistress and master, but by 1813 a trend toward purchase and importation for wholesale use in the fields is noted. This trend coincides with the development of the cast iron plow 63 which permitted deeper plowing and allowed farmers in Wayne County to open the prairie areas and consequently desire additional field hands on the larger farm.

The lack of qualified clergymen on the frontier became disconcerting. Preachers of the gospel were common,
for any person who felt he had 'received the call' could preach the 'word of God.' Form loving settlers wished for something more when the rites of matrimony had to be performed. Virginia in 1783 alleviated the situation by enacting a law which permitted the county court to name a qualified layman to perform, under bond, the rites of matrimony. The Kentucky Assembly, in 1799, copied this law, and the Wayne County court, sensing the need of qualified ministers, in 1802, licensed, under $500 bond, North East to celebrate the rites of matrimony when necessary.

The puritan idea of the holiness of God was also felt on the frontier. By law, persons heard swearing and profaning the name of God were punished by a fine of 5s, and there is record of the enforcement of the act.

64 In 1930 such a preacher died in Wayne County. He had received little or no formal education, but believed himself 'called' to preach God's word and did so throughout the section.


67 Wayne County Court Record Book, A, p. 27. The first qualified minister is said to have been the Rev. M. A. Cooper (1818-1909) of the Baptist faith.

In January court, 1802, three persons were convicted of, and fined for, swearing and profaning the name of God. One of the gentlemen, Joshua McDowell, perhaps disapproved of the law in the name of God, for he was fined 10s for twice swearing and profaning the name of God. 69

Amid all this work of permanently establishing themselves on the land, setting up small industries to provide the expensive imported necessities, and the fining of persons for swearing and profaning the name of God, the education of orphaned minors, the teaching of trades and the general education of the new generation was not forgotten. By law the State encouraged the primary school. By special land grants in the region south of the Green River, or in each county, the State provided for academies. In 1802 the Somerset Academy was incorporated with James Handgrove, Robert Moderel, and Jesse Richardson as trustees, 70 and students were received for additional training. Although this academy was from 20 to 25 miles from the settled area of Wayne County, doubtless a few students took advantage of the opportunity until the County could have its own academy. By a

69 Wayne County Court Record Book, A, pp. 27-28.
70 Littell, Laws of Kentucky, III, p. 37.
special act of December 21, 1805, those counties which had received no academy land grants under the Act of February, 1798, were authorized to locate and survey 6,000 acres in the county to provide for their academy.\textsuperscript{71} The Wayne County Academy was operating by 1809, but, as no building was available, its teacher, James Witherspoon, was permitted by the court to use one of the jury rooms for the instruction of his students.\textsuperscript{72} For the less fortunate children, orphans, county charges, and the sons and daughters of families who could not afford a formal education and desired to have their children learn a trade and receive some training, the apprentice system was used. The Kentucky apprentice law of 1793, amended in 1799, and again in 1803, was modeled after the Virginia apprentice law of 1785.\textsuperscript{73} These acts authorized the county court, after examination, to bind out male children to the age of twenty-one, and female children to the age of eighteen, to qualified persons to be taught a trade and given instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic to

\textsuperscript{71}Ibid., III, p. 280.

\textsuperscript{72}Wayne County Court Record Book, A, p. 142.

\textsuperscript{73}Littell, Laws of Kentucky, I, p. 192; amendments in Ibid., II, chapter 51 and Ibid., III, chapter 104. For the Virginia law see Hening, Virginia Statutes at Large, XII, p. 197.
the Rule of Three. On the expiration of the term of
apprenticeship, the young man or woman received from his
or her master the items provided by law, 53, 108, and a
new suit of clothes or a new dress. These requirements
might be altered by the court order of apprenticeship,
usually to the condition of setting up a male apprentice
in business or providing him with the tools of his trade.
The trades taught male apprentices were those of farmer,
blacksmith, shoemaker, carpenter, brick and stonemason,
wagoneer, tanner, and hatter. Female apprentices learned
the arts of spinning and weaving and the art of house-
wife. Orphans and children with only one parent living,
who was unable to support the child, were usually bound
out immediately or upon application to the county court
by the surviving parent. In Wayne County girls of three
and boys of four and five were bound out to learn trades
and receive an education. 74 Children with both parents
living were apprenticed for from four to seven years. 75

While these peaceful pursuits were being carried
on, the nation drifted into the second war with England,
and Kentucky was called upon to furnish volunteers for
the two major campaigns in the western theatre of war.

74 Examples of youthful girls thus apprenticed will be
found in Wayne County Deed Book, A, p. 250; B, pp. 50,
51; for boys so apprenticed see, Ibid., A, pp. 322, 323,
340.

75 Ibid., A, pp. 220, 249, 254, 301, 342; B, pp. 177;
Wayne County responded, with the remainder of the State, and provided three companies of volunteers. Micah Taul received a captain's commission and raised a company of 32 officers and men which became a part of Barbee's Regiment of Kentucky Mounted Militia when that regiment was organized in 1812. Later these troops were dismissed, but in 1813 a new call for volunteers was sent out. Micah Taul raised a company in Wayne County, and when these troops were provided with regimental organizations, Taul was elected colonel of the 7th Regiment Kentucky Mounted Volunteer Militia, composed of Taul's Wayne company, two Cumberland companies, one Pulaski company, and one Knox company. This regiment served with distinction under Governor Shelby in the Thames Campaign. A few men of Wayne County served in the Tennessee Militia under Major General Jackson in 1813 in his Creek Campaign, but a larger number answered the call for volunteers for service.

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76 Quisenberry, "Kentucky Soldiers-War of 1812," Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, X, (no. 50), p. 54.

77 Ibid., p. 60; Young, Battle of the Thames, pp. 40, 161-162.

78 Wayne County Deed Book, B, pp. 227, 235 for men serving under Taul in 1813. These are Powers of Attorney or sale of wage rights to persons who are to collect wages due the seller for services in the United States Army; see also Young, Battle of the Thames, pp. 234-235.

79 Wayne County Deed Book, B, p. 168.
in 1814. In that year Adam Vickory, with a captain's commission, raised a company of 87 officers and men which became a part of the 15th Regiment, Kentucky Militia. This regiment served under first Lieutenant-Governor Slaughter, and later under General John Thomas throughout the New Orleans Campaign of 1814-15.80

Toward the end of the period, the beginning of a movement which was later to gain momentum is noticed. This is the emigration of the children of early settlers to, what was regarded by them, better land. Michaux, in his travels in the United States in 1802, speaks of the daily increasing number of Kentuckians and Carolinians along the Missouri River.81 By 1814 this outward movement is noted in Wayne County, when, in a power of attorney, two of the children of Samuel Engram are declared to be in Mercer County, Kentucky and one child in Miami County, Ohio.82 These children have departed to older colonized areas, but it is the beginning of a trend which is to take children away from the home and place Wayne County families in many parts of the United States.


81 Thwaites, Early Western Travels, III, p. 192

With the completion of the small story of the developments in Wayne County to 1815, it is fitting to summarize the changes which has been made. The section, it will be recalled, attracted hunters because of its deer and other fur and game animals. By 1815 these animals had disappeared save in the wilder parts of the plateau and one could hunt only the predatory beasts on which the county paid good bounties. Farmers, small industrialists, and merchants had replaced the hunters. Settlements were confined, for the most part, to the level wooded areas of the county south and east of Mill Springs, in Meadow Creek, Elk Spring Valley, and on Beaver and Otter Creeks. Toward 1815 there was a movement onto the cane and prairie sections and these districts were added to the colonized area. Slavery was introduced, but because of the small size of the farm and the poor quality of the soil it was unprofitable to import and employ large gangs of slaves. Near the end of this period, the beginning of an exodus from the county is noticed. One would supposed this over-population, but the population continued to grow, mostly through natural increase, for after 1815 there are only a few new names appearing in the records. The departure from

the region is a natural one, it being the exodus of children who felt that opportunity for them lay in other sections of the country. Advances had been made in industry, farming, and education, and with a certain degree of fortune there was prospect for a wholesome future.
CHAPTER IV
ANTE CIVIL WAR WAYNE COUNTY
1815 TO 1865

The years 1815 to 1865 saw the completion of the isolation of this district and the attempts of the inhabitants to break that isolation by advocating the improvement of the rivers and the building of good roads. It is the Era of Canals, Turnpikes, and Railroads in the history of transportation in the United States, and this region was not immune from those developments. Agriculture remained the chief occupation of the county. Certain industries died, but new industries took their place. The search for and the exploitation of the subsoil wealth of the plateau section was undertaken. The population of the county increased, but so did emigration. There is an increase in the use of slaves in agriculture, but there is no great increase in the percentage of negroes in the population. The period closes with the Civil War which found the region divided. It was a borderland; families were divided; both armies marched and countermarched across this part of the State until 1864 when the Confederate forces finally retreated southward. The future was not bright for there was consider-
able reconstruction to be done and the remainder of the United States was progressing too rapidly for this small backwash of the westward movement to keep pace.

The county, throughout the period, continued to be predominately agricultural, although certain shifts in the importance of the old crops and the introduction of new crops are noticed. The area is essentially a corn region, and the farmers soon gave corn first place in their plantings. With the other grains it was a matter of luck. As observed before one good crop in three was above average expectancy. Flax was definitely added to the agriculture of the area by 1832.1 Tobacco was raised but chiefly for home consumption. Some exportation of tobacco was made, for in 1818 John Dibrell was allowed to construct a tobacco inspection warehouse, and Peter May and Thomas Gibson were named inspectors.2 By 1835 tobacco had practically been abandoned in this district because of the difficulty and uncertainty of placing the crop on the market.3 The years 1819 to 1836 were, in addition,

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1 Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, p. 3.
2 Wayne County Court Record Book, A, pp. 293, 370.
years of low tobacco prices in the United States which also had its effect in reducing tobacco production.\footnote{4} Tobacco may still have been exported as late as 1842 and 1851 for the former year 800 tobacco plants are noted in a mortgage, and in the latter year 5 acres of tobacco were mortgaged.\footnote{5} Both of these mortgages come at a time of depressed tobacco prices, the first immediately following the good price years of 1837 to 1841, and the second just before the good years 1852 to 1860. However, by 1850 improved transportation, especially by rail, in the more favored tobacco regions,\footnote{6} while the transportation of Wayne County remained relatively unimproved, only made more pronounced the difficulty and uncertainty of marketing a crop, so, perhaps, the mortgages of this period indicate the complete decline of the county as a tobacco region. The cultivation of cotton was continued. Although it is not directly mentioned in the records, in 1841, a cotton gin was mortgaged.\footnote{7} Perhaps


\footnote{5} Wayne County \textit{Deed Book}, C, pp. 23, 288.

\footnote{6} Gray, \textit{op. cit.}, II, pp. 768, 769, 878.

\footnote{7} Wayne County \textit{Deed Book}, B, pp. 203-204.
It may be said that by 1841 cotton cultivation was on the decline and the cotton gin was mortgaged because the business was not prosperous due to the lack of raw cotton, for the census of 1840 shows only 3,000 lbs. of cotton gathered in 1839.\(^8\) The improved farm acreage was not large; between 40 to 65 acres per farm appears to have been the average. In 1840 one mortgage records the following fields, 25 acres of corn, 8 acres of oats, 4 acres of wheat, and 1 acre of flax.\(^9\) A larger farm might be cultivated in the following fashion, 40 acres of corn, 15 acres of oats, 9 acres of wheat and 2 acres of flax;\(^10\) or a farmer might turn entirely to the grains and divide his crops to about 25 acres of corn, 25 acres of oats and 6 acres of wheat.\(^11\)

The more progressive farmers of the section tried to improve the grade of their cattle. At this time, at least two attempts were made in this direction. In 1841 Thomas Hutchinson and James Metcalfe entered into a business partnership with stock raising as part of the enterprise. Metcalfe put into the business his Meadow Creek

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\(^8\) Compendium of the 6th Census of the United States; Census of 1840, p. 264.

\(^9\) Wayne County Deed Book, B, p. 134.

\(^10\) Ibid., B, p. 46.

\(^11\) Ibid., C, p. 111.
lands, about 900 acres, while Hutchinson pledged himself
to buy 5/8 to 3/4 blooded bulls.\textsuperscript{12} John Ryan also at-
ttempted to better the grade of his cattle, but appears to
have had little success, for in 1842, he was forced to
mortgage his holdings, including his full-blooded Eng-
lish bull, to Thomas Hopkins.\textsuperscript{13}

Apparently there was a considerable livestock trade
with other parts of the country, although there is a
noticeable lack of evidence concerning this business.
The marketing of livestock was not difficult for they
provided their own transportation. The number of swine,
horses, and cattle in Wayne County was greater than its
population could consume. The State road, ordered laid
out in 1828, was to lead toward Alabama and Georgia,
exceptionally good markets for livestock. The Kentucky
Geological Survey's Reconnaissance Map of 1870 shows a
road, leading southwest from Monticello past Furnace
Mountain toward Tennessee, labeled 'the Georgia-Alabama
stock road.' In addition, the region in 1861-62 was
well stocked with swine and cattle. From the scanty
evidence it is probable that Wayne County stock raisers

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, B, pp. 233-234.

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Ibid.}, C, p. 39.
exported swine in moderate numbers and fewer horses, mules, and beef cattle. 14

It will be recalled that about 1815 a drift toward the importation of negroes as field laborers was noted. By the 1820's negroes were being imported from states further south. The State law required the importer to register, with the county clerk, a statement that the negroes he brought into Kentucky were to be for his use. This requirement brought into the deed books valuable information respecting the number of negroes brought into the county. The years 1827 to 1829 saw the largest number of importations, Nimrod Ingram, in 1828, imported nine negroes 15 at one time. Most statements record only one or two negroes and few purchasers appear more than once. One exception is Joshua Buster, the tanner, who in 1827 brought a single slave from Tennessee, and two more in March 1828. 16 Another large number of negroes is not noticed in the records until 1841 in which year Alexander Daugherty established his residence in Wayne County and

14 Parr, "Kentucky's Overland Trade with the Ante-Bellum South," Historical Quarterly-Filson Club, II, pp. 71-81; Gray, op. cit., II, pp. 840-841. Ibid., II, p. 897, the author points out the dependence of the cotton areas on Kentucky and Tennessee, as early as 1808, for flour, pork, beef, and horses. Perhaps in the years 1815 to 1835 Wayne County aided in supplying pork.

15 Wayne County Deed Book, D, p. 420.

16 Ibid., D, pp. 314, 418.
declared the sixteen negroes with him were to be used on his farm.\footnote{17}

In periods of financial stress, negroes were used as security for loans. From 1827 to 1833 four such loans are recorded, while in the 1840's two additional loans were noted.\footnote{18} It is difficult to explain exactly what these loans mean. Perhaps the lenders considered slaves better security than land, for on default of the loan it may have been possible to secure good prices for the negroes in other parts of the state or in the deep south.

Masters manumitted their faithful bondmen in the same fashion as slaves were manumitted in similar sections. In 1817 James Walker freed his negro Mirida and gave him 20 acres of land, provided Mirida worked the 20 acres on equal shares with Walker and aided him in the winter collecting wood for ten years.\footnote{19} Joshua Buster, for $500, freed, in 1845, his faithful slave, Garrett.\footnote{20} Two other instances were noted, one in 1815, the second in 1842.

\footnote{17} Wayne County \textit{Mortgage Book}, B, p. 285.
\footnote{20} \textit{Ibid.}, I, p. 155.
These isolated cases would suggest that to the Civil War
manumission was not unknown but the usual thing.

On the whole slavery in Wayne County was not an im-
portant item. The county is a marginal agricultural
region, and the ordinary crops provided food for local
consumption but little for export. Similar conditions
existed in cotton and tobacco. These conditions were
unfriendly to slavery. The number of negroes, however,
gradually increased to reach the crest of 1,015 in 1860.
In this census the largest percentage of negroes in the
total population is reached with 9.8%. During the period,
although manumission may have been a usual thing, few
free negroes were found by the census takers. In 1860
they found the largest number, 28. If manumission was as
common as supposed, the free negro did not remain in the
area but emigrated, probably northward. The county being
a marginal one agriculturally, with limited acres favor-
able to large farms, slaves were used only in small num-
bers, except in a few isolated cases.

At this time a few earlier industries failed, but new
industries took their place. The business of refining
and processing iron appears to have failed by 1820, and
iron had to be imported. The saltpetre and powder in-
dustry passed on, due likely to the exhaustion of the more
accessible nitrogenous earths and the falling off of the
local demand for the product. There was a short revival of this industry during the early days of the Civil War when the Confederate first line of defense lay along the Cumberland River. 21 As soon as the southern forces were driven from Kentucky and Tennessee, the industry again died and has not been revived. Distilling seems to have been one of the chief industries of the county due, in large part, to the large production of corn and the necessity of reducing the grain to an easily transportable article. In the deeds and mortgages, stills and whiskey are frequently mentioned. In 1831 one named Hutchinson instituted suit for 738 gallons of good merchantable proof whiskey. 22 In 1832 seven stills were mortgaged, one being a 160 gallon still, a second a 175 gallon still. 23 The heavy mortgaging at this time was probably caused by the tightness of money throughout the state. The census

21 This is one of the stories told in the region. In newly discovered Crystal Cave (1929), on the road from Burnside to Stearns, relics found in the cave are said to be of the Civil War period or even earlier.

22 Wayne County Deed Book, E, p. 349.

23 Ibid., F, pp. 16, 52.

takers of 1840 recorded 11 distilleries, all small operations, employing 11 persons. No other mortgages for stills are noted until 1846 when two small stills are mentioned. Although in 1840, the census takers found 11 distilleries none were reported in 1850, there being no provision for this item. In 1860 the takers found but 5 distilleries employing 17 persons.

The timber reserves of the region and the type of agriculture continued the usefulness and the necessity of saw and grist mills. Both types of mills are mentioned jointly in mortgages so they seem to have been operated at the same place. The sawmills were cutting the supply of pine and poplar. One large mill, mortgaged in 1832 to M. E. Hutchinson and Thomas Moody, had 50,000 feet of sawed pine and 450 poplar logs in the stock yard. The finer woods, cherry and maple, merit the continuation of the furniture business. The Metcalfe's continued their furniture business at Mill Springs until the Civil War when, after the destruction of the small plant during...


27 Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, p. 6.
military operations, the family rebuilt and ran the plant for some years. James Collier, in the 1830's conducted a small furniture plant in Monticello which appears to have been discontinued due to the unfavorableness of business in 1832.28 The presence of tanning materials assured the continuance of the tanning industry. Joshua Basker in 1825 was the largest tanner having tan bark rights on at least one 200 acre tract.29

Certain new industries were established which show an attempt at self-sufficiency in new directions. Thomas Hutchinson and James Moody, in 1836, entered into a five year partnership in a paper mill and oil mill.30 This oil mill may have been constructed to crush flaxseed and cotton seed and produce linseed and cottonseed oil.31 However, these men seemed to do better in a mercantile business which included money lending, for, after 1836, with exception of the 1840 census entry, nothing more

28 Ibid., A, p. 11.
29 Wayne County Deed Book, D, p. 125. In 1830 Jacob Collins was apprenticed to Joshua Basker to learn the trade of tanner, Ibid., E, p. 162.
31 Gray, op. cit., II, p. 821; Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860, p. 82.
is heard of their paper mill and oil mill, but they are noted frequently in mortgages as the lending parties. A fulling mill appears to have been established on Fall Creek to aid the people in their weaving. Whether the business paid or not is doubted for in 1841 a mortgage was obtained on the property: a brass kettle, a Fuller's plate, six dozen press boards and a crank, classified as a set of fulling mill tools being mentioned. 32 The growth of cotton in the 1820's and the 1830's justified the construction of a cotton gin by Peter Caughan. In the period of distress in the middle 1830's, Caughan was forced to mortgage his gin to one, Coffey. 33 He was able to meet this obligation, but, no doubt because of the lack of raw cotton, he was in 1841 forced to re-mortgage his cotton gin, this time to Henry Ruffaker, 34 and the gin now disappears from the records. Shipbuilding was one of the new industries established at this time. This industry is called shipbuilding by courtesy, for doubtless it was not the building of large sailcraft or steamboats. It would be better to call the industry boatbuilding, understanding it as the building of barges and scows for the

32 Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, p. 201.
33 Ibid., A, p. 75.
34 Ibid., A, pp. 203-204
transporting of heavy bulk products to Nashville and towns on the Cumberland, Ohio, Tennessee, and Mississippi Rivers. With the development of steamboats, small draft towboats may have been built. Huling's Shipyard, operating by 1829, was at the junction of the Little and Big South Forks. In 1836 mortgages for ship timbers lying on the Cumberland are noted. One mortgage declares the boat under construction is to be used to transport corn to the Orleans or some other market. This industry was operating as late as 1843 when a barge building on the Big South Fork was mortgaged, and may have continued to 1851 when one boat builder was forced to mortgage his tools. The latter mortgage may indicate that as an important industry boatbuilding was finished. The boats built were, as the one mortgage states, to transport corn to Orleans, but with the development of coal and timber resources these boats may have been used more often to transport coal and lumber to Nashville.

35 Wayne County Deed Book, F, p. 889
36 Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, pp. 147, 175.
37 Ibid., C, p. 144.
38 Ibid., C, p. 271.
A second new industry, undertaken at this time, was coal mining. This development took place in the eastern or plateau part of the county along the Big and Little South Forks, a section included, since 1912, in McCreary County and in the coal measures now commercially exploited by the Stearns Coal and Lumber Company of Ludington, Michigan. Although little mining was done throughout these years, when this field is compared with the Pennsylvania fields, it must be mentioned for it brought cash into the region and provided arguments for attempting to obtain State and Federal aid for improvement of this section of the Cumberland River and its tributaries. The company of Hutchinson, Huling, and Smith was engaged in coal mining on the Big South Fork by 1831.\textsuperscript{39} It is not known how large this operation was for no figures are available. One coal operation on the same river, sold in 1833, had an estimated 60,000 bushels or 2,280 short tons of coal on the stock pile.\textsuperscript{40} The census of 1840 shows

\textsuperscript{39} Wayne County Deed Book, E, pp. 357-358.

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., F, p. 253; Jilson, The Coal Industry of Kentucky, p. 16 says 13,000 bus. = 494 short tons, therefore 1 bu. = 76 lbs.
only 44,000 bushels or 1,672 short tons raised to the surface by 18 miners, but various mortgages of the 1840’s mention stone coal of varying amounts on the Big South Fork. 41 In the next decade larger sums of capital were introduced into the coal industry of eastern Kentucky. In 1856 the Cumberland River Coal and Lumber Company, with Cyrenus Wait of Waitsboro, Pulaski County, as the leading figure, was incorporated with a capitalization of $100,000, shares at $50 par. The purpose of the company was to mine, transport, and sell coal, cut, transport, and sell lumber. 42 Nashville and other down-river towns, as well as the local area, were probably regarded as the principal markets of the future. 43

Salt, it will be recalled, is considered one of the great prime necessities of the frontier; great interest, therefore, was taken in the discovery of saline springs, the waters of which were strong enough to compensate for the time spent in boiling out salt. Wayne County did

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43 In 1846 Nashville used about 1,600 tons of coal valued at 15¢ to 25¢ per bushel. Most of this coal came from the mouth of the Tradewater River and from mines about 300 miles up the Cumberland River from Nashville, De Boy’s Review, I, p. 507. The location of the Cumberland mines must have been very near Wayne County.
not have such saline springs. In the early years of this period a new method for obtaining salt was tried, i.e., drilling for salt. The State, to encourage this new industry, granted lands to companies and individuals. Peter Zimmermann, Andrew Erwin, and Matthew Huling were granted, by the Assembly of the Commonwealth in 1818, two large tracts of land, one in Adair County, the second in Wayne County, to encourage their drilling. The well being drilled in Wayne County by this group was located on the Big South Fork in the eastern part of the County. To aid in the drilling of this well, the group received 4,000 acres of land and were requested to locate it in blocks of over 300 acres within 5 miles of the well and pay the State $20 per 100 acres within two years.44 This appropriation of land may have been petitioned for by the adventurers so they could own outright the land which they thought overlaid the salt beds rather than lease those lands from the State. It is more than probable, however, that the desired land was in the rough plateau country and owned by the State which refused to lease. Whether this exploration was successful is hard to interpret. If it was successful it brought other adventurers into the business; if it was a failure there were speculators willing to explore for salt

In other parts of the county. This new attempt was undertaken by Henry Garner and Company, i.e., Peter Catron, Martin Beatty, Jerry Evans, Felix Hank, and Garner, on Beaver Creek about two miles from Monticello. On their petition, the State granted to them, February 10, 1820, 3,000 acres within six miles of their operation at $10 per 100 acres provided they complete their work within four years.45 By August, the company was drilling and their chance of success appears to have been good for James Stone, Micah Gregory, and Marcus Huling of Hutchinson; Huling and Smith Coal Company were planning to drill for salt on lands near Henry Garner and Company.46 A fourth test for salt, which was to lead to a momentous discovery, was the undertaking of Beatty and Company on the Big South Fork of the Cumberland near Rock Creek close to the Tennessee line. Beatty was from Abingdon, Virginia, where he had been in business with L. L. Henderson in 1815.47 Beatty moved to Wayne County and became a member of Henry Garner and Company, Salt manufacturers, leaving Henderson in charge at Abingdon. Henderson died in 1820,48 and Beatty

46 Wayne County Deed Book, C, p. 168.
47 Washington County, Virginia, Deed Book, 6, p. 100.
48 Ibid., 7, p. 273.
closed his Abingdon business to confine his efforts in his new home. About this time, Beatty and Company undertook their salt operation. While drilling for salt, the Company struck oil! Here was something new: They were not searching for this substance, it hindered their continued drilling and was in every way a pestiferous liquid, and was given a fitting name, "Devil's Tar."\(^{49}\) A decade later a story of a similar discovery appeared in the Louisville paper and was quoted by Miles Weekly Register. This story informs the public of an oil discovery in Cumberland County on the Cumberland River. The drillers struck oil at about 180 feet and the well flowed about 75 gallons per minute onto the Cumberland River. This time some one tried to use the liquid, for the story further informs the reader that a bright light, similar to gas light, is obtained.\(^{50}\) Nothing came of either discovery. The wells stopped flowing or were plugged and in the second instance the waste oil on the river caught fire and was destroyed. Beatty closed his well and moved to a new location on Bear Creek, Big South Fork and again tried to discover salt, this time with State aid. He was

\(^{49}\) Miller, Geology of Kentucky, p. 287.

\(^{50}\) Miles Weekly Register, XXXVI, April 18, 1829, p. 117. The strike was made in March 1829 by Colonels Emerson and Stockton on Renox Creek near Burksville, Cumberland County, while drilling for salt. Kentucky Progress Magazine, II, no. 3, p. 17.
granted 2,000 acres within six miles of his well and requested to enter the land within one year at no cost. 51. This adventure appears to have succeeded, although two years later he was granted an extension of one year to enter his land, 52 and while no record can be found of the land entry yet in an 1833 road order and on 1862 maps of the Big South Fork region, Beatty's Salt Works are a landmark. All these explorations did not, at first, supply sufficient salt to capture the local market and it remained profitable to import salt from Goose Creek near Bucksville. By the 1840's, however, supply had caught demand, and a mortgage mentioning 300 bushels of salt at the Goose Creek Salt Works is found. 53. Probably the operator was feeling the competition of the Wayne County wells or, more likely, there was a decline in the price of salt and the Goose Creek Salt Works were being forced from business. The sugar industry was continued. This was the boiling over of maple sap to produce maple sugar. 54

52 Ibid., 33rd Assembly, p. 73.
53 Wayne County Mortgage Book, C, p. 119.
54 Ibid., I, p. 177.
Banks, necessary to loan capital to industry and individuals, were at first undertaken by the State. The state, in 1805, established the Bank of Kentucky for 10 years, but few of its loans were placed in Wayne County. Toward the end of the life of the Bank of Kentucky, leading citizens of Monticello attempted to establish a local bank under the Independent Bank Act of 1818. The Monticello Bank, incorporated for 20 years, was capitalized at $100,000, shares at $100 par, with George Berry, Hard Weatherford, Abid Shrewsbury, Thomas Clemens, and Joseph Reaves as directors. With the organized movement for the establishment of a new State bank, the Monticello Independent Bank Act was repealed in 1820 and the Bank forced from business. The Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, established in December 1820 for 20 years, replaced the local institution. This new State Bank, permitted to establish one branch in each of the twelve judicial districts, selected Somerset as the home of the branch for the 12th District to which Wayne County was attached. The

55 Littell and Swigert, Digest of the Laws of Kentucky, I, p. 139.
56 Session Acts of Kentucky, 26th Assembly, 1st session, pp. 491, 493.
57 Ibid., 26th Assembly, p. 908.
district bank, with James Langston, Nathan Dabney, and
C. W. Mills as appraisers, took many mortgages on Wayne
County property in 1821.\textsuperscript{59} The business of lending money
was a profitable one, and mercantile houses with sufficient
cash, entered the loan business. The two mercantile firms
of Cecil and Kendrick, and H. E. Hutchinson and Thomas
Moody did a large mortgage business in the 1830's, es-
pecially in 1833, 1834, and 1835.\textsuperscript{60}

The beginning of the end of the region's self-suf-
ficiency in textiles can perhaps be dated from this period.
John Garrett in 1837 mortgaged to Phillips and Huffaker
certain textiles at Louisville. Among the goods mentioned
were 300 yards of woolens, 70 yards of linen and 60 pairs
of socks.\textsuperscript{61} Four years later, 1841, the fulling mill on
Fall Creek was mortgaged. If the inhabitants were weaving
all the cloth they required, it is improbably that the
owner of the fulling mill would have found it necessary to
close his business. Likewise in 1841 a cotton gin is mort-
gaged for the second and last time. The end of the region's
self-sufficiency in textiles, it seems safe to say, dates
from about the end of the 1830's.

\textsuperscript{59} Wayne County \textit{Deed Book}, C, pp. 183, 187, 188, 189.
\textsuperscript{60} Wayne County \textit{Mortgage Book}, A, passim.
\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Ibid.}, A, p. 201.
In enumerating the industries and businesses established, the wagoner, the blacksmith, the hatter, and the numerous tradesmen found in all places, should not be forgotten. There is, in addition, the home industry, the spinning and weaving, and the processing of farm products. Looms and spinning wheels for both cotton and flax are often mentioned in mortgages of household goods. This points to the continued spinning and weaving in the home, although mercantile firms were importing textiles. This home weaving earlier had brought the establishment of the fulling mill on Fall Creek, but the decline in home weaving brought a decline in the fulling business.

The most practical way of transporting the products of the region was by the Cumberland River. The stream rises in the southeastern part of the State near Cumberland Gap and flows northwest across the Cumberland Plateau to Burnside where it leaves the plateau and flows across the Interior Low Plateau. The course of the river is now southwesterly, approximately parallel the Cumberland Plateau Front, although from a few miles to many miles distant from it. At Nashville, the river makes a big bend and again flowing in a northwesterly direction, empties into the Ohio at Smithland, a few miles upstream from the mouth of the Tennessee. The upper Cumberland,
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from Cumberland Gap to Burnside, has many falls and
drapids which hinder navigation. Two hindrances to navi-
gation are near Burnside, Smith's and Shadowens Shoals,
while further upstream Cumberland Falls presents the
most serious obstruction to navigation, for the river
plunges over a 60 foot ledge into a narrow canyon. In
this upper stretch, the river is confined to a channel
of from 200 to 300 feet in width and, when in flood,
raises in about the same width of channel. The remainder
of the river can be conveniently divided into two sec-
tions, (a) from Burnside to Nashville, 325 miles, (b),
from Nashville to Smithlands, 193 miles. The middle
section, Burnside to Nashville, is of particular interest
for, prior to the construction of the railroad over the
Cumberland at Burnside, the products of Wayne County
found their best markets at various downstream towns and
Nashville.

The valley of the middle Cumberland is very wide,
although at low water the width of the channel is from
400 to 500 feet. The fall of the river in this section
is not great, 223 feet in 325 miles or about 8 inches
per mile.\(^\text{62}\) The stream has the appearance of being admir-

\(^{\text{62}}\) 61st Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representa-
tives, Document no. 632, p. 3
ably suited to navigation, but the river builds many bars and shoals and often the water depth is about 2 feet at the shoals with deeper water in the pools. The river is subject to violent floods often rising 50 feet or more above low water. On the whole, the river is suitable in normal seasons for navigation from three to six months.

The presence of Smith's and Shadowens Shoals near Burnside hindered the movement of coal from Pulaski County, and the eastern part of Wayne County. The method employed in shipping coal and other products was to run the barges and scows over the shoals in periods of rise or at flood season, trusting they would not be lost downstream. This method cut profits, for the supply of coal and timber reaching the market during flood season outstripped the demand, forced prices down and the return to the operator was correspondingly lower. While prices, during the off navigation season, were high, the operator could not take full advantage of the high prices for he could get his products over the shoals only at great loss.

The major tributary of the Cumberland in Wayne County, the Big South Fork and its tributary, the Little South Fork, were the scenes of the chief coal and timber productions, but the streams were not exceptionally navigable.
Both the Big and Little South Forks have shoals and large amounts of debris in their channels which, with the presence of snags, made them unsuitable for heavy traffic.

These hindrances to traffic on the best transporting agency of the district brought from the inhabitants of the region many pleas to improve the navigability of these means of transport, either by State or Federal appropriations or through private capital. All these instrumentalities for rendering improvements attacked the problem but actually accomplished very little. As early as 1817 there was agitation for State aid to improve the navigability of the commonwealth's rivers. This agitation culminated in the Act of January 28, 1818, through which the State appropriated $40,000 for the year 1818 to improve the Cumberland below the Falls, the Green, Licking, Salt, and Kentucky Rivers.\(^6\) Little of this money appears to have been spent on the Cumberland. The Kentucky River was of major importance to the State and received particular attention. From time to time after 1818 other State appropriations were made, but few improvements were really achieved. In the later part of the 1820's, with the increase in coal operations, the attempts to improve the navigability of the middle Cum-

erland, and its tributaries became more serious. In 1929 the Big South Fork from Burnside to the mouth of the Little South Fork was declared, by the State, a navigable stream. This halted the construction of mill dams and artificial hindrances to navigation and permitted Huling and other coal operators to barge out their coal. Two years later the State provided aid in the form of 5,000 acres of unappropriated land, granted to Wayne County to be surveyed and sold, the proceeds from the sale to be used in clearing the Big South Fork from its mouth upstream as far as Huling's coal bank. It was another two years before additional funds were allotted to improve navigation on the Cumberland or its tributaries. In 1833 two appropriations were made for improvements. One grant of $3,000 commonwealth paper, under the control of John Bates, Cyrenous Wait and Michael Castillo, was for the purpose of opening a channel through Smith's Shoals, upstream from Burnside. The other allowance of $1,000 commonwealth paper, under the control of commissioners Marcus Huling, James Moody, and Michael Castillo, all of Wayne County, was to open a channel on the Big South Fork downstream.

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65 Ibid., 39th Assembly, (1830-31), pp. 92-95.
from Huling's and Major Dick's coal mine. The purpose, as expressed in the bill, was to permit this region to win better markets and to aid in shipping coal to Nashville. The next Assembly continued the work for 1834 with increased appropriations, $5,000 for Smith's Shoals and $2,000 for the Big South Fork. Exactly how much work was accomplished through these allotments is problematical. After 1834, the State made no further appropriations but turned to the Federal government. The State work, together with the improvements from the Federal funds, must have achieved something for the river was used as a transporting agency and boats were built for the river trade throughout the 1840's and 1850's in which decade a new request for improvement of the river brought in private capital.

From 1832 to 1838 Federal funds were applied to river improvements. These moneys were used to construct wing dams, rip-raps and other artificial controls to force the river into a narrower channel at shoals and bars and thus compel the river to cut those obstructions to navigable depth.

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68 51st Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives Document no. 632, p. 3.
For the years 1832-1838, $135,000 were appropriated and spent to improve the whole Cumberland River. The appropriation of $55,000 for 1837 was to partially carry out the program set forth in the Colonel Abert Survey of 1835. A
About one-half of this grant was expended on the lower river, Nashville to Smithland, nevertheless, much of the 1837 appropriation was spent on the middle river for snaggling operations and wing dams. From 1838 to 1871 no Federal appropriations were applied to the middle river although in 1838 a $20,000 grant for the river below Nashville was provided. A comprehensive plan for canalising the whole river from Smithland to the head of navigation above Smith's Shoals was undertaken by the Federal Government in 1871. This work by the Government will be reviewed in the proper periods, 1865-1900, 1900 to the present. Suffice to say at this time that after 1838 and to 1871, no Federal appropriations were granted for any Cumberland River improvement.


During the remainder of the 1830's, throughout the 1840's and in the early 1850's, no river appropriations were made by the State, but in the late 1850's, the State attempted to re-arouse Federal interest and, failing in this, turned to private enterprise. The State Assembly of 1855-56 dispatched a resolution to Congress requesting $100,000 for improving Smith's and Shadowens Shoals which were grave hindrances to navigation. This suggests that any work done under the State appropriations of 1833 and 1834, and the work completed under Federal supervision, had become useless or the appropriations had accomplished nothing. The Federal Government did not recognize the petition and the State turned to private individuals and companies.

Under private enterprise, consideration of Smith's and Shadowens Shoals was postponed and the development of the Big South Fork and the main river, downstream from Burnside, was undertaken. Bradley and Company, in March 1856, was given the task of improving, by canalization, the Big South Fork from its mouth to the Tennessee line. The company was permitted to build three dams with the necessary locks and to generally improve the navigability of the river. After the completion of the work, for which a period of 5

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years from December 1, 1856 was granted, the company could collect tolls. The purpose, set forth in the act, was to assist in the development of the State's coal and timber resources, 73 and some of the better coal and timber lay along the Big South Fork. Bradley and Company did little or nothing to improve the river, for in 1858, a new company was incorporated to carry on the work. This company, the Great South Fork, Cumberland River, Nashville, Iron, Coal and Lumber Company was organized by E. L. Van Winkle, P. R. Haggard, Alex. R. McGee and Joseph S. Bledsoe, to improve the Big South Fork by means of locks, dams, and canals; and, on completion of the work, collect tolls for maintenance and reimbursement on its investment. In addition, the company was an industrial enterprise, being authorized to mine, purchase and sell, coal, oil, salt, timber, iron and iron ore. The company, to have its privileges confirmed, was required to complete its organization and begin work within two years. 74 For the present, the main river apparently was navigable for the craft of the day as the State did nothing toward improving the main stream.


developments. Fundamentally the area was still agricultural, and the oil exploitation would draw people from subsistence farming to industry; and collapse of the industry would place the county in a situation which would be worse than before the beginning of the development.

The discovery of oil in Pennsylvania in 1859 and the great increase in consumption by 1865 led to a re-exploration of the Wayne County field, where oil or 'Devil's Tar' had been discovered in 1818, and the adjacent Cumberland County field where oil had been struck in 1829. A large number of development companies were incorporated by the State to operate in Wayne County and adjacent sections. In January, 1865, the Greasy Creek and Poplar Mountain Oil, Mining, Manufacturing Lumber and Transportation Company, the Wayne County Beatty Oil Well Company, and the Big South Fork Petroleum Company were incorporated. In the first company there was no local capital, the company being backed by Blue Grass, Boyle, and Garrard County residents. In the other two companies the Van Winkle family was prominent. The purpose of the companies, as stated in their charters, was to explore for and develop oil, iron, zinc, coal, copperas, and other minerals and timber along the Big South Fork and Cumberland River.¹ The following month more companies,

In which Wayne and Pulaski County residents were interested, were incorporated. These companies, the Monticello Oil and Manufacturing Company, the Otter Creek Petroleum Company, and the Somerset Petroleum and Transportation Company, were to explore for and develop oil and other minerals; while the latter two companies, in addition, were allowed to refine, transport, and sell their products. 2 Eleven months later the State incorporated the White Oak Creek and Cumberland River Oil and Mining Company to explore for and develop oil and other minerals in the vicinity of White Oak Creek. 3 Numerous leases were made in the sections these companies proposed to operate. All leases were similar, the lessee having control of the subsoil wealth, oil, coal, iron, zinc, salt, or copperas, and the right to use the necessary land and water to carry on his explorations for a number of years. The lessor, in return, was to receive a percentage of any mineral removed from the ground. A 25 year lease paid the lessor 1/8 royalty, while a 35 to 50 year lease paid 1/10 royalty. 4

2 Ibid., I, pp. 353-355, 397-399; II, p. 61.
3 Ibid., Session of Dec. 1865, pp. 190-191.
4 Wayne County Deed Book, O and P, passim.
After the first plunge into oil exploration with the usual number of failures, there was a lull in operations until 1872, when new leases were made. There had been certain successes which caused these new attempts. One writer informs us that a Mr. Huffaker, up to 1872, had pumped 10,000 barrels of oil from his lease on Otter Creek. The success of the Huffaker Otter Creek Well and the short lived Ottley Renox Creek Well brought a small rush for leases. Many of these new leases were taken by outside capitalists, especially by Mr. Frederic Clapp of Cincinnati who was interested in the possibilities of oil, salt, coal, iron, and potter clay in the Rock Creek and Big South Fork region; and Mr. R. S. Carter of Clinton County, Kentucky, who was extremely interested in the Beaver Creek-Otter Creek section where he secured 95 leases, 88 on Otter Creek, and the remainder on Beaver Creek. Other outside operators took leases on Harmon Creek, Difficulty Creek, and Long Branch of Beaver Creek. On these new leases, the failure of the older leases is

5 Miller, Geology of Kentucky, p. 209.

6 Kentucky Progress Magazine, II, no. 3, p. 17. The well was near Burkesville, Kentucky, close to the 1829 strike.

7 Wayne County Deed Book, p. 393; R, pp. 309-366, passim.

8 Wayne County Lease Book, I, passim.
reflected, and new conditions were imposed on the lessee for the fulfillment of his obligations. Fifty-year leases were made, the lessor to receive $1 for good faith and 1/10 royalty. In some instances the lessee pledged himself to begin operations within one year, and have at least one well drilling at any one time. Other operators pledged themselves to begin operations within five years, and after that time to pay the lessor an annual sum to hold the lease. In one instance this annual payment was the taxes for the current year. This new development brought at least one new company into the Cumberland Valley. In 1880 the Louisville and Burksville Oil, Mining, and Transportation Company was incorporated by the State to develop oil, coal, salt, and lead in the Cumberland Valley. To move its oil to market, the company was permitted to build a pipeline instead of having to depend on the river.

The great oil fever came in the 1890's. In 1892 certain Pennsylvania companies struck oil in Floyd County, and the fever immediately spread throughout eastern Kentucky. The Beaver and Otter Creek areas became the chief pools of Wayne County, and by 1895, 15 development

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9 Ibid., 1, p. 185; 2, passim.
companies were operating wells which produced from 5 to 25 barrels daily. There was a scramble for new leases and renewal of old ones. The possibility of natural gas development made leases come high. The duration of the lease was reduced to 20 or 25 years with a 1/10 royalty to the lessor. The lessee pledged himself to begin operations within one year, or to pay an annual rental, usually 5¢ per acre. If wells produced only gas, the lessor was to receive $100 per well annually and free gas for his home. It is this excitement of 1895 which spills into the next period and reaches its height about 1905-06 and again in 1910. It brought many 'foreigners' into the region, made speculation rife, and with its collapse left the county in poor circumstances. All this oil excitement and speculation brought to the county its lack of transportation facilities, and throughout the period numerous attempts were made to remedy the error.

The earliest attempt to better the district's transportation facilities at this time was the improvement of the river through private enterprise. The river provided the best and almost sole means of shipping the crude oil and coal to market, and the production of the Huffaker

10 Miller, op. cit., p. 294.

11 Wayne County Lease Book, 3, passim.
well on Otter Creek and the coal from Poplar Mountain were barged to Nashville. 12 Both the Greasy Creek and Poplar Mountain Company and the Wayne County Beatty Oil Well Company were, in their charters, charged with the improvement of the streams. The former company was charged with the improvement of the Cumberland River below Greasy Creek, while the second company had in its charge the Big South Fork and the Cumberland downstream from Burnside to Greasy Creek. 13 Both companies were also permitted to charge tolls for the use of their improvements for maintenance and to obtain a return on their investment. The Wayne County Beatty Oil Well Company could not have succeeded with their work on the Big South Fork, for in 1874 the State incorporated the Big South Fork Navigation, Lumber, Manufacturing and Transportation Company to undertake the work of improving the Big South Fork, in addition to their business of carrying on a general lumber, mercantile, mining, and oil refining business. 14


The State, to aid the movement of products from the plateau section, turned to the tributaries of the Cumberland. The section drained by the Big South Fork and its tributaries contained the main coal and timber reserves, and was expected to have great petroleum reserves. As early as 1829 the State had declared the Big South Fork a navigable stream from its mouth to the mouth of the Little South Fork. To better move the natural resources of the plateau section, the state now declared the tributaries of the Big South Fork navigable streams. In 1882 the Little South Fork, from its mouth southwest to Parmleysville, was declared navigable, followed in 1884 by acts which made the Little South Fork and Rock Creek from their mouths to the Tennessee line navigable streams. 15 No known attempts were made to improve the Little South Fork and Rock Creek either by Federal, State, local, or private agencies. The effect of these acts of navigability was to halt the building of any structure or hindrance to the berthing of coal, timber, and oil from the section. For moving large quantities of these products, however, canalization of the streams would be necessary because of the rocks and debris in the stream beds; and when such improvements were not forthcoming the acts of navigability were useless.

While the State was trying to improve the tributaries of the Cumberland, the Federal Government took the main stream under its supervision. The Federal Government for a short period, 1832 to 1838, had appropriated funds for the improvement of the Cumberland, and now took permanent control of the stream. In 1871 army engineers began examining the river with a view toward permanent improvement. To 1875 no appropriations were made for betterments, but examinations and surveys were pushed to determine what was necessary to provide year round navigation.16 The Chief Engineer of the Nashville district in 1875 proposed snagging, removal of bars and ledges, the construction of wing dams at shoals, and the construction of locks and dams at rapids, be carried on by the War Department. Between 1875 and 1882, when the Secretary of War was directed to examine and determine the practicability and cost of canalization of the Cumberland from its mouth to across Smith's Shoals, §495,000 were appropriated for improving the Cumberland; and divided, §215,000 for the lower river, §162,000 for the middle river, §115,000 for

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16 Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers to the Secretary of War, 1875, pt. 1, p. 790. The Rivers and Harbors Act of 1870 directed the Secretary of War to cause to be begun the examination and survey of the Cumberland River from its mouth to the head of navigation; the Act of 1871 ordered this survey be completed; and the Act of 1874 ordered the examination and survey of Smith's Shoals.
Smith's Shoals, $4,000 for the river between Smith's Shoals and Cumberland Falls, and $3,000 for the Big South Fork. The Senate of the 47th Congress (1882-83) ordered a broad examination of the Cumberland. The investigators discovered the former improvements on the river had in mind the forcing of the stream to increase its navigable depth at mean stages, and that these improvements were inadequate. Nashville, the report declared, was the principal market for products of the upper Cumberland and likewise the principal redistributing point for the valley. Coal was the major resource, and formerly had been barged on the Big South Fork; but competition of other fields had ended this development. Coal had been mined at Poplar Mountain, shipped by rail six miles to the river, and barged to Nashville; but competition had also forced this company out of business. The report declared timber had been rafted to Nashville; and coal oil was believed to exist in the section, but needed better transportation. The result of the investigation by the United States Army Engineers, who made the examination in 1883-84, was a recommendation, in 1884, for the construction of 30 locks and dams between Nashville and the head of Smith's Shoals (above Burnside) to provide five foot navigation at mean

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low water. Congress, by the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1884, followed this recommendation, making it the basic plan for the improvement of the Cumberland, although the recommendation has been modified from time to time. The original cost to complete the project was placed at $4,100,000, a cost later increased by new estimates. By 1896 the cost of the completed project had increased to $9,000,000, due partly to a modification in the basic plan by the Act of 1890, which increased the proposed canalized channel to six feet and increased the size of the locks; and partly to the long delays caused by the lack of funds.

To give added outlets to this area, the district engineer recommended the improvement be carried on from two points. Since the Kentucky area to be aided by the improvement was looking to the recently completed Cincinnati Southern to provide an additional outlet to markets, the improvement of the river should begin at Burnside, where the railroad crossed the river, and proceed downstream as well as begin at Nashville and proceed upstream. Congress followed the suggestion and granted small sums for surveys to determine the best location for locks below Burnside.


19 Ibid., 1887, pt. 3, p. 1760. The first appropriation for work under the plan of 1884 was made by the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1884.
From 1886 to 1900 much work was planned but little accomplished in the district subordinate to and dependent on the railroad at Burnside. Although from 1884 to 1896 $1,025,000 was appropriated, so slowly did the work proceed that in 1896 the engineers estimated 75 to 100 years would be necessary to complete the task. The same year $20,000 was appropriated for work on locks and dams below Burnside, most of it being spent on Lock and Dam 21, the completion of which would provide three feet navigation the year round from Burnside to the dam 25-3/4 miles downstream. From Nashville upstream six locks and dams were under construction. Downstream from Nashville work also was undertaken to improve the Cumberland to the Ohio. This work on the lower river was justly considered of greater importance than the work on the middle river and was pushed. By 1900 an additional $720,000 had been appropriated for locks and dams 1 to 7 (above Nashville). By that date most of the lock construction on locks 1 to 6 had been completed, and work on the accompanying dams was carried on simultaneously; so the locks and dams could be placed in operation at approximately the same time but

20 Annual Report . . . Chief of Engineers . . .
in progress from Nashville. By 1900 work was under contract, but no unit above Nashville had been finished. The completion of these river improvement works was to come after 1900, and by the time the units under contract before 1900 were completed, new ideas and changes in the basic plan were introduced which fundamentally changed the government's policy toward the improvement of the Cumberland River.

The first railroad planned across this section of Kentucky brought to Monticello first, the anticipation of being on the mainline and, with the disappearance of that hope, then the expectation of a branch line to the town. Immediately after the Civil War, the city of Cincinnati undertook the construction of a railroad to Chattanooga to increase the commerce of Cincinnati. Surveys for the Cincinnati Southern, as the road was known, extended from 1868 to 1871 under the supervision of Engineer Gunn. These surveys were to discover the best and most direct line from Cincinnati to Chattanooga. To execute this task, surveys were run about 70 miles along the Kentucky-Tennessee border in order to find the best way through the plateau to the Valley of East Tennessee. After complete survey of many possible routes, three routes were seriously considered, two passing through Monticello and the third through Somerset. The first
route, or Route 12 of the Gunn Survey, was from Cincinnati
to Lexington via the ridge between the Licking and
Kentucky Rivers, then to Lancaster, Monticello, and
through Pendrell, Morgan, and Roane Counties, Tennessee,
and by way of White's Creek to the Valley of East
Tennessee and down the Valley to Chattanooga.21 The second
route through Monticello was Gunn's Route 15, following
the first survey as far as Lexington, then swinging off to
Danville and toward Monticello, and following the first
route to the Valley of East Tennessee. The third route,
Gunn's Route 14, followed the other routes as far as
Lexington, then swung to Danville, whence it followed the
1863 Military Survey of General Burnside, the route being
roughly Stanford, Waynesburg, Somerset, Burnside, Emory
River, Tennessee, and the Valley of East Tennessee to
Chattanooga.22

All routes considered followed the same line from
Cincinnati-Covington to Lexington, but south from
Lexington there was a question as to the best and most

21 Gunn, Survey for the Cincinnati Southern, p. 58.
The mouth of White's Creek is about at Glen Alice on the
C.R.O. and T.P., the operating company of the C.C.R.R.,
which is controlled by the Southern Railway Company.
Engineer Gunn had surveyed the United States Military
Railroad of 1863 from Lancaster to Somerset and from
Lebanon to Somerset both via Danville.

22 Ibid., p. 58.
The Civil War turned the attention of the State to new channels and whatever work had been undertaken by the Great South Fork, Cumberland River, Nashville, Iron, Coal and Lumber Company ceased, but near the close of the War, possibly, as contemplated reconstruction measures, the State again turned to private enterprise to improve the middle Cumberland and its tributaries. The Greasy Creek and Poplar Mountain Oil, Mining, Manufacturing, Lumber and Transportation Company was organized by Blue Grass, Boyle and Garrard County capitalists, to undertake the improvement of the Cumberland River from Greasy Creek downstream. On completion of its improvements, the company was empowered to collect tolls. The river development portion of the company's business was probably a minor part of the company's true business, the exploration for and development of oil and other resources of this section of the State. The river had to be improved to transport heavy cargoes of any mineral discovered, so the company took over the task of improving the river for it benefited the company. Having provided for the improvement of part of the middle Cumberland, the State Assembly turned its attention to the remainder of the main river and its principal tributary. For the improvement

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of this section, the Wayne County Beatty Oil Well Company, with William R. Lamphear, William Seniour, John G. Wills, E. J. Niles, L. Barney and E. L. Van Winkle as organizers, was incorporated. The company was to undertake the development of the Big South Fork and the main river from Burnside to Greasy Creek, where its improvements would join those of the Greasy Creek and Poplar Mountain Oil, Mining, Manufacturing, Lumber and Transportation Company. Completion of these contemplated works would have improved the middle Cumberland from Burnside to the Tennessee line, and perhaps even to Nashville. The Wayne County Beatty Oil Well Company, likewise, was permitted to explore for and develop oil and other minerals in the Big South Fork section.\footnote{\textit{Ibid}, Session of Jan. 1865, adjourned session of Dec. 1865, \textit{ib}, Pp. 150-153.} The river improvement task was, in this instance as with the Greasy Creek and Poplar Mountain Company, probably undertaken solely because the company had to find the means of moving to market whatever minerals were discovered, and so undertook the improvement job for its aid to the company and not for the good of the community. Tolls were to be collected and the business ethics of the times allowed the charging of such rates as would drive competitors from the river. In the improvement of the river, all agencies had been tried, State
and Federal aid and private corporations, but little accomplished in the way of permanent development. It remained for the Federal Government, in succeeding years, to undertake and push to partial completion a comprehensive river improvement plan. The defect in the scheme of State aid, seems to have been the interstate character of the main stream and the impossibility of the states to enter upon a plan of general improvement.

With the agitation for the improvement of the river underway, there, likewise, were movements looking to the betterment of land travel. There were the uniformly poor county roads which led from the county seat to the many villages, and landings, and to neighboring county seats. There were, in addition, the roads to the mills and small industries in the region. These roads, ordered by the county and placed under road commissioners, whose chief duty was to supervise the removal of trees, stumps, and large rocks from the line of the road, and occasionally oversee the filling of large holes, were likewise poor. The one major road leading into and out of the area, was the military road, built between 1800 and 1815, from Stanford to Somerset to Waitsboro, Monticello and toward Nashville. It was not until 1822, however, that the State became road minded. In this year, the State ordered constructed a road from Frankfort to the Tennessee line in the
direction of Georgia and Alabama. The route ordered followed was Lawrenceburg, Salvisa, Harrodsburg, Danville, Stanford, Somerset, Monticello and Stogden's Valley to the Tennessee line. The purpose, probably, was to provide a better road for driving horses, mules, cattle and hogs to Georgia and Alabama. This was the first State road in Wayne County and apparently was to be built by State funds, although the road was ordered laid out by the county surveyors in the counties traversed and perhaps the road became a counterpart of other county roads which had had trees and stumps removed from the road line but few additional improvements.

With the State allotting aid for river improvement, it was natural for the State to aid county road construction. In 1830, 5,000 acres of unappropriated land in Wayne County were donated by the State to the county to be surveyed and sold, the proceeds to be used to build roads. The following year, when the State appropriated land to aid in improving the Big South Fork from the Cumberland to Mulling's Coal mine, an additional 5,000 acres were donated.

77 Ibid., 36th Assembly, (1827-28), Pp. 112-114.
78 Ibid., 38th Assembly, (1829-30), Pp. 165-166.
to the county to be used in road building. The next year, the assembly continued its land grant aid with an award of 4,000 acres, to assist in building a road from Monticello in the direction of Jacksboro, Tennessee via Beaty's Salt Works on the Big South Fork. The assembly was now bestowing lands indiscriminately and continued the policy another year. In 1833, 6,000 acres were donated to Wayne County to build a road from Monticello to the Tennessee line toward Monroe via Becket's on Otter Creek. Whether these roads were good or bad is extremely difficult to determine. Mortgages of the period frequently mention carriages but this is not necessarily a criteria of good roads. On the other hand, one is inclined to believe these roads were not too good, for in February, 1836, Martin Beaty, one of the leading citizens of Monticello, sent a communication to Miles Weekly Register, addressed to Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, protesting the poor mail service, possibly because of political reasons, between Somerset and Monticello, and mentions the mail carried by horseback rather than by wagon although there was considerable Monticello mail at Somerset. This State aid road building

79 Ibid., 39th Assembly, (1830-31), Pp. 92-93.
80 Ibid., 40th Assembly, (1831-32), Pp. 138-142.
81 Ibid., 41st Assembly, (1832-33), Pp. 94-95.
82 Miles Weekly Register, XLIX, p. 435.
program was, however, acquiring for Monticello, the role of a minor distributing center for the region south of the Cumberland to the Tennessee line and even including the immediate Tennessee area.

The decade of the 1830's was the turnpike era and the county turned to this new idea to obtain better land transport. The Federal Government was working on the river but improvement was progressing slowly and, although it would aid in moving products and goods in the Cumberland Valley, better land routes had to be constructed to facilitate travel across the Cumberland Valley and especially to the Blue Grass. The State in 1836, established the Cumberland River Turnpike Company to improve part of the State road laid out in 1828. The Company, capitalized at $100,000, was to construct a road, at least 40 feet wide, from Stanford toward Huntsville, Tennessee by way of Somerset and Monticello, the work to begin within two years to retain the privileges. Tolls were to be collected after the approved construction of 5 miles of road and additional tolls collectable for each 5 miles of road improved.83

This macadam road connected at Stanford with the turnpikes to the north, so the southern area had, on paper, a superior road to the Blue Grass.

The road was improved, improved by the standards of the time, but the company appears to have had little success on the southern section, Somerset to Monticello. In 1850, the new Somerset and Waitsboro Turnpike Company was established to build a 20 foot road between Somerset and Waitsboro.\textsuperscript{34} Five years later, the section between Waitsboro and Monticello was placed under road commissioners.\textsuperscript{85} This road, together with the road from Somerset to Waitsboro, provided better transportation than heretofore. At Somerset, the road connected with the turnpike to Stanford and with the pike of the London, Somerset and Waitsboro Company to London, in the eastern part of the State on the old Wilderness Trace.

It seemed impossible for these companies to do business and pay dividends to the stockholders. As in all businesses which fail to earn fixed charges, the companies must, in time, be re-organized. Although the original companies had been in business but a short time, they forfeited their privileges and the State turned to new groups. In 1853, a new London, Somerset and Waitsboro Company, with $100,000 capital, was organized to absorb the old company.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 59th Assembly, (1849-50), Pp. 496-498.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., Session of 1855-56, I, Pp. 357-359.
of the same name and construct a 20 foot macadam road between the towns of the company's title, and on completion of 5 miles of road, collect tolls, with additional tolls allowed for each 5 miles of improved road. 86 The Monticello and Cumberland River Turnpike Company was organized in February, 1860, to improve the road between Waitsboro and Monticello. 87 This company never began construction.

The war interrung and forced suspension of all work, but in 1867, a new company, with the same title, was established to carry on the business. 88 Although these companies were organized to build macadam roads, they usually failed to do their task. They improved the old roads by throwing rock and chert fragments into mud holes and permitted the remainder of the road to care for itself. In time, this provided an excellent road bed but as no grading was done, the road became extremely rough and uncomfortable to travel, yet it was better than floundering through deep mud. The principal reason why further improvement was not made, was the lack of travel. Civic-minded individuals desired roads but, except for local travel, there was little travel across

86 Ibid., Session of 1857-58, I, Pp. 313-316.
87 Ibid., Session of 1859-60, I, p. 458.
88 Ibid., Session of 1867-68, I, p. 413.
the district. The main artery for traffic was the river while the roads were auxiliary and not main lines of communication.

In this work of improving the county's land communications with outside areas, three periods can be distinguished. First, the years 1815-1828, when the county was the principal constructing agency; second, the short period 1828-35, when the State endeavored, through the ordering of great State roads laid out by the county surveyors of those counties affected, to furnish the State with great lines of communications with other states, and provided land grants to the counties for local road construction; third, the years when the State shifted to roads built by private enterprise as the State had enlisted private capital in river improvement. This new policy began about 1836, co-incidental with the Turnpike Era in the United States, and continued to 1865 and even spilled into the succeeding years. In directing this new policy, the State granted special privileges to companies which would improve the old State roads and build new roads. As compensation the companies were authorized to collect tolls, which in Kentucky meant a toll gate every 5 miles. In Wayne County, there are no Federal aid roads similar to the Maysville Pike in northeastern Kentucky.

The State, while it was assisting all types of material betterments, did not forget the unfortunates who were to be
her future citizens. Through the extension of the apprentice laws of earlier years, the policy of putting out orphans and of apprenticing the children of parents who wished to give their off-spring the advantage of a trade and a small education, was continued. For children whose parents consented to their being apprenticed, the term of service was reduced to two or three years. The obligations of the master were correspondingly lowered in these instances, he usually being obligated to provide, at the end of service, a new suit of clothes or a sum of money. 89

For orphans and children of parents whom the county believed unfit or unable to raise their children in good moral standing, the years of apprenticeship were determined by the age of the child when apprenticed. For boys, the age of release from service remained at 21 and for girls, 18. Some children when put out were only four or five, other fifteen or sixteen, while the majority were nine, ten or eleven. In these instances, the obligations of the master were more severe than in the case of trade apprentices. Male orphans were to be taught a trade and instructed in reading, writing and arithmetic through the Rule of Three, while girls were taught reading and writing, or as one apprentice contract

states, 'spelling, reading and writing as far as necessary for a female'. At the expiration of the term of service, the young man received a new suit of clothes and £3 10s cash, and often a set of tools of his trade; the young lady received a new suit of clothes and £3 10s and the good will of the master. Boys were taught the usual trades of blacksmithing, bricklayer, stonemason, hatter, tailor, tanner, wagoner, cooperer but most boys were taught the art of farming while girls were instructed in the art of spinning and weaving and the art of housewife. The obligation of the apprentice was to serve his or her master well and obey him at all times. If an apprentice was mistreated, he could plea a change of master, a change which the county court might or might not allow.

The education of the other children continued as in the proceeding period. The small county school and the Monticello Academy were the principal means of formal

90 Ibid., F, p. 154.


92 Ibid., E, p. 6; F, p. 154; I, p. 144.
education outside the home. The academy apparently did not prosper, for in 1842, the legislature created a small fund for the schools of Wayne County. By special act, the funds from the sale of the seminary lands were turned over to the county treasurer, who was charged with the investment of these funds and spending the income to aid the common schools, and not to the old seminary trustees.

The county could also boast of private libraries, for in 1842-43, two were mortgaged. The library of William Simpson contained 200 books; the second mortgage does not mention the number of books in the library of Sherrod Williams.  

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94 Wayne County Mortgage Book, C, Pp. 66, 81.
During these years the isolation of the county was nearly completed. When Kentucky was first being settled there were four major routes to the west, the northern route along the Mohawk River through the Iroquois country which, unfortunately, was closed by the hostility of the Indians; the southern route around the Great Smoky Mountains and the Plateau country into Alabama and Mississippi, which also unfortunately was closed because of the hostility of the Creek and Cherokee Indians. There remained the two central routes, the Ohio River and Cumberland Gap. The easier way west was the Ohio River. Until about 1800 Indian dangers menaced this route so Cumberland Gap and the Wilderness Trace provided the safer way west. After 1800 this route declined and the Ohio River replaced it. However, to approximately 1810 the central routes continued to be more important than the northern and southern routes and Kentucky, Tennessee, southern Ohio, Indiana and Illinois received settlers. Wayne County, in these years, received its earliest and most settlers. The removal of the Indian barriers on the northern and southern routes turned immigration in those directions. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 made the northern route dominant and the lake states received their population. About this time in Wayne County the repetition of names and the beginning of the decline in names of persons from outside states and counties is noticed. With the opening of the
northern and southern routes to the west it may be inferred that this small county on the western piedmont became relatively isolated. The labor of its people from that time has been their attempt to break through this isolation. The attempts to improve the river and land transportation begin to have meaning. Their failure is not through their lack of energy but because the region is essentially a marginal agricultural section and, therefore, not absolutely necessary in the advance of the whole nation.

Approximately to 1826 new settlers came into the area but 1826 emigration was by far the greatest and most important movement. On studying the deeds of Wayne County it was noted that to about 1826, many new last names appear as the name of one of the parties in land transactions. A person is described as coming from outside Wayne County and by checking later deeds this outside party is often declared as of Wayne County. After 1826 there are few new names in the deeds. However, there are a large number of powers of attorney from persons outside the county to residents of the county empowering them to sell the outsider's land or land the outsider has inherited from his or her parents. Often a deed of transfer declares one party to live in another part of the State or country and by tracing the property, the seller is found to have been at one time a resident of Wayne County. These observations lead one to believe that
the opening of the northern and southern routes of travel was detrimental to the central route and especially unfortunate for marginal counties. The agricultural possibilities of central United States, especially along the Missouri River, seemed to draw the settlers. In the pioneer's mind the land just beyond was superior to the land he was cultivating or better than the land of his fathers and in this new country beyond economic betterment would be achieved. In analyzing the census figures for the county one notes in the decade 1810-20 an increase of 46% or an actual increase of 2,500 persons, while in the decades 1820-60 the increase for the forty years was only 30% or 2,500 persons. During the period 1810-60 two counties were established from parts of Wayne County. One county was established in 1825, yet in 1830 Wayne County reported an increase of about 10% over the preceding census, showing the original county still growing. The second county was established in 1835 and the census for Wayne in 1840 shows a decrease of about 10% and it is not until 1850 that the mother county reached the census figure of 1830. This points to a relatively stationary population.

New settlers came from various parts of the east, south and old southwest, Marcus Huling emigrated from Pennsylvania about 1817\textsuperscript{95} and Martin Beatty came from Washington County,

\textsuperscript{95} Wayne County Deed Book, B, p. 485.
Virginia about 1819 as did Stephen Conn. Other settlers moved from Greenville County, South Carolina while a few migrated from Mississippi and Tennessee. This immigration into the county is extremely small in contrast to the heavy emigration from the county shown by the records.

The outward movement from Wayne County took its citizens to many parts of the United States; as far south as Georgia and Mississippi, southwest to Arkansas and Texas, north to the Ohio River States and west to Missouri. The majority of families left Kentucky for Missouri although some families moved to other parts of Kentucky. Certain families went to Madison and Jefferson Counties, Kentucky and Micah Taul, the first county clerk, moved to Clarke County, Kentucky from where he moved to Tennessee. Those movements are noted between 1820-30.

The migration from Wayne County to Tennessee was to all parts of the state, some settlers possibly bettering their condition while others went to a section similar to the district they left. From 1820-34 Wayne County emigrants moved to Maury, Sumner, Williamson and Davidson Counties, all of which are included in the Nashville Basin which is

98 Ibid., C, Pp. 107, 163; D, p. 503.
97 Ibid., C, Pp. 105, 154.
100 Ibid., C, Pp. 105-106; E, p. 2; B, p. 179, D, p. 619; Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, p. 80.
similar to the Blue Grass of Kentucky. Another group went to Hardeman and Hardin Counties near where the Tennessee River crosses into Tennessee from Alabama. 101 Others moved southeast into the Valley of East Tennessee, one group going to Sullivan County, at the Virginia line, and a second group to McMinn County, east of the Tennessee River between Chattanooga and Knoxville. 102 Central Tennessee, immediately west of Chattanooga, especially Franklin and Lincoln Counties, received its Kentucky immigrants as early as 1814. 103 Micah Taul who emigrated first to Clarke County, Kentucky, in 1827 moved to Franklin County, Tennessee where he hoped to prosper. A few others moved to the Tennessee section of the Highland Rim, especially Overton County. 104 Most of this movement is between 1818-1830 with a heavy concentration in the decade 1820-30. The cause of this emigration may have been the deflation period following the Napoleonic Wars and the European re-adjustments which the United States was feeling. Another cause may have been the paper money and the wild cat banking of the day and people moved to new areas to better their economic condition. The few migrations to Tennessee after 1830 can probably be explained by the

101 Wayne County Deed Book, E, p. 206; Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, p. 77.


103 Ibid., B, p. 374; C, p. 48; B, Pp. 119-120, D, Pp. 211-218, 368.

104 Ibid., C, Pp. 179, 229, 320; D, p. 399, E, p. 87; C, p. 75, D, p. 281.
gradual contraction of the availability of good land in the state and its poor competition with the better agricultural land of Alabama, Mississippi and states west of the Mississippi River.

Few Wayne County families appear to have moved to the states south of Tennessee and east of the Mississippi. Of those families traceable, Alabama received the majority. As early as 1817 Wayne County citizens settled in Madison County, when Alabama was still a part of Mississippi Territory. Later another family moved to Marion County. Still later one member of the family of Micah Taul, his daughter Louisiana who married Jacob T. Bradford, moved to Talladega County. While only three traceable families emigrated to Alabama, fewer families moved to Mississippi and Georgia. The first and only indication of a movement to Mississippi is in 1830 when one of the heirs of Thomas Simpson, Samuel Simpson, is said to reside in Lawrence County, Mississippi. Three other Simpson heirs, two sons David and Christopher, and a daughter Mary Ann, moved to Pulaski County, Georgia. Georgia became the adopted home of another son of Wayne County when in 1835 James McCollen moved to Marwither (sic) County. 110

105 Ibid., B, p. 517; C, p. 217; B, p. 462.
106 Ibid., C, pp. 179, 223.
107 Ibid., H, p. 319.
108 Ibid., E, p. 205.
109 Ibid., E, p. 205.
110 Ibid., G, p. 182.
The states north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi became the adopted home of a number of Wayne County residents. The fewest number appear to have moved to Ohio and the largest to Illinois. David Smith is the only traceable ex-Wayne County resident in Ohio. He moved to Madison County as early as 1818.\textsuperscript{111} James Coffey moved to Indiana as early as 1816,\textsuperscript{112} while other recorded instances of migration to Indiana are in the decade of the 1830's. In 1834, Thomas Walker moved to Morgan County after having sold his share of his father's estate which he inherited in 1818.\textsuperscript{113} In 1838 the records tell us that four of the heirs of the Gibson family were in Indiana, one daughter in Martin County and one daughter and two sons in Davis County.\textsuperscript{114} Illinois was the most favored of the Ohio River States by Wayne County citizens when they selected new homes. As early as 1817 Edward Cullen, after dwelling in Wayne County about three years, moved to Crawford County, Illinois Territory where he became county judge.\textsuperscript{115} This county became the residence of other ex-Kentuckians, Thomas

\begin{footnotes}
\item[111] \textit{Ibid.}, B, p. 507.
\item[112] \textit{Ibid.}, B, p. 372.
\item[113] \textit{Ibid.}, B, p. 477, F, p. 363.
\item[114] \textit{Ibid.}, B, p. 35.
\end{footnotes}
Wilson moving there in 1818 and three sons of John Smith were living here in 1836. Another Cullom family of Wayne County moved to Tazewell County about 1850. A son, Shelby, born in Wayne County in 1829, was governor of Illinois from 1876 to 1882 after serving a term in Congress. 117 Mordcai Lane and Thomas Wood moved to Gallatin County, Wood after dwelling in Wayne County about one year. 118 Other ex-residents went to Logan and Green Counties. 119

The greatest migration of Wayne County citizens was to states west of the Mississippi, with the largest number going to Missouri and settling in a group of counties close together. However, there is one instance of an heir of Anthony Gholson, one of the earliest inhabitants of Wayne County living near Steubenville, moving to Arkansas Territory by 1821. 120 The excitement in Texas drew two sons of Wayne County residents, James Collins going to Texas where he died in 1836, while John H. M. Walker, a brother of Thomas Walker who migrated to Indiana, preferred Texas. He resided there in 1839. 121 The largest number of ex-Wayne County residents went to Howard, Cole and Randolph Counties.

116 Ibid., B, p. 491; C, p. 16; G, p. 154.
117 Townshend, "Kentucky, Mother of Governors," Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society, VIII, no. 22, p. 65.
118 Wayne County Deed Book, B, p. 441, E, p. 141; F, pp. 197, 205.
120 Ibid., C, p. 329.
Missouri. From 1819 to 1831 single persons and groups from Wayne County settled in Howard County. From 1834 to 1838 the groups seemed to prefer Randolph County.

The movement to Cole County overlapped the settlements in Howard and Randolph, the main body of emigrants from Wayne County colonizing in Cole from about 1822 to 1835.

During the period 1821 to 1832 Boone, Wayne and Chariton Counties received immigrants from Wayne County, Kentucky, while from 1837 to 1845 the majority of Wayne County emigrés went to Dade, Johnson, Macon, Miller, Newton and Stoddard Counties, Missouri.

After 1845 there appears to have been little emigration. The census for 1860 shows an increase of about 30% over 1850. This suggests that the people of the area were satisfied and did not care to move away. There is also the possibility of a slight immigration, but the records show only a few new names in the deeds of land transfer.

124 Ibid., C, p. 367; F, p. 142, G, p. 120; Wayne County Mortgage Book, A, Pp. 66, 129.
125 Wayne County Deed Book, C, p. 275; B, p. 4, E, p. 121; D, p. 515; F, p. 74, D, p. 242.
To complete the story of this period there remains the Civil War which divided the region. While a majority of the people may have sympathized with the Federal cause, the majority was not large and friends and families were divided. The County was represented in at least one loyal regiment, the 1st Kentucky Cavalry being composed of Wayne and Cumberland volunteers, while B. E. Roberts and J. M. Saufley began to raise a company in Wayne County for Confederate service in September 1861. This company was recruited to full strength through the enlistment of other Wayne County southern sympathizers in 1862 and later became Co. H, 6th Kentucky Cavalry, C.S.A. 127 For three years the section was a battle-ground, not in the sense of its being the scene of heavy fighting, but the regiments of both armies marched and counter-marched across the region and many Confederate raiders, moving into or returning from the Blue Grass, passed through the district picking up what they needed. In the early months of the War, the Cumberland River formed the Confederate first line of defense in this section. The Confederates established a division headquarters at Monticello while the Union forces, a part of the

Army of the Ohio under General Thomas, were quartered at Somerset. In the fall and early winter of 1861-62, the Confederates held Mill Springs as one key to their river defense. The area is described as "... abundant in flour, pork, beef and many other supplies." After the Battle of Mill Springs or Logan's Cross Roads, January 18, 1862, the Confederates were forced to abandon Monticello and retreat into Tennessee. The Union forces did not, however, occupy the county in force and General Crittenden, who succeeded to Zollicoffer's command at his death, refused to hold southern Wayne County and Monticello because of an "... Absolute want of necessary provisions..." and since "The country around was barren. *** The line of communication in the rear was too long to admit winter transportation and extended through a barren and exhausted country." By the spring of 1863, the region had been stripped so clean during the first years of the War that the country could not provide forage for a cavalry movement and supplies for a


Union force moving south had to be obtained from Somerset.\textsuperscript{130}

Prior to Burnside's movement into the Valley of East Tennessee in August and September of 1863 it appeared this whole southern section would be favored with the construction of a United States Military Railroad as an extension of the Kentucky Central and the Louisville and Nashville. The construction of this railroad would have ante-dated the completion of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad by over 20 years, and while few of the Union surveys contemplated the construction of the main line through Monticello the building of a branch line to Monticello, after the War, to tap the timber, oil and coal resources of the plateau section of Wayne County is in the realm of possibility. On June 26, 1863, W. A. Gunn was ordered, by Gen. Burnside through Major-Gen. J. R. Simpson, to organize parties to survey a line for a railroad from Nicholasville to Somerset via Danville. The line was to be extended later to Clinton and Knoxville, Tennessee, and would aid Burnside in his East Tennessee Campaign. A branch of the L. and N. from Lebanon to Danville was also to be built by the Government in the general plan. The construction of these two railroads would have lessened the pressure on the L. and N.,

the only road capable of carrying supplies to southern Kentucky. On September 12, 1863, Engineer Gunn made his report on the line from Nicholasville to Somerset, the survey later known as the Military Survey. The line was never completed due to pressure from Stanton so this southeastern area of Kentucky had to wait another 20 years for through rail connections.

The outstanding characteristics of the period are the emigration from the area, a movement which had early beginnings, the completion of the county's isolation, the attempts to break this isolation and the Civil War. The emigrants were carrying ideas of their home to the new settlements and aiding in the building of the nation. In some places, ex-Wayne County citizens rose to offices of trust, as the Cullens in Illinois. After 1865 the people of the area have reached to so-called backward condition and the work necessary to overtake the relatively more advanced outsider places the Wayne County citizen at a small disadvantage. Then, in the history of the county, it is not the movement out of the county which attracts our attention but the movement into the county, for immigration into the county should aid in the development of the area. We have pointed out that by 1865 the isolation of the county was completed, yet

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its population increased slowly and the great problem now became that of making new contacts with other parts of the country. Also there were the possibilities of commercially opening the coal, oil and timber resources of the county which would aid the general development of Wayne County.

The opening of these resources had been attempted by the people of the district but they had failed due to the rapid and more profitable development of other parts of the nation. The four years of war retarded progress for a number of years. The effects of the War had to be before the area could return to its own problems. Our attention can be concentrated on the new attempts of the citizens of the county, aided by the nation and outsiders, to better the area commercially and judge whether the district is backward because of its isolation or because of the unfortunate location of its resources and its marginal character which, in turn, causes capital to remain away and the citizens of other areas to claim the section backward.
CHAPTER V
POST CIVIL WAR WAYNE COUNTY 1865-1900

Considering the whole thirty-five years, they may be characterized as years of preparation for the future. Twice, during these years, oil excitement pervaded the section; the first, immediately following the close of the Civil War and continuing to 1884, the second, beginning in 1894 and reaching a peak from 1905 to 1910. These periods of oil excitement brought forward the inadequacy of transportation. The district made numerous attempts to remedy the situation, first, by having the Federal Government initiate permanent river improvement; second, by bettering the highways; and third, by building railroads. All attempts at this time ended in failure, but the efforts were continued and later brought certain successes. A few new industries were tried but seem to have been universally unsuccessful. However, improvements in industry were introduced. In agriculture little progress was made; in fact, there probably was retrogression. What progress was made in education was made in face of great obstacles. The period ends with a fundamentally unfavorable outlook. On the surface, events seemed to point to a substantial advance due to the prospects of an oil development and these things which accompany oil.
direct route. Let us examine these routes in detail and see why Somerset instead of Monticello became the railroad town. On the first route, the line swung to Nicholasville and Lancaster, where it pushed south to join the Military Survey between Danville and Waynesburg. The Military Survey was followed to the head of Fishing Creek, which led to the Cumberland. Here for four miles the grade was 76 feet to the mile. The line would cross the Cumberland on an 800 foot bridge 90 feet above the river and, within three miles, climb to the upland by a 76 feet per mile grade, and then proceed to Monticello. An 800 foot tunnel was to be driven through Ray Gap to reach Beaver Creek.

After gaining the top of the plateau, the line led to Jamestown, Tennessee, and to White's Creek and the Valley. The 9 mile stretch from Monticello to the Tennessee line was a difficult one requiring grades of 80 feet per mile. This line was the most direct, being about 334 miles between terminals.

The Danville-Monticello section also had heavy grades and much trestle work. The route from Lexington swung southwest to Danville and then south toward Monticello, with a tunnel from White Oak Creek to Forbush Creek, using that creek to reach the Cumberland. The line.

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\(^{23}\text{Ibid., pp. 31-53, 37-39.}\)
crossed the Cumberland on an 800 foot trestle 115 feet above the river, and another 800 foot trestle 50 feet over the bottoms. Swinging southeast to Monticello, the route followed maximum grades of 70 feet per mile.24

The third route considered was from Lexington to Danville, and via the Burnside Military Survey of 1863 to the Cumberland River, and across the plateau to Emory River, Tennessee, and down the Valley to Chattanooga. To Lexington the ridge route was to be followed as in the two previous routes suggested. The line from Danville was via King's Mountain, where a 2,500 foot tunnel was to be driven, and by Waynesburg, Somerset, and Burnside. The grade from Danville to the Highland Rim was 52 feet per mile, and the 2,500 foot tunnel at King's Mountain would lower the grade south of King's Mountain to the maximum of 32 feet per mile. The maximum grade for the whole line was on the 7-1/2 miles south of Burnside, where it reached 70 feet to the mile.25 The distance between terminals for this line was 338 miles.

The route finally selected as the best and most direct was this third route. Although the projected main line would be four miles longer than the other routes

24 Ibid., pp. 35-37.

25 Ibid., pp. 24-30.
considered, the grades were lower, being on the average about 60 feet per mile, while the other routes in places called for 90 feet per mile grades. Also the bridge work at Fairside was less costly than that at Fishing Creek or Forbush Creek. However, it was the difference of grades which took the route from Monticello, which, if it had received the road, would have had the shops and roundhouse now located at Somerset or Ferguson. By 1877 the road had been constructed as far as Somerset, and was operating trains that far south. The road was completed and fully operating to Chattanooga by 1880. The construction of the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, and especially the building of the line south of Somerset, afforded employment to many residents of Wayne County and a market for farm produce. Unskilled labor, mule drivers, and timber cutters were hired from the section the railway passed through and from regions adjacent to the line. Many young men of Wayne County hired out to the construction crews. The feeding of these crews was very important and supplies were drawn from a large area. Wayne County farmers did fairly well in supplying beef, pork, flour, and other foods consumed by the crews. Thus, while Wayne

County was not aided by having this new mode of transportation pass through the county, the young men and farmers did enjoy some of the profits, and the distance for driving cattle and hogs to market became considerably less.

The completion of this north-south main line from Cincinnati-Covington to Chattanooga brought hopes and plans for branch lines from or across this main stem into Wayne County. As early as 1884 a road was planned from Loretto, on the Cincinnati, New Orleans, and Texas Pacific, the operating company of the Cincinnati Southern, to Loretto. Nothing could be found about this line, the only hint of its inception being a map in Poor's Manual.27—No name for the road is printed on the map.

However, it may be the route planned by the Cumberland Valley and Tennessee Railroad Company, incorporated in May, 1884, by the State of Kentucky. This company, by its charter, was allowed to build a railroad with one terminus on the C., N.O., and T.P. south of the Cumberland River in Pulaski, Wayne, and Clinton Counties in the direction of Nashville. The charter permitted the company to erect the necessary bridge over the Big South Fork, which was a navigable stream, and to build the required telegraph and telephone lines. The firm was also a

development company, being permitted to explore for the
natural resources of the area, and refine, export, and
sell these resources. As far as could be determined
this company did nothing. Probably, with the decline of
the possibilities of oil, the corporation group decided
the cost of their line would be a poor investment and
their charter was allowed to lapse. Two years later a new
group of capitalists undertook the building of a railroad
in the area. The State chartered the Cincinnati,
Cumberland Valley, and Nashville Railway Company to build
and operate a railroad from some point on the O., N.O., and
C.R. through Pulaski, Wayne, Clinton, and Cumberland
Counties toward Nashville. Certain sections felt the
buying of stock in a railroad company might encourage
companies to complete work under their charters. These
sections carried their fight into the Assembly of the
Commonwealth and, in 1888, the Assembly passed a law
permitting Pulaski, Wayne, and Clinton Counties, or any
town, city, or magistracy in these counties to subscribe
for stock in any railway company building in this district.

28 Session Acts of Kentucky, Session of Dec. 1863,
II, pp. 1000-1002.

29 Ibid., Session of Dec. 1865, II, pp. 704-707. The
corporation filed its plans with the Railroad Commission
on May 15, 1886, 7th Annual Report of the Railroad
Commission of Kentucky, p. 33.
The subscribing governmental unit could issue bonds of the
unit to pay for their stock subscriptions. To safeguard
the governmental units, the law provided that until the
road was built or completed through the section buying
stock, the bonds, issued by the governmental unit, did
not become an obligation of that unit. The poorer
counties of Wayne and Clinton were also barred from pur-
chasing stock above 7-1/2% of the taxable property of the
county. Other lines were planned through Wayne County
in the last decade of the 19th Century, all to no avail;
for no road was completed. The Somerset and Birmingham,
from Somerset to Mill Springs, Rantin and Sparta,
Tennessee, was reported by the commission in 1880, but in
the 1890 report it had been dropped from the list of
proposed railroads. In this year (1890) the commission
reported the revival of the old Cairo and Cumberland Gap
R.R. of 1886 by the Mississippi River and Cumberland Gap
Railroad Company. This company proposed to build from
Jellico, on the Knoxville branch of the L. and N., through

30 Session Acts of Kentucky, Session of Dec. 1887, I,
pp. 435-440. The county may have subscribed to stock of
the Cairo and Cumberland Gap R.R. The annual report of
the Kentucky Railroad Commission for 1888 declares over
$500,000 had been subscribed for this work; 7th Annual

31 10th Annual Report R.R. Com. of Ky., map in folder
at rear of volume. See report of 1890, proposed
construction.
the southern tier of counties to Henderson or Columbus on the Mississippi; but nothing was done, for the road is not listed as one of the lines under construction in 1892.\textsuperscript{32} C., N.O. and T.P. surveyors in 1892 examined the country from Burnside to Burksville for a branch line from Burnside after the L. and N. had given up its proposal of extending its own Glasgow branch to Burksville, but nothing came of the C., N.O. and T.P. surveys.\textsuperscript{33} The last proposed line in this decade was the Cairo and Tennessee River, which was a revival of the Cairo and Cumberland Gap and the Mississippi River and Cumberland Gap; but, like these other proposed lines, nothing was accomplished.\textsuperscript{34}

The county had hoped for rail connections, but had not placed entire faith in the movement, having also turned to the turnpike or improved road as a means of better transportation. The Monticello and Burnside Turnpike Company received its charter in 1882 to construct a macadam road between these two towns, and to operate a ferry on the Big South Fork to complete the connection into Burnside.\textsuperscript{35} This road superseded the road from

\textsuperscript{32}11th Annual Report R.R. Com. of Ky., map in folder at rear of volume. See also Report of 1892, proposed construction. Report of 1891 is not available.

\textsuperscript{33}13th Annual Report R.R. Com. of Ky., p. 16.

\textsuperscript{34}17th Annual Report R.R. Com. of Ky., p. 8.

Monticello to Waitsboro, and is still the main traveled road, although now a part of the State Highway System. The road company was permitted to collect tolls every 5 miles; but in 1884 an amendment to the act of incorporation granted the company the right to collect toll at a fifth gate between Bronston and Burnside railway station; and to build, operate, and maintain a bridge over the Big South Fork within a mile of its mouth, and collect a toll at the bridge, provided it was not greater than the prevailing ferry toll.\textsuperscript{36} The bridge and fifth toll gate were built; so to travel from Burnside to Monticello necessitated six payments which would hardly induce the movement of heavy materials, or even animals and light traffic over the pike.

The State also provided the County with the means to improve the county roads. By an Act of 1886 the county was allowed to levy annually a tax of 5\% per $100 taxable property for the following purposes: (a) to repair the public highways of the county, (b) to build culverts, and (c) to bridge the watercourses.\textsuperscript{37} While the sum collected, with respect to the work to be done, was small, at

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., Session of Dec. 1885, I, pp. 1104-1105.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., Session of Dec. 1885, I, p. 906. The census of 1890 reported the taxable property for 1889 to be $1,714,271; therefore, from this item the road fund received $857.14.
least it was or could be the beginning of free improved highways. This was also the first step in the direction of free improved highways, until the State took over the highway system and began its comprehensive plan of improvement and enlargement.

Agriculture provided the chief occupation of the area, but here retrogression had set in. The cereals provided the main crops. After the Civil War cotton had almost disappeared from the area, although in isolated sections a small amount was raised for home spinning and weaving. Tobacco was almost gone, but continued to be grown in small areas for home consumption. A report of the Survey in 1877 declared the Wayne County soils were exhausted because of excessive tobacco cropping, and suggested restoration of the land through deep plowing and alternate cropping with clover and buckwheat for a few years.\(^3\) The hope for new tobacco crops in the whole section lay in transportation to get the crop on the market, and transportation was extremely poor or lacking. The methods in agriculture had improved but slightly, as late as 1873 yoke cattle being mentioned in deeds and mortgages.

Stock raising continued to be an important industry. Swine, some cattle, and mules were raised for outside areas. The pork packing plant noted in 1868 may be an attempt to establish the industry near the source of supply, but the uncertainty of transportation hindered the shipment of the product. The driving of stock to market was more certain. Swine, cattle, and mules were driven south over the old State roads to the cotton states. In the 1870s the emphasis in breeding seems to have been mules, a large acreage in Elk Spring Valley being devoted to the breeding and raising of mules.

With the exception of the oil exploration, few new industries were introduced and old industries little developed. In 1889 the report of the state mining inspector showed 12 coal mines operating in Wayne County. All these operations were small, there being no large outside sale. The operations provided the local demand for fuel, and had little hope of expanding because of the inadequacy of transportation. Even the opportunity of barging coal on the Cumberland or its tributaries did not allow the local operators to compete in markets served by rail. The Senatorial investigation of 1882-83 found the Poplar Mountain Company out of business and the barging of

coal on the Big South Fork and the main stream above Burnside discontinued. Sometime before 1868 certain adventurous persons had entered into a slaughter business. In that year an interest in a slaughter house and pork salting plant, located on the Cumberland, was transferred. Just when this plant was erected is difficult to tell, probably toward the end or immediately after the close of the Civil War. No doubt the hope was to pack and ship the product downstream to Nashville as well as supplying the local demand. However, the bill of sale reads in such a manner that it is believed that the plant was not operating and that the buyer was speculating on the future. After the Civil War new mills were built to replace the mills destroyed. On Gap Creek in 1868 a grist, saw, and carding mill was erected. The furniture factory of the Metcalfe's at Mill Springs was rebuilt and continued operations until destroyed by fire. The grist and saw mills continued operating, providing necessary services for the isolated sections. Most of these mills used the available waterpower provided by the streams where they tumbled from the upland to the Cumberland, or the

40 Wayne County Mortgage Book, C, p. 459.
41 Ibid., C, p. 463.
artificial fall provided by the construction of dams across Elk Spring, Beaver, Otter, and the many other creeks. By 1867 steam engines had been introduced to supplement the water driven mills, a step forward in industry.

Immediately after the Civil War another attempt was made to provide education beyond primary instruction. In March, 1868, the Kendrick Institute with William Kendrick as president and A. J. Jones, Crosby Gats, William Bertesoe and Charles H. Ruster as trustees was incorporated by the Assembly to promote education in all its branches and especially to extend the knowledge of science. This attempt to replace the old Monticello Academy failed because of the lack of students. In 1873 the board of trustees were given permission to dispose of the property of the Institute and divide the proceeds pro-rata among the stockholders. The failure of the Kendrick Institute led to an attempt to reestablish the old Monticello Academy which had long been disused. In 1886 the State, by special Act, empowered the Academy's trustees to dispose of the lot and building of the

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42 Ibid., C, p. 445.
44 Ibid., adjourned session of Jan. 1873, II, p. 149.
Academy, and use the funds to repay loans made to the institution. Any remaining surplus was to be used to buy another lot and building to carry on the purposes of the Academy. The Academy lot was sold, but the attempt to reopen the school at a new location in Wayne County failed. With these failures at higher education, the youth of the county had to be satisfied with the small district school system undertaken by the State and supported by State taxation and the still collectable taxes of 1862, 1863, and 1864, which the State had been unable to collect in the given years, and which, in 1862, had been allocated to the Common School Fund.

To improve banking facilities in the area after the War, the State incorporated local banks. The Bank of Monticello, with a capital of $100,000, was established in 1866 for 25 years, and rechartered in 1890 as the Monticello Banking Company, a corporation which remains the chief banking institution of the county. The company could carry on the usual business of receiving deposits and lending money, it being a savings and commercial bank.

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Toward the end of the bank's first charter, a new bank, The Deposit Bank of Monticello, was established for 25 years. 48 Thus through part of this period this small community of about 12,000 had the advantages of two banking institutions.

Although the agricultural, industrial, and stock raising enterprises were not exceptionally prosperous, the business leaders of Wayne County had hopes of bettering these things through public exhibitions. In 1871 the state incorporated the Wayne County Agricultural and Mechanical Society, whose purpose was to encourage the agricultural, industrial, and stock raising interests of the community through annual fairs, for which purpose the group was permitted to hold thirty acres. 49

On reviewing the period we find the county marking time. It is on the verge of a new oil development which, it was hoped, would bring the necessary elements of a permanent and solid future. There was some hope that railroads and other transportation agencies would be brought in on the strength of oil. The true future in transportation seemed to be in the river, for here the

Government was working on a comprehensive plan of improvement. However, with all these things, the county's best future lay in bettering the agriculture of the section. Along these lines of improvement were the hopes and ambitions of the Agricultural Society. For the answer to these questions and the rise and fall of these hopes, let us turn to the Twentieth Century.
CHAPTER VI
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the three decades since the turn of the century, the story of progress in Wayne County reaches a peak, recedes and prepares to move forward again. The oil excitement which had its inception in the 1890's, reached a crest about 1906 to 1910 and since then, with the exception of the short revival in 1917 to 1918, has been gradually receding. This oil expansion brought a determined effort to improve the connections of the area with the outside world by river, rail and road. Some success was achieved in the improvement of the river and road system, but the business recession of 1907-08 ruined the chances of rail connections. The Federal Government work on the river was, in this region, pushed so slowly that little actual benefit was gained from these improvements although the river was used as an important transportation agency in spite of its shortcomings. With declines in the business cycle, with advance in the electrical field, and with new ideas of river improvement; the Government made fundamental changes in the basic plan of 1884 for developing the river which have, for the time being, ended the hope of improvement of the Cumberland. In the matter of roads,
private capital, aided by small county taxes, carried on
the work until 1920. In this year, the State began to
take over the county and private road systems, and since
then, road work has been pushed. The improvement of the
main Pike from Monticello to Burns, with its rail con-
nections, and the advent of the automobile and the motor
truck, has materially improved transportation in a limited
section and, considering the whole county, it is not as
isolated as it was prior to 1920. Few industries entered
the county except those which are essentially timber enter-
prises processing the lower grades of timber. Agricul-
turally the county has changed little, although certain old
crops have returned to a place of prominence. The county's
future does not appear extremely bright. It offers little
or nothing to business or the tourist. There is oil in the
county but the condition of the oil industry will hinder
development. Coal is the main resource of the plateau
division, but the section of this part of the State best
located for commercial coal production is tributary to the
Southern Railroad through McCreary County, east of Wayne
County. In Wayne County, any commercial coal development
must be preceded by extended betterment of transportation.
The county's coal area, therefore, seems doomed to produc-
tion for local consumption only. Hopes for the future are
present in the county, but their attainment is far off. With these generalizations let us turn to the particulars of the county's history since 1900.

The fever of the oil strike in Floyd County spread throughout all eastern Kentucky and into Wayne County. This excitement of 1900 was part of the oil activity which spread throughout the United States. In Wayne County it led to a reexploration of the 1816 and 1860 fields. The so-called Cumberland field was redrilled, and led in 1901 to the discovery of oil in the Trenton sand.\(^1\) Local and outside capital rushed into the oil business. By 1906 eleven development companies, with local, West Virginia, Bradford and Uniontown, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Ohio, and Michigan capital, were in the field.

A lull in development is noticed to 1908, when a new two-year spurt with five new companies incensed by local and Maryland capital entered the field. The second interruption for two years was followed by renewed interest from 1911 to 1913, when seven new companies, one a natural gas distributing company, financed by local capital, although some Maryland and Minnesota capital became interested, entered the field. A third recession in activity until

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\(^1\) Miller, *Geology of Kentucky*, p. 295.
1920 followed, when a fourth period of interest, 1921-22, brought nine new companies into the field, the most important being the Wood Oil Company, a subsidiary of the Standard Oil. These companies were essentially local owned, although some Indiana capital was interested. Most of the county was leased by these companies, but their chief interest was the Beaver, Otter Creek, and Oil Valley areas, with offshoots toward Slickford and Mt. Pisgah. Peak production was reached in 1906, and then followed a gradual decline to 1915, when high prices brought an increase to about the 1906 level. The period of high prices during the war, 1914-1918, kept production near the 1906 level. In 1918 thirty dry holes in sixty wells drilled revealed that the Wayne field had small hopes of expansion, and production would continue to decline. Yet, in spite of these disclosures, new companies continued to come into the field. The opening of the great mid-continent fields in 1917 brought a decline in Wayne County production due to a steady fall in oil prices, and production has continued to decline.

2 Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, 1, p. 131.


4 Ibid., p. 45.
to the present. The Wood Oil Company with its main
station in Oil Valley is the leading producer and buyer
of crude in the county. The best producing sand is the
Beaver Creek, followed closely by the Cooper, Otter, and
Slickford sands. One of the highest hopes for this field
as a future oil producing area was pronounced in 1918,
when an oil engineer explained that these sands probably
would never provide short lived heavy producing wells but
long lived small producers. This prophecy was confirmed
until the beginning of the late business depression
(1933). Many wells (1928-29) were pumped, but the average
production was from 5 to 25 barrels per day. In many
instances seepage to the well was so small, pumping was
confined to once or twice a week.

This oil production found the area unsupplied with
adequate transportation facilities to move the product to
market. The Sunnybrook field was first connected by
pipeline with the railroad at Somerset. Later followed
an attempt to barge oil to Nashville, but this attempt was
found to be too expensive. Finally the Cumberland Pipe-
line Company, a Standard Oil Company, was formed to

5 Hoening, Oil and Gas Sands of Kentucky, pp. 56-57.

collect and transport petroleum. The company laid a collecting system in Wayne County, and adjoining pools with the main transporting line along the Durnside Pike to Somerset, whence the line ran through Manchester and Salyersville to Parkersburg, W. Va. 7

Industries depending on oil followed the excitement. In 1904 the Salter Glycerine Company of Kentucky, financed by Findlay, Ohio, and Monticello capital, was incorporated to manufacture nitroglycerine used in shooting wells. Their main magazine was located near Frazier. Then in 1917 a bright citizen of Monticello established a drilling company. 8 With the general decline of the petroleum business these firms have passed away, the Frazier nitro magazine being abandoned about 1925.

Combined with the oil exploitation was a small natural gas development. Numerous leases made in the 1890's provided for the possibility of striking a natural gas pool. Early in the development little thought was given to gas, for it provided merely the pressure necessary to lift oil to the surface. Any well which

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7 Hoing, op. cit., p. 206.

8 Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, 1, pp. 25, 161.
produced only gas was plugged or capped\(^9\) to wait until a
market could be provided. Later the possibility of pro-
ducing casing head gasoline was investigated, and a small
plant, using the compression process, was built in Oil
Valley by the Wood Oil Company. Gas is drawn from the
well, compressed, and passed through pipes which are
continuously cooled by running water. Gasoline is
deposited in the pipes and, from time to time, drawn off.\(^10\)
Moreover, there was the possibility of providing
Monticello with natural gas for heating and lighting. In
1913 the Standard Development Company, with Baltimore
capital, was incorporated to sell natural gas to towns.\(^11\)
Exactly what this company did is uncertain. However, in
1918 Monticello enjoyed natural gas fuel for a few months,
but the reserves were soon exhausted. When no large gas
pools were opened, the utility had to be abandoned.\(^12\)
Perhaps the Standard Development Company investigated the
possibility of supplying Monticello with natural gas if
the reserves were available, and when the small reserves

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\(^9\) Handbook of Kentucky, 1906-07, p. 651.
\(^10\) Westcott, Handbook of Casing Head Gas, p. 16.
\(^11\) Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, 1,
p. 134.
\(^12\) Jilleon, Natural Gas Resources of Kentucky, p.
67.
were found, abandoned the idea. Possibly the natural gas
used by Monticello in 1818 was from a number of oil wells
near town, the gas being considered a by-product of oil
and not a major product.

At the present time the oil industry of Wayne County
is in a deplorable condition, reflecting the oil industry
of the United States. Standard Oil controls production,
collection, and distribution.\textsuperscript{13} The Wood Oil Company is
the largest collector and buyer of crude petroleum. In
1931 a few wells were being pumped and a little casing
head gas gasoline was being produced in Oil Valley. In
1932 the Oil Valley plant was entirely closed down.

However, in the summer of 1933 this area was the scene of
a most interesting experiment. The Dow Chemical Company
of Midland, Michigan, has in production a chemical which
it is claimed will increase the production of old oil
wells. This new chemical was used in certain Wayne County
wells, but what the results of this experiment were are,
at present, unknown. With the present condition of the
oil industry, and with Wayne County petroleum in the same
general class as mid-continent crude, no encouragement it
is expected will be given, at this time, to any process.

\textsuperscript{13} From a verbal source I understand the Wood Oil
Plant and the Cumberland Pipeline were sold to Somerset
business men in 1933.
which will increase the flow of wells. This is excellent for the Kentucky area, for it will conserve resources until times of better prices. The Cumberland Pipeline Company, formerly a Standard Oil subsidiary, was the only pipeline transporting agency. At present it is transporting from this area little or no oil, only the small amounts offered by independent producers. Here again the low price of crude will curtail the amounts offered for sale. The future prospects for oil in this region appear to be very poor. It is a marginal field, essentially controlled by one company, and when the price of crude is extremely low, as at the present, the company shuts down. The field may continue to be a producing area for some time, but it will be of little importance. To the inhabitants of the county, oil provided an excellent chance to make money and an important industrial opportunity, and was viewed as a great thing. In the summer of 1928 much of the local conversation was around new oil prospects, but with the decline in price, by 1931 the great topic of conversation had changed to the new paved road, although oil remained in the background.

The advent of oil did bring a large number of people into this section and led to a more dense populating of the plateau ridges. From 1890 to 1910 the population increased about 35%, while the town of Monticello more
than doubled. These additional people had to be fed and the farmers of the section made a little money. However, when oil passed its peak, a large number of people were stranded and forced to turn to agriculture, farming the poorer lands and making a bare existence. Up to 1900 many of the ridge tops of the plateau had been avoided. The many coves and small basins had been settled and the land turned to agriculture, but farming at its best was a poor business. The discovery of oil on the upland and in some places in the plateau gave numerous persons the idea that oil underlay the whole country. Ridge top land was purchased and leased to oil companies, but often no oil was discovered. The people were stranded, and today one traveling along these ridge tops sees the struggle for existence. Small two or three room houses, built of upright rough sawed planks, with a corrugated iron roof, a tin or brick chimney, surrounded with small fields of corn, sorghum, a few vegetables, sometimes a small field of grain and a little tobacco, greet the traveler. Girdled tree fields are not unusual. The soil is sandy and yields are small. The plateau roads are badly rutted and hard to travel, while the roads to the ridge tops are unusually poor; for the road uses the creek beds which are filled of rocks, or the road makes the ascent to the plateau at the easiest slope. After much travel the top soil is removed and ledges appear which
halt automobile travel. These people are in a sorrowful condition. Their small farms provide them with food but with little else, and where they obtain any cash is uncertain. Needs which cannot be supplied through the soil or by their own labor are provided for at the crossroads store, which does most of its business by barter. In some sections, where coal strata come to the surface on land owned by others, these plateau dwellers find a little work at the poor mines.

The discovery and rush to develop the oil resources of the region led to a new enthusiasm to better transportation facilities. With no rail connections and relatively few roads in the county, the river was the most favored route of travel. By 1900 no part of the Government improvement program for the middle river had been completed; yet, in spite of navigation handicaps, river traffic grew. There were, in 1901, two packet lines operating on the middle river, the Bowman Transportation Line, and the Burnside and Nashville Packet Line. The traffic of the river above Nashville had grown from a small 48,000 tons for 1896 to 289,000 tons for 1900, and reached a peak of 382,000 tons in 1905.\[14\] Most of this
traffic was reported as timber, timber and farm products, and general merchandise, but there was a great increase in the movement of oil machinery from 43 tons in 1902 to 900 tons in 1903, and to 6,000 tons in 1904. To assist in the movement of goods during low water the number of gasoline boats had increased from 1 to 3. In 1902 the engineers recommended the completion of river improvements below Nashville before beginning work on the up river stretch, other than the seven locks and dams immediately above Nashville. This recommendation was partially followed.

The demand for river improvement apparently became so great that by 1905 outside aid was solicited by the Government. By the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1905 the Cumberland River Improvement Company, a Kentucky Corporation, was granted the privilege of improving the Cumberland River and the Big South Fork above Burnside. This improvement was to join the Government improved channel at Burnside, and thereby provide better river facilities to the coal, timber, and oil resources of the plateau section of Kentucky and Wayne County. The method of improvement was to be by locks and dams similar in size to those on the main river. As compensation the company

was permitted to collect tolls at its improvements for 40 years after the completion of Lock 21 below Burnside. A new element was now injected into the problem, for the company was privileged to use the waterpower. To obtain this contract, work had to begin 10 months after the completion of Lock 21. Work at Lock 21, which would secure 4 foot navigation at mean low water from Burnside to the lock site, 28-3/4 miles downstream, was provided for in the same act through an appropriation of $74,000, and funds remaining from any project above Lock 21, the total remaining cost being set $200,000.16 The Chief of Engineer's report for 1906 reveals that the Cumberland River Improvement Company did not take advantage of this allocation of rights; so the improvement of the upper river was omitted from consideration by the river engineers. However, concrete results of thirty years' work on the middle river now came into being. In 1905 Lock and Dam 1, above Nashville, was completed and placed in operation, giving 6 foot navigation on a 10 mile stretch of river.

By 1905, Congress and the Chief of Engineers began to ponder the question, 'were the benefits from the

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improvement of the middle Cumberland River worth the sums of money necessary to complete that improvement? The answer is contained in the Chief of Engineer's Report for 1906 and the action of Congress in March, 1907. The commerce of the middle Cumberland, the annual report suggests, does not justify the heavy expenditures of canalization. A recommendation of completing the work on locks and dams 2 to 7 and 21, and shelving the remainder of the basic plan of 1884 for the present, was offered. 17 The Rivers and Harbors Act of March 2, 1907, follows this recommendation, and the cost of the project was thereby reduced to $2,769,000 with provision made for snagging operations on the entire river. 18

Work on the river was pushed, and by January 1, 1910, locks and dams 1 to 5 were in operation, providing 6 foot navigation at all seasons to a point 20 miles above Nashville; but now the question of terminals halted the improvement of the river in Wayne County. At Burnside the total wharfage was found to be in private hands, and the

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Burnside and Nashville Packet Line and C., N.O. and T.P. were discovered to have agreements, whereby the steamship company had a complete monopoly of the traffic. The Chief of Engineers disapproved of this condition; for any river improvement seemed to foster a monopoly. His report recommended the suspension of work on Lock 21 until the town of Burnside provided the necessary public wharfage, a recommendation followed by Congress in the Rivers and Harbors Act of 1910.\textsuperscript{19} Burnside soon closed the terminal controversy by providing a public wharf, which permitted the completion of Lock 21 after many tie-ups due to river rises, lack of labor, and petty quarrels. The lock was placed in operation in 1911, and in 1914 the army engineers were able to report the truthfulness of the contention of river improvement advocates that canalization of the river would cause a decrease in freight rates in the improved area; for freight rates in pool areas had been lowered about one-half the former rates.\textsuperscript{20}

Congress likewise investigated the possibilities of combining river improvement with hydro-electric development. To unite these features, high dams were necessary


because of the low fall of the river. If high dams were built, the river flats, the best agricultural lands of those counties affected, would be destroyed; yet if low dams were built the electrical power developed would be negligible. For the present (1910) the idea was abandoned.21

Work above Nashville progressed slowly. By 1911, locks and dams 6 and 7 had been placed in operation, providing 185 miles of improved stream above Nashville. Thus by 1911 about 1/3 of the basic plan of 1884, providing 6 foot navigation throughout the year, had been completed at a cost of $2,749,000. This long-completed section was tributary to Nashville, and lay chiefly in Tennessee. The Kentucky area, including Wayne County, tributary to Burnside, had 39 miles of partially improved river.

By 1916 new modifications began to appear in the basic plan of 1884, modifications which became more important as years passed. In 1916 the army recommended the construction of ten locks and dams to improve the Cumberland between locks 7 and 21 in place of the original thirteen.22 Congress followed the general recommendation.

21 Ibid., House of Representatives Document No. 632.
in the Act of 1919, but the whole work was subjected to
the condition that states and local interests supply
sufficient waterfront, approved by the Secretary of War,
for public wharves. 23 Tennessee accepted the conditions
of the Act of 1919, and the War Department by the Act of
1920 was permitted to begin work on locks and dams in
Tennessee. Lock and dam 8 was commenced in 1921 and
placed in operation in 1924, providing 6 foot navigation
to a point 143 miles above Nashville. 24 Kentucky accepted
the conditions of the Act of 1919 in 1923, and the War
Department began surveys in 1924 to improve the river;
but almost at once the work was stopped to permit re-
investigation of the possibility of associating river
improvement with hydro-electric development. 25 By 1926,
the engineers made their report declaring for three high
dams to replace the former ten recommended; the new dams
to be located at such sites as to provide 6 foot
navigation from the head of the pool of Dam 8 to Lock
and Dam 21. 26

23 "Laws of the United States Relating to the Improve-
ment of Rivers and Harbors from June 23, 1913, to March 4,
1925," 67th Congress, 2nd Session, House of Representatives

24 Annual Report . . . Chief of Engineers . . .
1920, pt. 1, p. 1238.

1169-1170.

26 Ibid., 1926, pt. 1, p. 1103; Transportation in the
Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, p. 31.
Previous to this recommendation of three high dams and the combining of river improvement with hydro-electric development, the Federal Power Commission, created in 1920 to supervise the orderly development of the water power resources of the United States, had under consideration projects for the development of the hydro-electric resources of the upper and middle Cumberland Valley which, at the same time, would improve the navigation of the river. The hydro-electric development projects on the Cumberland and its tributaries were numbers 389, 700, 728, 729, 804, and 834, and will be reviewed in order in some detail.

Project 389, known as the Cumberland Falls project, was placed before the Federal Power Commission by the Cumberland Hydro-electric Company in 1923, and had a checkered career until its withdrawal in 1931. The company proposed, if granted the necessary license by the Commission, to build two high dams on the main river between Burnside and Williamsburg and one dam on the Big South Fork. The plans proposed a 160 foot dam 2-1/2 miles above Burnside and a 90 foot dam at Cumberland Falls, which would create a pool extending 30 miles upstream, almost to Williamsburg, Kentucky. The third dam, height not mentioned, was to be located 2-1/2 miles above Burnside on the Big South Fork. The initial installation
would be 63,000 H.P. with an estimated ultimate capacity of 200,000 H.P. During the hearing before the Commission which led to the granting, on March 24, 1924, of a preliminary permit for two years, the army engineers testified. They proposed to permit the company to carry on its work provided the necessary locks, or provision for locks, were made to permit navigation on these stretches of the river when their navigation was believed desirable. The company was to allow sufficient water to pass over their dams so as not to impair navigation on the river below Burnside, five hundred cubic feet per second being estimated as sufficient to provide water for 6 foot navigation.27 The Cumberland Hydro-electric Company, although only a producing company, planned to sell power to the Kentucky Utilities, a distributing as well as a producing company, controlled by Mid-West Utilities, the great Insull Holding company.28 Very little, outside preliminary river survey work, was carried on for two years; and in 1926 the Cumberland Hydro-electric Company applied for its permanent permit, and new investigations followed. In 1926 the power developed figures were


28 70th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document No. 189, p. 3.
dropped to 33,500 H.P. initial and 160,000 H.P. ultimate installation, when part of project 383 was transferred to project 700. However, a battle was in the offing. The good people of the State began fighting the company which intended to destroy the scenic beauty of Cumberland Falls. The residents of the section favored the project as did the Governor of Kentucky, but the protests of other residents of the State were loud. The company proposed to build both dam and powerhouse, at such sites on the entrenched meander, so they would be unseen from the Falls, and further proposed to allow a fixed amount of water to pass over its dam and over the Falls to assure their permanent scenic beauty. These assurances were insufficient to quiet the protests of State residents, and the company in 1931 withdrew its application for a license. An area of 333 acres and other options held by the company were purchased by the Du Pont heirs, who donated the land to the State29 which now set the land aside as Cumberland Falls State Park.30 The scenic view and the honeymoon value of the Falls section was saved, but the attempt to produce cheap electric power and materially aid the section was defeated.

29 Kentucky Progress Magazine, III, no. 7 (1931), p. 17.
Under the title of project 700, the Kentucky Hydro-
electric Company in 1926 applied for a preliminary permit
to build a high dam on the Cumberland River at Wolf Creek
just below Lock and Dam 21. The company proposed building
a dam 170 feet high at Wolf Creek which would back water
up the main stream 40 miles. The company stated it was
prepared to install an initial capacity of 66,000 H.P. and
ultimate capacity of 133,000 H.P.\(^\text{31}\) an estimate which was
increased, in 1928, to 74,000 H.P. and 250,000 H.P., when
the South Fork dam of project 389 was added. Objection
was raised to this project for large areas of arable land
would be destroyed, Government Lock 21, part of Burnside,
the Southern Railroad bridge and about 2 miles of track
would be submerged, and Wayne and other river-abutting
counties would be divided into two distinct parts. A
Senate committee investigating this project recommended a
preliminary permit and later construction only when the com-
pany could better absorb the energy produced,\(^\text{32}\) a recom-
mendation followed by the Power Commission. While this
recommendation halted any hopes of the construction of this
high dam, a hope which to-day appears more remote with the

\(^{31}\) *6th Annual Report, Federal Power Commission*, (1926),
p. 139.

\(^{32}\) *70th Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Document no. 189*,
p. 9.
new highway bridge at Burnside, the recommendation must be approved. Electric power would have been cheaply generated and the region materially bettered, but the damage to the best crop land of Wayne and adjacent counties, the complete separation of counties and the damage to Burnside and property in that section seem to offset any advantages the region might enjoy. The district would have enjoyed the same advantages of cheap electricity at less damage with the building of the Cumberland Falls project in the plateau section.

Project 729 would have supplemented project 700. The proposed dam of project 729 would back water to the foot of the dam at Wolf Creek (project 700). The Commission took the attitude that the two projects were related and when project 700 was constructed, project 729 could be built.33

The other projects for combining hydro-electric and river development, after being thoroughly considered, were rejected. Project 728 for building power-houses at dam sites 9 and 12, on the main river, was rejected in July 1931. Projects 804 and 834 for development of power on the Big South Fork, were rejected in 1930 and 1931.34

This discussion of the attempts to combine hydro-electric development and river improvement, brings us to the present condition of the river, and it seems fitting to summarize what has been accomplished. To date, 145 miles of the Cumberland, immediately above Nashville, has 6 foot navigation available the year round. From Burnside, downstream for 29 miles, 4 foot navigation is available the year round. On the lower stretch, traffic averages about 300,000 tons per year while Lock 21 will pass, on the average, 20,000 tons. The traffic is chiefly sand, gravel, timber, timber and farm products and general merchandise. Any large increase in traffic is usually in the gravel and sand item. On the 29 mile stretch from Burnside, traffic has been distinctly on the decline since 1916. So little was moved that in 1917, the Burkesville and Burnside Packet Line was forced from business. Traffic today is moved through regular runs of gasoline driven motor barges and tows and extraordinary runs by the packet boats from Burnside. The introduction of the automobile and the motor truck and the improvement of the Burnside Pike has turned traffic from the river to the road. This shift in traffic indicates the truth of the army engineer's report that the potential tonnage to be moved would hardly justify further improvement. In spite of unfavorable
tonnage reports, improvement of the river was coupled with power development, a movement halted by the Federal Power Commission which held the companies could not absorb the energy, but, I believe, halted primarily because the region itself was not to be benefited. As the program remains today, government locks and dams canalize the river for 145 miles and 29 miles, the remainder of the stream being improved by snagging operations, with little expectation that the plan of 1884, as modified, will ever be completed.

When the river proved to slow for transporting oil and oil well supplies, the area turned to a more rapid means of transport, the railroad. In 1906, the Cumberland River and Nashville Railroad Company, composed of local capital, commenced work on a railway from Tateville, on the C., N.O. and T.P., to Monticello, twenty miles west.35 The Monticello Construction Company was organized by local capital in 1907, increased in 1908, to build railroads and especially the C.R. and N.36 The work progressed as far as the actual laying of rail and bridging the South Fork, and plans for this bridge were approved and a permit issued for the structure by the War Department in 1906.37 Construction of

36 Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, 1.
Pp. 77, 86.
37 Annual Report... Chief of Engineers..., 1906, pt. 1, p. 807.
the road and bridge was never finished due probably to financial difficulties and decline of potential traffic. Today, near Conor’s Corners, part of this road bed and the abutment for the bridge over Meadow Creek can be seen. Other railroads were planned in this region but their construction was never completed. In 1901, another Cumberland River and Nashville Railroad Company had been incorporated and planned to build a line from Corbin to Burnside to develop the iron ore, coal, oil and timber of this plateau section. This company may be the same organization which planned the road toward Monticello, if so, the town would have been served by two great systems, first, the Louisville and Nashville line at Corbin, and second, the Southern Railroad, holder of the C., N. O. and T. P., at Burnside and Tateville. This connection would have afforded the best routes to northern and southern markets. The third railroad in the section, was the Somerset and Nashville Railroad Company, incorporated in 1907 to build a line from Somerset to the Cumberland River about 7 miles distant. Exactly what the purpose of this line was could not be determined. It may have been part of a longer line from Somerset to Nashville. Whatever the ultimate plans of


the second Cumberland River and Nashville Railroad and the
Somerset and Nashville Railroad companies were, they never
were attained, for the roads remained unfinished. This
failure at river betterment and railroad construction and
the longer time necessary to place these lines in operation
led to much road development.

Road development began with the opening of the explo-
ration for oil in the twentieth century and has continued to
the present. Success has come to the people of the area
who desired to better the transportation facilities of the
section, for they have obtained a fine improved through
north and south highway and expect more improved roads. Be-
cause of this demand for better highways, Wayne County had
in 1906 four projects under construction, first, a new 20
mile turnpike between Monticello and Burnside, undertaken
by the Monticello-Burnside Turnpike Company; second, five
miles of a projected 15 mile turnpike in Elk Spring Valley
to meet the Kentucky and Tennessee Railroad running south-
west from Stearns, Kentucky; third, a five mile road from
Monticello to Cooper, and fourth, a projected five mile
road from Monticello to Parnell. All these developments
were undertaken by turnpike companies allowed to collect

tolls on their improvements, the State of Kentucky not as yet believing road building a true public work. It was not until 1926 or 1927 that the State finally took over the county road system and all work of the turnpike companies in Wayne County and consolidated them with the public highway system.\(^{41}\) Although the Wayne County road system was a toll system until about 1926 or 1927, as early as 1912, the State had taken steps in the direction of creating a public highway system as part of its public works. In 1912, the Department of Public Roads was created for the purpose of giving advise to the counties in their road construction programs.\(^{42}\) In 1914, the State Assembly went a step further and created a system of State Public Highways and Public Works. The Act of March 24, 1914 declared (a) all roads uniting a county seat with the county seat in adjoining counties in the most direct line; (b) roads connecting a border county seat with the adjoining county seat in the adjoining state by the best route to be public highways and public works. These roads were to receive

\(^{41}\) Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, I, Pp. 72, 128, 179, 183. Articles of Incorporation of the Parnell Turnpike Company (1919) which went out of business in 1925 to be succeeded in 1925 by the Monticello-Jamestown Turnpike Company, p. 500, and p. 187; the articles of the Monticello-Albany Turnpike Company which took over the county’s work in 1919 and in 1925 increased its capitalization.

\(^{42}\) Session Acts of Kentucky, Session of Jan. 1912, Pp. 96-100.
state aid first and, after the completion of this comprehensive plan, other favorable roads would be added to the public highway and public works system and receive state aid. 43 The same day the State decided the extent and condition of state aid, the State providing \( \frac{\frac{1}{2}}{\frac{1}{2}} \) and the county \( \frac{\frac{1}{2}}{\frac{1}{2}} \) of the cost to improve the public highway system in the particular county; 44 the funds to be spent under the advice of the Department of Public Roads created in 1912. Under the Acts of 1912 and 1914, very little work was accomplished in Wayne County or on roads connecting the county to adjacent counties. In the fall of 1915, the Somerset-Stanford Pike was metalled and the Somerset-Monticello Pike was surfaced with limestone. 45 This work gave Monticello and the area immediately tributary to the newly surfaced pike a better road to the Blue Grass region, but provided no transportation southward and aided in no way the development of transportation within the county. Wayne County realized the necessity of good roads and had easily accessible good road material, but up to 1916 made no definite plans for improved county roads. 46 Turnpike companies

43 Ibid., Session of Jan. 1914, Pp. 440-441.
46 Ibid., Pp. 79-80.
owned the better roads and, no doubt, were attempting to block the county in its program although the poverty of the county had much to do with the lack of a definite road program. From 1915 to 1919, the county made a few definite road plans but few were completed. In 1915 a water bound macadam road between Monticello and Whitley City, county seat of McCreary County to the east, was planned and by 1916, two miles of the project had been completed. Plans were submitted in 1917 for 27 miles of road from Monticello to the Tennessee line via Albany, Wayne County proposing to do the 12½ miles to the Clinton County line. Something interferred and the counties dropped the project. The next year, Wayne County actually began work on this project by building two bridge abutments at the Beaver Creek bridge site, but for some reason, probably because of the lack of funds, gave up its work and turned the whole project over to the Monticello-Albany Turnpike Company organized by local capital in 1919 and with increased capital in 1923. In 1919, no county work was projected or undertaken, turnpike companies controlling all important routes in the county.\footnote{3rd and 4th Biennial Reports of the Department of Public Roads, p. 208; Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, I, p. 187.}

The State in 1920 completed the task of founding a public road system. The Act of March 16, 1920 established
the Department of State Roads and Highways to permit the State to enjoy the benefits of the Federal Aid Act of 1916. A system of primary state highways, providing each county with at least one main highway, was created. To this beginning of a great highway system other roads, many through political juggling, have been added from time to time.43

Through this system of State highways, Wayne County has been effectively connected to the northern part of the State, to Tennessee, and upon the completion of all planned highways, Wayne County and Monticello will be joined to all adjacent counties by good roads which, in most instances, will traverse sections hitherto difficult to penetrate with automobile. These roads with the automobile provide and will provide rapid and reliable transportation and furnish the new sections with an opportunity to market more of their agricultural and stock products. The important main highway for Wayne County, although the route does not directly traverse the county, was project 22 (present U.S. 27) leading from the Blue Grass to Danville, Stanford, Somerset, Burnside, Whitley City and via Pine Knott to Tennessee. To this main stem, branches, important to Wayne County, have been added. First, the present Ky. 90, or project 27, from

Somerset to Burnside, Mill Springs, Monticello and Albany; project 22-b which provides for a state road from Monticello to Whitley City, here connecting with project 22 (U.S. 27) going south to the Valley of East Tennessee, and project 22-a going east to Barbourville via Williamsburg and Gatlinburg. At Albany, project 27 (Ky. 90) is to join project 23 north and south highway from Lexington, Lancaster, to Stanford, where project 23 crossed project 22 (u.s. 27), Creston, Dunnville, Jamestown, Albany and Huntersville, Tennessee. Later other roads, radiating from Monticello, were planned. The most important road is the one to Jamestown where the proposed highway will intersect project 23. Another road of great importance to Wayne County is project 40, from Albany to Burnsville and Glasgow here crossing project 3, another north and south road, and project 1, an east and west highway. On completion of project 40, a short cut to the Kentucky Pennyroyal north of Nashville will be gained.

Since 1920 road construction has been carried on by the State with considerable success. Project 22 (U.S. 27) is now continuously paved as far south as Burnside. Project 27 (Ky. 90) was given in 1930 a macadam treatment from Burnside to Monticello. What this has meant to the people of the County was voiced by Wayne County Judge
Dalton, at the opening of the new road when he said, "... it has been made possible for our people to come to the county seat, Monticello, and also to travel north and south with much more satisfaction than we have ever known."49

The Monticello-Albany Pike has been widened and improved with the application of limestone and road oil. The roads to Whitley City via Elk Spring Valley and to Jamestown have been widened and stoned for about five miles from Monticello. Work on these roads has been halted temporarily because of present conditions and because the State turned to improving more important roads and works.

The State has also had to face the problem of ferries at important points in the highway system. By an Act of 1928, the highway department was given permission to construct bridges through bond issues. Two bridges could be financed from the same bond issue. Tolls were to be collected to maintain and pay for construction and when the bonds had been paid, the bridges were to be free.50 This method of financing looked toward the linking of a well

49 Letter and account of the opening of the new Pike by Judge Dalton, Kentucky Progress Magazine, II, no. 7, p. 50.

50 Session Acts of Kentucky, Session of Jan. 1928, pp. 567-575. This is known as the Murphy Toll Bridge Act.
traveled bridge with one less traveled and the creation of a pool which would repay the construction of both bridges. Citizens of the district, south of the Cumberland and west of the South Fork, saw here an opportunity to gain bridges over the Cumberland which would further aid transport. They advocated one bridge at Burnside, so constructed as to cross the Cumberland and also the Big South Fork. The Highway Department pointed out the impracticability of the idea but declared for the construction of two bridges, one over the main stream, which was completed in Nov. 1931, and the second over the Big South Fork to carry Ky. 90 over this stream. Property to carry the piers and approaches was secured, the perpetual ferry over the stream bought out by the State and plans drawn, but the present economic condition halted construction. A third bridge is to be constructed at Burksville to carry Ky. 90 over the Cumberland and aid in connecting that highway with the Federal highway passing through Glasgow.\footnote{Congress on June 18, 1930 approved the construction of these bridges over navigable streams of the United States. Statutes-at-Large of the United States, 1929-1931, XLVI, pt. 1, p. 779.} It was hoped a fourth bridge could be obtained over the Cumberland on the highway toward Jamestown but this project was shelved for the present.
With all this highway construction, the citizens were not satisfied for they wished to have their main highway, Ky. 90, placed on the great Federal highway map. A campaign was laid out and when completed partial success awarded their efforts. The first step was to have the State designate Ky. 90 as a part of the Mammoth Cave to Cumberland Falls route which, when completed, is to have a distinctive marker. With success awarding this effort, the next step was to approach the National Park Commissioners who were considering routes for the new Eastern Park-to-Park Highway which was to provide highway connections for the new Great Smoky Mountain National Park and the Shenandoah National Park. In 1930-1931, the citizens saw success come to their new effort and part of Ky. 90, from Monticello to Burnside, became a section of this new Federal Eastern Park Highway, which also, when the project is finally completed, will have a distinctive marker. Emboldened by these two successes, the next step was to have certain connecting highways from Washington, D.C. to St. Louis and Kansas City, with one of these highways passing through Monticello, declared a Federal highway with a distinctive number. This project was defeated. All these projects are for future completion. Work is progressing slowly and their culmination is far in the future.
All these highway campaigns, the citizens of the area felt would lead to increased tourist traffic and some tourists, they hoped, would sojourn in Monticello. At least they would see the region and perhaps tell of its beauty to friends who would wish to motor to it or across it. To care for the tourist who might desire to remain overnight or for a few days, the leading citizens of Monticello proposed to build a small modern hotel to replace two poor town taverns. They pointed out that the nearest hotel was at Somerset and the nearest hotel in Tennessee was at Sparta, and Monticello might well provide a good stopping place for people traveling the above mentioned roads and not desiring to push on to either Somerset or Sparta. Monticello's leading citizens approached Louisville banks, one of which liked the plan and agreed to underwrite the project. When the present business depression arose, the underwriting bank closed its doors and the hotel was never constructed. However, the people of Monticello have probably overestimated the tourist business. The region, for the ordinary tourist, has nothing to offer. The scenery of the section can be matched in most parts of Kentucky. There are no advertised natural wonders, as Mammoth Cave, in the vicinity. In the plateau near U.S. 27 is Cumberland Falls, an excellent natural bridge.
and Crystal Cave, only recently discovered. Conditions for exploration of this cave are very poor, there are no electric lights, no fixed routes, no rooms with fancy names and the commercial advertising which brings the crowds is lacking. The lack of those things, interesting to ordinary tourists, makes the region one which they desire to cross and not to visit.

The improvement of transportation though the automobile and motor truck, brings the query, what has this means of moving goods done for the industry of the county? Coal, which is an important resource in the plateau section, was first produced in great commercial quantities in 1910. This development centered on Stearns, Kentucky, and along the Kentucky and Tennessee Railroad, running southwest from Stearns. This coal was shipped north and south by the C., K.O. and T.P. to a narrow market paralleling the Great shipping road. In 1912, this section of Wayne County was incorporated into the new county of McGreary and since then Wayne County has ceased to be a commercial coal producing county. The only coal production in the county today is the output of small mines, a good example being the mine at Spann. This mine has no

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52 Jillsen, The Coal Industry of Kentucky, p. 33 and table.
modern improvements. There is no great fan forcing fresh air to the working faces, no electrically driven undercutting or drilling tools, no electric trains pulling coal from the working face, and only the crudest of tipplers. The small cars of from 100 to 200 lbs. capacity are pushed by hand to the top of an incline and dumped, the coal automatically sorting itself by passing over a series of screens and dropping into large bins. Few miners are employed. In 1928, one miner and a boy were employed while in 1931 there were four miners and three boys digging coal. Coal is trucked via a fair road to Steubenville and delivered to customers, or coal can be purchased directly at the tipple. For delivery, small Ford trucks of from 1/2 to 1 ton capacity are loaded by hand and driven to the buyer. The vein being mined is between 2 and 4 feet thick, and as no provision is made for men of ordinary height, one must stoop or bend his head to traverse the gallery. Air is supplied direct from the outside and when one gallery and working face becomes foul, a cross gallery is cut through the side of a ravine and fresh air supplied. As the working is gas free, open carbide lights can be used. The only relative modern items around the workings are the carbide lights, the motor trucks and the large scales for weighing deliveries.
The operations of timber and timber processing companies are connected with the development of transportation. Before 1900 much of the best and most accessible timber, oak, maple, hickory, and poplar, had been cut over. In 1905, the Kentucky Hardwood Lumber Company composed of Connecticut and local capital,\textsuperscript{53} came into the area and cut out much of the better hardwoods. Then in 1915, the Bassett Hardwood Manufacturing Company migrated from Tennessee and established a mill at Monticello which is still running.\textsuperscript{54} This company manufactures various items as golf club shafts and parts of farm implements besides doing a general sawing and finishing business. At Burnside, there are located the Excelsior Company, the Burnside Manufacturing Company and the Veneer Works which process timber obtained from the surrounding area. The Veneer Works obtained part of their high grade woods, as black walnut and birdseye maple, from Wayne County. This material was usually teamed or shipped by river to Burnside. Since 1928, the Veneer Works has not operated while the other plants are working part time. As long as these plants operated, they provided a little cash to the farmers.

\textsuperscript{53} Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, 1, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{54} Wayne County List of Firms Book, 1, p. 1.
of the area who provided them with first class logs. Other timber users are the Stave Companies and the Gulf Red Cedar Company. In 1923, the Bourbon Stave Company entered the section 55 cutting staves from the second grade oak and in 1931-32 a stave mill, whether owned by the Bourbon people could not be determined, was established in Elk Spring Valley about a mile east of Monticello. Second grade oak logs, cut to stave size, were purchased from the farmers of the county and recut to rough staves, then trucked to Burnside where they were shipped by rail to the finishing plants and hog factories. In the summer of 1931, seven persons were employed at the mill and four trucks were used to haul staves to Burnside. The Gulf Red Cedar Company established their factory at Monticello about 1927. The plant is a temporary affair, a 2-story frame building about 100 feet long, with accompanying powerhouse and saw. The company manufactures pencil blocks for lead pencils and as a by-product, from the sawdust which is compressed and steam allowed to pass through the shavings, concentrated red cedar oil. Their product is trucked to rail at Burnside. In 1930, this plant was working on a large pencil block order for Japan. The company buys all

65 Wayne County Articles of Incorporation Book, I. p. 279.
kinds of cedar as, cedar posts, old cedar telephone and
telephone poles, fence rails and newly cut cedar. The old
cedar is considered A-1 stock for it has been weathered
and cured and does not have to be stored for a long period
of time to be seasoned. When the cedar supply has been
exhausted, or more likely when it is necessary to build
kilns to cure cedar, the company will abandon this plant
and move to a new region. Just at present (1932), it is
affording employment to a large number of operatives, both
men and women, and giving farmers of the county extra cash
through their selling cedar. In addition there are,
throughout the region, a number of small saws cutting logs
for anyone desiring lumber. In the plateau area, in 1931,
three or four larger saws were cutting white oak railroad
ties, which were stacked at the road side and trucked to
Burnside. In 1931, modest supplies of timber and ties
were collected at the landing opposite and and the packet
line dispatched a steamer to the landing for the cargo.
These operations, like the operations of the Gulf Red Cedar
Company, will be short lived if exhaustive cutting is
followed, but with gradual cutting, the supply may continue
for a little longer time. For ties there is only a small
supply of white oak.
The county is still essentially an agricultural area, the chief crops being corn, the grains and sustenance crops. In 1929 tobacco returned as a cash crop and by 1931 had reached the position of leading producer of extra cash. However, in that year, the decline in the tobacco market caused some loss and many farmers gave up the crop. Also tobacco exhausts the soil very rapidly and many farmers had not learned the lesson of rotation, so their yields in 1931 were considerably less than 1929. In 1932 it is said the condition of the tobacco market was so poor that many farmers brought their tobacco from the selling floors. Wheat is heavily planted on the upland but one crop in three is normally expected. In certain years, large crops are harvested. 1932 was such a year, and wheat fell to an extremely low price at the mill at Mill Springs; the miller at one time during the summer refused to buy any more wheat.

Stock raising has taken on life and become a new enterprise. Hogs have always been of great importance and now sheep and cattle have been added. The animals are trucked to Bureau or more often to Danville or even to Cincinnati to be marketed. Local persons do most of the trucking making usually two trips a week to the slaughter houses or the rail stock yards.
A new kind of barter has entered the country long side the old method. It is not unusual to see trucks of outside poultry and egg dealers at the roadside buying direct from the farmer. Against this new method, the old still survives. The cross roads storekeeper takes chickens, eggs and whatever is brought by the farmer, giving him necessities as sugar, coffee, shoes and other articles they may desire in return. The storekeeper in turn trucks his produce to railhead or to the large cities, selling to commission houses and thus restocks his cross roads store.

The State road through the county has brought many new and better things, but in the sections of the plateau and the more eroded sections north of the Cumberland and south-west of Mill Springs, away from the improved highway, things have changed little. Automobiles are seldom seen, corn is made into whiskey, the crops are sustenance in character, and little money is seen from year to year. Until better transportation, especially better roads, enter these districts, they will remain ever thus. These people live from day to day having little contact with the outside world, making not a living but an existence from their farms. Court sessions are the great means of entertainment, every one tries to be in town on those days.
Education is now a State function and is carried on by the State primary school system. There are a number of district schools caring for the youth, but there are only three high schools in this county of about 17,000 inhabitants. The school year is about nine months, the fall session opening the last of July and continuing until harvest with the schools closing for two weeks at that time. They are reopened until the last of February or early March, when they are again closed because of high water. About the middle of March or the first of April the schools are again opened and remain open until the middle of June. There are no secondary schools. For further education students attend Berea, Centre, or the University of Kentucky at Lexington, and a few come as far north as the University of Michigan.

As a whole, Wayne County has come a long way but still has far to go, and its future is not bright. It is marginal in everything it offers, in agriculture, in natural resources, and even in scenic value. It is an area to be passed through in going from north to south, east to west, or vice versa. The new road has accomplished wonders, and the planned future in road building will bring the benefits so far gained by the Pike section to new parts of the county. But with all these improvements and hopes the future does not contain
great promise. To the people residing there, it will be home; for the younger people who emigrate to other parts of the country, it will be a place to visit occasionally; to a tourist passing through, it will be a region to be enjoyed because of its contrasts; but to a person going some place, it will be an area to traverse in the fastest time possible. Few new inhabitants will select the county as a dwelling place unless unknown resources are discovered, and then the county may relive the first two decades of this century.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This county is old in settlement but youthful in development. All frontiers of Turner's hypothesis have traversed the region while one frontier yet remains. This is the industrial frontier. Professor Turner does not allude to this frontier in his hypothesis, but to carry out his reasoning the question arises, What frontier follows the farm frontier? An industrial frontier appears to be the next step. This particular frontier, in the county studied, may be unimportant, for it may be solely the attempt, as in this county, to supply the three necessities, iron, powder and salt. Other processing follows, as milling, timber finishing and processing and, where minerals are present, mining. In this county industry declined as transportation facilities to the outside declined. Industry is now slowly advancing, perhaps only temporarily, with increased transportation. Mining in this county will never develop until facilities for moving the mineral are bettered and market conditions are more suitable.

Different groups of people have entered the mountain and mountain margin at various times. Stages in the evolution of the mountaineer have been suggested, as first, the frontiersmen and hunters, second, the work of their descendants as agriculturists in the isolated
coves and hollows, third, lumbering brought the railroad and, in turn, it opened the coal measures and initiated the fourth phase, the influx of foreigners, persons unlike the native mountaineer, and negroes who labor in the mines. 1 Wayne County, not being a mountain county exclusively, has passed through variations of these suggested stages of human activities. There were the frontiersmen and hunters and their descendants who became agriculturists. An opportunity was offered for the employment of slaves on the Upland and slaves were imported. Lumbering was undertaken, but it did not bring the railroad through the best part of the county. Today the timber is being exploited but on a small scale. The failure to develop the coal measures saved the county from Davis' last stage, but the county enjoyed a variation of the last suggested phase. The development of oil brought foreigners and produced a mushroom growth of the county. The rapid decline in oil production broke this prosperity and left the county in a desperate situation. New transportation, the highway, has aided in renewing the timber and industrial phase of human activities.

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but, in all probability, it will be temporary.

The county is marginal and its condition would be improved if fewer persons resided there. The plateau and the heavily dissected part of the upland could be stripped of its agricultural population during which time it would be reforested, while a few hundred or thousand people continued to live on the level upland, adjacent to the rike, and won a living in agriculture and stock raising.

The study has brought out certain generalizations which may be retained or discarded as other counties on this particular western piedmont are studied. Isolation is one of the major problems, and the development of the region depends on the improvement of the transportation of the district with the outside world. Since the county is marginal, one of the important features of its early history is the exodus of people from the county to better farm lands in various parts of the State and country.
### Tonnage handled on the Middle Cumberland

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<td>25,000</td>
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<td>1918</td>
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Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Chief of Army Engineers to the Secretary of War.

1. Figures are in short tons with the fraction of a thousand ton omitted.

2. Lock 21 was opened in Oct. 1911; tonnage figures from Oct. 1911 to Jan. 1912.

3. Tonnage figures for lock 21 are not given.

4. Tonnage figures not given by locks.
### POPULATION CHART

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<th>Census Year</th>
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<th>Population of Monticello</th>
<th>Negroes Slave</th>
<th>Negroes Free</th>
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<td>546</td>
<td>608</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>17,518</td>
<td>1,338</td>
<td>739</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>16,2085</td>
<td>1,514</td>
<td>641</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>15,848</td>
<td>1,503</td>
<td>524</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled from the United States Census Reports.

1. Wayne County was organized in 1800 from parts of Cumberland and Green Counties, and does not appear in the Census Report for 1800.

2. Russell County was organized in 1825 from parts of Adair, Cumberland, and Wayne Counties.

3. 5th Census of the United States, p. 117.

4. Clinton County was organized in 1835 from parts of Cumberland and Wayne Counties.

5. McCreary County was organized in 1912 from parts of Pulaski, Whitley, and Wayne Counties.
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There is no general guide or bibliography available for a study of this character. The Channing, Hart and Turner, Guide to the Study and Reading of American History and the Turner and Berk, List of References will suggest the better works, available at that date, for particular phases of a similar study. For publications since 1912 and 1922 the works of Grace Gardner Griffin must be consulted. Her bibliographies, published annually, since 1909, by the Government Printing Office as one volume of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, are a compilation of the books and articles on United States and Canadian history published in a particular year. By reference to the state in which is located the region to be studied, valuable articles and books may often be discovered.

Materials for this type of study are, in addition, often published by local historical societies, and their

1 Channing, Edward; Hart, Albert B.; Turner, Frederick J.; Guide to the Study and Reading of American History, (Boston, 1912); Turner, Frederick J., and Berk, Fred, List of References on the History of the West, (Cambridge, 1923).

2 Grace Gardner Griffin, Writings on American History.
publications should be carefully examined. For materials on the geographical aspects of the subject, the
Geographical Review and its predecessor, the Bulletin of
the American Geographical Society, the Journal of
Geography, and the scientific publications of the state
in which the study is being made, should be consulted. If
maps of the county are desired, the state index maps of
the United States Geological Survey will provide informa-
tion on the availability of United States Topographical
Sheets. For materials on the natural resources of the
section, the Bulletins of the United States Geological
Survey should not be overlooked if state publications do
not provide information.

Suggestive articles on the sequence of the human
occupance and the succession of human activities which
may provide a helpful outline are: H. M. Kendall, "The
Occupance of the Lower Vézère Valley"; and D. H. Davis,
"A Study of the Succession of Human Activities in the
Kentucky Mountains." For this study, the bibliography

3 Official publication of the American Geographical
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4 Papers of the Michigan Academy, XVI, pp. 299–315.

of W. R. Jillson, "Early Kentucky Literature, 1750-1840," suggested many books which had been overlooked.

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