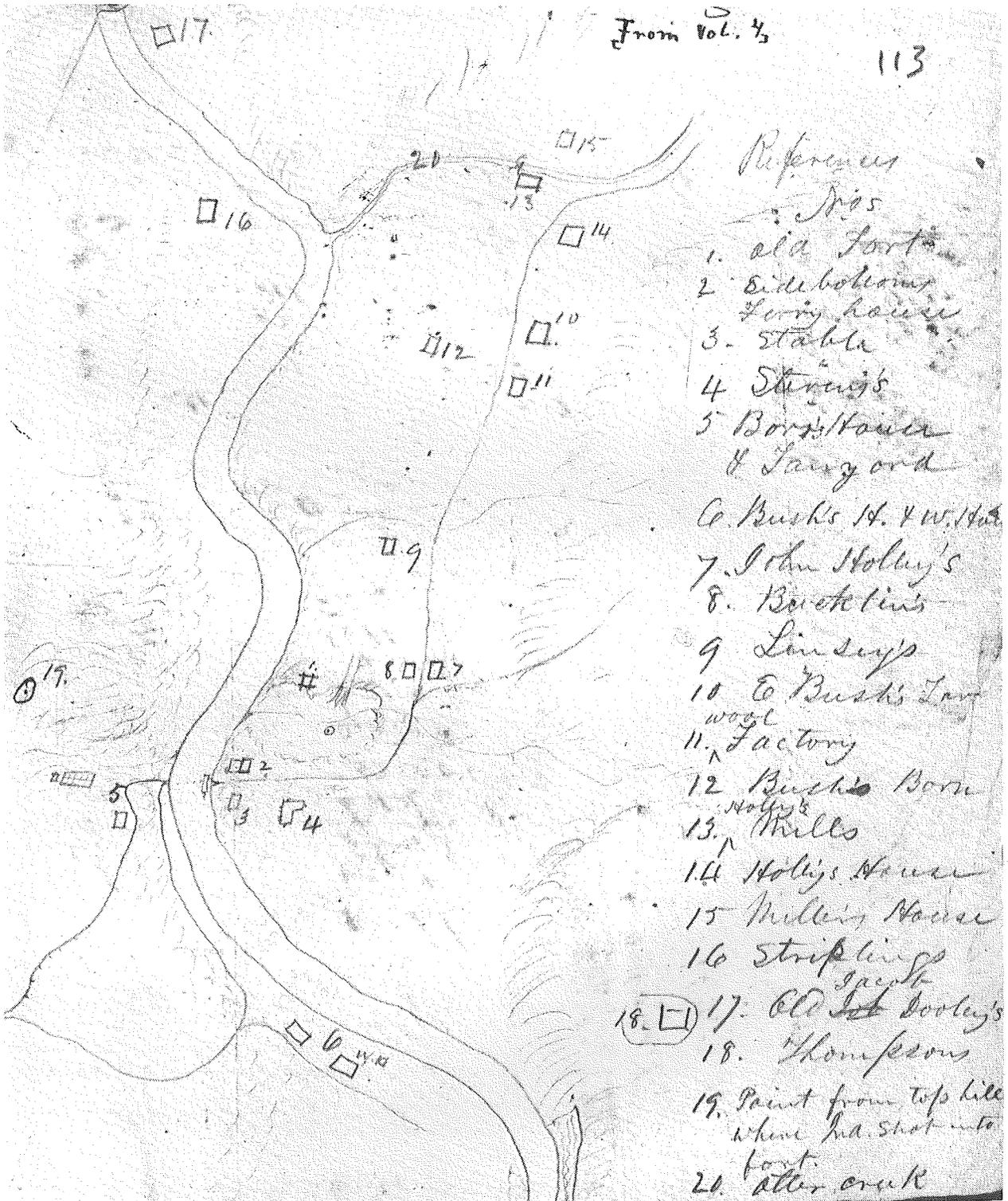


Searching for Boonesborough



by
Nancy O'Malley
1989

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CHAPTER III
Cultural Reconstruction of Boonesborough and
its History

The settlement, development, occupation, and decline of Boonesborough is the story of one site which was intended to be the hub of a great colony but instead served a short but important role as a vital link in Kentucky's frontier landscape. Established by Richard Henderson and the backers of the Transylvania Company, the site of Boonesborough attracted many people who settled here briefly before the Colony's plans were dashed by the Virginia legislature. Many of the first settlers left in disgust over valueless land titles or in fear of their lives from Indian attack or simply because other pastures looked greener. Those who stayed attempted to reconstitute the site as a town, but even with the Virginia legislature's blessing, Boonesborough was doomed to failure. By 1830, the buildings and walls of the fort had disappeared, the chimney stones had been salvaged for other uses and crops grew where Daniel Boone and other Kentucky heroes once lived (Dorris and Dorris 1955). The successive floods of the Kentucky River continued to dump layers of silt on the banks where the fort had stood, gradually burying all evidence of one of Kentucky's most famous landmarks. A few houses and buildings from the town continued to stand even into the twentieth century and at least one was still inhabited at the time of survey, but most gradually deteriorated and were torn down or burned. Early in the twentieth century, a summer resort operated on the property and the sulphur water which attracted Boone and Henderson to the site was tapped with a new well as a star attraction. But this phase of occupation also passed out of existence fairly rapidly, with the cabins mostly gone by the 1950s. The early 1960s saw the formation of the state park which memorialized the history of the area. Since that time, thousands of visitors have walked unknowingly over the buried remains of Boonesborough.

This chapter discusses Boonesborough in terms of its chronology, its founders and population, the site plan arising from its development, growth and decline, and its socioeconomic history. The organization of data departs somewhat from standard archaeological treatments in that purely descriptive information is kept to a minimum, and tabulations of artifact types and frequencies are consigned to summary tables. The aim of this chapter is to present a readable reconstruction of Boonesborough by synthesizing all the various types of information gathered by this initial phase of research.

Chronology of the Boonesborough Bottomland

Long before Daniel Boone entered Kentucky as an explorer, the bottomland area around the mouth of Otter Creek was periodically inhabited by various native American groups. The survey of the Boonesborough bottomland identified eight sites which yielded prehistoric Indian artifacts. Site survey forms and locational information are filed with the Kentucky Heritage Council and the Office of State Archaeology. These sites were given names and permanent site numbers by which they can be identified in files maintained by the Office of State Archaeology at the University of Kentucky in Lexington. They include:

Tobacco Warehouse Site (15Ma41)
Otter Creek Site (15Ma42)
Sowers Site (15Ma122)
Two Man Site (15Ma124)
Bittersweet Site (15Ma125)
Black Barn Site (15Ma126)
Campground Site (15Ma127)
Morgan Site (15Ma130)

Appendix A lists the artifacts recovered from each site.

Sites were dated if the surface collection included chronologically diagnostic artifacts such as projectile points. Projectile points and other artifacts changed in shape, style and size throughout prehistory. Different artifact types can be chronologically dated by dating the soil layers in which they are found. Prehistory is commonly divided by archaeologists into four chronological periods. These include PaleoIndian (prior to 8000 B.C.), Archaic (8000-1000 B.C.), Woodland (1000 B.C.-A.D. 900), and Late Prehistoric (A.D. 900-1750). Each period is known for specific cultural traits. PaleoIndians were nomadic hunters who covered long distances, sometimes hunting large game animals which are now extinct. They lived in America when the climate was much colder due to the proximity and massive size of continental glaciers. No sites dating from this period were found during the survey.

In time, the glaciers melted and retreated to the polar regions where they exist today. The climate simultaneously warmed and vegetational patterns changed from cold-adapted trees and plants to the familiar deciduous trees, grasses and other plants of the present. Many species of animals became extinct and were replaced with common Woodland species such as white-tailed deer, wild turkey, black bear, elk and others. Native Americans made adjustments to these changes, which ushered in the Archaic Period.

Two sites, Black Barn (15Ma126), and Two Man (15Ma124), date to the Archaic Period. Both were probably small camps where Archaic people stayed briefly. Archaic people hunted large game such as deer and elk, but also trapped, snared or shot smaller animals such as raccoon, groundhog or fox, and preyed on birds, fish and shellfish. They used a variety of weapons and devices to procure animals but the most commonly found artifact associated with hunting is the dart point. Dart points changed in style over time and can sometimes be dated. The Black Barn Site yielded a corner-notched and serrated fragment called a Kirk point which dates before 5000 B.C. (Figure 3). Three other points, all with side notches, were also collected (Figure 3). They probably date within the Archaic Period also. Other artifacts from this site include fragments of chert or flint discarded from the manufacture of tools. Some of these flakes of chert were used as "throwaway" tools; that is, sharp-edged chert flakes served as disposable cutting, scraping, sawing or perforating tools, which were discarded when dull.

The Two Man Site is located on the same linear floodplain ridge as the Black Barn Site but lies further to the northeast (Appendix A). Most of the collected artifacts consist of chert debris from the manufacturing process. A side-notched projectile point which appears Archaic in style was also collected

construction. Its appearance is similar to Type 90 defined by Good (1972:117; Plate 5) and dated between 1650 and 1830. Its identity as a trade bead is difficult to verify since it was found in a shovel probe unassociated with other datable artifacts. Caution is necessary in ascribing antiquity to this bead because the state park hosts a yearly muzzleloading rifle target match in which the participants appear dressed in period garb, sometimes with bead decoration.

After the Ft. Ancient site was abandoned, the next identifiable occupation in the Boonesborough bottomland was that of the pioneers who followed Daniel Boone and Richard Henderson to form the Transylvania Colony. One of the best accounts available on the beginnings of the Boonesborough venture is the diary of Richard Henderson. This diary was acquired by Lyman C. Draper who amassed a huge collection of historic information and documents on Kentucky. The original manuscript (Draper mss. 1CC21-102) covers the period from March 20, 1775 to July 25, 1775.

Although plans for establishing a Kentucky settlement may have developed earlier, an actual move toward realizing them did not occur until 1775. Richard Henderson, a Virginian who moved in his youth to North Carolina, formed the Transylvania Company in 1774 with a total of nine members. Besides Henderson, who served as President, the other backers included John Williams, Leonard Henley Bullock, James Hogg, Nathaniel Hart, Thomas Hart, David Hart, John Luttrell and William Johnstone. Daniel Boone had already visited Kentucky and was an able assistant to Henderson's schemes. Despite a proclamation by Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina against the venture, plans continued and in March, 1775, the Company negotiated with the Cherokees for the purchase of the territory south of the Kentucky River. The Otter Creek location had been previously chosen, and Daniel Boone, along with a company of men (and at least one black woman), set out on the tenth of March, 1775, to cut a trail through the wilderness to the future site of Boonesborough. Henderson followed Boone with additional settlers and supplies on March 20. Henderson was joined along the way by William Calk and his four companions.

After weathering an Indian attack which killed three of their party, Boone's contingent arrived at the site chosen for the Colony's capitol. The site of Boonesborough is on an unusually broad section of floodplain along the generally narrow and entrenched Kentucky River. Felix Walker, who accompanied Boone, described the site as "situated in a plain on the south side of the river, wherein was a lick with two sulphur springs strongly impregnated" (Ranck 1901:165-166).

Henderson's view of the site was expressed in practical terms. He arrived on April 20th and took stock of his fledgling capitol the next day.

On Viewing the Fort, and finding the plann not sufficient to admit of building For the reception of our Company and a Scarcity of ground Suitable for Clearing at such an advanced Season was at some Loss how to proceed--Mr. Boone's company having Laid off most of the adjacent good lands into lots of 2 acres Each and taking as it fell to each Individual by lot was in actual possession & occupying them--After some Perplexity resolved to erect a fort on the opposite side of a large lick near the river bank Which would place us at a

distance of about 300 yards from the Other fort ... (Draper mss. 1CC32).

The "other fort" he mentions was an encampment of rough huts or lean-tos erected by Boone and his men. The site of this encampment, which was not occupied long, has not been archaeologically verified. Henderson's notations suggest it was located near the older section of the park's campground. Sycamore Hollow was partly taken up by a water-saturated area (the "Lick") into which the sulphur springs discharged; the valley was probably narrower in width at the time of pioneer occupation than it is today, because an interview with an early settler in the 1840s mentioned severe erosion along the edge of the hollow.

On the 24th of April, 1775, Henderson began directing the survey of town lots, and mentions one in particular being laid around "a fine spring" (Draper mss. 1CC40). This spring was separate from the sulphur springs in Sycamore Hollow. After 54 lots were surveyed, he held a drawing to distribute the lots to individual settlers. Forty lot assignments are noted on a 66-lot plat surveyed by William Calk and housed among his papers (Figure 6; copies curated at University of Kentucky Special Collections, M. I. King Library). Although the plat is undated, Calk's journal states that, on April 20th, 1775, "We Begin laying off lots in the town." However, he states on the 22nd, "They finish laying out lots this Evening," suggesting that he only helped for part of the survey. Calk's papers reportedly contain an original plat of the town of Boonesborough in addition to the plat of 66 lots just mentioned (Kilpatrick 1921:370). A boundary plat of the 640-acre tract specified by the Virginia legislature is filed with the photocopies of Calk's papers in the Special Collections section of the University of Kentucky M. I. King Library; however, the fort, the town lots and other landmarks are not shown.

Henderson obtained four lots for the fort and its garden and spent the next few days clearing land, sowing seed and preparing to build. One of the first buildings erected was a magazine for gunpowder and arms. Henderson kept a ledger in which he listed transactions between the settlers and the company for supplies (Shane 1947). A total of 102 names are listed, with dates mostly in 1775 and 1776 (and one as late as September 6, 1777). Many of the men listed settled elsewhere but had stopped at Boonesborough for supplies. Henderson's "company store" was only one of his planned facilities for the town he envisioned.

Although Henderson planned his community as an organized unit with himself at the top of the chain of command and settlers in obedience to established rules, the reality was far different. Dissension among the settlers and even the company board members themselves began at an early date. Nathaniel Hart took exception to the location chosen for the fort and went off to work his own land at the White Oak Spring near the fort. The settlers were anxious to plant corn and build cabins for their own use and paid little attention to Henderson's plans. Manpower to clear land and build the fort was hard to organize, and matters worsened when James Harrod and his party visited Boonesborough. Harrod had settled around the Salt River in present Mercer County during the previous year and had returned to renew his residence in 1775. Technically, he and his companions were claiming land which was part of the Transylvania purchase. This was only one of many challenges to the validity of the Transylvania title. Many

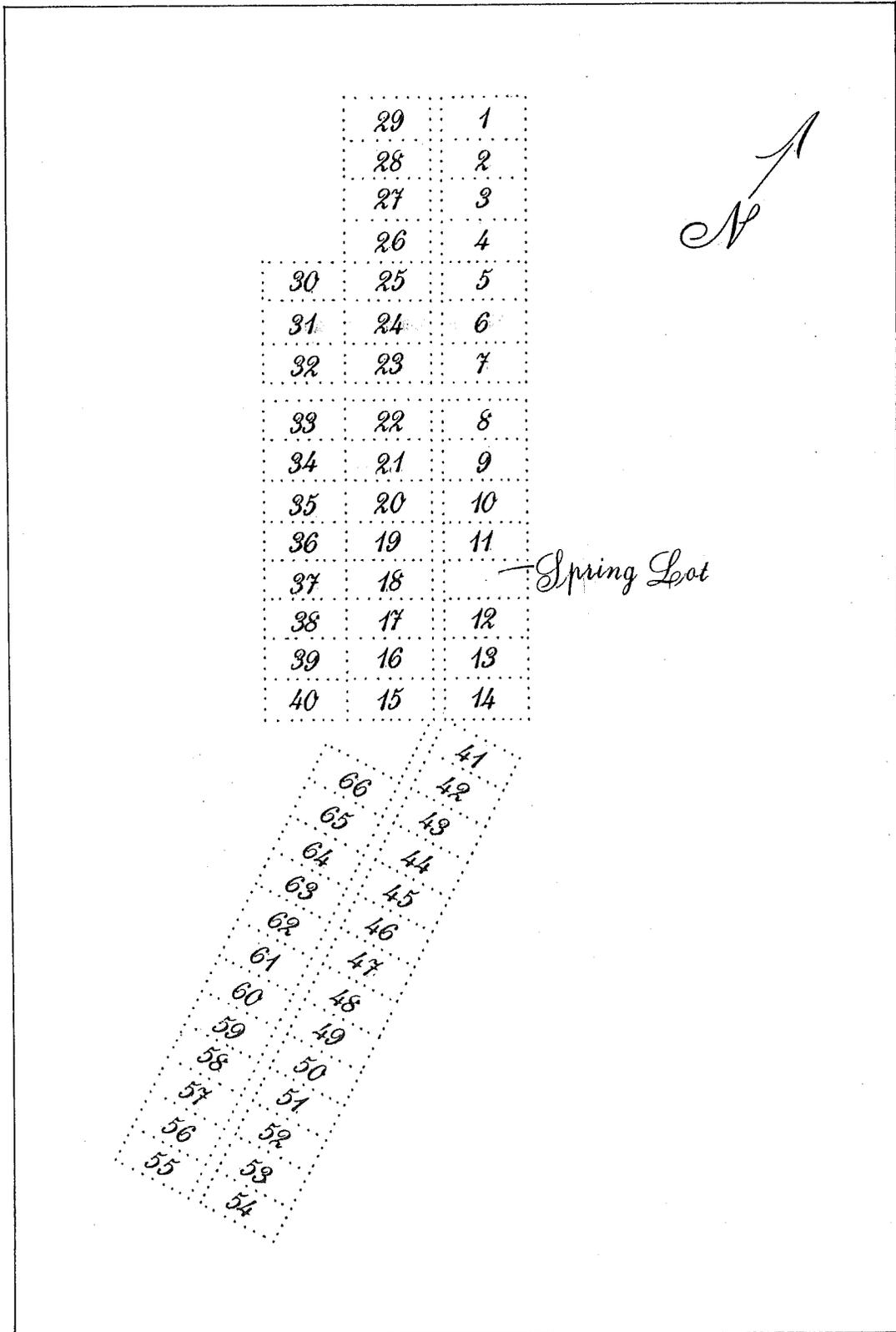


Figure 6. William Calk's survey of Boonesborough in-lots.

settlers, discouraged by the title problems and Indian threat, sold their lots and returned east in June of 1775.

A petition filed on October 16, 1779, described the early dissension among the settlers (Robertson 1914:49). The petitioners stated that the Transylvania Company agreed to lay off two-acre lots which settlers could use for one year and then were to give up for the town's use. By so doing, each settler was entitled to draw a free town lot as well as a tract of Company land. However, in 1776-1777, Col. Henderson "had the fence that was made by the people broke and took the rails and fenced in betwixt twenty and thirty acres of the most convenient ground next the fort" (Robertson 1914:49). The petitioners protested this action since they then were forced to improve land further from the fort at considerable danger to themselves. They also objected to John Luttrell and Nathaniel Hart, two of the company proprietors, entering for themselves land which was supposed to be part of the Town Claims. Hart chose land in the upper half of the Town Claims which had already been fenced by the first-year settlers. This land may have included the location of Hart's White Oak Spring Station. The proprietors originally had planned to include 200 acres on the south side of the Kentucky River and 300 acres on the north side. The northerly tract was bound by a steep hill along the river, making it inconvenient for use. The petitioners objected to including this land in the Town Claims, which apparently led to all the town land being earmarked south and west of the river (in present Madison County) when the town plat was finally filed in 1810 (Madison Order Book C:638). The petition also mentioned that each lot holder was to have built a house, measuring 16 x 20 feet, of hewn or sawed logs, with a shingled or clapboard roof and having a brick, stone or mud chimney by a certain date; however, the lack of horses to haul lumber prevented many settlers from complying.

Another problem surfaced, concerning the hunting of available game. In Henderson's words, "We found it very difficult at first to Stop great waste ... in killing meat ... For want of a Little obligatory Law or some restraint of Authority our game soon nay as soon as we got here, if not before was drove very much" (Draper mss. 1CC55-56)). The hunters had to travel, on average, 15 or 20 miles to procure game. Difficulty in procuring sufficient meat quickly led to periodic food shortages among the company.

Henderson's journal fails to describe the buildings which were erected other than the magazine built between April 29th and May 3rd. However, construction did begin and Henderson was apparently housed in some sort of cabin by May 5th when he sold William Cocke part of his tent. A building was also apparently erected to hold the Company's stores. Henderson sketched a plan of the fort which he hoped to complete (Figure 7a). The original was redrawn by James Hall around 1835; a reproduction of this copy is included in Ranck's 1901 history. With some modifications, this design was built over a period of years from 1775 to about 1780. Henderson's plan included four corner blockhouses with eight cabins and a central gate in each long side, and five cabins along each of the short ends between the blockhouses. The sketch seems to indicate that the cabins were attached to one another but chimneys are not depicted (Figure 7a).

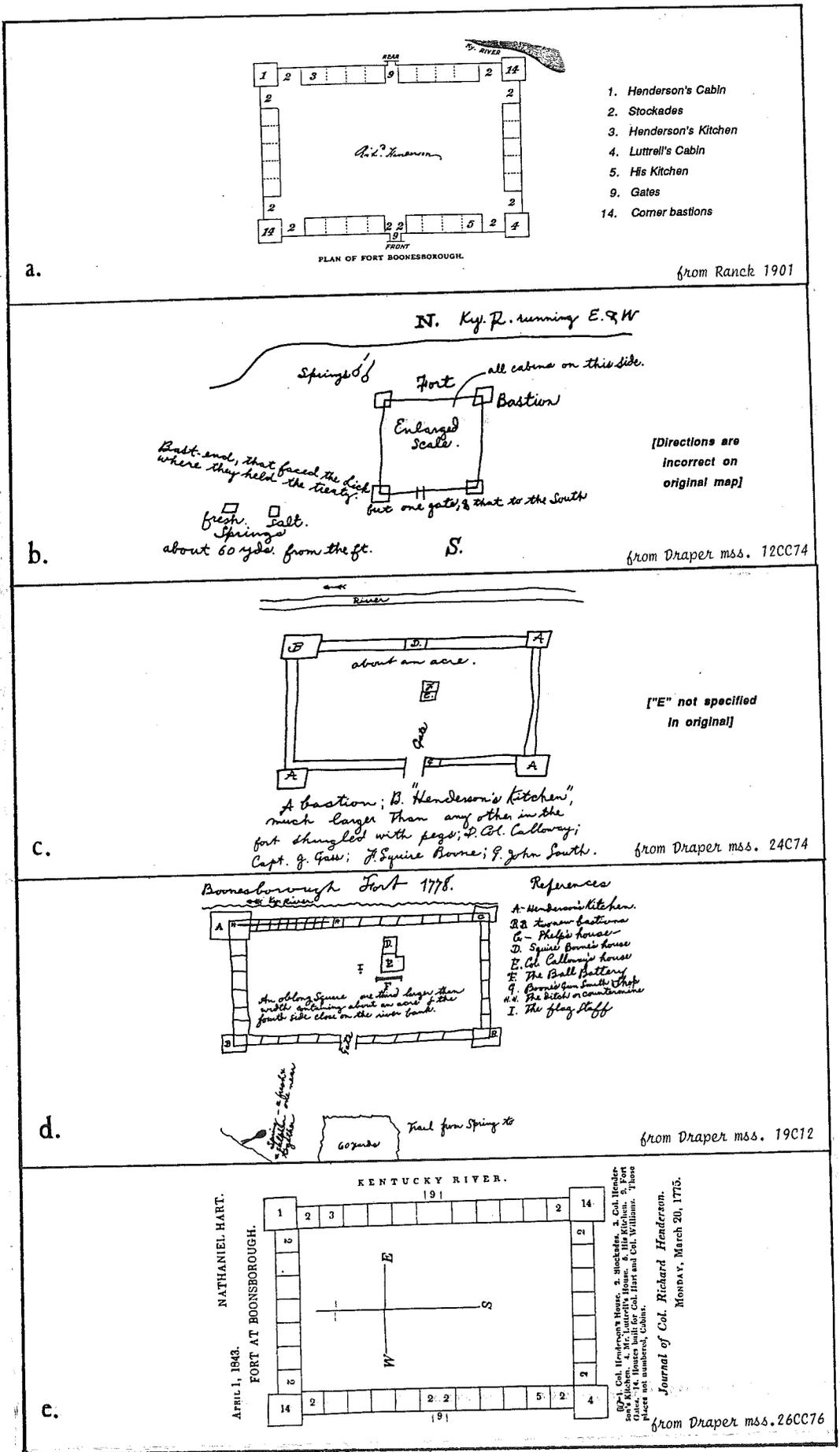


Figure 7. Various plans of Fort Boonesborough.

Other settlers have provided descriptions of the fort at various stages of its construction. Mrs. Thomas was an early pioneer to Kentucky who emigrated in 1775. She stated in her interview with Lyman C. Draper that "not more than half a dozen cabins" were built by September of 1775 although others were in progress, including a large one for Col. Callaway. She also noted an absence of "forting" as late as February, 1776, and stated that the cabins were not built in a row but "scattering" (Kellogg 1929:233). Stockading was planned to fill in the spaces between cabins but this was not built until much later. Ranck (1901:35) assumes that all twenty-six cabins and the four blockhouses were completed by the summer of 1775, basing this surmise on James Hall's 1835 notes on Henderson's original drawing, and "information ... from some of its actual defenders still extant." However, considering Henderson's difficulty in persuading his company to work on the fort, less of the fort may have been built than supposed. A footnote to Daniel Trabue's journal indicated that the southeast and southwest blockhouses were not built until just before the "Big Siege" in 1778 (Young 1981: Chap 3, Note 7). An 1889 recollection by F. W. Houston of Bourbon County described the cabins as "covered with bark, each with a chimney built four feet high with stone, surmounted with a hewed log for an arch, and run out above the roof with 'cat and clay', that is, sticks laid in mortar made of clay and leaves." His information came from John Stevens who was born near the fort around 1809 (Kentuckian Citizen 1889).

Other descriptions of the fort as it appeared around 1778 are available. Josiah Collins, who acted as a scout during the frontier days, was interviewed by Reverend John Dabney Shane in the 1840s and his comments are curated in the Draper Collection. His sketch of the fort indicates four corner blockhouses, a single gate on the south side and cabins on the north side (Figure 7b). He also mentions picketing 10 or 12 feet in height but does not specify where it ran (Draper mss. 12CC74).

John Gass (24C74) depicted the fort as enclosing an acre of ground (Figure 7c). Three bastions occupied the northwest, southwest and southeast corners while "Henderson's Kitchen" was in the northeast corner. Colonel Callaway and David Gass were living in a cabin located in the middle of the east wall. Two structures occupied by Squire Boone, and a well, are shown inside the enclosure. John South lived in a cabin next to a gate in the west wall.

Moses Boone was also interviewed by Shane (Draper mss. 19C12). His sketch shows "an oblong square, one third longer than wide, containing an acre" (Figure 7d). A single gate is shown on the west side. All four corner blockhouses are shown but the two on the west side are labelled as new construction. Three cabins occupied by Squire Boone, Col. Callaway and Daniel Boone's gunsmith shop are shown inside the enclosure. Other features inside the "oblong square" are an "old well," a flagstaff and the "ball battery" (or magazine). Boone's drawing includes what seems to be cabins forming the walls of the enclosure but they are not labelled, nor is the picketing distinguishable (Figure 7d).

Finally, Nathaniel Hart, Jr. published a plan of the fort in 1843 (Draper 26CC76). It indicates the number of cabins, identifies a few occupants and locates the stockading and gates (Figure 7e). Although similar to the other drawings, it distinguishes between Richard Henderson's house and his kitchen and is the only map of the five to show the extent of the stockades. His sketch

clearly indicates that stockading was minimal and made up only short sections at the corners and the west gate.

By 1776, the Virginia legislature had begun the necessary actions to nullify the Transylvania purchase and Henderson probably knew his enterprise was doomed. In 1778, the purchase was made officially null and void and Henderson passed out of any active part in Boonesborough's history. The Virginia legislature granted a charter in 1779 for a town to be established at Boonesborough (Littell 1811:533-534). The petition indicated that twenty acres had already been laid off into lots and streets and fifty adjoining acres were planned for additional development. The charter enacted that "the said fifty acres of land adjoining the said forty lots already laid off shall be and the same is hereby vested in Richard Callaway, Charles Mimms Thruston, Levin Powell, Edmund Taylor, James Estill, Edward Bradley, John Kennedy, David Gass, Pemberton Rawlings and Daniel Boone" (Littell 1811:533-534). The town charter as enacted differed from the petition sent to the Virginia legislature on October 16, 1779 (Littell 1811:533-534). This petition detailed disagreements between the Boonesborough settlers and several of the Transylvania proprietors. Further, the petitioners requested that James Estill, David Gass, John Holder, John South, Pemberton Rawlings (or Rollins), Stephen Hancock and John Martin be named as trustees. The finalized charter only included three of these men.

The forty lots mentioned in the charter were probably those listed in William Calk's papers; however, the accompanying plat showed a total of 66 lots. Only the first forty were assigned to individuals. Calk's survey may have been done in 1775 when Henderson directed the survey of 54 lots. The orientation of the Calk survey is specified as South 3° degrees East for the first forty lots and South 6° degrees West for lots 41-66 (Figure 6). This orientation was changed in the later town plat recorded in 1810 in Madison County Order Book C (page 638).

Once the charter was granted, further troubles plagued the town's development. Some town trustees refused to serve, for various reasons. Dorris and Dorris (1955) state that disagreements between Richard Callaway and Daniel Boone hampered efforts of the trustees; however, a 1779 petition states that Callaway declined to serve if free elections were held as the petitioners wanted (Robertson 1914:51). Callaway was killed in 1780 and other trustees such as Kennedy and Boone established their stations elsewhere. In 1787, and again in 1789, new trustees were appointed in an attempt to revitalize efforts at developing the town.

One such effort concerned the establishment of a tobacco inspection point. In 1788, John Halley was summoned to court to state whether he would build a tobacco warehouse at Boonesborough (Madison Order Book A:123). A warehouse was indeed built around this time, over the Ft. Ancient site discussed earlier. An additional warehouse was added in 1810. The use of Boonesborough as a tobacco inspection point constituted the major economic activity at the town for the next 25 years. County court records detail the appointment of inspectors, tally of hogsheads and regular reports on the condition of the warehouses.

Early in its history, Boonesborough was recognized as a post office and many people living in the area received mail there. Another important facility

was the Boonesborough Ferry, originally vested to Richard Callaway in 1779 (Robertson 1914:53), but granted to and operated by his heirs after his death.

Residence in the Town Claims proper appears to have been limited to only a few houses, in spite of a claim that Boonesborough had "over one hundred houses" in 1790 (Everman 1985; Dorris and Dorris 1955). Archaeological and architectural evidence of several houses was found on the bottomland area of the Town Claims during the archaeological survey (Appendix B). These include the Nathaniel Hart House, the Bentley Site, the Taylor Site and the Halley Site. The West House (a standing structure) and two other stone foundations are located on the west side of the Richmond-Boonesborough Turnpike at the foot of the uplands, and two buildings were associated with the ferry. Other houses were built in the upland sections of the Town's chartered limits and probably where a gravel quarry now operates north of the park, but 100 houses seems an excessive figure. This number may refer to residents in the postal district, which exceeded the town's platted boundaries.

By 1810, a Federal Census taken of Boonesborough listed eight households containing 68 people (23 white males, 30 white females, and 15 slaves). The family heads included William Estes, Elisha Estes, Smith Estes, Edward Freeman, John Gore, Thomas Stephens, Thomas Taylor and Presley Wilkerson. An official town plat was filed in Madison County Order Book C the same year. Its ambitious layout of streets and lots belied the limited construction that had taken place there.

After 1810, the town of Boonesborough began to fade until it was not even enumerated as an incorporated town in the 1820 Federal Census. There seems to have been a few additional houses built during the first half of the nineteenth century but the town claims were acquired by a few individuals and used as large farms by the 1840s. The fort's chimneys were reportedly dismantled by Samuel Halley prior to 1850 who used their stone to build a water gap (Dorris and Dorris 1955).

Several landowners gained private title to the Boonesborough land and used it for farming until the early twentieth century. In 1909, Dr. David J. Williams began acquiring property in the Boonesborough area by purchasing the main section of what later became the state park from Thomas Stevens. This tract contained Sycamore Hollow where the freshwater and sulphur springs flowed. Dr. Williams built a series of small frame summer cottages and a frame hotel on the Boonesborough bottomland. Two of his cottages flanked the fort memorial and stone wall which were erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1907 and 1931, respectively. He opened a resort or "spa" which featured the mineral water as its main attraction. This enterprise was fairly short-lived. The property was one of twenty tracts deeded to Dr. Williams' son, David, in 1923 (Madison Deed Book 98:629). The last of the cottages were torn down around the 1950s. In 1963, David Williams, Jr. deeded 57.47 acres of the Stevens farm tract to the Kentucky Department of Parks expressly for the purpose of establishing Ft. Boonesborough State Park (Madison Deed Book 202:225).

The Population of Ft. Boonesborough

Estimating the composition of and shifts in population at a site like Boonesborough is a difficult task, particularly for the early years when the fort experienced rapid turnover among its settlers. Distinguishing settlers from visitors is also sometimes difficult. People who actually resided in the fort on a permanent basis may have been fairly few in number. At its largest, the fort never contained more than 30-32 buildings (26 cabins, 2-4 corner blockhouses, and 2 houses inside the enclosure). Most of the settlers who accompanied Boone and Henderson established improvements on their own land and many lived in temporary cabins as often and as long as the Indian threat allowed. The first encampment north of the main fort also was used when Indians did not threaten.

Names of settlers who either visited or resided at Boonesborough have been compiled from various sources, among them Hammon (1981) who used old journals, letters and court records, the Henderson Company Ledger (Shane 1947), an interview with Elizabeth Thomas (Kellogg 1929), Richard Henderson's and Felix Walker's journals, and other primary documents. According to various records, Boone's trail blazing team contained about 30 men. This number probably refers only to the white men in the party. Several slaves were brought along, including a woman who is mentioned in Felix Walker's journal (Ranck 1901:165). One of the male slaves was killed at "Twetty's Fort", one of the encampments along the trail. All the names of Boone's party were not compiled but the following is a partial list:

Daniel Boone
Squire Boone
James Bridges
William Bush
Richard Callaway
James Coburn
Samuel Coburn
John Hart
William Hicks
Thomas Johnson
Thomas McDowell
Joseph McPheeters
James Peeke
Michael Stoner
Samuel Tate
Samuel Tate's son
Capt. William Twetty
Felix Walker
at least two slaves (probably more)

Twetty, McDowell, McPheeters and a male slave were killed along the way, and therefore were never residents of Boonesborough.

Richard Henderson's company also numbered 30, according to various sources, but several additions and subtractions were made along the way, and the final

contingent which reached Boonesborough is difficult to reconstruct with certainty. Various sources indicate the following names:

William Cocke
James Durring
John Farrar
David Hart
Nathaniel Hart
Thomas Hart
William Hart
Nathaniel Henderson
Richard Henderson
Samuel Henderson
Joseph Jackson
John Luttrell
John McMillion
Abraham Mitches
William Moore
William Bailey Smith
several slaves, including a man named Dan

Henderson's party was joined en route by William Calk, Abraham Hanks, Philip Drake, Enoch Smith and Robert Whitley, who were traveling together. Henderson also met Robert and Samuel McAfee returning from the Harrodsburg area and persuaded them to join his party. Other men who probably were part of the Boone and Henderson parties were Matthew Jouett, Thomas Loyalty, Isaac Thrasher, Page Portwood, and William Barton. The last four men opened accounts on April 29 with Henderson and if not part of the original company, followed closely on their heels. Once at Boonesborough, Henderson includes some indirect information on the number of residents in his journal entries of April 20 to July 25, 1775. On April 25, a drawing for 54 town lots left 13 lots unclaimed (Draper mss. 1CC36). Assuming 1 lot per person, a population of 41 individuals can be estimated, not including slaves or people who declined to draw. On the 17th of June, a muster of men under arms indicated a total of 32 individuals (Draper mss. 1CC88). Both of these estimates are probably somewhat lower than the actual population because they exclude slaves and transients. At this time, few or no women or children had been brought to Boonesborough.

Another source of names may be those listed in William Calk's papers as having drawn the first forty lots surveyed at Boonesborough under Henderson. Although Calk's plat is not dated, he is reputed to have helped survey the early town lots (Kilpatrick 1921:370). However, the document does not specify whether it is a plat for the Transylvania Colony's effort or for the town charter of 1779. Henderson's journal does not mention Calk helping with the early survey. In fact, Henderson specifically mentions only Daniel Boone and Richard Callaway as having helped with the survey. Calk's document must therefore date prior to 1780 since Richard Callaway, who was killed in 1780, is listed on it.

Names listed for the town lots include:

Lot 1 - Richard Callaway	21 - Jesse Oldham
2 - J. Duncan	22 - John Bullock

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 3 - P. Madden | 23 - John Constant |
| 4 - Samuel Estill | 24 - Pemberton Rawlings (or Rollins) |
| 5 - Bartlett Searcy | 25 - Jesse Peak |
| 6 - Bland Ballard | 26 - (illegible) Watkin |
| 7 - Robert Cartwright | 27 - Edward Williams |
| 8 - Thomas Doyl | 28 - Nicholas Anderson |
| 9 - Hart & Hankin | 29 - Nicholas Proctor |
| 10 - Charles Tate | 30 - Thomas South |
| 11 - John South, Ensign | 31 - John Bost |
| 12 - John Kennedy | 32 - J. Bennett |
| 13 - Ambrose Coffee | 33 - P. Sterns |
| 14 - John Webber | 34 - V. Sterns |
| 15 - John South, Sr. | 35 - F. Leeper |
| 16 - Nathaniel Hart | 36 - Elizabeth Horn |
| 17 - James Estill | 37 - Jacob Sterns |
| 18 - Edward Nelson | 38 - Stephen Hancock |
| 19 - David Gass | 39 - Henry Smucker |
| 20 - William Johnson | 40 - Ruben Searcy |

William Cocke and Felix Walker estimated that the fort had approximately 60-65 riflemen prior to July of 1775 (Ranck 1901:166). The fort population changed rapidly during 1775 as some settlers returned east to bring their families, and others quitted the enterprise altogether. Other persons mentioned by Hammon (1981) and other sources as at the fort in 1775 include the following:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| William Adams | North Alexander |
| William Bennett | Capt. Joseph Benning |
| Jesse Benton | Benjamin Berry |
| John Boofman | Capt. Abraham Bowman |
| Major John Bowman | Thomas Brasier |
| John Caleon | Flanders Callaway |
| Capt. Marquis Calmes | Arthur Campbell |
| Luke Cannon | Thomas Carland |
| George Rogers Clark | Thomas Clark |
| Benjamin Combs | Cuthbert Combs |
| Samuel Combs | Isaac Crabtree |
| William Cradlebaugh | John Crittenden |
| Azariah Davis | James Douglas |
| James Estill | Thornton Farrow |
| John Floyd | David Gist |
| John Gist | Thomas Gist |
| Daniel Goodman | Capt. Christopher (?) Greenup |
| Henry Hagen | Nathan Hammon |
| John Harmon | Valentine Harmon |
| James Harrod | William Hays |
| Isaac Hite | David Holloback |
| Thomas Jarrar (or Farrar) | Jonathan Jennings |
| William Jennings | Benjamin Johnson |
| John Kennedy | Andrew Linn |
| Capt. William Linn | John Luney |
| John Lyth | Robert McMullen |
| Young McQuinney | Capt. James Moore |

James Nourse
Peter Owsley
William Pogue
Tom Ruby
Col. Thomas Slaughter
Sigmond Striblin
William Thompson
Oswald Townson
Joel Watkin
William Wilson

Jesse Oldham
Thomas Pettit
Isaac Ralston
(illegible) Sanders
John Snody
Lawrence Thompson
Elias Tolin
(illegible) Troy
David Wilson
Col. John Williams

After 1775, the population at the fort becomes even harder to determine. Because of a nearly constant Indian presence in 1777, many settlers moved back east. Although Ft. Boonesborough was manned through that year, it may not have maintained a high population. Those that stayed suffered many shortages, particularly food, because it was so dangerous to hunt or tend crops.

In September of 1778, the siege of Boonesborough took place. So famous was this incident that it was a major topic of many of the pioneer recollections recorded by John Dabney Shane in the 1840s. Ranck's (1901) reprise of the siege states that the fort held a fighting force of thirty men and twenty boys (according to William Bailey Smith, who was a participant). Captain William Buchanan deposed on November 28, 1778, that "there were not more than sixty men in the Fort, including the garrison soldiers, & all the settlers" at the time of the siege (Robertson 1914:45). Josiah Collins estimated that eight families (including the Boones and Callaways) were living at the fort in March of 1778 (Draper mss. 12CC64).

The year 1779 was another important time in Boonesborough's history as it was granted a town charter (Ranck 1901:256). The original petition is curated at the Virginia State Archives and lists the following names:

Nathel [Nathaniel?] Baslock (sp.?)
James Berry
John Bullock
Ambrose Coffy
Joseph Doniphan
Benjamin Dunaway
Edmond Fair
John Harbeston
Edward Harrod
Jesse Hodges
Edward Nelson
Joshua P(illegible)
(illegible) Proctor
Nicholas Proctor
John South
Jacob Starns
Benjamin White

Michael Bedinger
James Briant
John Callaway
Jesse Copher (sp.?)
James Doster
Samuel Estill
William Hanhook (sp.?)
Peter Harper
John Hewly (sp.?)
John Kelly
Thomas Noell
William Patterson
Joseph Proctor
Rubin Proctor
John South, Sr.
Walter Welch

Of these names, only seven are listed as owners of the first forty in-lots in the William Calk Papers. Also missing from this list are the signatures of the trustees.

Another list on file at the Virginia State Archives includes the settlers killed or captured at Boonesborough between 1775 and 1779. This list accompanied the petition for the town charter (Robertson 1914:48) and was intended as evidence for the House of Assembly to decide in favor of the petitioners. The following names are listed:

Killed

March 23, 1775	William Twitty
	William McWhinney
1776	William Beesley
	Daniel Goodman
	Alex. Neely
	Joseph Kelley
1777	John Cross
	Samuel McMillion
	George Linch
	Jacob Baughman
1778	Joseph Drake
	Jacob Johnstone
1779	David Duncan (Bundan)
	Joshua Barton
	Frederick Starns
	Joseph Starns
	Michael Mires
	Thomas South
	Richd Hines
	John Dumferd
	John Baugh

Taken

1775	Samuel Sanders
1776	Mimy Boone
	Elizabeth Callaway
	Francis Callaway
	Majr. Beezley
1777	Daniel Boon
	Bartle Seercy
	Nathl. Bullock
	Jessee Coker
	Wm. Hancock
	James Callaway
	Eager Callaway
	Ancel Goodman
	John Hollay
	John Dunn
	Wm. Staggs

Wm. Trasey
 George Hendricks
 Andrew Johnson
 Benjamin Kelly
 Wm. Umphreys
 Danl. Asbury
 Saml. Rob'son
 Richard (illegible)
 James Mankins
 next two names illegible
 Wm. Brooks
 Saml. Brooks
 Joseph Jackson
 Richd. Terey
 1779 Joab Barton
 Ambrose White
 Mosses McIlwain

A steady stream of settlers entered Kentucky in 1779-1780 and many stopped at Boonesborough before going on to stake claims. The limited resources of the fort were strained by this traffic and doubtless spurred the efforts to form a town. However, it appears from the later records that the population of Boonesborough steadily declined after the Revolutionary War ended and the fort was not needed for defense. The area around the fort and town may have absorbed much of the population and later fueled a highly successful tobacco trade. The only indication of Boonesborough's size located during this period was a 1789 Canadian source cited by Ranck (1901:133), which stated that "Boonsburg ... comprehends upwards of a hundred and twenty houses". This large number of dwellings was not verified by the archaeological survey of the bottomland section of Boonesborough, but a critical review of the document's veracity has not been performed. A list of subscribers for a fund to make Boonesborough the capitol of Kentucky in 1792 is included in William Calk's papers. It includes the following names:

Zach (illegible)	Thomas Butler
William Calk	Benjamin Clark
Robert Clark	Green Clay
Thomas Clay	William Creal
Peter Evans	Higgerson Grubbs
John Holder	Will Irvine
John Moore	James M'Millicun
Ebenezer Platt and Co.	Edmund Raglund
Harry Rowland	Samuel Smith
John Taylor	Henry Wayne
John Wilkerson	

A number of these men did not live in Boonesborough proper but had farms in surrounding areas. For instance, John Holder had established "Holder's Boatyard" downstream from Boonesborough. Edmund Raglund lived in Clark County. Other subscribers used Boonesborough principally as a post office and for its tobacco warehousing and river ferry.

When Boonesborough lost its bid to become the Kentucky state capitol, it concentrated on its most profitable economic activity--tobacco. On September 23, 1788, John Halley, a Boonesborough resident, was summoned to appear at the next court to say whether he would build a public warehouse at Boonesborough. Subsequent court entries do not indicate if Halley constructed the building but a warehouse was in use at Boonesborough by 1790. There is some question over who actually built the warehouse. Everman (1985:18-20) states that the Collier Warehouse was the one at Boonesborough. Collier was asked on June 24, 1788 to construct a warehouse on his land. The building was to be 24 feet long and 18 feet wide. A later 1810 report of the dimensions of the Boonesborough Warehouse indicated that the earliest building was 100 feet long and 33-1/2 feet wide. An adjacent later addition measured 100 feet long and 40 feet wide (Madison Order Book D:477). This difference in dimensions may indicate either an earlier building constructed by Collier (who perhaps subcontracted the job to John Halley) or two different warehouses in separate locations. The warehouses were probably located on in-lots 31 and 32. In 1775, these tracts were allotted to John Bost and J. Bennett, respectively. Daniel Breck acquired in-lot 32 from the town trustees in 1825 (Madison Deed Book R: 80). In 1827, Samuel Buckley was in possession of Lots 31 and 32 and he sold them to John Holley (Madison Deed Book R: 386). By 1837, two lots containing warehouses were sold by Cassius M. Clay to Samuel Holley (Madison Deed Book X: 30); the intervening land transfers have not been clarified but it is presumed that this transaction referred to Lots 31 and 32.

Despite Boonesborough's importance to the river trade and tobacco business, its population seems to have steadily declined. In 1810, a Federal census listed only eight households containing 68 people in Boonesborough. Household heads were named and their family composition indicated by frequency, sex and age. The following families are listed:

William Estes	- 1 white male, 16-26 years 1 white female, 10-16 years
Elisha Estes	- 1 white male, under 10 years 2 white males, 10-16 years 1 white male, 45 years and older 1 white female, under 10 years 1 white female, 10-16 years 1 white female, 16-26 years 1 white female, 26-45 years
Smith Estes	- 1 white male, under 10 years 1 white male, 16-26 years 2 white females, under 10 years 1 white female, 16-26 years
Edmund Freeman	- 1 white male, 16-26 years 1 white female, 16-26 years 2 slaves
John Gore	- 1 white male, under 10 years 1 white male, 45 years and older

- 1 white female, under 10 years
- 1 white female, 16-26 years
- 1 white female, 45 years and older

- Thomas Stephens - 2 white males, under 10 years
 - 1 white male, 10-16 years
 - 1 white male, 16-26 years
 - 1 white male, 45 years and older
 - 3 white females, under 10 years
 - 2 white females, 10-16 years
 - 1 white female, 16-26 years
 - 1 white female, 26-45 years
 - 9 slaves

- Thomas Taylor - 2 white males, under 10 years
 - 1 white male, 10-16 years
 - 1 white male, 26-45 years
 - 2 white females, under 10 years
 - 3 white females, 10-16 years
 - 1 white female, 26-45 years
 - 2 slaves

- Presley Wilkerson - 3 white males, under 10 years
 - 1 white male, 26-45 years
 - 1 white female, under 10 years
 - 2 white females, 10-16 years
 - 1 white female, 16-26 years
 - 1 white female, 26-45 years
 - 2 slaves

This list may not be complete and only Thomas Stephens and Thomas Taylor can definitely be linked to specific houses. Omitted from the list are James French and John Halley, both associated with Boonesborough for many years. French probably lived on a farm near the town. John Halley reportedly built a stone house near the tobacco warehouse and is buried on the park grounds, but in 1810 he may have been living on Otter Creek, where he owned several tracts. Specifically, he purchased a 400-acre tract from William and Susannah Hays near the mouth of Otter Creek adjoining the Town Claims (Madison Deed Book A: 145) prior to 1810. He did not acquire his house lot until 1822 (Madison Deed Book P:340).

The next census, taken in 1820, does not list Boonesborough separately from the general county population. In 1825, many of the town lots were sold at auction, the sale arising from a repossession of the lots from John Halley, who failed to pay for his 1795 purchase. Buyers included Jesse Hodges, Elkanah Bush, Thomas Lindsay, Tilmon Bush, Green Clay and Daniel Breck. Margaret Branaham had acquired a lot in 1817 and later purchased additional lots from Clay. Thomas Lindsay and Elkanah Bush lived in the town at sites identified during the survey. Green Clay lived at Clermont (now White Hall) in Madison County. The residence of the other lot-owners was not determined.

Population estimates in the 1830s and later are difficult to make since the Federal censuses no longer distinguished Boonesborough as a separately enumerated corporate entity. Deed research indicates that the Town Claims were acquired by several families, notably the Stevens and the Halleys, and converted to large farms. The area remained in agricultural use until the turn of the twentieth century when Dr. David J. Williams acquired large tracts of land in and adjacent to the Town Claims. Williams converted part of his holdings into a spa or resort, focusing on the sulphur water in Sycamore Hollow. The remainder of his property continued in agricultural production. Land north of the present state park was opened as a limestone quarry in the twentieth century. Dr. Williams' son and namesake sold the park property to the Commonwealth in the 1960s.

Economic Activities of Boonesborough

The economic aspects of Boonesborough are important to an understanding of the town's growth and decline. Unfortunately, the relatively short and early occupation of Boonesborough means that few documents discuss its economic life in any detail. History does specify that Judge Richard Henderson operated a "general store" of sorts for the settlers' benefit in 1775-1776. The nature of his goods is not specified. Certainly the settlers were forced to be imaginative in filling their needs, particularly for items such as gun parts, salt, clothing and the like. Many commodities could be procured or made from natural resources at hand. The need for salt was acute and led to dangerous trips to local salt licks. Daniel Boone and 30 fellow saltworkers were captured during one of these trips in 1778 (Everman 1985:8; Ranck 1901). Squire Boone operated a gunsmith's shop in the fort and Daniel Boone was known to have made gunpowder. English and French flints for flintlock rifles were transported into the frontier from the Eastern Seaboard, but local cherts may have been put to the same use in times of need. No doubt various settlers used special abilities as craftsmen to barter and trade for items and services in the early years. However, special items such as ball or kaolin clay tobacco pipes, pewter or silver buttons and buckles, English china and glass containers had to be packed in from the eastern colonies. As the frontier settled, the main economic activities fueling Boonesborough included tobacco warehousing, the sale of livestock, and farming. Hinde's map also indicates that a wool factory, a tanyard and a mill operated in the Boonesborough area.

Men like Nathaniel Hart, John Halley and James French were typical of the early settlers who made Madison County their home. Boonesborough, with its tobacco warehouse and river access, was important to their business dealings. Boonesborough played an important though short-lived role in providing a focus for much of the early agricultural business in its hinterland.

Nathaniel Hart is of interest because he was one of the original Transylvania settlers and he died in 1782; therefore, his economic activities reflect the early portion of Boonesborough's history. His will indicates that the acquisition of land was a paramount concern, as it was with many settlers. Each of his nine children were awarded a "good likely Negro, a good Horse & Saddle, a good feather [bed] & furniture and a good tract of land not to exceed 1000 acres" (Lincoln Will Book A:4). Before his death, he had apparently amassed thousands of acres of land over a very large area. A list of these tracts

indicates property on the Kentucky River, Otter Creek, Callaway Creek, Silver Creek, Goose Creek, Paint Lick, Lulbegrud Creek, Four Mile Creek, and as far as the waters of the Licking and Ohio Rivers. He also had a respectable herd of horses and a fairly large personal estate. It is doubtful that he managed to clear much of his land before his death, but he rendered surveying and legal services which helped him to become prosperous.

John Halley was another Boonesborough resident whose fortunes were closely tied to the town. He received several land grants around the Town Claims in 1784 (Virginia Survey Book 3: 403; 7:276, 9:237) and in 1788 (Virginia Survey Book 12:279). He purchased other land grant tracts, then acquired a large number of town lots in Boonesborough in 1795. Details of this transaction are not clear, but apparently he purchased 69 in-lots and 66 out-lots from the trustees. He failed to pay the purchase price, and, in 1825, the lots were auctioned off. No deed was ever filed for Halley's original purchase, and the fact that he had bought the lots was entered into the clerk's records only after he was repossessed. Assuming he had some agreement with the trustees about payment, he had use of the majority of the town property for 30 years before repossession. A stone structure on in-lot 30 (or possibly 31) is attributed to him. He purchased in-lot 30 from Margaret Branaham in 1822 (Madison Deed Book P: 340). Branaham had purchased the lot from Green Clay who bought it from the Boonesborough trustees in 1809 (Madison Deed Book g: 350). There is no record of Halley owning the lot prior to Clay's purchase. He bought Lot 31 in 1827 from Samuel Buckley (Madison Deed Book L: 386). The Taylor Site is probably on this lot. Halley owned land south of the town claims and may have lived in a stone house now observable only as foundations along the Boonesborough-Richmond Turnpike (see Thomas Hinde's map in Appendix B).

While Halley shared the general preoccupation with land acquisition, he also was a farmer and raised livestock. He took tobacco, bacon, lard, "Injun" or corn meal, and other agricultural commodities to New Orleans for sale. He kept a journal during two trips in 1789 and 1791 (Frances Kerr Barnes 1988: personal communication).

His other business dealings involved loaning and borrowing money, which frequently led him into court. Sometimes money debts were involved, but frequently the disputes were based on commodities such as whiskey and tobacco. His business dealings were probably not any more litigious than his contemporaries, although the Madison court record lists him several dozen times.

Another prominent settler was James French, who lived outside town but focused much of his business in Boonesborough during the last two decades of the eighteenth century before he moved to Montgomery County around 1800. His business dealings were diverse, including raising livestock for sale, selling tobacco, salt and whiskey, lending money to numerous people and surveying land in his official capacity as County Surveyor. He purchased the Blue Licks salt-making operation from David Tanner, and involved himself in making salt. He seems to have prospered in his business dealings. He also served as County Commissioner and was involved in many civic affairs. His papers (M. I. King Library Special Collections) indicate that he was well educated in legal matters, and commanded much respect from his associates. His position as County Surveyor

and his important role in tobacco sale and distribution brought him many opportunities to prosper as well as influence Madison County's economic life.

Boonesborough was enhanced by the establishment of a public ferry, first granted in 1779 to Richard Callaway (Robertson 1914:53). Callaway, who was one of the original Transylvania settlers and a trusted assistant to Judge Henderson, was killed in 1780 while building a boat for his ferry. His sudden death left his business affairs in disarray, and his heirs were not legally vested with the right of ferry until 1788, although they seem to have run a ferry operation in the intervening years. Later, the Callaway heirs sold their interest in the ferry to John Sydebottom (or Sidebottom) and Robert Clarke. Sidebottom also purchased a right of ferry from William Bush, who held it for the north side of the river. "Sidebottoms" is shown at the ferry location on the Thomas Hinde map (Appendix B). The ferry changed hands several times but continued to operate into the twentieth century until the memorial bridge was built.

Another important public facility located in Boonesborough was the post office. Settlers received mail at Boonesborough from its beginnings, but Federal records of the postal operation only date from 1826. The Office of the Postmaster General in Washington D.C. lists the following postmasters at Boonesborough.

James W. Christy, appointed February 14, 1826
Wilson C. Nicholas, appointed May 24, 1828
Samuel Halley, appointed February 25, 1829

The Post Office was discontinued on May 16, 1845 but reestablished on June 13, 1854.

John Stevens, appointed June 13, 1854.

The Post Office was again discontinued on February 25, 1863 but reestablished on May 18, 1865.

K.F. Hargis, appointed May 18, 1865.

Finally, the Post Office was discontinued for the last time on December 4, 1866. No specific building has been identified as a post office. Recipients of letters probably came to the postmaster's home to retrieve their mail. Halley and Stevens both lived in Boonesborough proper on the bottomland near the river. However, the last postmaster probably lived in the uplands where economic activities and population gradually became more focused through the nineteenth century.

Boonesborough Development and Plan

The physical reality of Boonesborough's buildings and cultural features as indicated by archaeological remains and historic documents stands in striking contrast to the enthusiastic and frequently overimaginative conjectures of later historians. Considering all archaeological and primary documentary data gathered to date, Boonesborough appears to have fallen somewhat short of the dreams of its founders. The reasons for Boonesborough's halting development and subsequent

early decline are diverse. However, three stumbling blocks seem to have been its physical environment, local political competition and the effect of tobacco production on urban development.

When Daniel Boone first chose the site of Boonesborough, he was probably attracted by the proximity of the Kentucky River, several springs of fresh and mineral water, and a fairly broad flat plain with few trees to clear. It may have seemed perfect at the time for the future capitol of the Transylvania Colony. When Henderson arrived, he seems to have generally approved of the locality, and took only the precaution of building his fort on higher ground than Boone's first encampment.

Subsequent land modifications around Boonesborough and in the Kentucky River Valley changed the physical landscape significantly for the worse. The Kentucky River flows for most of its long, winding length in a constricted, engorged valley, hemmed in by high limestone cliffs or major ridge systems. The development of extensive broad floodplains is relatively infrequent since the valley is usually too narrow to allow the formation of wide lateral bands of deposited silt. Because its valley is narrow, water which flows into the river is funnelled through the channel at a rapid rate. As long as the water velocity can counterbalance the amount of water entering the channel, flooding will not occur. However, rapid rises in water level are inevitable in a narrow valley because the water cannot spread laterally.

Prior to extensive land-clearing for cultivation, the Kentucky River valley and surrounding uplands were heavily vegetated in dense woods punctuated by occasional grassy areas (Braun 1950; Campbell 1985). Rainwater was absorbed and held in the vegetation and runoff occurred only when the ground was saturated. Underground water sources reached the surface via springs but this supply was also ultimately dependent on rainfall. When settlers began to clear land for cultivation, the protective vegetation was eliminated and water runoff accelerated. As water ran across exposed ground, erosion occurred and huge quantities of soil were swept into the Kentucky River system. In order to clear the channel of excess silt, water velocity had to increase. If its flow was lessened, the channel filled with silt until it reached a critical level and the remaining sediment load was dumped on the adjacent banks. While extensive geomorphological studies have not been undertaken on the Kentucky River, limited research (Ison et al. 1982) indicates that sedimentation rates increased dramatically during the nineteenth century and have only recently slowed as adjacent terraces have become too high for most rises in water level to broach. The construction of the lock and dam system created further limitations on the frequency of flooding.

Although early records on the Kentucky River are sparse, it is likely that flooding quickly became a problem at Boonesborough. Rev. John Dabney Shane interviewed George Bryan in 1843 (Draper mss. 22C16-16²⁵) and recorded that the north end of the fort extended nearly to the mouth of the Sycamore Hollow branch. Bryan also stated that a sandy bank which once was along the river and hollow washed away. The interview suggests that Sycamore Hollow widened and considerable bank erosion occurred along the Kentucky River prior to the 1840s. In 1836, a report on Kentucky River navigation characterized the river as follows: "The river changes alternately from one side to the other of [its]

narrow valley, and generally passes along the foot of one of the bluffs, leaving a narrow strip of bottom land on the opposite side. The surface of these narrow bottoms is from 50 to 60 feet above the low water plane of the river. Above Boonesborough the valley widens, and the river hills are less precipitous. The bottoms or flats continue of about the same height viz: from 50 to 60 feet" (Welch 1836:36). The report stated that high floods caused the water to rise 40 to 60 feet. Such a rise would have covered the higher terrace at Boonesborough.

Examination of cutbanks and shovel probes in the Boonesborough bottoms revealed that flooding had accelerated and caused the deposition of approximately 2 meters of silt on top of the pioneer-age ground surface in Sycamore Hollow. Approximately 30-35 cm of silt was gradually deposited on top of late eighteenth-early nineteenth century cultural deposits (of the probable fort) on the second terrace above the river channel. Shovel probes in the bottomland west of the second terrace's river edge indicate that sediment drop was minimal as the distance from the river increased. However, the extensive area of bottomland called the Warehouse Area during the survey may have served in part as a basin to catch backwater floods, thus remaining saturated at times. Such a situation would have limited its potential for development.

Chronic flooding and low water problems which hindered navigation and river commerce helped motivate the construction of a lock and dam system on the Kentucky River. Lock and Dam No. 10 was built at Boonesborough in 1904-1905. In March of 1905, spring floods cut new channels around the dam. Repairs were made in 1906 (War Department Annual Report 1905). As a result of the lock and dam construction, downstream erosion resculptured the first terrace above the river channel and exposed an ancient sand bar (now known as Boonesborough beach). The 1937 flood was of massive proportions and contributed to the sedimentation of Sycamore Hollow and the second river terrace.

Another factor contributing to Boonesborough's failure to thrive was political and economic competition. In 1785, pioneers who had settled in and around Boonesborough on Otter, Silver and Tate's Creeks petitioned the Virginia legislature for a division of Lincoln County to form a new county south of the Kentucky River embracing Paint Lick, Rockcastle and Cumberland Rivers. In 1786, Madison County was formed, necessitating the formation of a county court. The early court met at the homes of various prominent citizens but when the location for a courthouse was chosen, Boonesborough was passed over, and the town of Milford was created (Everman 1985:14, 19). Milford was a compromise between the Boonesborough and Paint Lick communities, but ultimately failed to suit because the locality lacked sufficient water for a thriving population. Although Milford developed into a town of about a dozen houses and several shops around the courthouse, the county clerk, William Irvine, kept the records at his house, thus forcing citizens to travel an additional five miles to complete their court business. In 1798, the court and county seat was moved to John Miller's farm, now the town of Richmond, and Boonesborough lost another chance to become the county seat (Everman 1985:22).

In 1792, a group of Madison County citizens lobbied for Boonesborough to become the new state capitol. Pledges of money and land were offered but another location was chosen, again as a compromise to competing state factions. The fact

that Boonesborough was considered for various seats of government is suggestive of its relative importance as an economic and social center in the late eighteenth century. However, its failure to ever be chosen as a political center also implies limiting factors which mitigated against its growth.

Finally, Boonesborough's development as an urban center may have been influenced by the effect of tobacco as a staple in Kentucky's agricultural economy. Earle and Hoffman (1976) analyzed urban development in the south during the eighteenth century, relating the rise of towns and cities to the characteristics of an area's main agricultural staple. Earle and Hoffman (1976:8), citing various historical studies, state that "certain staples such as tobacco and cotton, because of their labor-intensive requirements, created uneven demand surfaces for consumer goods which, in turn, stunted the development of local urban places." For instance, in the Piedmont area, "the commercialization of a new tobacco frontier was reflected in the development of a mercantile network which had its foci not in towns but in isolated country stores and crossroad hamlets" (Earle and Hoffman 1976:19). Speaking of the Chesapeake tobacco towns, Earle and Hoffman (1976:22) characterize them as containing "eight to ten merchants along with an occasional inn or craftsman". Boonesborough was a tobacco town of later date and in a more inland location than those studied by Earle and Hoffman, but the labor requirements of tobacco cultivation, harvest, transport, and distribution are similar. Tobacco volume and the size of the trade area from which it originated also appears to be important in determining urban patterning.

Another factor which was important to Kentucky's early tobacco industry was its market, in which river transport to New Orleans played a part. The volatile nature of the political relationships between England, Spain, and France had an impact on the New Orleans market. Tobacco transport to the east was not profitable because of the lack of good transportation routes. Therefore, marketing Kentucky tobacco was sometimes difficult.

Finally, purely economic factors may account for only part of urban developmental pattern. Ideological shifts in the second half of the eighteenth century may also have influenced urbanism in Kentucky in a different way than further east (Julie Riesenweber 1989: personal communication). The republican notion that stressed the individual over the community also represented a major ideological shift that had serious repercussions on many aspects of society (Upton 1986). An historical analysis of urban-agricultural linkages in the Boonesborough area has not been undertaken but such a study could reveal important insights in early urban development in Kentucky.



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