

THE BOWMANS
A Pioneering Family in Virginia,
Kentucky
and the
Northwest Territory

By

JOHN W. WAYLAND

Author "A History of Rockingham County, Va.," "A History of Shenandoah County, Va.," "A History of Virginia for Boys and Girls," "Virginia Valley Records," "The Pathfinder of the Seas," "World History" (with Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker T. Moon), "Historic Homes of Northern Virginia," "Stonewall Jackson's Way," etc.

FROM THE PRESS OF
THE McCLURE COMPANY, INC.
STAUNTON, VA.
1943

COPYRIGHT, 1943
BY JOHN W. WAYLAND



BOWMAN MEMORIAL GATE AND TABLET

Erected 1926, in the City Park, Harrodsburg, Ky., to four brothers, Revolutionary officers: Col. John Bowman (1738-1784), Quartermaster in the Cherokee Expedition, 1776, and first County Lieut. of Kentucky; Col. Abraham Bowman (1749-1837), commander of the 8th Virginia Regiment and Kentucky official; Major Joseph Bowman (1752-1779), second in command to George Rogers Clark in the conquest of the Northwest Territory; and Capt. Isaac Bowman (1757-1826), Master of Horse in the Illinois Regiment.

FOREWORD

This is the story, primarily, of four brothers: John, Abraham, Joseph, and Isaac. Colonel John Bowman was the first county-lieutenant and military governor of Kentucky; Colonel Abraham Bowman commanded the 8th Virginia Regiment, one of the outstanding fighting units of the Revolution; Major Joseph Bowman was a captain in Dunmore's War and the efficient leader, with George Rogers Clark, in the conquest of the Northwest (Illinois) Territory, an achievement without parallel in the building of our nation; Captain Isaac Bowman was Master of Horse in the Illinois Campaign, a captive three years among the Indians, and an important man of affairs in Kentucky and Virginia. All were active and prominent in civil as well as military service in the colonial and Revolutionary period. Altogether their combined services give them a unique distinction in American history. It has been stated by good authority that they were the only four brothers who were high-ranking officers in the Revolutionary War. It may be asserted with confidence that no other four brothers made a greater contribution to the cause of independence or to the subsequent expansion and wealth of the nation.

The narrative herein presented has been compiled mainly from official records, manuscripts preserved in the Bowman family, and the Draper MSS. owned by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, supplemented from numerous well-known publications, notably the monumental work by Hon. William H. English, "Conquest of the Country Northwest of the Ohio River," published in two large volumes in 1898; the two volumes of George Rogers Clark Papers, published by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, one in 1912, the other in 1926; bulletins of the Filson Club and the Kentucky State Historical Society; historical items in the catalogues of Transylvania College and the University of Kentucky. To these sources, to various other historical works, and to the special communications of individuals, grateful acknowledgment is made here and in appropriate connections throughout this volume.

At intervals will be found illustrations from photographs and a number of maps drawn specially for this work.

OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. The Centaurs of Cedar Creek.....	1
II. A Baron in the Background.....	10
III. In the French and Indian War.....	23
IV. John on the "Roan Oak".....	32
V. Joseph on the Ohio.....	41
VI. John Against the Cherokees.....	48
VII. Abraham Answers in Freedom's Name.....	53
VIII. The Dark and Bloody Ground.....	63
IX. The Illinois Epic.....	70
X. Two Colonels in Kentucky.....	100
XI. Heir at Law under British Law.....	114
XII. A Light in the Clearing.....	121
XIII. Isaac Captain and Captive.....	129
XIV. Abraham Host to Lafayette.....	136
XV. John Bryan Bowman.....	143
XVI. Indianapolis Episode	147
XVII. The Baron of Sunset Hills.....	149
Appendix	157
Index	179

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Bowman Gate in Harrodsburg (Frontispiece)	
The George Bowman House on Cedar Creek.....	8
The Hite House on Opequon Creek.....	10
Major Isaac Hite, Aide to General Muhlenberg.....	20
Mrs. Isaac Hite, Sister to President Madison, and Her Son.....	22
Bellevue, Home of Colonel John Bowman of the Revolution.....	112
Where Transylvania University Began.....	122
South Elkhorn (Helm Place), Home of Col. Abram Bowman.....	136
Linwood, Built by Colonel John Bowman, War of 1812, and inherited by his son, Abram Hite Bowman.....	144
Aspen Hall, Built by John Bryan Bowman.....	146
Sunset Hills, Home of A. Smith Bowman.....	150
A. Smith Bowman, as Master of the Hunt.....	154

LIST OF MAPS

The Cedar Creek Country.....	5
Bowman Homes and Mills on Cedar Creek.....	15
Defense of Charleston, S. C., June 1776.....	58
The Falls at Louisville and Corn Island.....	72
The Campaign Against Kaskaskia and Vincennes.....	75
Old Kaskaskia and Environs.....	79
Landmarks of Old Vincennes.....	90
Harrodsburg and Fort Bowman.....	125
Lexington and South Elkhorn.....	139

APPENDIX

1. Will of Baron Jost Hite.....	157
2. Will of George Bowman, Sr.....	158
3. Will of George Bowman, Jr.....	160
4. Will of Colonel John Bowman.....	161
5. Will of Colonel Abraham Bowman.....	162
6. Will of Captain Isaac Bowman.....	165
7. Bowman Family Records.....	171
8. Bowman Entries of Land in Kentucky.....	175
9. In the World War, 1943.....	177

**THE BOWMANS
A PIONEERING FAMILY IN VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY,
AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY**

CHAPTER I

THE CENTAURS OF CEDAR CREEK

This title, "The Centaurs of Cedar Creek," is not altogether fanciful. George Bowman and his sons, as well as many of their descendants and other kinsmen in different parts of the country, owned numerous horses and were bold and skilful riders, whether in the dales and woodlands of the Shenandoah Valley, in the Blue-Grass regions of Kentucky, on the ranches and polo fields of Canada, or in the fox-hunting areas of eastern Virginia. These facts will appear as we proceed with our story.

For the purposes of this narrative we have not thought it necessary to trace the lineage of George Bowman and his wife Mary Hite back farther than her father, Baron Jost Hite, concerning whom pertinent facts are given in a subsequent chapter. George Bowman as a young man evidently came to Philadelphia or its vicinity prior to 1731, where Jost Hite was then located; met Hite's oldest daughter Mary and married her; and with his wife and oldest child was a member of Hite's colony that migrated from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia in 1731 or 1732. The Opequon and Cedar Creek region, where they located, was then a part of Spotsylvania County, Virginia. In 1734 it was included in the new county of Orange; in 1738 an act of the Virginia General Assembly provided for that part of Orange west of the Blue Ridge to be erected into the counties of Frederick and Augusta, but courts for Frederick were not organized at Winchester until 1743 or for Augusta at Staunton until 1745. Accordingly, the Hite-Bowman settlement was in Spotsylvania County until 1734; in Orange from 1734 until 1743; thereafter in Frederick altogether until 1772, when Dunmore (now Shenandoah) County was cut off from the southwest side of Frederick. Thereafter George Bowman's home was in Shenandoah County, while the homes of Hite and other members of his original colony remained in Frederick.

Cartmell, Frederick County historian, states that George Bowman and wife Mary Hite had thirteen children, "nearly all of whom grew to be men and women, and most of them were settled by their father on choice tracts of land, chiefly in

Frederick and Dunmore (Shenandoah) Counties." He then proceeds to name the children; giving birth dates; as follows: John George, born prior to settlement in Virginia; John Jacob, December 2, 1733; Emma Maria, 1735; Elizabeth, 1737; Johannes, 1738; Sarah, 1741; Regina, 1743; Rebecca, 1745; George, 1747; Abraham, October 16, 1742; Joseph, 1752; Catherine and Isaac, twins, 1757.

In additional particulars, Cartmell says that John Jacob married Grizel Greenlee; figured prominently in Kentucky; and was killed in battle at Remson's Mill, N. C., June 20, 1780. In what he says of Jacob in Kentucky, he evidently is confusing Jacob with Colonel John; and "Remson's Mill" should be Ramsour's Mill. He says that Elizabeth married Isaac Ruddell, an officer under Gen. George Rogers Clark, which is no doubt correct. (In 1777 Isaac founded Ruddell's Station in Kentucky.) He names George "Briscoe" as the husband of Rebecca, whereas her husband was George Brinker. And he evidently has the birth-years of several of the children of George Bowman and Mary Hite stated incorrectly. Some of these discrepancies in Cartmell's book are probably due merely to oversights in proof-reading.

George Bowman in his will, made in 1764, names his sons as follows, and in this order: Jacob, John, Abraham, Joseph, Isaac, and George. George was not the youngest, but he was named last to fit in with certain provisions in the will that related to him. The daughters are named (in the will) as Mary Stephens, Elizabeth Ruddle, Sarah Right (Wright), Reganer (Regina) Dyeller, and Rebecca Bowman. This, as will appear, was in the order of their ages. Thus are named altogether eleven children as living in 1764. Mary was the wife of Lewis Stephens; Rebecca later married George Brinker. The given name of Sarah Wright's husband has not been ascertained, though he is said to have been of South Carolina. Regina's husband was probably Peter Deyerle (Dierly, etc.) of Botetourt County, Va. In the spring of 1779 William Myers, a messenger from the Illinois country on his way to Virginia, was carrying a letter addressed to Peter Dierly, Botetourt, which was probably written by Major Joseph Bowman to his brother-in-law.¹ This conclusion is strengthened by an item in the court records of Botetourt County.

¹See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 309.

On September 8, 1772, it was ordered by the court that Philip Love and John Bowman settle Peter Dierly's account of his administration of William Palmer's estate and make report thereof to the court.² John Bowman, later colonel, brother to Regina Dierly, was then living in Botetourt County, and it was in keeping with court practice, in such cases, to appoint a kinsman or a neighbor and close friend of the family.

In 1925 the writer had an interview with Mrs. Ezra Foltz of Strasburg, Va., who before marriage was Frances Bowman, daughter of Isaac Sydnor Bowman and granddaughter of Captain Isaac Bowman, son of George. Mrs. Foltz stated that George Bowman and his wife, Mary Hite, had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. She recited their names as given in George Bowman's will, above. She also stated that they, as she had always heard, had been born two or three years apart, and that her grandfather, Isaac Bowman, the youngest, was 21 years old when he was captured by the Indians—which was in 1778 or 1779. In the settlement under Major Joseph Bowman's will (this will made on March 20, 1773, and amended on April 16, 1778), his brothers and sisters (nine) were listed as follows: Jacob, John, Abram, Isaac, Mary Stephens, Elizabeth Ruddle, Reginor Dyerley, Sarah Wright, and Rebecca Brinker. George had died, evidently unmarried, in 1769.

A complete and authoritative list of the names of the children of George Bowman and Mary Hite, with birth-dates, was prepared in 1887 by Hon. John Bryan Bowman of Kentucky for Lyman C. Draper. John Bryan Bowman was a grandson of Colonel Abraham Bowman, son of George, and prepared his list from family papers in his hands which had come down to him from his grandfather and the latter's brother, Colonel John Bowman. The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, owner of the Draper manuscripts, has kindly supplied a photostat copy of John Bryan Bowman's letter naming his great-grandfather's children and giving their birth-dates, etc., as follows:

1. George Bowman was born April 27, 1732.
2. Jacob Bowman was born Jan. 2, 1733.
3. Mary Bowman (Mrs. Stephens) was born Nov. 19, 1735.
4. Elizabeth Bowman (Mrs. Ruddell) was born Mh. 18, 1737.

²See *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, by L. P. Summers, page 148.

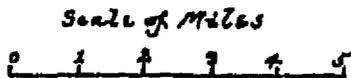
5. John Bowman (Col. of Ky. troops) was born Dec. 10, 1738.
6. Sarah Bowman (Mrs. Wright) was born Feb. 9, 1741.
7. Regina Bowman (Mrs. Dierly) was born Jan. 13, 1743.
8. Rebecca Bowman (Mrs. Geo. Brinker) was born Mh. 25, 1745.
9. George Bowman, 2d (first dead) was born Mh. 24, 1747.
10. Abram Bowman (Col. 8th Va. troops) was born Oct. 16, 1749.
11. Joseph Bowman (Major) was born March 8, 1752.
12. Catherine Bowman was born Nov. 16, 1754.
13. Isaac Bowman was born Apl. 24, 1757.

Mr. A. Smith Bowman of Sunset Hills, Fairfax County, Va., has the family Bible of his great-grandfather, Col. Abraham Bowman, and in it the birth-date of Colonel Abraham is given as October 16, 1749, in agreement with the date given by John Bryan Bowman.

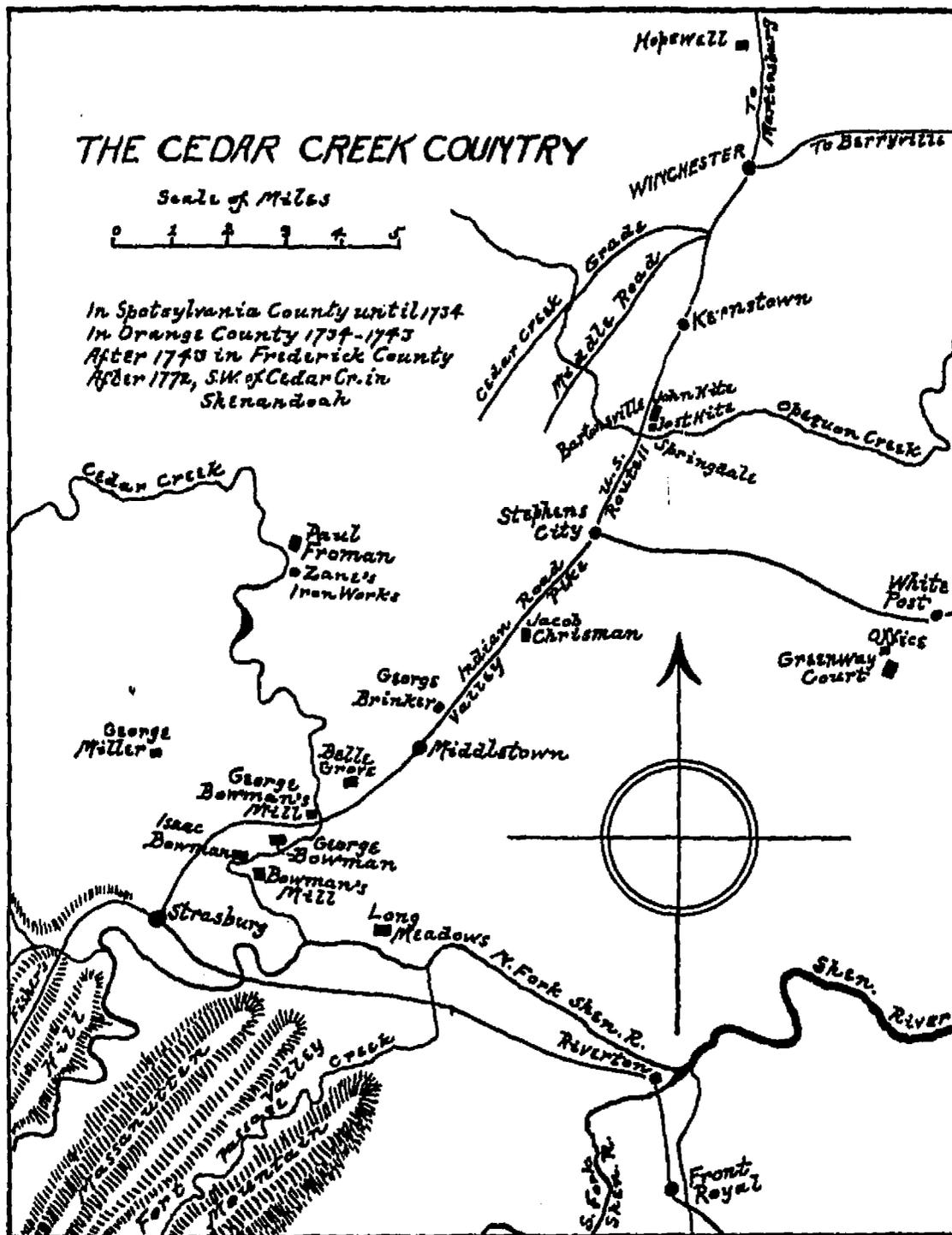
Evidently George Bowman, born in 1732, and Catherine, born in 1754, both died in childhood. Accordingly, only eleven children grew to manhood and womanhood, as named by Mrs. Ezra Foltz and by George Bowman, Sr., in his will.

Cartmell says, "He (George Bowman) chose for his homestead a heavily timbered section located on the North branch of the Sherando River, where he built a substantial house which continued to be his home during his life." His place of residence was really on Cedar Creek, not far from the point where this stream enters the north fork of the Shenandoah. The substantial stone house, which later passed to his son Isaac was, of course, not his first domicile, but was erected between 1751 and 1755, about the time his brothers-in-law, John Hite, Jacob Chrisman, and Paul Froman, were building their houses of similar character. As early as 1753 George Bowman had a mill on Cedar Creek, the ruins of which may still be seen, near his dwelling. His ownership of the mill we learn from the diary of a Moravian who was one of a colony of twelve single brethren who trekked in the autumn of 1753 from Pennsylvania to North Carolina. Having horses as well as themselves to feed, these Moravians were on the lookout for mills. According to their chronicle, they stopped at the Hollingsworth mill, just southwest of Winchester; at Jost Hite's mill, at George Bowman's mill, and at Justice Funk's mill. On the evening of October 18 (1753) they pitched

THE CEDAR CREEK COUNTRY



In Spotsylvania County until 1754
In Orange County 1754-1773
After 1773 in Frederick County
After 1773, SW of Cedar Cr. in
Shenandoah



their tents just beyond Hite's mill, on the Opequon. We now quote from their diary:

On October 19 we rose at six o'clock, but we had not slept much, because the smoke had annoyed us considerably. One mile from here we had some bread baked for us, and towards nine o'clock we continued our journey. Several brethren preceded us two and a half miles to Mr. Neuschwanger, a German, who lives half a mile from the road, on the left side. A straight way has been cut from the road to his house. The brethren secured bread and hay and brought it to the great road, where the other brethren waited with the wagon. Bro. Haberland accidentally met a man on the plantation who knew him.

We traveled five miles farther and came to Baumann's mill. We bought several bushels of oats, but had to wait several hours till it had been threshed. Several Germans came to us, of whom we inquired about the way. They gave us bad news, that beyond Augusta Court House the way is so bad that we would hardly be able to proceed.

We still had five miles (three or four) to Justice Funk's mill, but we had to drive for some time during the night and arrived there pretty late.

Justice Funk's mill was at or near the site of Strasburg, which at first was known as Funk's Town and Stover Town.

George Bowman, as may be seen in the copy of his will, printed in the Appendix of this volume, was the owner of Negro slaves, horses and mares, cattle and sheep, money, a house and two lots in Winchester, and nearly 2,000 acres of land, two tracts of which were on Linville Creek, in the present county of Rockingham. One of these (of 500 acres each) he had purchased of William Linwell and wife Elinor on August 14, 1746; the other from Jost Hite, on October 4, 1749. The part of his home tract, containing the mill, was devised to his son George. This George, according to Mrs. Ezra Foltz, was a giant, nearly seven feet tall. She said that he died at the age of 18 from a rupture sustained from his carrying or attempting to carry 15 bushels of rye up three flights of stairs in the mill. She was evidently mistaken about his age, which was between 22 and 23 at the time of his death. On June 27, 1769, young George made his will, which is recorded in Winchester, since the region was still in Frederick County, though after 1772 it was in Dunmore (Shenandoah). In his will he made a special provision that his mother was to have

her grain ground in the mill "Toal free." The will was proven in Frederick County court on September 5, 1769, so we may assume that his death occurred shortly before that date. According to the main provisions of his will his estate, both real and personal, was to be sold and the money arising therefrom to be equally divided among all his brothers and sisters except Mary Stephens, whose part was to go to her children. The mill was to be rented out until his youngest brother came of age. His brother Abraham and his brother-in-law, George Brinker, were made executors.

It will be observed from a perusal of the wills in the Appendix that George Bowman, Sr., George Bowman, Jr., and Joseph Bowman all diverted the shares of Mary Stephens to her children, though Joseph did relent in 1778 and modified his original will accordingly in her favor. Evidently the family had fallen out with Mary, or with her husband, Lewis Stephens, or with both. Possibly they may have regarded Lewis as a spendthrift. Lewis Stephens in 1758 secured an act of the Virginia Assembly establishing a town on his land, the said town now well known as Stephens City, though it was called Stephensburg and Newtown for considerable periods in earlier days. Lewis's father, Peter Stephens, said to have been one of Jost Hite's colony of 1731, built his first cabin on the ground where the town later grew up. In the Act of 1758 it is stated that Lewis Stephens had laid out forty acres for his town on his tract of 900 acres. Stephens City is a mile and a half southwest of Springdale, the Jost Hite homestead, and seven or eight miles northeast of Harmony Hall, the homestead of George Bowman.

As appears in various publications, there has been a good deal of uncertainty heretofore as to which of George Bowman's sons, John or Jacob, was the older. This uncertainty is cleared up by the list of names and dates as given by John Bryan Bowman, in which Jacob is shown to have been nearly six years older than John. Other records are in agreement. George Bowman (the father) in his will names Jacob first, John second; and in the distribution under Major Joseph Bowman's will the same order is followed—Jacob first, John second, and so on.

In the Filson Club *Historical Quarterly* of October, 1937, pages 252-259, is printed from the Draper MSS. an interview of Rev. John D. Shane with Elijah Foley of Fayette County, Ky. Foley as a boy went with Col. Abram Bowman from Vir-

ginia to Kentucky in 1779. From this interview, as reported, we quote the following:

The Bowman family: 1. George, the Tory and the oldest. The Whigs killed him at his own house. I saw when the Colonel (Abram Bowman) received the letter. "It was no matter," he said, "at all; no matter."

2. Jacob, killed by the Indians in Carolina.

3. Isaac Bowman.

4. Joseph was between George and Abraham. I saw his share of the goods he took in that boat on the Wabash, sold at Bowman's Station. There was a trunk of them—red clothes, etc., for uniform.

5. Abraham was a Colonel among the Whigs, in the Revolution. Abraham, by the Mill, was Abraham's oldest son.

(No certainty about his (Foley's) knowledge of the relative positions of the several members of the family.)

6. John, Colonel of the Militia, about the third child. He was old when he married; that was on the Roanoke. His wife was a widow (of the name of Bryant); had had eight children of which William Bryant was the youngest.

Evidently there was no certainty about Foley's recollections in a good many particulars, though he was right in saying that the Tory was the oldest. But the Tory, as appears from other sources, was Jacob, not George. The first George had died in childhood, and the second one in 1769, as we have seen. Jacob, it is said, was killed in 1780, when Colonel John and Colonel Abraham were both in Kentucky. The Jacob whom Foley says was killed in Carolina by the Indians was Jacob Hite, uncle to the Bowman brothers.

It may not be amiss to mention here a triviality, which, after all, may not be altogether trivial. George Bowman's stone house on Cedar Creek has been called by different names—"Fort Bowman," "Willow Bend," and "Harmony Hall." It is strongly built and possibly served on more than one occasion as a neighborhood place of refuge during Indian forays, hence "Fort Bowman." The willows growing along the winding course of Cedar Creek naturally suggested the second name. Now for the triviality, which may have no foundation whatever. The writer has heard it said that the Bowman boys were such habitual "scrapers" that the neighbors called their residence "Harmony Hall." These boys, four of them at least, later demonstrated the fact



GEORGE BOWMAN HOUSE ON CEDAR CREEK
Harmony Hall and Fort Bowman. The portico a recent addition.

that they were good at fighting the Indians and the British, whatever may have been their habits among themselves.

The Bowman brothers were skilled in woodcraft and in the various strenuous exercises of pioneer life, and there is evidence that they enjoyed at least a fair measure of book learning. Their cousin, Isaac Hite, Jr., attended the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg. Whether their schooling went beyond that dispensed by neighborhood teachers and local surveyors cannot now be determined, but they have left evidences of considerable literary training based on obvious native qualities of perception and foresight. There were churches in the Valley as early as 1750 or before, and in connection with nearly every one of them there was a school, conducted by the minister or a professional pedagogue. The course of instruction was narrow, but exacting in penmanship, arithmetic, and other practical subjects. John and Abraham were called upon to settle estates. John's account book, as quartermaster of a military expedition in 1776 (to be presented in more detail later), shows that he wrote a good hand and was methodical in business. Abraham was a surveyor; his well-written signature, as appended to a number of business papers, has been preserved; also a copy of the address of welcome that he delivered to General Lafayette at Lexington, Ky., in 1825. This address was in a style well worthy of a region that was distinguished for its orators and statesmen. Major Joseph Bowman's journal and letters show that he was a keen observer and a graphic recorder. It is a fact of no small significance that he and his brother John were interested in founding a school in the first years of Kentucky settlement, and that they made substantial contributions toward such an institution. It was on their lands and in their buildings that Transylvania University had its beginnings. The will of Isaac Bowman is a masterpiece in both form and content, though of course he may have had legal aid in preparing it.

CHAPTER II

A BARON IN THE BACKGROUND

Chronologically, of course, Jost Hite came ahead of George Bowman and his sons; but inasmuch as the Bowmans are the outstanding subjects of our narrative, this chapter on Hite and his family is made parenthetical.

Jost Hite, whose daughter Mary married George Bowman and was the mother of the Bowman brothers who are the main figures in our story, went from Strassburg, the chief city of Alsace, to Holland, where he married Anna Maria DuBois. In 1709 or thereabouts, with his wife and daughter Mary, he came to New York, where he settled on the Hudson River, and where his other daughters, Magdalena and Elizabeth, and a son or two, were born. In 1717 he was living on a large tract of land near Philadelphia. His place of residence was in or near Germantown, which is now a part of the greater city, and there he built and operated a mill for the manufacture of woolen cloth, which, by good authority, is said to have been the first of its kind in this country. In 1897 one of his descendants visited Philadelphia and saw the building in which Hite operated. Upon a subsequent visit (in 1935) he learned that the old structure had been torn down in 1918 and that a historical marker had been placed at the site.

In 1731 Jost Hite, hearing of the fertile lands in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and the opportunities there for acquiring extensive tracts, led a colony of 16 families into that region. He established his home on a small stream which bore the Indian name of Opequon, at a point where the stream was crossed by an ancient trail leading southward. The spot, now marked by the remains of Jost Hite's stone house and the splendid stone dwelling that his son, Col. John Hite, erected in 1753, is five and a half miles southwest of Shawnee Spring, where the town of Winchester, known also in early days as Frederick Town, soon grew up.

It may be that Hite had an earlier acquaintance with the valley of the Shenandoah. There is a tradition that he was



STONE HOUSE AT SPRINGDALE ON THE OPEQUON

Erected by Col. John Hite in 1753

Site of Jost Hite's settlement in 1731 or 1732

with Alexander Spotswood, the doughty Virginia governor, in 1716, when the latter led his company of adventurers in the famous expedition across the Blue Ridge and commemorated the achievement by giving to each of his gentlemen companions a small golden horseshoe studded with gems. They gazed upon and crossed the river which drains the valley—called it the “Euphrates”; but luckily the Indian name, Shenandoah, said to mean “Daughter of the Stars,” was permanently adopted instead of the one from the distant and ancient East. If Hite did ride with Spotswood, it was an interesting and fitting prelude to the more extended explorations and adventures of the “Centaur of Cedar Creek.”

Samuel Kercheval, Shenandoah Valley historian, who was born near Berryville in 1767 and spent most of his 78 years in the neighborhood where Hite settled and among his descendants, records the names of several of the men who came with Hite when he founded his colony. Kercheval says:

In the year 1732 Jost Hite, with his family and his sons-in-law, viz. George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman, and Paul Froman, with their families, Robert McKay, Robert Green, William Duff, Peter Stephens, and several others, amounting in the whole to sixteen families, removed from Pennsylvania, cutting their road from York, and crossing the Cohongoruton (Potomac) about two miles above Harper's Ferry. Hite settled on Opequon, about five miles south of Winchester, on the great highway from Winchester to Staunton, now the residence of the highly respectable widow of the late Richard Peters Barton, Esq., and also the residence of Richard W. Barton, Esq.

McKay, Green, and Duff were partners of Hite in securing several large grants of land. As to the date when they moved to the Shenandoah Valley, it appears that it was in 1731 rather than 1732. If the actual settlement was not made in 1731, there was evidently a preliminary visit in that year or earlier.

In New York and probably in Pennsylvania also, Jost Hite was a fur trader as well as a textile manufacturer, but evidently he was interested also in good land, as already indicated. After he settled in Virginia he devoted himself chiefly to buying and selling lands, acquiring thousands of rich acres in different parts of the Valley, on the Opequon, on Cedar Creek, on the Shenandoah River, on Linville Creek (now in Rockingham County),

and in other sections.¹ He was commonly spoken of as "Baron Hite" and in later years as the "Old German Baron." Whether he was actually a baron in Europe has not been definitely ascertained, and now, due to the lapse of time and the ravages of war, the question may perhaps never be settled. In the opinion of some, his title was probably bestowed because of his extensive landholdings and the fact that he was a patron and promoter of colonies. He owned a ship or two, it is said, and had brought a colony from Holland to New York; and in 1731 or 1732, as we have seen, he led a colony into the Shenandoah Valley. In the years immediately following he brought many other families into the Valley to settle on his lands. However, the families of his older descendants believed that he was a baron in fact, and in their letters and papers they refer to him as such. His possessions were obviously those of a man of wealth, taste, and culture. Accordingly, there are well-informed individuals among his descendants who believe that he was a baron.

A manuscript in the possession of one of Jost Hite's descendants gives additional particulars concerning his coming to New York, his sojourn in Pennsylvania, and his activities there:

He came in his own ships, Brigantine *Swift* and Schooner *Friendship*, bringing with him sixteen (some say more) Dutch and German families, as tenants for lands he expected to settle. He remained in Kingston, New York, until 1715, when he came south to Germantown, Penn. In 1717 we find him on the Schuylkill River, where he bought lands and in 1720 built a mill at the mouth of Perkiomen Creek, and a dwelling house, which is at present the country home of Gov. Samuel Pennypacker, and became a thrifty, enterprising farmer and manufacturer. The mills are now called Pennypacker's Mills.

At this time the Indians, maddened by the encroachments of the whites, took revenge by making raids upon the colonists in both Pennsylvania and Maryland, ruthlessly murdering settlers and destroying property. In 1728 a petition signed by Yost Hite and many others, for protection against the Indians, was presented to Gov. Gordon of Pennsylvania, who ignored the petition and the atrocities became more frequent and more cruel. Hite became disgusted by the culpable indifference of the government and inaugurated a

¹Hite evidently purchased first from John and Isaac Vanmeter, who in 1730 had obtained a grant for 40,000 acres. Later he secured grants on which to establish families of later colonies that he brought in, altogether, perhaps, 100,000 acres or more.

scheme to re-emigrate to the wilds of the then unknown Shenandoah Valley, Virginia, and in January, 1730, sold his holdings on the Schuylkill and with his family and followers once more turned his footsteps southward.

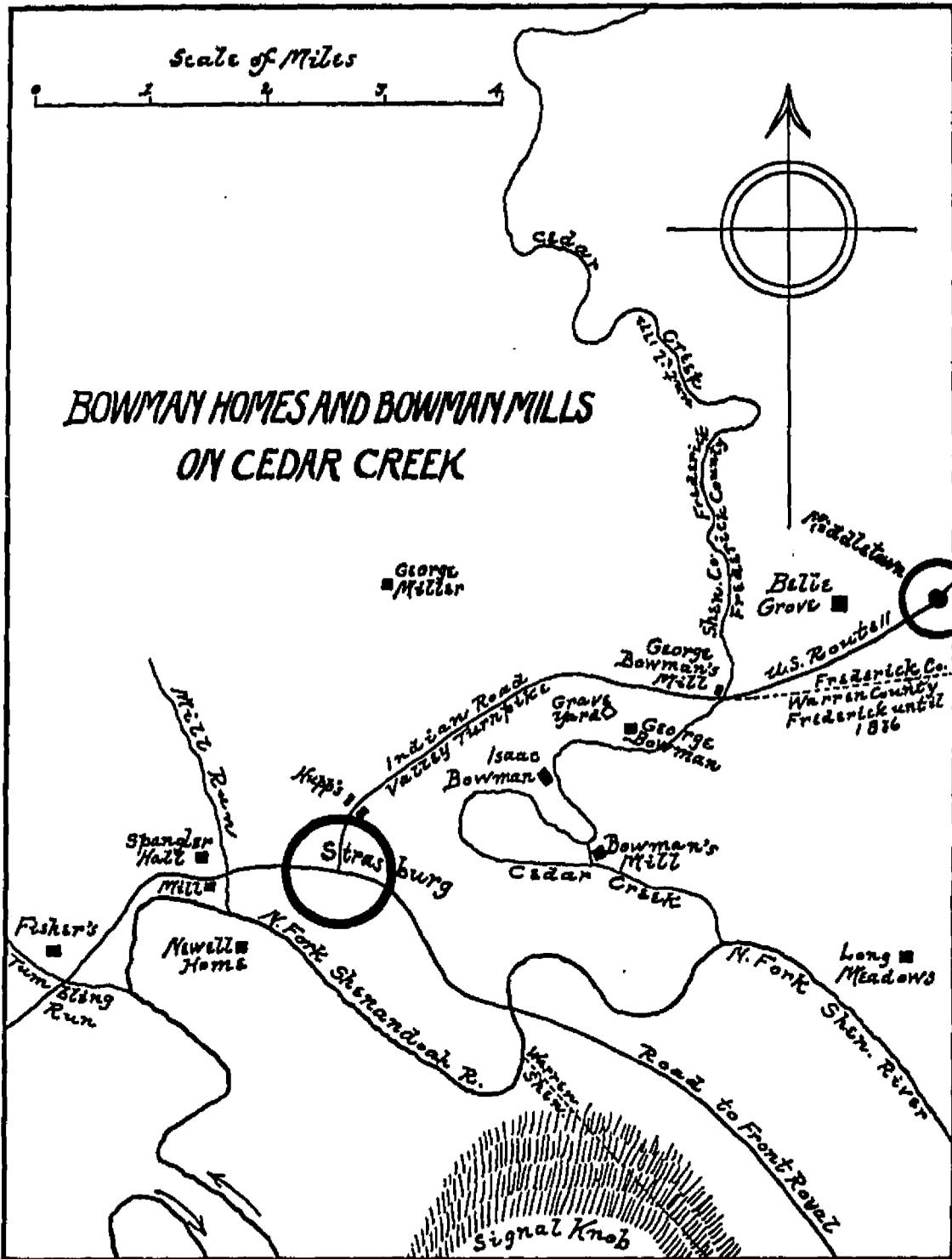
When Hite and his associates first came to Virginia, crossing the Potomac at Packhorse Ford, near the present Shepherds-town, the Shenandoah Valley was still, for the most part, only an Indian hunting ground, but about the same time that he came Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan led in a colony of Friends (Quakers) who settled, most of them, northeast of Shawnee Spring (later Winchester). For twenty years or more the Indians gave no serious trouble, but in 1754 they withdrew westward and during the next ten years or more, during and following the French and Indian War, the Valley settlements suffered from frequent and devastating raids, in which the Indians were often led by French officers. Following the defeat of Braddock's army near the site of Pittsburgh on July 9, 1755, the inroads upon the Valley were especially severe. The chain of widely separated frontier forts, the chief one Fort Loudoun at Winchester, where young Colonel George Washington had his headquarters, were inadequate for effective defense. Many of the settlers fled eastward across the Blue Ridge. Some of those who remained were slow to rally in arms. However, the old court martial records at Winchester show that Jost Hite's sons and the sons of George Bowman were among those who tried to uphold the militia organization.

Jost Hite and his first wife, Anna Maria DuBois (who died in 1738) had eight children: Mary, who married George Bowman; Magdalena, who married Jacob Chrisman; Elizabeth, who married Paul Froman; and sons, John, Jacob, Isaac, Abraham, and Joseph. Cartmell gives the birthdate of Isaac as May 12, 1721; that of Abraham as May 10, 1729 (or earlier); and that of Joseph as 1731. The three daughters and their husbands were among the settlers that Jost Hite brought to the Valley in 1731 or 1732, and it is said that George and Mary Bowman then had a male child. This must have been George, who evidently died in childhood.

Hite's son-in-law, Jacob Chrisman, located near a spring, still known as Chrisman's Spring, three and a half miles south-

west of Hite's home, and there in 1751 built a massive stone house which is still well preserved. It stands on a hill a short distance east of the ancient trail through the Valley, which soon became known as the "Great Waggon Road." This road, between 1835 and 1840, was macadamized and became the famous Valley Turnpike. In recent years it has been widened and otherwise improved and is now designated on the highway maps as U. S. Route 11. George Bowman established himself on Cedar Creek, ten and a half miles southwest of Jost Hite, also on or near the ancient trail. He, too, in 1751 or soon thereafter, built a stone house. It stands about half a mile southeast of the present highway, but in plain sight. In Bowman's neighborhood were evidently other Alsatians, for the town which grew up near his home, established by law in 1761, was named Strasburg (now pronounced Strawsburg), although often called in early days Stover Town and Funk's Town. Paul Froman, who married Elizabeth Hite, also settled on Cedar Creek, higher up the winding stream, five or six miles north of George Bowman. Froman, too, built a stone house, still standing.

John Hite, Jost's eldest son, in 1737, married Sara Eltinge of Maryland, daughter of Cornelius Eltinge and Rebecca Van Meter. Near his father's home on the Opequon, John in 1753 built a stone house which was then said to be the finest dwelling west of the Blue Ridge. Pictures of this house, still well kept, may be found in Wayland's "Historic Homes," pages 64-67. In the same volume may be found pictures also of the houses built by George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman, and Paul froman. Jacob Hite, Jost's second son, visited Ireland to secure recruits for his fathers' Virginia colony. On the return voyage he met Catherine O'Bannon, whom he married. She died in a few years, leaving sons John, Thomas, and Jacob. Jacob then married Mrs. Frances Madison Beale, daughter of Ambrose Madison, and had a son George and perhaps other children. Jacob Hite was sheriff of Frederick County and lived in what is now Jefferson County, W. Va., at the present Leetown. Later he moved to South Carolina where he and several members of his family were killed by Indians. Isaac Hite, third son of Jost, married Eleanor Eltinge, a sister to Sara, his brother John's wife. His home was at Long Meadows, a splendid plantation on the Shenandoah River, now in Warren County, Va., about three miles south of



Middletown and about the same distance southeast from Harmony Hall, the old home of George Bowman on Cedar Creek. Isaac Hite died at Long Meadows on September 18, 1795, aged 73, and is buried there in the family graveyard, with his wife Eleanor, his son, Major Isaac Hite (1758-1836), and other relatives. Long Meadows gave Mrs. Minnie Hite Moody the title for her well-known historical novel, *Long Meadows*, which is really a history of the Hite family. Her generous aid in this work is gratefully acknowledged. The present brick mansion house at Long Meadows was erected in 1845 by Colonel George Bowman, a descendant of Jost Hite. The latter deeded the property to his son Isaac Hite in 1737.

Isaac Hite's son, Isaac, Jr. (Major Isaac Hite), studied at the College of William and Mary, and on March 27, 1777, was chosen a member of the now famous Phi Beta Kappa Society, the first man elected thereto by the charter members. Later he was in the Revolutionary army and was an aide to General Muhlenberg at the siege of Yorktown. He lived at Belle Grove, near Middletown, and there, in or about 1787, built the stone mansion house, in planning which he is said to have been aided by Thomas Jefferson. At any rate, some of the features in the Belle Grove mansion are similar to those in Jefferson's house at Monticello. Major Hite's first wife was Nelly Conway Madison (1760-1802), a sister to James Madison, later President. James Madison and his wife, Dolly Payne Todd, spent two weeks of their honeymoon at Belle Grove in the autumn of 1794. Major Hite's second wife was Ann Tunstall Maury (1782-1851), daughter of Rev. Walker Maury and Mollie Grymes. Both his wives are buried with him at Long Meadows, Nelly on the west side, Ann on the east.

Abraham Hite, Jost's fourth son, in 1751 married Rebecca Van Meter. He made his home in Hampshire County, now West Virginia, where he was prominent in civil and military affairs. His sons, Abraham, Jr., and Isaac, were among the pioneer explorers and promoters of settlement in Kentucky. In 1773 Abraham Hite, Jr., James Harrod, and James Sandusky in canoes descended the Ohio River to the Falls, site of the present city of Louisville, and returned. In May of the next year Harrod, Hite, James Sandusky, and Jacob Sandusky, with 37 (or 31) other

men, descended the Ohio, went inland, and laid off Harrodsburg, erecting a number of cabins. This was the first real settlement made in Kentucky by white men. In two or three weeks Harrod and his company were joined by Isaac Hite (brother to Abraham, Jr.) and nine or ten other men.² Harrodsburg is now the county-seat of Mercer County.

Inasmuch as Joseph Bowman, then just 21, made his will in March, 1773, he was evidently going out on adventures, and it is probable that he was with his cousins, Abraham and Isaac Hite, on some of these tours. Isaac was a surveyor, and speculated extensively in lands. He evidently settled in Kentucky. In Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, page 183, reference is made to "the deposition of Capt. Isaac Hite, taken at his house in Jefferson county, May 31, 1792." Hite's Creek, partly in Jefferson County, a branch of Harrod's Creek, was probably named for him.

Joseph Hite, Jost's fifth son, married Elizabeth, whose family name is unknown. Joseph, and apparently his wife, were both dead in April, 1758, when Jost made his will. Joseph's share in the estate was devised to his three children, John, William and Ann.

Three Hites are listed as original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, as enrolled at its first meeting in Fredericksburg, Va., on October 7, 8, 9, 1783: "Abraham Hite, Captain; George Hite, Lieutenant; and Isaac Hite, Lieutenant."³ Abraham was Jost's son or grandson; George was a son of Jacob Hite (son of Jost) and his second wife, Frances M. Beale; Isaac was no doubt the master of Belle Grove, son of Isaac and grandson of Jost. On his tombstone at Long Meadows Isaac (Jr.) is titled Major, "aid to Genl. Muhlenberg in the war of the Revolution."

Jost Hite's homestead, known as Springdale, also as Bartonville, is on the Opequon a mile and a half northeast of the present town of Stephens City, two and a half miles southwest of Kernstown, and, as already noted, five and a half miles southwest of Winchester. His first domicile was no doubt a rude log cabin, but before many years he built two stone houses, one on either side of the road. The one on the east side is supposed to

²See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, page 17; *idem*, Vol. II, pages 517, 603, 605.

³See *History of Fredericksburg, Virginia*, by Alvin T. Embrey, 1937, pages 142-153.

have been built for a fort. Near its ruined walls is the stone mansion built by his son, Colonel John Hite, in 1753.

To Hite's in 1736, came a notable visitor, Thomas Lord Fairfax, who was then on his first trip to Virginia. He came across the Blue Ridge, and was guided to Hite's residence by Peter Wolfe, as the latter deposed some years later in connection with the suits that arose between Hite and Fairfax over land titles, finally decided in Hite's favor, after both the original principals in the litigation were dead. Until 1746 or thereabouts the exact boundaries of the Northern Neck, Fairfax's princely domain, were not clearly defined, and many of the earliest grants made in the Valley by the royal governors at Williamsburg lay within Fairfax's domain. He was willing to confirm the titles to such grants on reasonable terms, but objected to some particulars in connection, especially to the manner in which many of these early grants were laid out, namely alongside the water-courses, carving out the best lands. Such tracts he called "shoe-string grants." He wanted the tracts that fronted on streams to run back over the hills, so as to take in some of the less desirable land along with portions of the best.

The final arguments in this celebrated case of Hite et al. vs. Fairfax et al., occupied three days, May 3, 4, and 5, 1786, and one of the lawyers was John Marshall, later Chief Justice. Albert J. Beveridge, in his life of Marshall, states that this was the first time that Marshall's name appeared in the reports of the cases decided by the Virginia Court of Appeals. He was then between 30 and 31 years of age and had been practicing about five years. One of his opponents in this case was the talented Edmund Randolph, two years his senior, who was later Attorney-General of the United States under President Washington. Baker and Marshall upheld the claims of Fairfax; they were attacked by Randolph and John Taylor. Two points were at issue: (1) whether the titles of Hite, his associates and successors, should be made good; (2) whether Fairfax's title as proprietor to the Northern Neck of Virginia should be recognized as valid. In its decision the court sustained the Hite claims, but did not invalidate the title of Fairfax. Marshall clearly foresaw the chaos that would result if Virginia should confiscate the Fairfax grant and devoted his main efforts toward preventing such an outcome,

declaring that such action would destroy every land title in the commonwealth.⁴

Twelve years after Fairfax's first visit to Springdale came another man (manly boy) who in later years became more famous even than Fairfax. On Monday, March 14, 1748, young George Washington wrote in his diary: "We sent our Baggage to Capt. Hite's (near Frederick Town)." Washington, then on his first tour for Fairfax, had come into the Valley with the surveyor, James Genn, George William Fairfax, and others, on their way to the South Branch of the Potomac, where they spent the better part of a month laying off tracts for prospective settlers. On their return they stopped again at Springdale. The entry in Washington's journal, relating thereto, under date of Monday, April 11, 1748, is as follows:

We travell'd from Cuddy's down to Frederick Town (Winchester) where we Reached about 12 oClock we dined in Town and then went to Capt. Hites and Lodged.

The Captain Hite referred to was either the old Baron or his son John.

From 1756 to 1759, while Washington, in charge of the frontier defenses, had his headquarters in Winchester, he doubtless was frequently at Springdale. By that time Captain (Colonel) John's new house was finished. By that time, too, the Baron was growing old and feeling the weight of years. His first wife, Anna Maria DuBois, had died in 1738. In 1741 he had married again, the Widow Neuschwanger (now Niswander), with whom he had made a definite marriage contract, as follows:

IN THE NAME OF JESUS

WHEREAS, WE, two persons, I Just Heite and Maria Magdalena Relict, and widow of Christian Nuschanger, according to God's Holy Ordinance with the knowledge and consent of our Friends and Children and Relations are going to enter into the Holy State of Matrimony. We have made his Nuptial pact one with the other. First promise to the aforesaid Maria Magdalena all the Christian Love and faithfulness. Secondly, as neither of us are a moment secure from death so I promise her that my House shall be her Home or Widow Seat so long as she lives and the Heir to whom the said House shall fall shall provide her necessary Diet and Cloathes and if that do not please but that she rather desires to have

⁴See Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*, Vol. I, pages 191-196.

her commendations in any other place, so shall the aforesaid Heir to the House yearly pay her Six pounds ready money and this is my well considered desire.

JOST HITE.

And Likewise wife I, Maria Magdalena promise the aforesaid Just Hite, First all Love and Obedience, Secondly I am designed to bring with me to him some Cattle, money, household stuff which in an Other Agreement with Attested Witnesses shall be Described and should I die before the said Hite so shall the said Hite have the half thereof and the other half shall be delivered back again to my heirs and this is allso my well considered desire Thirdly and Lastly, whoever of the aforesaid persons shall die first the half of the portion the Woman brings with her shall go back again to her heirs.

JOHN HITE.	her
JACOB HITE.	MARY X MAGDALENA.
ISAAC HITE.	mark
JOSEPH HITE.	
his	
JACOB IN NISSWANGER.	
mark	

In the contract of Jost Hite and Mary Magdalena his wife, married persons, made the 10th of November, 1741, the following goods were brought in by Maria Magdalena and acknowledged by Jost Hite, to wit :

1. In ready money twenty-two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence.
2. Two mares, one colt, of the value of fourteen pounds.
3. Two drawing steers, value three pounds, ten shillings.
4. To coarse bed cloathes, in all three pounds, sixteen shillings, and six pence. And the said money is adjudged to be in Virginia Currency the 16th of November, 1741; also one horse mare, six pounds.

Witnesses:	JUST HITE.
PETER STEPHENS.	
LEWIS STEPHENS.	
his	
JACOB IN NISWANGER.	
mark	

Translated and copied from the German original by James Porteus.⁵

⁵See *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants*, by T. K. Cartmell, 1909, pages 8, 9.



MAJOR ISAAC HITE OF BELLE GROVE
Son of Isaac Hite of Long Meadows

Inasmuch as the county of Frederick had not yet been organized in 1741, these contracts were originally recorded at Orange Court House, east of the Blue Ridge, all of the Valley region (and much more) still being in Orange County. In 1743 courts were established at Winchester for Frederick County, and the next year the same contracts were recorded at Winchester; and at a court held for Frederick County on September 3, 1745, Jost Hite in open court acknowledged the articles of agreement between him and Maria Magdalena.

No evidence has been found of any children born of Hite's second marriage.

As indicated above, by the time of the French and Indian War, while Washington had his headquarters at Winchester, Jost Hite felt that the end of his life was drawing near, and accordingly on April 25, 1758, he made his will. In it he provided that his whole estate, both real and personal, after payment of his debts and funeral charges, was to be divided into five equal parts and one part each to be given to his sons John, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham, named in this order, and the fifth part to his deceased son Joseph's children: John, William, and Ann. No mention is made of his wife, inasmuch as the contracts made with her in 1741 were still in force; neither does he mention any one of his three daughters, the wives respectively of George Bowman, Jacob Chrisman, and Paul Froman. No doubt he had already given them their portions.

The old Baron lived for two or three years after he made his will, which was not presented for probate until 1761. Where he was buried is not known—possibly in a graveyard that is near his homestead, or at Opequon Presbyterian Church at Kernstown, not far away. It may be that he was buried at Long Meadows, where his first wife is said to have died and where she was probably buried.

The wording of Jost Hite's will and the contracts between him and Maria Magdalena indicates that he was a devout Christian. Professor I. Daniel Rupp, in the appendix to his well-known volume containing the names of immigrants to Philadelphia from 1727 to 1776, gives a list of the members of the German Reformed Church between 1735 and 1755, in which the name of Yost Heid appears. The location of this church is not definitely shown, but it was probably at or near Philadelphia.

Jost Hite had moved away from Philadelphia before 1735, but it is not improbable that his name was still carried on the church roll for some time after his migration to Virginia. Inasmuch as the German Reformed were Calvinistic—they were often termed Presbyterians in the old records—Hite may have affiliated with the Presbyterians of Opequon Church, near his home.

It will be observed that Hite's name appears in several different forms. This variation in the spelling of proper names was not unusual—frequently a name appears in several different spellings in the same document, as the old records show. There is evidence that Hite's full name was Hans Jost Hite, but he evidently dropped the first part, Hans or John, at a comparatively early date. He seems to have written his family name "Heid," at least in later years, but as written by others it appears as "Heite," "Heydt," "Hyte," "Hite," and perhaps in other forms. His first name (after the discarding of "Hans") frequently was written "Jost," "Just," "Yost," and "Joist." His signature to his will, written in German, was "Zost Heid"; but he probably intended the Z to be a J or a Y. "Heid" in German would be pronounced "Hite."

The most notable piece of land owned by Jost Hite and his business associates in the Shenandoah Valley was a tract of 7009 acres on Linwell's (now Linville) Creek, in the present county of Rockingham, granted to Robert McKay, Jost Hyte, Wm. Duff, and Robert Green by Wm. Gooch, Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, on March 26, 1739. It was about eight miles long, averaging a mile and a half in width, and lay on both sides of Linville Creek, extending from a point southwest of the present village of Edom to a boundary northeast of the present town of Broadway. On this tract was born Thomas Lincoln, father of the President; on it, as seems most probable, was the girlhood home of Rebecca Bryan, later the wife of Daniel Boone; and on it certainly lived the Bryans mentioned by General Washington when he crossed the tract from northwest to southeast on September 30, 1784. More particulars about this Linville Creek land will be given in Chapter IV.



MRS. ISAAC HITE OF BELLE GROVE AND HER SON,
JAMES MADISON HITE
She was born Nelly Conway Madison, a sister of President
James Madison.

CHAPTER III

IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Virginia, under royal charters, claimed the Ohio Valley and the country beyond, including most of the Great Lakes region. The French had settled in Canada at an early date and were pushing down into the Ohio Valley. In 1753 Governor Dinwiddie sent young George Washington with a message demanding that the French withdraw. They refused. The next year Virginia troops under Joshua Fry and Washington attempted to dislodge them, but failed. In 1755 Braddock's English regulars were defeated near Fort Duquesne (later Pittsburgh), a remnant being saved by Washington and his Virginia "buckskins."

In 1754 the Indians of the Shenandoah Valley, no doubt disappointed in not receiving adequate pay for their hunting grounds,¹ had withdrawn westward, where most of them joined the French; and for the four of five years following the defeat of Braddock they, with the French, made frequent forays upon the English, German, and Scotch-Irish settlements all along the frontier.

A chain of small forts was erected by the Virginia colonial government along the frontier from the Potomac River in a long curving line to North Carolina, but these forts were 15 or 20 miles apart—too far apart and too poorly manned to afford real protection. It was easy enough for the wily marauders to slip in through the gaps between the forts, burn houses, kill some of the occupants, and carry off prisoners and booty. They were keen to get horses. On these they could carry out their plunder and make better time in avoiding the parties of enraged settlers who often followed them.

Inasmuch as the forts erected by government order did not provide adequate defense or places that were always easily accessible for refuge, a number of private or neighborhood forts were

¹For particulars concerning these land claims of the Indians in the Shenandoah Valley and efforts toward payment by the Friends (Quakers), see Kercheval's *History of the Valley* and *Hopewell Friends History*, 1936, pages 113-125.

constructed. Some of these were rather extensive and surrounded by palisades; others consisted merely of a house strongly built of logs or stone, or both combined, always near a spring or a stream of water, and sometimes over a spring. John Lewis's house, near Staunton, often called Fort Lewis, a rather small building, had its ground story of stone, the upper one of logs. The Thomas Harrison house, still standing in Harrisonburg, is entirely of stone, with basement, main floor, and attic, a good spring in the basement. Some of these old houses, especially those east of the Massanutten Mountain, now in Page County, had a cellar solidly arched over with stone. In such a refuge a family or a neighborhood group might have been safe even if the house were burned over their heads. George Painter's log house, west of the Massanutten, in the neighborhood between Stony Creek and Mill Creek, had an unprotected cellar. Here the men, women, and children of Painter's vicinity took refuge during a raid in 1758. They apparently made no effective defense when attacked. Several, including Painter, were killed, nearly 50 were carried off prisoners, and the house was burned over the dead bodies. A part of the cellar remains as a well marked depression in the ground.

The substantial stone houses of John Hite, Jacob Chrisman, George Bowman, and Paul Froman were frequently resorted to in times of danger, and all came through the long years of invasion intact.

Washington, with headquarters at Fort Loudoun in Winchester, was charged with directing the defense of the frontier, but each county had its own militia organization and its officers did their best to keep their companies mustered and ready for service, though with very poor success in many cases. In Frederick County, which at this time included the present counties of Shenandoah, Page, Warren, and Clarke, in Virginia, as well as the counties of Jefferson and Berkeley, now in West Virginia, there were at least 14 companies of militia. This is shown by the old court martial records still preserved in the county clerk's office in Winchester, from which the following is an excerpt.

At Court Martial held for the County of Frederick on Tuesday the 2d day of September 1755 present

The Right Honble Thomas Lord Fairfax County Lieutenant
 George William Fairfax Colonel
 Thomas Bryan Martin Lieutenant Colonel
 Merideth Helm Major

Richard Morgan		John Funk Junr	} Captains
Jeremiah Smith		Samuel Odell	
Jacob Funk		William Bethel	
Isaac Parkin		Edward Rodgers	
John Hardin		John Linsey	
Cornelias Ruddell		William Vance	
Lewis Stephen	&	John Denton	

Lord Fairfax at this time was established at Greenway Court, in the present county of Clarke. Cornelius Ruddell lived in the vicinity of Rude's Hill and New Market, in Shenandoah County; John Denton's company was made up mainly in what is now Page County; William Bethel's was from the same region; the Funks were from the vicinity of Strasburg; Lewis Stephens lived at the present Stephens City; Isaac Parkin's home was at or near Winchester; John Hardin's company was probably made up in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry and the present Charles Town.

There is no complete roll preserved of any of these companies, but the records show that at the above date (September 2, 1755) Jacob Bowman was a member of the company of Captain John Funk. At the same time a Peter Bowman was enrolled in the company of Captain John Denton.

Washington's complaints of the indifference of the settlers toward the general defense are well known. If anything more were needed to make the situation clear and impressive it can be found in the Frederick County court martial record of April 14, 1756, to wit:

At a Council of War held for Regulating the Malitia of Frederick County in order to take such steps as Shall be Thought most Expediant on the present Critical Conjunction

Present

The Right Honble	The Lord Fairfax	County Lieutenant
	John Hite	Major
	John Lindsey	Captains
	Isaac Parkin	
	Richard Morgan	
	Samuel Odell	
	Edward Rodgers	
	Jeremiah Smith	
	Thomas Caton	
	Paul Long	

Proposals having been Sent to the several Captains of the Malitia Signed by the Com'anding officer of the said Malitia & dated the 7th Day of April 1756.

To get what Vollenteers they Could Encourage to go In Search of the Indian Enemy Who Are dayly Ravageing Our Frontiers & Committing their Accustomed Cruelties on the Inhabitants and the aforesaid Captains being met together & finding the Number of Men insufficient to go Out against the Enemy its Considered that the Men be Discharged being Only Fifteen

FAIRFAX

The records preserved show subsequent meetings held on the following dates: October 27, 1758; the next day (October 28); October 31, 1760; November 1, 1760; October 9 and 10, 1761. In October, 1758, John Hite appears as lieutenant-colonel; on and after October 31, 1760, he was colonel and presided over the court. From the same date (October 31, 1760) Lewis Stephens appears as major.

In October, 1758, Jacob Bowman appears as captain of a company in which some of the members were Robert McCoy, Thomas Buck, John Lahugh, Spencer Lahugh, Charles Buck, Thomas Chester, Isaac Hite, and Lewis Selser. All these men represented prominent families well known in the vicinity of Strasburg, Front Royal, and Chester Gap (near Front Royal) in the Blue Ridge. In October, 1761, another Jacob Bowman, designated as "son of Christian Bowman," is named as a member of the company commanded by Captain John Funk. It is possible that this Christian was a brother to George Bowman of Cedar Creek. In November, 1761, when the town of Strasburg was established by act of the Virginia General Assembly, Jacob Bowman, "Gentleman," was named in the act as one of the trustees. His associates were William Miller, Matthew Harrison,

Valentine Smith, Charles Buck, Peter Stover, Isaac Hite, Leonard Baltice, John Funk, and Philip Huffman. Bowman is named third in the list.²

John Bowman appears as a captain at the courts martial held on October 31 and November 1, 1760, and again at the court held on October 9, 1761. The only members of his company whose names appear in the records were William Miller, Gent., and Richard Folio. An order book (No. 9, page 10) of Frederick County Court shows that John Bowman was sworn in as a captain of Frederick County militia on May 6, 1760.

The treaty of peace between France and England was not signed until 1763, but after the English had captured Fort Duquesne in 1758, and especially after Wolfe had taken Quebec in the autumn of 1759, the inroads of the French and the Indians upon the Virginia frontiers were less frequent and destructive; but in 1763 the great Indian offensive under Pontiac was launched around the Great Lakes. This continued until 1765; and within this period, and for a year or two longer, there were occasional forays into the Shenandoah Valley, led in one or two instances by white men (not Frenchmen) who had grudges against certain settlers or were bent on robbery. In one of these Abraham Bowman figured prominently in behalf of a neighboring family who were victims of an attack. At this time he was still too young to be regularly enrolled in a militia company.

In 1764, as Kercheval relates, a party of eight Indians, with a white man by the name of Abraham Mitchell, killed George Miller, his wife, and two children, within about two miles of Strasburg. The same day they killed also John Dellinger on the land which later belonged to Captain Anthony Spengler, adjoining the town, and took Rachel Dellinger and her infant child prisoners. The Spengler place is now in the western edge of Strasburg, well known as Spengler Hall and Matin Hill. The George Miller homestead is two miles north of the town. The tragedy at Miller's is given by Kercheval in detail as follows:

At the attack on George's Miller's family, the persons killed were a short distance from the house, spreading flax in a meadow. One of Miller's little daughters was sick in bed. Hearing the firing, she jumped up, and looking through a window and seeing what was

²See Hening's *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Vol. 7, pages 473-75.

done, immediately passed out at a back window, and ran about two or three miles, down to the present residence of David Stickle, Esq., and from thence to Geo. Bowman's on Cedar Creek, giving notice at each place. Col. Abraham Bowman, of Kentucky, then a lad of sixteen or seventeen, had but a few minutes before passed close by Miller's door, and at first doubted the little girl's statement. He however armed himself, mounted his horse, and in riding to the scene of action was joined by several others who had turned out for the same purpose, and soon found the information of the little girl too fatally true.

The late Mr. Thomas Newell, of Shenandoah county, informed the author that he was then a young man. His father's residence was about one mile from Miller's house; and hearing the firing, he instantly took his rifle and ran to see what it meant. When he arrived at the spot he found Miller, his wife, and two children weltering in their blood, and still bleeding. He was the first person who arrived; and in a very few minutes Bowman and several others joined him. From the scene of murder they went to the house, and on the sill of the door lay a large folio German Bible, on which a fresh killed cat was thrown. On taking up the Bible it was discovered that fire had been placed in it; but after burning through a few leaves, the weight of that part of the book which lay uppermost, together with the weight of the cat, had so compressed the leaves as to smother and extinguish the fire.

Kercheval's narrative was written about 1833. In a footnote he says:

This Bible is now in the possession of Mr. George Miller, of Shenandoah county, about one and a half miles south of Zane's old iron works. The author saw and examined it. The fire had been placed about the center of the 2d book of Samuel, burnt through fourteen leaves, and entirely out at one end. It is preserved in the Miller family, as a sacred relic or memento of the sacrifice of their ancestors.

In 1925 the present writer saw this old Bible, then in the possession of Mr. Levi Miller, a descendant of the original owner, one of whose sons, at least, was away from home and escaped the massacre.³

The marauding party had evidently left the Miller place only a short time before Newell, Bowman, and others arrived. They were pursued, overtaken on the South Branch Mountain,

³See *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia*, by John W. Wayland, 1927, pages 498-501.

one of them killed, and Rachel Dellinger rescued. Her baby had been killed near Capon River by having its brains beaten out against a tree.

In riding from his home to George Miller's, a distance of about two or two and a half miles, young Abraham Bowman had first an uphill ride of about half a mile, to or slightly beyond the present course of the Valley Turnpike (U. S. Route 11), then the remainder of the distance over a rolling, rocky plateau, at that time heavily wooded in most places. It is probable that he was one of the party that pursued and overtook the killers.

Kercheval says that Abraham Bowman was at this time 16 or 17 years of age, in which statement he was probably correct. Therefore, inasmuch as Bowman was born in October, 1749, we may assume that the Miller massacre was in 1765 or 1766 instead of 1764. At the time Kercheval wrote, some 60-odd years after the massacre, there would have been more certainty regarding Bowman's age than the particular year of the tragedy.

Official records show that the Bowman brothers, in the period under review, were active in civil as well as military affairs. Already it has been observed that Jacob Bowman in 1761 was one of the original trustees of the town of Strasburg. A few years later John Bowman was a member of the vestry of Frederick Parish. This fact appears from an act that was passed in November, 1769, by the Virginia General Assembly, to wit:

An Act for reimbursing the late vestry of the parish of Frederick, in the county of Frederick, the amount of a judgment therein mentioned.

I. WHEREAS William Meldrum, clerk, late minister of the parish of Frederick, in the county of Frederick, by judgment of the honourable the general court, hath recovered against John Hite, John Greenfield, John Bowman, Thomas Speake, John Lindsay, William Cocks, Robert Lemen, William Crumley, Cornelius Riddell, Isaac Hite, Thomas Swearingen, and John Funk, gentleman, late vestrymen of the said parish, the sum of one hundred and forty-nine pounds twelve shillings and one penny, for the balance of his salary as their minister; and also three pounds and nine pence, and four thousand six hundred and fifty-five pounds of tobacco, for costs; and whereas the said vestry were also at some charges in their defence; and it appearing to this present general assembly, that it is reasonable that the said vestry, or such of them as have actually paid the said judgments, costs, and charges, should be reimbursed

the same, and such commissions as they, or any of them, may have paid for having the same levied on them: *Be it enacted, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses, of this present General Assembly, and it is hereby enacted, by the authority of the same,* That the present vestry of the said parish shall and may, and they are hereby authorized and required to levy and assess, upon the tithable persons within their parish, the amount of such judgment; costs, charges, and commissions, with an allowance of six per centum, for collecting of the same, to be levied for such person or persons respectively, who shall have paid the same, and collected and paid in the same manner, and under the like penalties, as in and by an act, intituled An act for the support of the clergy, and for the regular collecting and paying the parish levies, is directed.⁴

In speaking of the early ministers of Frederick Parish, Bishop William Meade says:

The Rev. Mr. Gordon was the first; when his ministry commenced and ended, not known. The Rev. Mr. Meldrum comes next, and continues until 1765. Between him and the vestry a long lawsuit was carried on, which terminated in his favour. The vestry applied to the Legislature for relief, and obtained it.⁵

From the famous Parsons' Case of 1763, in which Patrick Henry figured so prominently, it is well known that there was much trouble at that time between the vestries and the ministers of the Established Church. Evidently Frederick Parish, like many others, was disturbed over this matter, but no further particulars about the lawsuit seem to be preserved.

The fact that John Bowman was a vestryman must not be taken as proof that he was then a member of the Established Church. In the parishes west of the Blue Ridge at the time under review half of the vestrymen, sometimes more than half, were Lutherans, German Reformed, or Presbyterians. Except in one or two localities the Anglicans were much in the minority; hence in order to make up a vestry of men representing the best families it was often necessary to make appointments outside of the Established Church. Besides, owing to the preponderance of other communions, ecclesiastical lines were never strictly drawn in the Valley and farther westward. And it should be remembered, too,

⁴From Hening's *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Vol. 8, pages 415, 416, date of November, 1769.

⁵See *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, by Bishop Meade, 1900 Edition, Vol. II, page 285.

that the duties of the vestries at that time were civil as well as religious. On the other hand, inasmuch as the Established Church was the only one in colonial Virginia that had full legal standing, some of the older and many of the younger men of the Valley, who had been brought up in other communions, did affiliate with the Established Church. It appears that at least in later life both Colonel John and Colonel Abraham Bowman were Episcopalians, as were their descendants, at least for a time. Colonel Abraham's son, Colonel John Bowman of Kentucky, was an Episcopalian until he heard Alexander Campbell in one of the debates over which Henry Clay presided; after that he espoused the cause of the reform movement in Kentucky.

CHAPTER IV

JOHN ON THE "ROAN OAK"

The Bowmans as well as the Hites had pioneering in their blood. For them there was an urgent call in the rich lands to the south and the west. The hardships involved in clearing out heavy timber and the dangers that lurked in the wilderness did not deter them. In 1766 or thereabouts Jacob and John Bowman, sons of George on Cedar Creek, shouldered their rifles, mounted their horses, and proceeded to spy out the land. At the same time or soon thereafter they loaded their wagons and moved to the places of their choice. John settled in what is now Roanoke County, Virginia; Jacob went on and located in what is now Laurens County, South Carolina. These facts are disclosed by official records of the time.

On June 9, 1767, an appraisement of the estate of David Bryan was presented to the Augusta County Court by James Neeley, Thomas Barnes, and John Bowman.¹ At that time the region to the southwest, including the valley of Roanoke River, was still in Augusta County. David Bryan, who lived on Roanoke River, where the city of Roanoke has since grown up, made his will on December 18, 1766. Therein he provided for his wife (Elizabeth), his daughter Mary (under 21), and his sons William and David. His wife was made executrix, with his brother William and John McClung as executors. The will was witnessed by Thomas Barnes, Thomas Lloyd, and William Bryan. This will was proved in Augusta County Court on March 18, 1767. William Bryan and John McClung refused to be executors, and Elizabeth Bryan, the widow, became executrix, giving bond in the sum of 2,000 pounds, with Robert Brackenridge, William Christian, and Walter Crockett her sureties.²

These particulars are recited here because of their bearing on the subsequent personal history of John Bowman. Other pertinent citations follow:

On February 19, 1768, John Bowman witnessed a deed of

¹See Augusta County Will Book 4, page 101.

²See Augusta County Will Book 3, pages 503-505.

Andrew Miller to Israel Christian (father of Colonel William) for land on the south branch of Catawba Creek.³ Catawba Creek rises northwest of Roanoke City, flows in a northeasterly direction past Fincastle, and enters the James River at old Salisbury Furnace, about eight miles northwest of Buchanan. The Augusta County Court in June, 1769, recorded a suit of John Bowman against James Bryan on an attachment of January 27, 1768, in connection with which it is shown that on February 19, 1768, Mrs. Elizabeth Bryan, William Simpson, and John Simpson declared that the said James Bryan (Bryant), when he went to Pennsylvania, was indebted to Elizabeth. On November 28, 1771, William Christian, security for Elizabeth Bryan, widow and administratrix of her husband, David Bryan, but since intermarried with John Bowman, asks counter security.⁴ The parties concerned were ordered to appear at the next court and give counter security, or deliver up the estate. No record has been found of their appearance in the matter, which was probably settled otherwise. The pertinent fact here is that John Bowman and Elizabeth Bryan, widow of David, had intermarried prior to November 28, 1771.

F. B. Kegley, in his *The Virginia Frontier*, states that John Bowman was a very important man in the early history of Botetourt County (formed from Augusta in 1769-70): "While living on the Roanoke John Bowman visited Kentucky in 1775, and in the summer of 1776 was at Harrodsburg, where he served as one of the committee of Safety. In the fall and winter of 1776-1777 he raised two companies of men numbering about one hundred under Capt. Henry Pauling and John Dunkin whom he led to Kentucky for the defense of the country, arriving there about the first of August, 1777. In 1779 he moved his family to the new county of Lincoln where he became sheriff and county-lieutenant, and where he died in 1784."

This is anticipating. Let us now return to earlier dates. On July 1, 1768, John Bowman for 180 pounds, sold to Abraham Miller 545 acres, Lot No. 8, on Linville Creek, now in Rockingham County, Va., the same tract that was devised to John Bowman by his father, George Bowman.⁵ This tract (Lot No. 8)

³See Augusta County Deed Book 15, page 68.

⁴See Augusta County Order Book XIV, page 307.

⁵See Augusta County Deed Book 15, page 151; also George Bowman's will in the Appendix of this volume.

on Linville Creek was purchased by George Bowman from Jost Hite on October 4, 1749, as Augusta County records show, and was part of the tract of 7009 acres granted to Hite, Duff, McKay, and Green in 1739. On June 22, 1768, John Lincoln, from Pennsylvania, purchased from the McKays 600 acres of the said 7009-acre tract. Lincoln's purchase, as the description in his deed and the bearings given in the surveys show, lay alongside on the southwest the tract (Lot No. 8) which George Bowman had purchased in 1749 and which his son John Bowman sold to Miller, just nine days after Lincoln made his purchase. In 1773 John Lincoln sold to his son, Captain Abraham Lincoln, 200 acres of his tract, part of which 200 acres bordered on the Bowman land. On this 200-acre tract Captain Lincoln lived and thereon was born his son Thomas, later father of the President. Captain Lincoln in 1780 sold his home place to Michael Shank, and the next fall (1781) moved to Kentucky, his son Thomas then being about four years old.

On August 15, 1746, George Bowman had purchased of William Linwell (now Linville) and wife Elenor 500 acres on Linville Creek, this tract also being part of the 7009-acre grant to Hite, Duff, McKay, and Green in 1739. This tract of 500 acres George Bowman by his will devised to his son Jacob Bowman; and on November 15, 1768, Jacob Bowman sold the same for 180 pounds to Josiah Davidson (Davisson). And in the deed for this tract of land, the grantor, Jacob Bowman, is described as "late of Frederick County in the Colony of Virginia but now of the province of South Carolina Yoeman."⁶

This indicates that Jacob Bowman had moved to South Carolina about the same time, probably 1766 or 1767, that his brother John had moved to the Roanoke Valley in Virginia. Jacob Bowman signed the deed alone—no wife signing. Jacob Bowman's land on Linville Creek lay farther up the stream (Linville Creek), about a mile and a half or two miles southwest of his brother John's tract, and adjoined the lands of Joseph Bryan.

In connection with Jacob Bowman in South Carolina we may present here certain items concerning his uncle, Jacob Hite. As already noted, Jacob Hite lived in what is now Jefferson County, W. Va., which, until 1772, was a part of Frederick

⁶See Augusta County Deed Book 15, page 161.

County. In 1772 the locality became a part of the new county of Berkeley. At that time Hite endeavored to have his settlement, now Leetown, made the county-seat of Berkeley, but failed. Kercheval says:

Tradition relates that an animated contest took place between the late Gen. Adam Stephen and Jacob Hite, Esq., in relation to fixing the seat of justice for this county; Hite contending for the location thereof on his own land, at what is now called Leetown, in the county of Jefferson, Stephen advocating Martinsburg. Stephen prevailed, and Hite became so disgusted and dissatisfied that he sold out his fine estate and removed to the frontier of South Carolina. Fatal remove! He had not been long settled in that state before the Indians murdered him and several of his family in the most shocking and barbarous manner.

The time when Jacob Hite was killed, together with interesting facts concerning some of his property, is revealed in the journal of Nicholas Cresswell, an intelligent young Englishman who was in Virginia at that time. In December, 1776, he was in the neighborhood of St. George's Chapel, near the present Charles Town, Jefferson County, W. Va., and on the 19th he, in company with Mr. James Nourse, a prominent resident, attended a sale of some of Hite's horses. He says:

Went with Mr. Nourse to a sale of Horses, the property of the late Jacob Kite (Hite), who was killed by the Cherokee Indians last summer. Sold amazingly high, a Horse that I could buy in England for £10 would sell here for £40.⁷

Why, we may ask, did Jacob Hite, when leaving the Shenandoah Valley, go to the distant province of South Carolina? Perhaps the question cannot be answered with certainty, but it seems a reasonable guess that the residence there of his nephew, Jacob Bowman, who evidently was named after him, had an influence. At any rate, we may be pretty certain that Hite in moving to South Carolina proceeded southward along the usual trail of migration through the Valley of Virginia, to the Roanoke Valley or beyond, and so, in all probability, stopped to rest for a day or two with his nephew, John Bowman, who was then living somewhere on the Roanoke River or in that locality.

Paul Froman, Jost Hite's son-in-law, also owned land on

⁷See the *Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, 1918, page 177.

Linville Creek, a tract of 500 acres, Lot No. 6, which Jost Hite sold to Froman on October 4, 1749, with Gabriel Jones, John Hite, and James Porteus witnessing the deed.

When the Boones trekked from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1750 or 1751, they stopped on Linville Creek and sojourned there with the Bryans, old friends, as it appears, for the better part of a year. Daniel Boone was then a boy of 15 or 16 years of age. He and his cousin, Henry Miller, hunted and prospected around over the country. Henry Miller located iron lands on Mossy Creek, about 15 miles southwest of Linville Creek. Some years later Henry Miller obtained extensive grants of land on Mossy Creek and set up an iron-working establishment, which was carried on after his death by his sons and others. For nearly 100 years Miller's Iron Works were well known over a large part of Virginia.

How many bears, wolves, and other "varmint" young Daniel Boone found in his rambles over Linville Creek and adjacent territory is not known, but it seems probable that he found at least one deer, whose name was Rebecca Bryan. At any rate, Daniel Boone and Rebecca Bryan were married in North Carolina a few years later, and there is reason to believe that some of the Linville Creek Bryans went to North Carolina about the same time that the Boones did. In 1813 was printed in Harrisonburg a book of 252 pages entitled *The Mountain Muse*. It is an epic poem dealing in heroic verse with the adventures of Daniel Boone, and it was written by Daniel Bryan, of the Linville Creek Bryans, who is said to have been named for Daniel Boone. Some of the Bryans were still living at the old homestead on Linville Creek in September, 1784, when General Washington came by on his return from the Ohio Valley, and noted in his diary his passing by "one Bryan's."

From the old county records it is possible to get a very definite notion of John Bowman's activities in the Roanoke country and of the prominent place he held in his community. On February 19, 1768, he was one of the witnesses to a deed made by Andrew Miller to Israel Christian for land on Catawba Creek.⁸ On June 22, 1769, he was recommended for appointment as one of the justices for Augusta County, along with Matthew

⁸See Augusta County Deed Book 15, page 68.

Harrison, William Ingles, William Christian, George Mathews, John McClenachan, James Robertson, Stephen Trigg, William Herbert, Philip Love, Anthony Bledsoe, John Thomas, Robert Poage, and John Montgomery. On August 16 of the same year he and the others named were again recommended for the same office, and in addition Alexander Thompson, James Craig, Walter Crockett, Andrew Lockridge, Walter Cunningham, and James McGavock.⁹

It seems probable that these men were really being recommended for justices of the new county of Botetourt which was then under contemplation and which was formed from the southwestern part of Augusta by act of the Virginia Assembly in November of the same year (1769). The first court of Botetourt, composed of the county justices, met and organized near the site of Fincastle on February 13, 1770. John Bowman was not present, or did not qualify, on the first day, but on the next day (February 14) he did qualify and take his seat along with a number of others, among them William Christian, Anthony Bledsoe, James McGavock, and John Montgomery. The same day he and John Howard were appointed surveyors of the road from beyond Barnes' to the Bedford line.

Just when John Bowman and the widow, Elizabeth Bryan, were married has not been ascertained, but it was probably in 1769 or early in 1770. At any rate, John Bowman seems to have been a householder or one maintaining an establishment with servants at the beginning of 1770. This is inferred from a record concerning his Negro man Will. The latter, on March 7, 1770, was arraigned before the court charged with criminal assault upon Elizabeth Gray, aged 30, wife of Walter Gray. Will was acquitted.

On March 13, 1770, a commission from the Governor, dated March 2, 1770, was read at the house of Robert Breckenridge (near Fincastle) appointing John Bowman and others justices of the peace for Botetourt County. Bowman and others were sworn in the same day. This seems like a repetition, but William Nelson succeeded Lord Botetourt as governor about this time, and confirmation by the new governor may have been required. On May 9, 1770, the Botetourt court heard a suit of William Bates against John Bowman, "in case." The jury returned the defendant not guilty, and the plaintiff was decreed to be "in mercy" &c.

⁹See Augusta County Order Book XIII, pages 222, 324.

for his false clamor, the defendant "to go hence without day" and to recover against the plaintiff his costs &c. The next day (May 10) John Bowman was appointed to take the tithables from the Stone House to the Bedford Line and between the mountains as high as Fort Lewis. The Stone House was between Fincastle and the site of Roanoke City; Fort Lewis was a mile or two west of the present town of Salem.

And now comes a remarkable incident. On August 14, 1770, the same Negro man Will belonging to John Bowman was arraigned again before the court, charged again with criminal assault, committed this time on July 20, upon the same woman, Elizabeth Gray, now said to be 25 years of age, wife of Walter Gray. This time he was convicted and sentenced to be hanged on the 25th instant between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon. He was valued at 65 pounds, which sum was to be paid to his owner. The record in this case was signed by Andrew Lewis, later brigadier-general in the Revolution, whose home was at Fort Lewis.

All these items are taken from the court records of Botetourt County. To avoid encumbering the narrative, specific references are omitted.

On March 2, 1771, a commission issued to William Christian and John Bowman, of Botetourt, for the examination of Ann, wife of William Fleming, as to her signature to a deed for land in Beverley Manor. The examination was reported. William Fleming in 1763 had married Ann Christian and settled in Augusta County. In 1768 he moved to a plantation named Belmont, near the site of Christiansburg. At this time (1771) he was probably living at Dunkard Bottom, on New River, near the site of the present city of Radford. Mrs. Fleming (Ann Christian) was a sister to Colonel William Christian.¹⁰

On April 10, 1771, the gentlemen justices sitting as the Botetourt County Court were Robert Breckenridge, William Fleming, Andrew Woods, and John Bowman. Bowman was discharged as surveyor of the road and Nathaniel Evans was appointed in his place. On June 11 following Bowman was appointed to take the tithables in Captain Love's company. On August 14 the justices present to hold court were Robert Breckenridge, John Bowyer, James Trimble, John Bowman, James

¹⁰See Augusta County Deed Book 17, page 166, and *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, by Thwaites and Kellogg, pages 428-30.

Robinson, William Christian, Walter Crockett, and Stephen Trigg, gentlemen. Four days later John Bowman and wife Elizabeth made a deed to William Cox for 166 acres of land on Roan Oak. On October 10 Francis Smith, deputy surveyor under Colonel Preston, entered with John Bowman, Gent., from date of June 11, 1771, a tract of land on Back Creek above the entry made by Alexander Boyd, chiefly on the south side of the said creek. Back Creek flows towards the northeast near the Blue Ridge (on the northwest side thereof), southeast of Fincastle. The present N. & W. Railway in passing the station of Lithia follows Back Creek.

Three items in 1772 may be noted. On September 12 the county court sitting was composed of James Trimble, John Bowman, Matthew Arbuckle, and John Robinson, gentlemen. James Allison brought suit against John Bowman, but the jury found the defendant not guilty. It should be remembered that suits in court were the fashion of those days. The catalogues of them in the old records are almost interminable. On November 10 John Bowman was appointed surveyor of the road from the Long Lick to the gap in the mountain, in the room of James McKeachey. On the next day (November 11) Thomas Barnes and John Bowman brought suit against William Campbell. The jury found 7 pounds and costs for the plaintiffs.

On February 8, 1773, an order was entered by the Botetourt Court for John Bowman, James McKeachey, Francis McElheny, and John McAdow, or any three of them, being first sworn, to view the way for a road from Joseph Davis's to John Mason's old place and report. The homesteads of Davis and Mason have not been located definitely, but Mason Creek flows into Roanoke River two miles east of the town of Salem. Mason Cove is on the upper courses of Mason Creek, five or six miles north of Salem. At the same court was presented the will of William Tosh, deceased, by John Bowman, Jonathan Tosh, and James Alexander, the executors therein named. They were granted certificate for probate and entered bond with William Preston, James Davies, and Joseph Davies as their sureties. A Botetourt court record ten years later is pertinent: James Tosh, blacksmith, appoints James Mason his lawful attorney to receive of John Bowman, his heirs &c., title to his part as legatee of the estates of his deceased mother, Agness Tosh, and her brother, William Tosh, bequeathed to him in his last will and in the hands of the

said Bowman as executor and guardian. Colonel Bowman in 1783 was living in Kentucky; his ward, James Tosh, was still in Botetourt County, Va.

In the Botetourt Court, on February 9, 1773, it was ordered that Samuel Lewis, Robert Poage, John Bowman, and Joseph Davies, or any three of them, lay off and allot to Mary McNeill her dower in the lands of her deceased husband. In August court the same year John Bowman and Philip Love were appointed to divide the tithables (taxable persons) who had petitioned for a road from the top of Bent Mountain to Bell's Mill between John Willis and Benjamin Huff, who were made responsible for keeping the road in repair. Bent Mountain is about seven miles south of Salem.

On April 15, 1774, the Botetourt Court appointed John Bowman guardian to the James Tosh mentioned above, under bond of 200 pounds, with Mathias Yoakum surety. In May court he was appointed to take a list of the tithables from John Howard's on a direct line to James McAfee's on Catawba Creek and up the same to the county line, including Little River settlement. On August 9 a commission was produced in court directed to Andrew Lewis, John Bowyer, Philip Love, John Bowman, and others continuing them as justices. On May 10 the next year (1775) the court ordered that John Bowman take the tithables on the south side of Roanoke River.

Here we may leave John Bowman until 1776, when he figured prominently in the autumn campaign against the Cherokees. It is of interest to note that while he was active officially in his county of Botetourt, his younger brother Abraham was participating in similar capacities in the new county of Dunmore (now Shenandoah), which was cut off from the southwestern side of Frederick County in 1772. In the first commission of the peace issued for Dunmore County Abraham was named for one of the justices. He apparently was not present at the first meeting of the court, but on November 26 and 27 (1772) he sat as a member of the court with Burr Harrison, Joseph Pugh, Francis Slaughter, Henry Nelson, and Jacob Holeman. He was probably the youngest of the number, being at this time only 23 years of age. He appears as a justice subsequently on April 28, 1773, again on September 29 and 30 of the same year, and at other times. He soon was to participate actively in the events leading up to the Revolution, as we shall see.

CHAPTER V

JOSEPH ON THE OHIO

It fell to the lot of Joseph, one of the younger sons of George and Mary Hite Bowman, to play a most distinguished part in the history of our country. He died at the age of 27, but with George Rogers Clark and a small band of other dauntless spirits, most of them of his own age or younger, he wrested an empire from hostile hands and wrote his name among the immortals of American history. The great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, with a part of Minnesota, are now a part of the American Union, rather than a part of Canada, as a result of the hardships endured and the victories won by Bowman and his associates. His boyhood memories were fraught with stories of foray and massacre. He saw some of the men who had survived Braddock's defeat. To his father's house came refugees fleeing from painted foes. More than once, no doubt, he had listened to a savage warcry echoing from hill to hill. We may be sure that he remembered well the day when George Miller's little girl came running in terror with her tale of distress and his brother Abraham had hastily armed himself and ridden up over the hills into what dangers he knew not.

Stirred rather than daunted by the perils of the times, he was eager to join his brothers and their kinsmen in high adventure. Why else did he at the age of 21 write his will? Old men wrote wills to die at home. Young men, vigorous men, such as he, wrote them because they were going out from home upon hazardous enterprise.

Joseph Bowman wrote his will on March 20, 1773. The next year he was with the army of the royal governor, Dunmore, in the Ohio Valley, in command of a company that he had equipped, at least in part, at his own expense. This was in the autumn of the year.

As to young Bowman's movements between March, 1773, and October, 1774, we have no definite information, but in 1773 Abram Hite, Jr., Joseph Bowman's cousin, and others descended the Ohio river in canoes to the Falls, the site of the present city

of Louisville, and returned. In May, 1774, James Harrod, Abram Hite, and thirty-odd other men went down the Ohio, up the Kentucky River and founded Harrodsburg in what is now Mercer County, Ky. Two or three weeks later Isaac Hite, brother to Abram Jr. and cousin of Joseph Bowman, with ten other men, joined the pioneers at Harrodsburg.¹ It is a natural conclusion that young Joseph Bowman was with his kinsmen on some of these adventures.

In the summer and autumn of 1774 the Virginians raised two considerable armies to go out against the Indians of the Ohio Valley in what is usually called Dunmore's War. One force of about 1,000 men went out along the Kanawha River under the command of General Andrew Lewis of Augusta County, and on October 10, at Point Pleasant, the point of land formed by the junction of the Kanawha and the Ohio, after a hard all-day battle, defeated a large body of Indian warriors under Cornstalk and other chieftains. In the meantime Dunmore, the royal governor, had collected an army, largely from the lower Shenandoah Valley and the region westward, had marched to the site of Pittsburgh, and from thence had moved down the Ohio and southwestward toward the Indian towns in the Scioto Valley, in the present state of Ohio, expecting Lewis and his men to join him from the Kanawha.

Details concerning the services of Captain Joseph Bowman in this expedition under Dunmore are scanty, but sufficiently definite. James Alton James, in his Introduction to the first volume of George Rogers Clark Papers, published by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library in 1912, says:

In the early spring, Clark, with some ninety other men, as pre-arranged, collected at the mouth of the Kanawha in order to descend the Ohio to settle Kentucky. Since, however, there was general alarm over the threatened hostilities of the Shawnee, and some depredations had already been committed, Clark with his associates selected Michael Cresap as leader and ascended the (Ohio) river to Wheeling. He took an active part in the events which followed, accompanied Captain Cresap on his expedition against the Shawnee and served in the right wing of Governor Dunmore's army. On that expedition were Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helm and William Harrod, men who were to render notable service in the conquest of the Northwest.²

¹See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, page 17; Vol. II, page 517.

²See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, Introduction, page liii.

Following the battle of Point Pleasant and the junction of General Lewis's army with Dunmore's in Ohio, the Governor made a treaty with the Shawnees at Camp Charlotte. At Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) he made another treaty with various tribes. To this treaty the Mingoes did not adhere. According to a letter written by Col. William Christian, on November 8, 1774, Christian having just returned from the Indian country, the Mingoes, having refused to comply with the terms of the treaty at Fort Pitt, Dunmore sent a force against the Mingoes at the site of the present Columbus, Ohio. This expedition was led by Major William Crawford, and among the men with him were George Rogers Clark and Joseph Bowman. In the same expedition or in related operations were also John Harrison, Leonard Helm, Peter Helphinstine, Daniel Morgan, James Wood, and Ebenezer Zane, most of whom were later distinguished in various capacities.³

That Joseph Bowman was a captain in these operations appears from the journal of the Virginia Revolutionary Convention of 1776. On Wednesday, January 10, 1776, to the convention in session at Williamsburg, was presented a petition from Joseph Bowman, praying reimbursement for expenses he had incurred in furnishing necessaries to a company of militia which he (Joseph Bowman) had commanded under Lord Dunmore "in the late expedition against the Indians." According to Bowman's statement in the petition he had expended a total of over \$200.00. From the context it appeared that he had already been reimbursed for nearly half of the total, and he was praying the convention to order payment of the balance. In this session of the convention Dunmore County (Bowman's home county) was represented by Jonathan Clark (brother to George Rogers Clark) and Rev. Peter Muhlenberg. The petition was referred to a committee of which Muhlenberg was chairman, and favorable action thereupon was probably recommended.

From this petition it is evident that Captain Bowman, though only 22 years of age in 1774, was already a man of means and influence. Two days after his petition was presented (January 10, 1776), Muhlenberg was appointed colonel of the 8th Virginia

³See Thwaites and Kellogg's *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, pages 303, 304, 421.

Regiment, later to be commanded by Joseph Bowman's brother Abraham.⁴

On December 7, 1775, as appears from a deposition, Abraham Hite, Isaac Hite, Joseph Bowman, Peter Casey, Nathaniel Randolph, Ebenezer Severns, and Moses Thompson were together, surveying, on Harrod's Creek, in Kentucky.⁵

The location of these surveys cannot, perhaps, be definitely located at present. They may have been near the Falls of the Ohio or they may have been near Harrodsburg. U. S. Geological Survey maps show Harrod's Creek flowing out of the present Oldham County, Ky., into and across the north corner of Jefferson County, into the Ohio River about six miles above Louisville. The same maps show Harrod Branch rising south of Harrodsburg and flowing for a short distance through the northern part of Boyle County into Dick's River, at Frying Pan Bend. In the latter location Captain Joseph Bowman is known to have had land only a year or two later.

As late as 1846-47, when Judge Lewis Collins prepared his history of Kentucky, there were to be seen thirteen names on certain beech trees showing that two Bowmans, Isaac Hite, and others were in what is now Warren County, Ky., in June, 1775. These trees stood on the north side of Barren River, about three miles from Bowling Green, and about a quarter of a mile above Vanmeter's Ferry. On the north side of one tree, skilfully cut with some instrument adapted to the purpose, were the date, June 13, 1775, and thirteen names: J. Newell, E. Bulger, I. Hite, V. Harman, J. Jackman, W. Buchannon, A. Bowman, J. Drake, N. Nall, H. Skaggs, J. Bowman, Tho. Slaughter, and J. Todd. Newell's name, at the top, was about nine feet from the ground, the lowest, four feet from the ground. On the north side of another beech near by was the name of Wm. Buchanan and the date, June 14, 1775. On the south side of the same tree was the name of J. Todd, dated June 17, 1775. On a third tree were the names of I. Drake and Isaac Hite, with the date June 15, 1775, after each, and above them the date June 23, 1775.

These men, it is believed, had come into the Barren River section from the settlements at and near Harrodsburg. "J. Bowman" was probably Joseph Bowman; and, as shown above,

⁴See Wayland's *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia*, 1927, page 77.

⁵See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, page 367.

Joseph Bowman and Isaac Hite were surveying on Harrod's Creek in December of the same year (1775). It is possible that they were in Kentucky during the interval, that is, from June to December. And the name of A. Bowman on the tree shows that Abraham Bowman was also in Kentucky in June of that year.

That Joseph Bowman was active at this time in civil affairs as well as in business and in military operations, appears clearly from a petition that was sent to the Virginia Convention from the Harrodsburg region in June, 1776. It shows also that Joseph Bowman was at that time classed as a resident there, and that he was a leader in the community, along with his brother John, his cousin, Isaac Hite, and others. Parts of this petition, which partook of the nature of a declaration of independence from British authority, are quoted below :

To the Honorable the Convention of Virginia.

The humble petition of the committee of West Fincastle, of the Colony of Virginia, being on the north and south sides of the River Kentucke (or Louisa). Present, John Gabriel Jones, Esqr Chairman, John Bowman, John Cowen, William Bennet, Joseph Bowman, John Crittenden, Isaac Hite, George Rogers Clark, Silas Harlan, Hugh McGary, Andrew McConnell, James Harrod, William McConnell, and John Maxwell, gentn.

The inhabitants of this frontier part of Virginia, who are equally desirous of contributing to the utmost of their power to the support of the present laudable cause of American Freedom, and willing to convince and to prove to the world, that tho' they live so remote from the seat of Government, that they feel in the most sensible manner for their suffering brethren, and that they most ardently desire to be looked upon as a part of this Colony, notwithstanding the base proceedings of a detestable, wicked and corrupt Ministry, to prevent any more counties to be laid off, . . . And if new counties are not laid off, as Fincastle County now reaches and already settled upwards of three hundred miles from East to west, it is impossible that two delegates can be sufficient to represent such a respectable body of people, or that such a number of inhabitants should be bound to obey without being heard; . . . And as it is the request of the inhabitants that we should point out a number of men capable and most acquainted with the laws of this Colony to act as civil Magistrates, a list of the same we have enclosed; and for other matters relative to this country, we conceive that Captain Jones and Captain Clark, our delegates, will be able to inform the Honorable the Convention, not doubting but they will listen to our just petitions, and take us under their jurisdiction.

And your petitioners as in duty bound, &c.

Signed by order of the Committee

JNO GAB JONES, *Chairman.*

ABRAHAM HITE, *JUNR Clerk.*⁶

HARRODSBURG June 20th 1776.

This petition from Harrodsburg declared the loyalty of the Kentuckians to the cause of American freedom and earnestly expressed a desire that their area of interest and habitation be constituted a county of Virginia. The request was acted upon favorably, and Kentucky County was provided for by an act of Assembly (or Convention) passed on December 7 of the same year. An organization of the county was effected the following spring.

The petitioners of 1776 were spurred to effort especially by the fact that Col. Richard Henderson the previous year had made a bargain with the Cherokee Indians for all of the lands south of the Kentucky River, and was proceeding to make grants and issue laws, as proprietor. Virginia soon set his claims aside, but granted him extensive tracts of land in compensation.

Not long after the Harrodsburg meeting on June 20, 1776, Joseph Bowman returned to the Shenandoah Valley. This we learn from a letter written at Woodstock on August 12 by John Clark, a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, to their older brother Jonathan, in which he says:

I have great reason to believe that you may expect him (George Rogers Clark) at your Station before he returns home, they were not then the least Dread or apprehension of the Shawnees and other Indians, near the Cantuck Breaking out. But sence he Left the Cantuck by Capt. Joseph Bowman and other from them Back Countries we have certain intelligence that the Nations are Joined, and are Killing, sculping and Driveing our people from their plantations, in a surprising manner.⁷

When John Clark wrote from Woodstock, Joseph Bowman was evidently in the vicinity. George Rogers Clark was in Caroline County, Va., where his parents lived, on his way to Williamsburg. Jonathan was probably at a military station somewhere in Tidewater Virginia, or farther south.

⁶See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, pages 14-16.

⁷See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 17.

From various items of record it appears that Joseph Bowman must have made rather frequent trips between his old home on Cedar Creek and Kentucky within these years, 1775, 1776, and 1777. He or some one for him must have planted corn on his land near Harrodsburg in the spring of 1777, for on September 11, 1777, a large party of men went out to his place to shell corn.⁸ In October following he apparently was in the Shenandoah Valley, preparing to transport salt pans to Kentucky from Zane's Iron Works on Cedar Creek, for which he had been authorized by act of Assembly on October 14.⁹ Inasmuch as his brother, Col. John Bowman, was concerned in both these incidents, more particulars concerning them will be reserved for a later chapter.

⁸See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, page 513.

⁹See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 25.

CHAPTER VI

JOHN AGAINST THE CHEROKEES

The petition of June 20, 1776, outlined in the preceding chapter, shows that John Bowman was in Harrodsburg, Ky., at that date and a member of the citizens' committee demanding legal status for that region as a county of Virginia; but the following summer found him back in the valleys of the Roanoke and the Holston serving in an important capacity in Col. William Christian's expedition against the Cherokee Indians in what is now eastern Tennessee.

In the summer and autumn of 1776 the Cherokees, supposedly instigated by British agents, made various inroads upon the white settlers in the valleys of the Clinch and Holston in southwestern Virginia. After some preliminary operations of defense, the Virginia Council of Safety, on August 1, directed Col. William Christian to assemble a strong force of men and march against the Indians. Colonels Charles Lewis and William Russell were to be under him. In 1775 Christian had been appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Virginia Regiment, of which Patrick Henry was colonel. The next year he was made a colonel to command the expedition against the Indians. His army consisted of two battalions of Virginia troops and one battalion from North Carolina, aggregating 1600 or 1800 altogether.¹ The army proceeded to the junction of the two forks of the Holston River and camped on an island in the south fork of the river, near the confluence, where Fort Patrick Henry was constructed. The island is about four miles in length and averages about half a mile in width. It is known as Long Island. The city of Kingsport, Tenn., has grown up near it.

The Indians fled upon the approach of Christian's army. Many of their towns were burned and their fields laid waste. After about three months the army returned to the white settlements. Colonel John Bowman was quartermaster or chief officer

¹For a more particular account, see *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, by Joseph A. Waddell, 1902 edition, page 125, and *History of Southwest Virginia*, by Lewis P. Summers, 1903, pages 218-253.

in charge of military supplies for the troops composing Christian's army. Fortunately his account book has been preserved and is now in the possession of Mr. A. Smith Bowman, a great-grandson of Colonel John's brother, Colonel Abraham Bowman. It is "home-made," consisting of eight sheets of paper, 8 by 13 inches in size, stitched together with black thread across the shorter middle and folded along the seam, thus making a book of 16 leaves or 32 pages, 6½ by 8 inches. Eleven pages are blank, and the greater portions of two leaves are torn out. They apparently were not written on. The writing is in a good hand, with ink which is still fairly clear in most places, in others almost faded out. The 22 captains who received supplies from Colonel Bowman each signed a receipt, and all these signatures, with one or two exceptions, are easily legible. Inasmuch as a number of these men were later distinguished, their names are here recorded:

Bledsoe, Isaac	Lewis, Aaron
Bowen, Wm.	Lyle, John
Buchanan, —	Lyon, James
Christian, Gilbert	McClenechan, Wm.
Christian, W.	Martin, Jos.
Craige, Robt.	Montgomery, John
Crockett, Hugh	Robertson, J.
Edmiston, Wm.	Shelby, James
Gilmer, John (Jr.?)	Smith, Daniel
Gilmore, John (Sr.?)	Smith, Thos.
Henry, Andrew	Wallace, Saml.

Higher officers whose names (not their signatures) appear were Col. William Christian, Col. Joseph Williams, Col. Lewis; William Meredith and William Briscoe. The rank of the last two is not indicated except that Meredith seems to have been in command of the North Carolina troops; and Briscoe, who did sign "Wm. Briscoe," speaks of his "Bregade." William Bryan and Alexander McDonald were express riders; John Larkins was Master Drover and William Madison also had charge of drovers; Captain Andrew Henry was Bullock Master General, and William Love signed "B. M." after his name, which probably meant Bullock Master. William Frogg was in charge of the packhorses; William Fallons, of the spies; and Thomas Tate was Wagon Master.

The first dated entry was on August 14, 1776, when Colonel Bowman paid 13 pounds, 3 shillings, and 3¼ pence, cash, to

Hugh Johnson by order of Colonel Christian. From August 15 to September 8, Colonel Bowman made seven other cash advancements to as many different men, to wit, Elijah Dungan, Alexander McDonald, William Bryan, John Robison, William Graham, Francis Graham, and William Love: to McDonald, 2 pounds for express; to William Bryan, 14 pounds, 18 shillings, and 6 pence for express to Carolina; and to John Robison, 7 shillings and 6 pence for "Hooping and Hedding 31 Powder Casks for the Jerokee Expedition." Until September 25 the name of the Indians is usually spelled "Jerokees," later, "Cherokees." In all, from August 14 to September 8, Colonel Bowman made cash advancements amounting to 70 pounds, 16 shillings, and 1¾ pence.

On the 18th of September he began to issue from the military stores, when he had John Larkins sign a receipt for one pound of powder and six flints "for the use of the Expedition against the Jerokees as Master Drover." A few typical entries of like character are subjoined:

September the 19th 1776

Recd. of John Bowman One Baral Gun Powder No. 6—64lb and one Do. No. 20—64lb for use of the Expedition against the Jerokees By Colo. Joseph Williams Order Recd. by

Test	(Signed) WILLIAM NALL
William Bryan	(Possibly WILLIAM HALL)

Camp Long Island Sept. 24th 1776

Recd. of John Bowman Eight pot mettle Kettles for the use of my Company on our march against the Jerokees Commanded by Colo. William Christian Recd. by

(Signed) W. CHRISTIAN

Camp Long Island Sept. 24th 1776

Recd of John Bowman five pot Mettle Kettles for the use of my Company on our march against the Jerokees Commanded by Colo. William Christian Recd. by

(Signed) JOHN MONTGOMERY

Sept 27th 1776 Fort P Henry

Red of John Bowman 20d—20d Nails and 90—10d Nails for Making Pack Saddles for the Cherokee Expedition

(Signed) BENJAMIN DRAKE

Octr. 1st 1776

Recd. of John Bowman 30lb Powder 60lb Lead Twenty six flints 2 axes for the use of My Company Commanded by Colo. Christian Against the Cherokees Red. by

(Signed) JOHN LYLE

Evidently the measure of issue at one time for each man was half a pound of powder, one pound of lead, and one flint. No record is found of the issuing of rifles, powder horns, or bullet moulds—each man no doubt provided his own. The last record of issue is the following:

Octr. 2 1776

to 125 Pack horse Men $\frac{1}{2}$ lb Powder and 1 lb Lead to Each Man $62\frac{1}{2}$ lb Powder and 125lb Lead

Altogether from first to last Colonel Bowman issued $989\frac{1}{4}$ pounds of powder, $1565\frac{3}{4}$ pounds of lead, 1301 flints, 38 axes, and 56 pot metal kettles. On October 1 Andrew Cowan was credited for 50 axes, and Captain Gilmore, Sr., for four bridles.

On the last two pages of Colonel Bowman's book, undated, are lists of horses that were no doubt sold at the end of the expedition. The entries may have been made by another hand, since he would hardly have spelled Bowman "Boman" or Isaac Hite "Isaia Hitte." Under Mr. Hite's name are listed nine mares and three colts. A gray mare and her colt that are described as "half blooded," are priced at 32 pounds. A black mare and her colt, designated as "country bred," are valued at only 9 pounds; but another black mare, country bred, is listed at 18 pounds. Altogether, Hite's nine mares and three colts came to 153 pounds. Mr. Abram Bowman got four mares and three colts for 74 pounds, the highest-priced a large sorrel mare five years old at 20 pounds. Mr. Joseph Bowman has listed under his name one roan mare, 5 years old, 14 pounds; a roan horse 4 years old, 15 pounds; and a bay horse yearling, 5 pounds. Under the name of "Colo. John Boman" are listed seven horses and mares and two yearling colts, his bill totaling 104 pounds and 10 shillings. Names are written after most of his purchases—a bay horse 6 years old is Rock; a black horse 8 years old is Glen; a bay horse 4 years old, listed at 19 pounds, is Snip; and a black horse 6 years old, priced at 11 pounds, is Shawnee.

Evidently the "Centaur of Cedar Creek" were still riding.

As already pointed out, a number of the men associated with Colonel John Bowman in the expedition against the Cherokees in 1776 became in later years, like himself, distinguished. Without attempting to trace the career of each one, we may notice some outstanding facts relating to a few of them. As early as the fall of 1771 Isaac Bledsoe and John Montgomery, with others, had hunted in Kentucky. Montgomery in 1778 commanded a company in the campaign against Kaskaskia. In March, 1780, Bledsoe was with a party of surveyors in what is now Logan County, Ky. He and six others met their death at the mouth of Laurel River in Kentucky, at the hands of Indians, in April, 1793. Bledsoe was then a colonel.² Daniel Smith was one of the first justices of Washington County, Va., as was also William Edmiston. Samuel Wallace was probably from what is now Rockbridge County, Va., and the grandfather of "Big-Foot" Wallace of Texas. "J. Robertson" was, we believe, the James Robertson who later was one of the eminent leaders of enterprise and government in Tennessee, known as the "Father of Tennessee."

Colonel William Christian in 1785 moved to Kentucky and settled on Bear Grass Creek, not far from Louisville. In April of the next year a band of Indians came over the Ohio River, stole a number of horses on the Bear Grass, recrossed the river with them, and were proceeding leisurely towards their towns. Colonel Christian raised a party of men and pursued the marauders. About 20 miles on the north side of the river the Indians were overtaken. In the bloody conflict which ensued the Indian band was dispersed or destroyed, but Colonel Christian and one of his men were killed. His death was much deplored throughout the settlements. A new county that was formed in 1796 was given his name.

²See Summers, *History of Southwest Virginia*, 1903, page 436.

CHAPTER VII

ABRAHAM ANSWERS IN FREEDOM'S NAME

"Who dares"—this was the patriot's cry
As striding from the desk he came—
"Come out with me in Freedom's name,
For her to live, for her to die?"
A hundred hands flung up reply,
A hundred voices answered "I!"

It was a young man's hour in the birth-year of American Independence. Muhlenberg, with his clerical robe thrust back over his colonel's uniform, was 29; Abraham Bowman was 26; Jacob Rinker was the same age; Jonathan Clark was 25; Collan Mitchum, Leonard Cooper, Peter Helphinstine, and most of the others that answered the fighting parson's call were young men. The little log church at Woodstock on that January day leaped into poetry while the regiment that there began to assemble started on its path of history; but no muster roll of the regiment has been preserved. We know certainly only a few of its members besides those named above. Dr. Samuel Gay was a surgeon; Rev. Christian Streit was chaplain from August 1, 1776, for a year; and Abraham Hite, senior or junior, was paymaster in 1779 and 1780. Tradition has it that Abraham Bowman was the first to respond to Muhlenberg's call for volunteers.

Nearly two years before this Abraham Bowman was active in the cause of liberty. On June 16, 1774, a revolutionary meeting had been held in Woodstock, in which Bowman and Muhlenberg were prominent. Extended and patriotic resolutions were drawn up and adopted. From these resolutions we quote the following:

That we will pay due submission to such acts of government as his Majesty has a right by law to exercise over his subjects, and to such only.

That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be governed and taxed by representatives chosen by themselves only, and that every act of the British Parliament respecting the internal policy of America is a dangerous and unconstitutional invasion of our rights and privileges.

That the enforcing the execution of the said acts of Parliament by a military power will have a tendency to cause a civil war, thereby dissolving that union which has so long happily subsisted between the mother country and her colonies; and that we will most heartily and unanimously concur with our suffering brethren of Boston, and every other part of North America, who are the immediate victims of tyranny, in promoting all proper measures to avert such dreadful calamities, to procure a redress of our grievances, and to secure our common liberties.

There were other resolutions such as were common to the period, deprecating trade with Great Britain and the East India Company, the latter being termed "the servile tools of Arbitrary power." The patriots concluded by pledging themselves to each other and to their country, declaring that "we will inviolably adhere to the votes of this day."

A Committee of Safety and Correspondence appointed for the county consisted of Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, chairman, Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, Tavener Beale, John Tipton, and Abraham Bowman.²

Woodstock at this time was the gathering place of notable men. The county clerk was Thomas Marshall, father of John, who was later Chief Justice of the United States. When Thomas Marshall, in 1776, was made colonel of the 3d Virginia Regiment, John Clark, Jr., a younger brother of George Rogers Clark, was appointed deputy clerk. Jonathan Clark, an older brother, who in 1782 married Sarah, daughter of Isaac Hite, was a resident of Woodstock for a number of years and was an officer in Muhlenberg's regiment. Muhlenberg, Francis Slaughter, Abraham Bird, Tavener Beale, John Tipton, and Abraham Bowman were all active and prominent in public affairs. Bowman was a magistrate. Jonathan Clark and Muhlenberg were representing the county in the convention at Williamsburg in early January, 1776, when Muhlenberg (on the 12th) was appointed colonel of the 8th Virginia Regiment, which he was to raise. The convention was in session until Saturday, the 20th. Accordingly, it was almost certainly on Sunday, January 28, that he preached his famous sermon at Woodstock, concluding, "There is a time for

²See *A History of Shenandoah County, Virginia*, by John W. Wayland, 1927, page 198.

all things—a time to preach and a time to pray; but there is also a time to fight, and that time has now come.”

The regiment that Muhlenberg was to raise and command was provided for by an act of the Virginia Convention at Williamsburg in the following words:

And be it further ordained, That of the six regiments to be levied as aforesaid, one of them shall be called a German regiment, to be made up of German and other officers and soldiers, as the committees of the several counties of Augusta, West Augusta, Berkeley, Culpeper, Dunmore, Fincastle, Frederick, and Hampshire (by which committees the several captains and subaltern officers of the said regiment are to be appointed) shall judge expedient.²

In the words of the historian Bancroft, Muhlenberg formed out of his several congregations one of the most perfect battalions in the American army. The regiment was recruited, of course, over a region that extended beyond Muhlenberg's congregations, and, as provided for in the act of convention, others besides Germans were included. Jonathan Clark, for example, was appointed one of the captains. Another non-German captain was Richard Campbell. This is revealed in the declaration made before the Shenandoah County court on August 11, 1818, by Collan Mitchum, who made oath that some time in or about the month of March, 1776, he enlisted in Captain Richard Campbell's company in the 8th Va. Regiment commanded by Col. Peter Muhlenberg. Kercheval says that Abraham Bowman entered Muhlenberg's regiment as a major. If so, he certainly was made lieutenant-colonel very soon. In Henry A. Muhlenberg's life of General Muhlenberg, page 50, is this statement: "Abraham Bowman and Peter Helfenstein, Esqrs., both from his (Muhlenberg's) neighbourhood, were chosen lieutenant-colonel and major of his regiment." It is said that Jonathan Clark was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, but that was probably after Abraham Bowman was made colonel.

According to Henry A. Muhlenberg, nearly 300 men of the frontier churches at once enlisted under Colonel Muhlenberg's banner; others soon followed. From the January Sunday, 1776, when he made his dramatic call at Woodstock, until March, he was busily engaged in recruiting. By the middle of March he

²See Hening's *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Vol. 9, page 76.

reported his numbers to the Governor and was ordered to proceed with his command to Suffolk, Va. On the 21st the march to that place was commenced.

During the next month or two, Muhlenberg's regiment was engaged in the vicinity of Norfolk in resisting the attacks of Lord Dunmore and in removing military stores and provisions from danger zones at Norfolk and Portsmouth. In the meantime British fleets, conveying a strong force of land troops, had approached the shores of North Carolina, and General Charles Lee, American commander in the southern area, started southward, taking Muhlenberg's regiment with him. "This selection," says Muhlenberg's biographer, "from all the Virginia regiments was an undoubted compliment to the military talents of its commander, which had in so short a time brought an entire body of recruits into a state of discipline and efficiency. Lee himself said upon a subsequent occasion that 'it was the strength and good condition of the regiment which induced me to order it out of its own province in preference to any other.'"³

Inasmuch as General Charles Lee was a severe and competent critic, his statement is significant, and it is no less a tribute to the men and officers that made up the 8th Regiment than it is to their commander.

The regiment arrived at Wilmington, N. C., on the last of May (1776). Inasmuch as the British had re-embarked from there and sailed towards South Carolina, Muhlenberg and his men were at once ordered to march down to Charleston, a distance in a direct course of about 160 miles, but much farther by the inland detour that had to be made to avoid the wide rivers and ocean inlets along the coast. The historian Bancroft, in speaking of events at Charleston on June 23, says:

In the following night Muhlenberg's regiment arrived. On receiving Lee's orders, they had instantly set off from Virginia and marched to Charleston without tents, constantly exposed to the weather. Of all the Virginia regiments, this was the most complete, the best armed, best clothed, and best equipped for immediate service⁴

³See *The Life of Major-General Peter Muhlenberg*, by Henry A. Muhlenberg, 1849, pages 57, 58.

⁴See Bancroft's *History of the United States*, Vol. IV, pages 401, 402.

Muhlenberg's biographer has this to say of the same march :

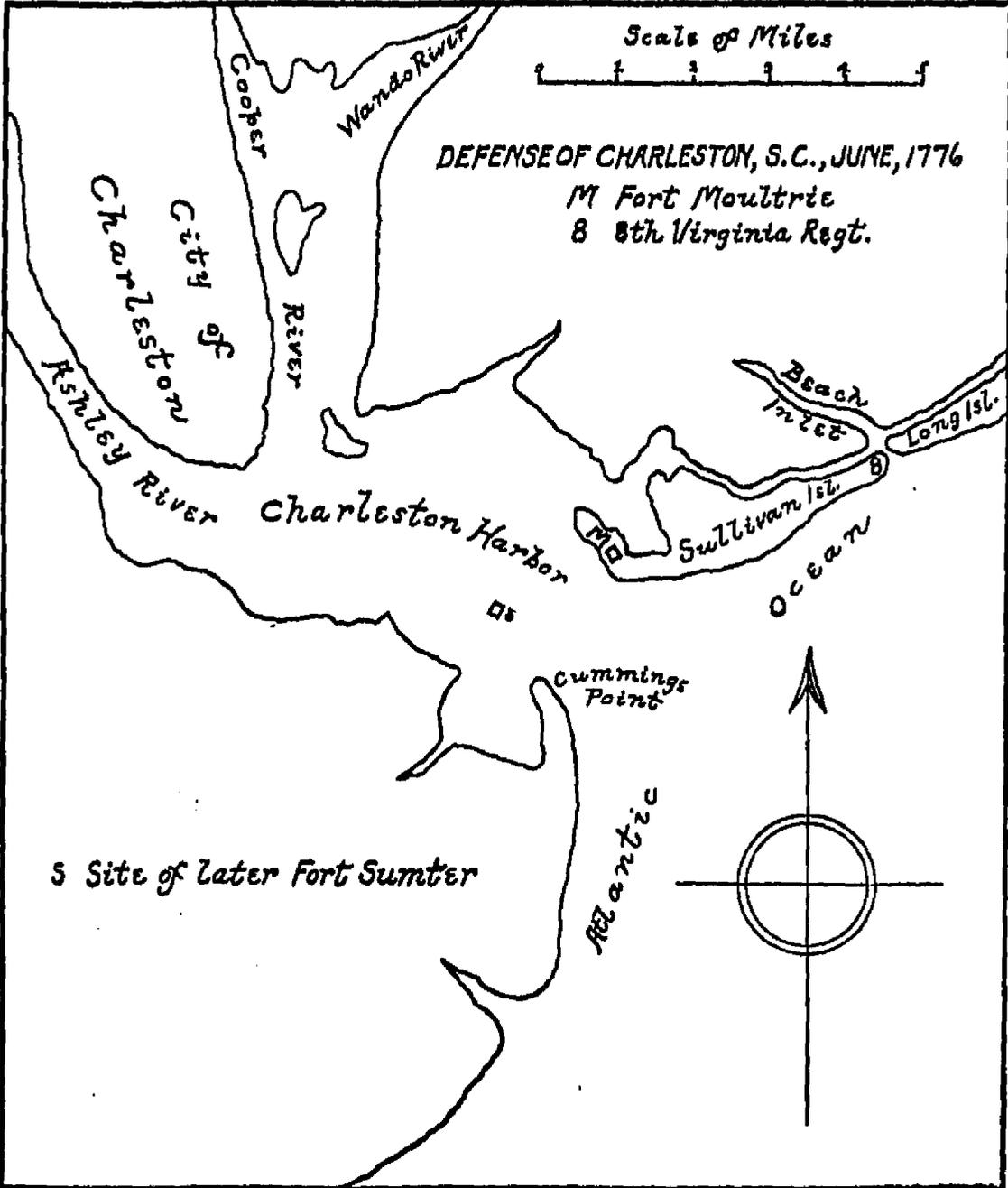
On the 23d of June the regiment joined the army at Charleston, after a long and rapid march, having performed the distance from Suffolk to Charleston in less than a month. This reinforcement had been anxiously expected, and "its arrival," said Lee, "made us very strong."⁵

The distance from Suffolk to Wilmington is greater by 40 miles than that from Wilmington to Charleston, but must have been attended with fewer obstacles, since it was evidently made in a shorter time.

The main defenses of Charleston against the British attack were on Sullivan's Island. This island is about four miles long and of irregular width. Its southwestern end juts out into the mouth of Charleston Harbor on the north side, and the length of the island extends up the coast in a northeasterly direction almost to Long Island, from which it is separated by Beach Inlet, an arm of the sea less than half a mile in width. On the southwestern end of Sullivan's Island, to command the harbor mouth, Col. William Moultrie of South Carolina had constructed a rude but strong fort of palmetto logs enclosing bags of sand; at the northeastern end of the island were riflemen, some North Carolinians under Colonel Thompson, and Muhlenberg's men. While the cannon on the British warships exchanged shots with Moultrie's fort, British land troops tried to cross over from Long Island to the northeast end of Sullivan's Island and attack Moultrie's fort from the rear. This was prevented by the sharp-shooting North Carolinians and Virginians.

The severe attack and the heroic defense by which it was repulsed formed one of the most brilliant and historic incidents of the Revolutionary War. When the flagstaff on the fort was cut down by a cannon-ball, Sergeant Jasper leaped down outside the wall, retrieved the flag, and put it back on a new staff. This was on the 28th of June. For ten hours the attack went on, continuing until half-past nine at night, when the British withdrew. For Moultrie's stubborn defense the fort was given his name, but at the other end of the island the riflemen had fought without the protection of a fort and had kept back the British regulars.

⁵See Muhlenberg's *Life of Muhlenberg*, page 59.



General Lee wrote: "I think it justice to publish the merits of Colonel Moultrie and his brave garrison; and I know not which corps I have the greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenberg's Virginians or the North Carolina troops; they are both equally alert, zealous, and spirited."⁶

Bancroft declares that this successful defense of Charleston saved not merely a post, but the state. "It gave security to Georgia, and three years' peace to Carolina; it dispelled throughout the South the dread of British superiority; it drove the loyalists into obscurity."

On August 13, 1776, Muhlenberg's regiment, by a resolution of Congress, was put on the Continental establishment, to be taken into pay from May 27 preceding.

As soon as it became evident that the British had left the Carolina coasts and returned to New York, General Lee planned an expedition to Florida, where a British officer had collected a large body of Tories, Negroes, and Indians to ravage the frontiers of Georgia. Accordingly, the 8th Va. Regiment, with other troops, were marched southward. They did not get farther, however, than the neighborhood Savannah, Ga., for General Lee, early in September, received orders to join Washington's army in the north. General Lee left, directing Muhlenberg's regiment and the north Carolinians to follow. It was several months, however, before they all got away. Their protracted stay in the tidewater region of Georgia, at the most unhealthy season of the year, had produced much sickness in the camp. Major Helfenstein was one of the officers who became ill, and he died immediately after his return to Virginia. Colonel Muhlenberg himself contracted a disease which ultimately caused his death.⁷

For at least a part of the time that the 8th Regiment was in Georgia it was in the vicinity of Sunbury, which is a town about 28 miles southwest of Savannah, on St. Catharine's Sound. This is learned from the declaration of Collan Mitchum made many years later at Woodstock and corroborated by Colonel Jacob Rinker. At Sunbury, for some reason that has not been explained, some of the Virginians, including Mitchum, were enlisted in the 5th S. C. Regiment commanded by Colonel Isaac Huger.

In the latter part of January, 1777, Muhlenberg was in

⁶*Idem*, page 62.

⁷*Idem*, page 69.

Virginia, with part of his regiment, recruiting as rapidly as possible, under orders to march with his men to General Washington's camp. This was shortly following Washington's successful actions at Trenton and Princeton. On February 23 Muhlenberg at Winchester wrote to General Washington a letter, part of which is as follows:

Sir.

The honourable the Continental Congress passed a resolve on the 21st of last month, ordering that part of my regiment which was still to the southward to return to Virginia, and that all the companies belonging to the regiment should be recruited to their full complement of men, and march to camp as soon as complete. The detachment from the southward arrived here this week in a shattered condition, having only seventy men fit for duty; so that it will be almost impossible to march the men so soon as I could wish, if the companies are to be wholly complete. I have a sufficient number of recruits to fill up the first three companies belonging to the regiment, and hope to march them in about ten days.^a

The foregoing indicates that the 8th Virginia was soon made a part of Washington's army, which operated during the next year or two mainly in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but definite information about the said regiment seems to be lacking. In the spring of 1777 Muhlenberg was made a brigadier-general, and thenceforth his biographer follows him in that capacity and in his later promotions, rather than as colonel of the 8th Virginia; and it does not appear that the 8th was included in the brigade to which he was promoted in April, 1777. This, it is said, was made up of the 1st, 5th, 9th, and 13th Virginia regiments.

Information concerning Col. Abraham Bowman is also incomplete and of a rather general character, but corresponds with what we know of his services in other connections. On May 3, 1943, in answer to an inquiry, the War Department at Washington transmitted the following statement:

The records show that Abraham Bowman served in the Revolutionary War as lieutenant colonel and colonel of the 8th Virginia Regiment. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel, March 1, 1776; was promoted to colonel, January 30, 1777, and his name last appears on a list showing arrangement of the field officers to the several regiments, and the name is borne on this list under the heading:

^a*Idem*, pages 72, 73.

"Field Officers Omitted." This list is dated September 14, 1778, and bears remark: "Supposed will resign."

He did resign, as we know, from the regular service, probably early in 1779. Within the period from January, 1777, to April, 1779, Washington's army fought at Brandywine (Sept. 11, 1777), Germantown (Oct. 4, 1777), endured the hardships of Valley Forge, and fought the battle of Monmouth Court House, N. J. (June 28, 1778), as well as numerous other smaller actions. We may believe that Colonel Bowman in these bore a worthy part. His later services to the American cause were in Kentucky, where he, his brothers, and other hardy pioneers were building up a new commonwealth for the new nation.

In the biography of General Muhlenberg, already referred to, are a few more items of interest concerning the 8th Virginia, which, after the spring of 1777, may properly be termed Bowman's Regiment:

This corps, commonly known as the "German regiment," continued in service until the close of the war. It was one of the most distinguished in the army, and its excellent state of discipline deservedly gave its commander a high reputation as a skilful and energetic officer. . . .

The 8th Virginia regiment was generally known as the "German Regiment." By that name it is designated in the Orderly Books of Generals Washington and Muhlenberg, during the campaigns of 1777, 1778, and 1779. . . . The regimental colour of this corps is still in the writer's possession. It is made of plain salmon-coloured silk, with a broad fringe of the same, having a simple white scroll in the center, upon which are inscribed the words, "VIII Virga Regt." The spear head is brass, considerably ornamented. The banner bears the traces of warm service, and is probably the only Revolutionary flag still in existence.⁹

The foregoing was written in 1848 or 1849.

Some additional items of information concerning the military service of Colonel Abraham Bowman in the Revolution and his retirement from the regular army are to be found in the Draper Manuscripts now the property of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. These are in general accord with the facts already presented. On November 29, 1831, Colonel Bowman

⁹See Muhlenberg's *Life of Muhlenberg*, pages 67, 338, 339.

made a deposition concerning his services, from which the following statements are quoted:

That in the winter of 1775 or spring of 1776 he was appointed by the Legislature of Virginia Lieut. Col. of the Va. regt. commanded by Col. Peter Muhlenberg; that in the month of May, 1776, the regt. was taken into Continental Establishment; when Col. Muhlenberg was promoted to Brig. Genl. I was promoted to Colonel of the regt.; that I faithfully served till after the battle of Monmouth, in June, 1778, when a consolidation of regts. took place, & many of the Junior officers became supernumerary. At that time I was ordered by Brig. Gen. Scott to return to Virginia & call upon the Govr. of that State for money to recruit the regiment. He said the State's quota had been given out before I had made application & certified it on my orders. I remained an officer during the war.

The General Scott referred to in Colonel Bowman's deposition was General Charles Scott (1733-1813) who, after 1785, was also a distinguished citizen of Kentucky.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DARK AND BLOODY GROUND

While Colonel Abraham Bowman was campaigning with the 8th Virginia Regiment in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, his brothers John and Joseph, the Hites, George Rogers Clark, and others were pioneering in Kentucky and the region northwest of the Ohio. Already we have noticed that Abraham Hite (probably Abram Jr.), with James Harrod and James Sandusky, had made a trip down the Ohio in canoes to the Falls in 1773, and that in May of the next year, they, with 30-odd other men, had gone down again and founded Harrodsburg, being joined a week or two later by Isaac Hite (Abram's brother) and nine or ten others. It is believed that Joseph Bowman was in one or more of these parties. At any rate, as indicated by names and dates cut on beech trees, he, with his brother Abraham, Isaac Hite, and others, was in what is now Warren County, Ky., in June, 1775; and Joseph Bowman, Abraham Hite, Isaac Hite, Peter Casey, and others were surveying on Harrod's Creek in December of the same year. It is said that John Bowman also was in Kentucky in 1775. He certainly was at Harrodsburg on June 20, 1776, when he, his brother Joseph, Isaac Hite, Abram Hite, Jr., George Rogers Clark, John Gabriel Jones, and others drew up the petition to the Virginia Convention urging that Kentucky County be formed from that part of Fincastle, and when Jones and Clark were sent to carry the petition to Williamsburg.

Additional particulars are given in a manuscript prepared for Lyman C. Draper by John Bryan Bowman (1824-1891), a grandson of Colonel Abraham. This manuscript is now the property of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. From it we quote the following:

Abram Bowman, my grandfather, went to Kentucky County at least as early as 1775, as shown by the following Memorandum which I find in his hand-writing in an old book, covered with linen, containing a number of mathematical problems, solved, and useful in Surveying lands, he being a practical Surveyor.

"Saturday, July 29th, 1775, Abram Bowman, John Moore, John Jackman, James Nevil, John Followill, Danl. Hawkins, Mr. Douglas, John Gordon, and ——— Beney in company, Started from the Flat Lick, on a branch of Dick's River, and traveled home; and at the said Lick, Edward Bulger & Myself parted from the company, and went through another Lick, about one Mile off, and took a buffalo road that bore a S. E. course," &c. &c.

In 1775, or the early part of 1776, John and Joseph Bowman went to Kentucky. I find that on Feb. 12th, 1776, in an account book kept by Col. John Bowman, that he opened an account with the partnership of Hite, Bowman & Company—a land & Stock company which existed 8 years, consisting of Isaac Hite 2/5ths, John, Abram, & Joseph Bowman 1/5th each; each partner contributing money, Stock, Supplies, &c. to the partnership. Among the items charged are payments for lands entered and bought in 1776 & 1777, including lots in and outside of Harrodsburg, & in other Sections—also items of money paid in February, 1776, for clearing land; and in the winter of 1776-77 one entry of cash is for corn raised by Joseph Bowman, and sold to the company—viz, "corn raised and sold by Joseph Bowman, 31½ bushels at 4/ per bushel."

This was at four shillings, or about one dollar, a bushel.

By action of the Virginia Convention in December, 1776, the formation of Kentucky County was authorized and Clark and Jones were given 500 pounds of powder for the use of the Kentuckians. This powder was delivered to them in the vicinity of Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh). They floated it down the Ohio River. Fearing attack by the Indians, Clark and Jones hid the powder on the Three Islands, some ten miles above Limestone (now Maysville), and proceeded to the Kentucky settlements. A party of nine men on horseback, under Col. John Todd, piloted by Jones, started after the powder but were waylaid by Indians on Johnson's Fork of Licking River, near the lower Blue Licks. Jones and several others were killed. The next month (January, 1777) James Harrod with about 30 men, including Isaac Hite, Simon Kenton, and Leonard Helm, brought the powder to Harrodsburg.¹

About this time Colonel John Bowman, who was still a magistrate in Botetourt County, received his commission from Governor Patrick Henry as colonel of the new county of Kentucky². Here we quote from Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol.

¹See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, pages 466, 467.

²See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 22, note 2.

l, page 250: "In the spring of 1777, the court of quarter sessions held its first sitting at Harrodsburg, attended by the sheriff of the county and its clerk, Levi Todd. The first court of Kentucky was composed of John Todd, John Floyd, Benjamin Logan, John Bowman, and Richard Calloway." The date ("spring") may be questioned; for the Botetourt records show that John Bowman was in Botetourt in the spring of 1777, where on April 8 he, as one of the justices of the peace for the said county, took the oath agreeable to an ordinance of Convention.⁸ And Collins, Vol. I, page 19, tabulates the first court at Harrodsburg in September. It is possible, of course, that Colonel Bowman may have been in Kentucky in March (1777) and back in Botetourt by April 8. Whether the first Kentucky court was held in the spring of 1777 or later in the year, his interests certainly were gravitating towards Kentucky at this time. We recall that he was at Harrodsburg, a member of the Committee of Safety, in June, 1776. And in the summer of 1777, he led 100 men from Southwest Virginia to Kentucky to relieve the settlers there who were being hard pressed by Indian war parties. James Alton James says, "The timely arrival of Colonel John Bowman with two companies of a hundred men from Virginia, saved the besieged inhabitants at Logan's Fort from death by starvation or final surrender."⁴ George Rogers Clark in his diary for 1777 makes the following pertinent entries:

August 1 Col Bowman arrd at Boonsborough

5 Surrounded 10 or 12 Inds near the Fort killed 3 and wounded others The plunder took was sold for upwards of £70

26 Col Bowman and Co arrived at Logans Fort

September 2 Col. Bowman & Co. arrd at this place (Harrodsburg?) Court held &c⁵

Collins (History of Kentucky, Vol. II, page 616) makes note of this court held at Harrodsburg, September 2, 1777, and says, "probably the first in Kentucky." In the act of Assembly providing for the formation of Kentucky County it was specified that the justices were to meet at Harrodsburg on the 1st Tuesday of April, 1777; but it is possible that, owing to the presence of

⁸See Summers's *Annals of Southwest Virginia*, pages 262, 263.

⁴See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page xli; also, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War*, by Thwaites and Kellogg, page 187, note.

⁵See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 23.

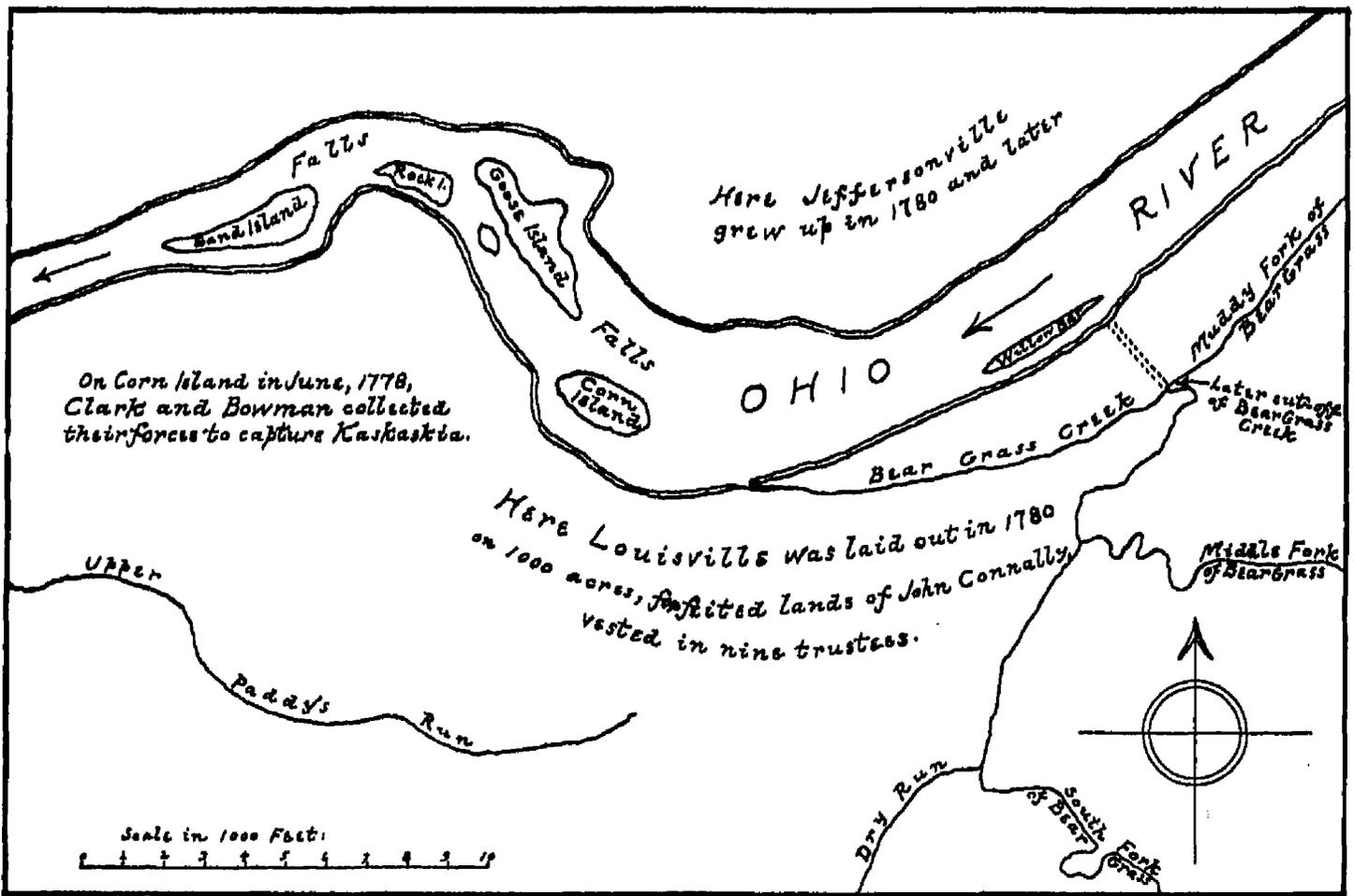
Indian war parties and other hindering factors, the meeting was delayed until after the arrival of Colonel Bowman from Southwest Virginia.

Under date of September 11, 1777, Clark wrote in his diary: "37 Men went to Jos Bowman for Corn while shelling they were fired on a Skirmish ensued Inds drew off leaving 2 dead on the spot & much Blood"

This company of men who went out to Joseph Bowman's plantation for corn, seven miles from Harrodsburg, were in charge of Colonel John Bowman. Judge Lewis Collins, in his *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, published in 1847, page 460, quoting from Dr. Spalding, gives more details concerning the incident. While Colonel Bowman's men were filling their sacks they were attacked by about 40 Indians, who fired from a cane-brake, shooting down seven of the white men, killing one or two. Eight of the party then fled into a cane-brake, where they remained in hiding; "but the rest of them, rallied by the loud cries of Colonel Bowman, seized their rifles, and sheltering themselves in an adjoining cabin, or behind trees, prepared to defend themselves to the last. . . . Meantime, Colonel Bowman dispatched a courier on horseback to Harrodstown, to carry the alarm and to obtain a re-inforcement. . . . In a few hours the expected re-inforcement arrived; when the Indians, baffled in their object, betook themselves to flight. The white men, after burying their dead, returned to Harrodstown in the evening, with their replenished sacks of corn."

Clark says in his diary: "Eli Gerrard was killed on the Spot & 6 others Wounded"; and on the next day he made this entry: "Danl Bryan died of his Wounds rec yesterday"

It is not stated that Captain Joseph Bowman was in Kentucky at this time (September, 1777), but he may have been. He was at Harrodsburg, a member of the Committee of Safety, on June 20, 1776, when the petition requesting the formation of Kentucky County was drawn up, and we learn from John Clark's letter written from Woodstock on August 12, following, that he (Joseph) was then in the Shenandoah Valley. We may assume that he went out to Kentucky again in the spring of 1777 to put out his crop of corn, and he may have remained until the early autumn, returning then to his old home on Cedar Creek; for we have evidence, as we shall see, that he was in the Shenandoah Valley or adjacent parts of Virginia in late October, 1777. The



number of trips that he and his pioneering associates made between the older settlements and Kentucky, in spite of difficult travel and dangers from lurking foes, was remarkable.

The Joseph Bowman farm, where the corn-shellers were attacked by Indians and were rallied by Col. John Bowman, is on Harrod's Run, in the northern edge of the present Boyle County, Ky. The village of Faulconer is in the vicinity. It was here that John and Joseph Bowman erected for school purposes a building or two in which Transylvania University had its modest beginnings.

Edna Kenton indicates that Colonel John Bowman also went back to his home in Southwest Virginia in the autumn of 1777.⁶ Her statement seems to comport with entries in Clark's diary of the time. He states that on October 3 (1777) he and 76 men, besides women and children, started from Logan's Station for the settlements (meaning those southeast of Cumberland Gap). On the 11th they reached the ford of Cumberland River, where they killed two buffaloes. "Indians about us." The next day they crossed Cumberland Gap and camped four miles beyond it in Powell's Valley. On the 16th they reached Rye Cove, and on the 17th they were at Fort Blackmore.⁷ Rye Cove and Fort Blackmore are in the present Scott County, Va.

On November 1 Clark reached his father's home in Caroline County, Virginia, 620 miles from Harrodsburg, and on the 5th arrived at Williamsburg. He was now intent upon the invasion of the British and Indian territory north of the Ohio River, authority and supplies for which he sought from the Governor and Council. Details concerning this notable enterprise are reserved for our next chapter.

On October 25, 1777, while at or near the home of Colonel John Bowman in the Roanoke Valley, Clark made in his diary the following entry:

Received a Letter from Capt Bowman informing me that he had an order of Council to Carry Salt pans to Kentucky & other provn

This letter was from Captain Joseph Bowman. It was no doubt sent down the Valley to the home of Colonel John Bowman in anticipation of Clark's arrival there; and we may assume that along with it was also a letter to Colonel John Bowman himself,

⁶See *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period*, by Edna Kenton, 1930, page 89.

⁷See Clark's Diary in the George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 24.

inasmuch as he was concerned in the salt-making enterprise which was the subject of the correspondence. Details relating to this enterprise are set forth in the *Journal* of the Virginia House of Delegates for 1777-1778, page 109:

Tuesday, October 14th, 1777.

It being represented to the Board that large Quantities of Salt may be made from the water of the Salt Springs in the County of Kentucky, and Colonel Bowman having recommended it to the Governor to order a fort to be erected on Ohio, adjoining some of the said Springs, where he mentions in his Letter a sufficient Quantity of salt might be made to defray the Expense of maintaining a garrison for such Fort, by bartering that much wanted article with the Inhabitants on Monongahela River.

Resolved that the Board do approve of Colonel Bowmans' proposal, and they do advise the Lieutenant Governor to order Colonel Bowman to erect a Stockade Fort at such place as may answer the desirable purpose of affording protection to Persons employed in carrying on a work of such general utility, and to carry the plan into immediate Execution. They do also advise the Lieutenant Governor to direct that a waggon Load of pans, or large Kettles be cast by Mr. Zane and forwarded to Fortpitt, from thence to be sent down to Kentucky with all possible Dispatch.

Also to issue his warrant upon the Treasurer in favor of Joseph Bowman for one hundred pounds upon account to defray the Expenses of transporting the said Pans to Kentucky—the said Bowman entered into the Bond which is filed.

Signed—

DUDLEY DIGGES
JOHN BLAIR
NATHL HARRISON
DAVID JAMESON

Evidently Captain Joseph Bowman had been at Williamsburg on or about October 14, 1777, when he entered into the bond mentioned in the statement by the Board of Public Works. He had written to Clark from Williamsburg or immediately upon his return home to Cedar Creek and the letter had arrived in Botetourt County on or before October 25 when Clark received it. All this indicates prompt travel and rather rapid communication for those times. The iron works of General Isaac Zane, where the salt pans, or large kettles, were to be cast, were located at Marlboro, on Cedar Creek, near the home of Paul Froman, and about six miles northwest of the Bowman home on the same stream. It is probable that some of the pot metal kettles used in the expedition against the Cherokees in 1776 had been cast at

Marlboro or at Miller's Iron Works on Mossy Creek. The latter was about 60 miles nearer to Southwest Virginia. Isaac Zane in 1767 had acquired an interest in the Marlboro Iron Works which had been started prior to 1763 by Lewis Stephens, son-in-law to George Bowman and Mary Hite. During the Revolution Zane manufactured cannon, cannon balls, and other munitions of war at Marlboro. From Marlboro the distance in a direct line to Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh) is only about 125 miles. Captain Joseph Bowman was no doubt able to provide a strong wagon and a stout team of horses for carrying the kettles to Fort Pitt.

Further particulars concerning the making of salt in Kentucky by Colonel John Bowman are not at hand, but no doubt the operations were carried on according to plan. The difficulties attending the work and similar operations on the frontier were such as might appall the present-day entrepreneur. Salt pans were not the only necessary equipment that had to be carried over long distances by great labor. Powder for rifles was also carried to the frontiers in the "Dark and Bloody Ground" across the Alleghanies and down the Ohio; lead for bullets was obtained from the lead mines near Fort Chiswell in what is now Wythe County, Va. Thence it was carried, probably on packhorses, 150 miles to Cumberland Gap and thence as much farther to the Kentucky settlements. A trip from Harrodsburg to Williamsburg, the Virginia capital, required a laborious journey of 600 miles, a distance that would have reached westward from Harrodsburg to a point beyond the present Kansas City.

A graphic picture of conditions in Kentucky in the winter of 1777 is presented in a letter that Colonel John Bowman wrote to General Hand at Fort Pitt on December 12:

They (the Indians) have left us almost without horses enough to supply the stations, so we are obliged to get all our provisions out of the wood. Our corn the Indians have burned all they could find the past summer, as it was in the cribs at different plantations. At this time we have not more than two months bread—near 200 women and children, not able to send them to the Inhabitants.⁸

This year was long spoken of in the Ohio Valley as the "Bloody Year of the Three Sevens." No wonder that Clark and Joseph Bowman were anxious to carry a war of subjugation into the enemy's territory.

⁸See *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period*, by Edna Kenton, page 91.

CHAPTER IX

THE ILLINOIS EPIC

By 1777 George Rogers Clark, Joseph Bowman, and their intimate associates were convinced that the best way to defend Kentucky was to capture the British posts north of the Ohio River, where aid and encouragement was being given to the Indians in their hostile operations. In April of that year Clark sent two young men, Benjamin Linn and Samuel Moore, as spies to Kaskaskia, the main British post on the Mississippi, and Vincennes, the main one on the Wabash. Posing as hunters, Linn and Moore went into the Illinois country, as the region north of the Ohio was called, and spent two months on their tour of observation. Returning to Harrodsburg, they reported that there was no suspicion at the British posts of an attack from Kentucky, and that the fort at Kaskaskia was not well guarded. Besides, most of the inhabitants at Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Cahokia, and other places in the region were French and not very loyal to the British. Clark, therefore, determined to invade the Illinois country and at Williamsburg, the following autumn and winter, he persuaded the Governor and the Council to authorize the campaign. They directed him to appoint captains, raise companies, and appropriated 1200 pounds to defray expenses. Patrick Henry, the governor, went into partnership with him to take up a body of land. This gave the Governor a personal as well as an official interest in whatever made for the security of the Kentucky settlements. Clark was to raise seven companies of 50 men each, but the real purpose of the campaign, the invasion of the Illinois country, was kept a secret.

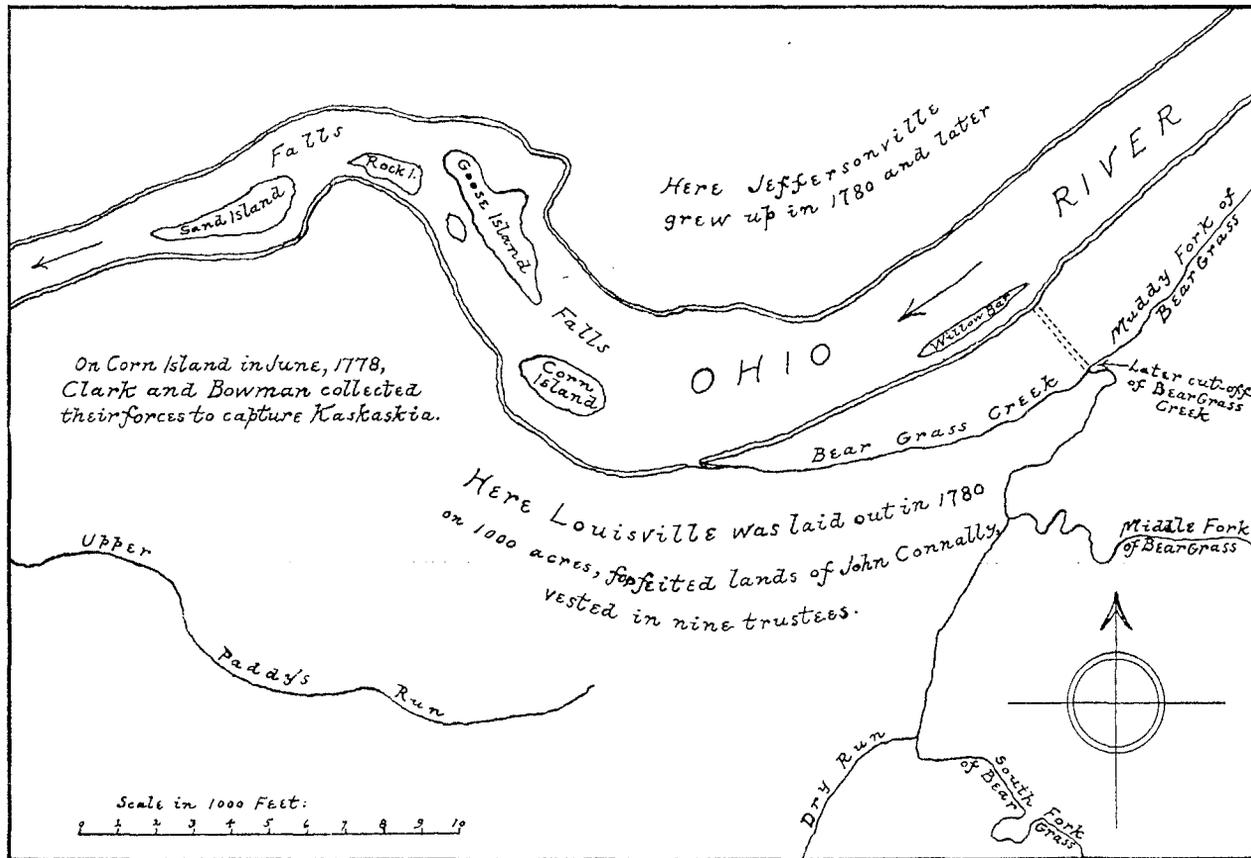
Clark left Williamsburg on January 4, 1778, and after visiting his father's home in Caroline County and spending a night in Fredericksburg, he came up into Fauquier County where he found his old friend Leonard Helm, whom he appointed to raise a company for the contemplated expedition. On the 21st he crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashby's Gap and lodged at the home of Rev. (Col.) Charles Mynn Thruston, who, like Muhlenberg, was a fighting parson of the Revolution. On the 23d he lodged at Isaac

Bowman's on Cedar Creek. Isaac, then between 20 and 21 years of age, was evidently the "man of the house" at Harmony Hall. On the same date, as Clark recorded in his diary, he appointed Joseph Bowman captain and Isaac a lieutenant to raise a company for the new regiment. After several more days with the Bowmans, the Hites, and the Brinkers, Clark started for Redstone and Pittsburgh, where he appointed William Harrod, Benjamin Linn, and others to raise companies. On the 29th of March, 1778, he received a letter from Major William B. Smith in Southwest Virginia, promising four companies.

RENDEZVOUS AT THE FALLS

Recruiting proved slow and difficult. In his report written out the next year for his old friend, George Mason, Clark says: "Many leading Men in the frontiers, that had liked to have put an end to the enterprise, not knowing my Destination, and through a spirit of obstinacy they combined and did everything in their power to stop the Men I had Enlisted." But, he continues: "I was resolved to push on to Kentucky with what men I could gether in West Augusta; being Joined by Capts Bowman and Helms who had each raised a Compy for the Expedition, but two thirds of them was stopt by the undesign'd Enemies to the Country that I before mentioned: In the whole I had about one hundred & fifty Men Collected and set Sail for the Falls."

With their three or four small companies (150 men) and a number of families and private adventurers who went under their protection, Clark, Bowman, Helm, and the others left Redstone on May 12, 1778. Taking on stores at Pittsburgh, the little flotilla of flatboats and canoes proceeded down the Ohio, keeping a sharp lookout for hostile Indians on the shores. At the mouth of the Great Kanawha (Point Pleasant) they were hailed with joy by Captain Matthew Arbuckle and his little garrison who had been attackeed for several days preceding by 200 or 250 Indians. Another stop was made at the mouth of the Kentucky River, where the salt pans that Captain Joseph Bowman had brought from Zane's Iron Works on Cedar Creek were landed. From this point Clark wrote a letter to Colonel John Bowman, telling him of his plan to make camp and fix a garrison at the Falls (site of Louisville); also requesting Colonel Bowman to meet him at the



Falls with what troops could be brought from Major Smith's promised companies from Southwest Virginia and such as could be spared from the several posts in Kentucky.

At the Falls the little army camped on Corn Island, which comprised about seven acres, and on which the families that had come down the river with the soldiers planted out gardens and patches of corn. It was probably from these cornfields that the island took its name. At that time the island was well wooded. Of this island in later years Miss Ludie J. Kinkead, Curator of the Filson Club, in a letter written from Louisville on May 29, 1943, gives the following information: "Afterwards the trees were cut down and indeed later the island was entirely dug away by two cement companies digging cement rock, until nothing was left but a ridge. Beargrass course was changed and empties into the Ohio some distance east of where it did originally. Corn Island entirely disappeared and later the dam was put across the River at Shippingport raising the river to a nine foot stage, and so there is not even a ripple where the island used to be."

To Corn Island Col. John Bowman came with some militia that could be spared from the several forts inland, but none of the four companies promised by Major Smith arrived except one small contingent under Captain Thomas Dillard. When the plan to go down the river and thence northward into the Illinois country became known, the greater part of Dillard's company deserted by wading out one morning before day through the shallow water that lay between Corn Island and the Kentucky shore. But the plan was not abandoned. On June 26 (1778) the little band, that stood faithfully by their leaders, set off down the Ohio. They did not know in any definite way what was before them, but they were willing to face whatever dangers or uncertainties lay ahead: four companies, commanded respectively by Captain Joseph Bowman, Captain Leonard Helm, Captain John Montgomery, and Captain William Harrod. Bowman and Clark were determined to capture the British posts to the north and west—they hardly dreamed that they were laying the foundations for an American empire.

KASKASKIA AND CAHOKIA

Thirty-four days later Captain Joseph Bowman wrote a letter to his uncle, Col. John Hite, in Virginia, in which he tells

of their first month's achievements. This letter starts with the embarkation at Redstone, but it is given here in full, as a concise and graphic portion of the Illinois Epic:

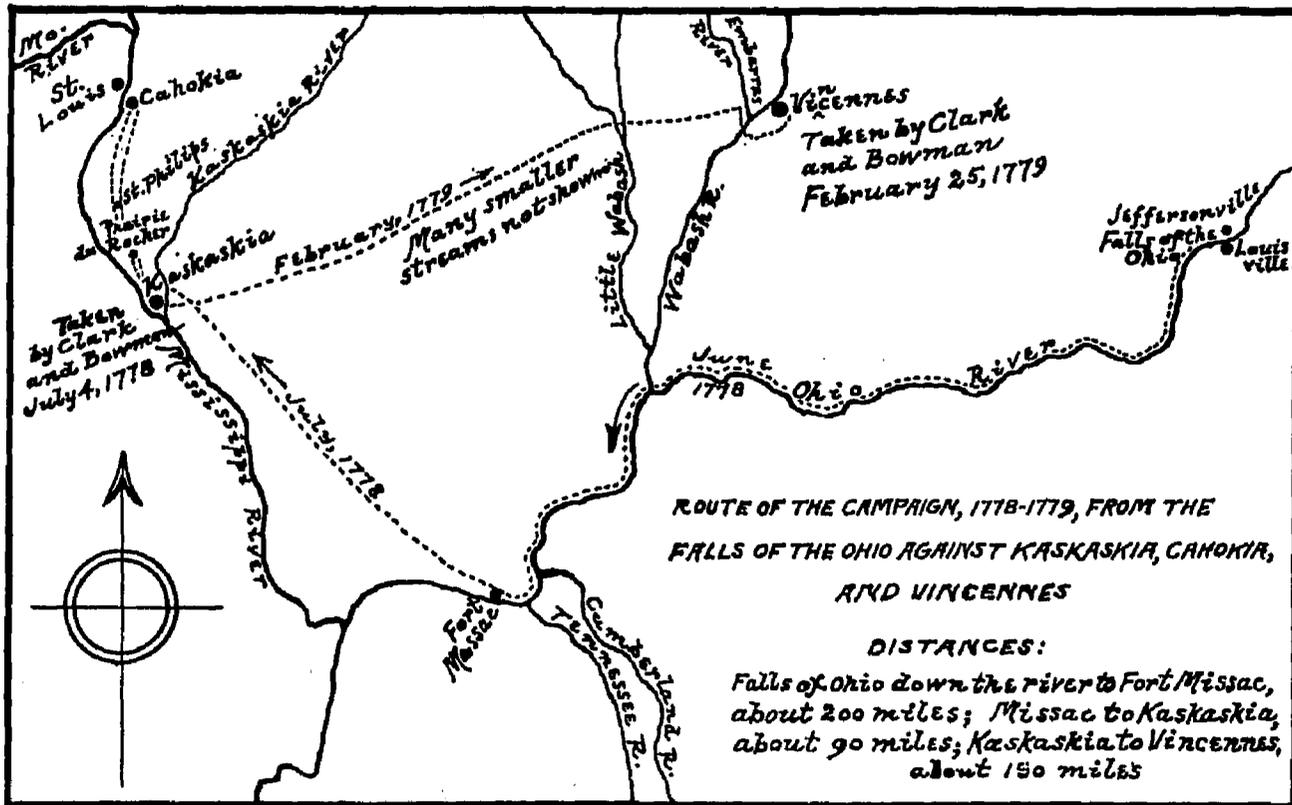
Dear Sir,

I embrace this opportunity to give you some information of our proceedings since our embarkation from Monongahela, till our arrival at this place [Kaskaskia]. We set sail from thence down to the Big Kanahaw, where we found our men had been confined for eight days, in which time there had been an attack made on the fort, by a superior number of Indians, supposed to be about 200; they killed one man in the fort, and wounded one or two more; but finding themselves not likely to succeed in their attempt, they endeavoured to kill all their cattle, and then made towards Green Briar, where I expected they intended to make a fatal blow.

From thence we continued down to the falls of the Ohio, where we erected a small garrison upon an Island, where I left ten or twelve families, with a quantity of provisions, and a few men to guard them. From thence we continued down the Ohio, moving day and night, with about 170 or 180 men in number, till within sixty miles of the mouth; we ran our boats up a small creek to hide them, not having men enough to leave a sufficient guard. From thence we started for the Illinois, taking four days provisions with us, and in six days arrived at the place [Kaskaskia] in the night, on the fourth inst., having marched two days without any sustenance, in which hungry condition we unanimously determined to take the town, or die in the attempt. About midnight we marched into the town, without being discovered; our object was the fort, which we soon got possession of; the commanding officer (Philip Rocheblave) we made prisoner, and is now on his way to Williamsburg, under a strong guard, with all his instructions, from time to time, from the several Governors at Detroit, Quebec, and Michillimackinack, to set the Indians upon us, with great rewards for our scalps; for which he has a salary of 2001. sterling per year.

This town consists of about 250 families, sufficiently fortified to have resisted a thousand men; but coming upon them by surprize, they were obliged to surrender themselves. The next day evening I was ordered by our commanding officer (Colonel Clark) with thirty men mounted on horse-back, to attack three other French towns up the Mississippi. The first is called Parraderuski [Prairie du Rocher], about fifteen miles from Kaskaskias, the town we had in possession; and before they had any knowledge of my arrival, I was in possession of this place, which was no small surprize to them; in consequence of which they were willing to comply with any terms I should propose.

From thence I proceeded to St. Philip's, about nine miles higher



up the river, which I likewise took possession of: and as it was impossible for them to know my strength, the whole being transacted in the night, they also came to my own terms. From thence I proceeded to Cahow [Cahokia], about forty or fifty miles above St. Philip's, which contained about one hundred families; we rode immediately to the commander's house, and demanded a surrender of him and the whole town, which was immediately complied with. I then possessed myself of a large stone house, well fortified for war—I was immediately threatened by a man of the place, that he would call in 150 Indians to his assistance, and cut me off. This fellow I took care to secure, but lay upon our arms the whole night; this being the third night without sleep. In the morning I required them to take the oaths of allegiance to the States, or I should treat them as enemies, which they readily agreed to, and before ten o'clock there were 150 who followed the example, and in less than ten days there were 300 took the oaths, and now appear much attached to our cause. But as this is in so remote a part of the country, and the Indians meeting with daily supplies from the British officers, who offer them large bounties for our scalps, I think it prudent to leave a guard here; and being anxious to do every thing in my power for my country, in order to establish peace and harmony once more amongst us, this will engage my attention the ensuing winter. The inhabitants of this country, upon the Mississippi, have, without any kind of doubt, influenced the several nations of Indians in this quarter, as also upon the Ohio; so that 'ere it be long I flatter myself we shall put a stop to the career of those blood-thirsty savages, who glory in shedding the blood of the innocent. For further particulars I must refer you to my brother, the bearer hereof, and I am, &c.

JOSEPH BOWMAN.

Kaskaskia and Cahokia were the two chief centers of British influence in this region. Both were on the east side of the Mississippi, the former in what is now Randolph County, Ill., and almost opposite St. Genevieve, in Missouri. The Kaskaskia River came down just east of the old town of Kaskaskia, and Clark and Bowman, to attack the town, had it to cross. They crossed at a point about a mile above the town, where they found a number of boats. In later years the Mississippi cut over into the Kaskaskia River above the town, which is now west of the river, but still in Illinois, since the state line remains in the old river bed.

The capture of Kaskaskia took place on the night of July 4, as Captain Bowman relates in his letter, above. The achievement added luster to a notable anniversary. It is said that a dance was

going on when Clark appeared; that he told them to go on with the dance, but to remember that thereafter they were dancing under the flag of the United States.

Clark at Kaskaskia and Bowman at Cahokia did what they could to win the friendship of the whites, who were mostly French, and to intimidate the surrounding Indian tribes, when they refused to accept reasonable terms. On the whole, they succeeded remarkably well. At Cahokia a court of civil judicature was established by election, and Major Bowman, to his surprise, was chosen magistrate and served as judge of the court.¹ Cahokia is up the Mississippi River about 50 miles above Kaskaskia, in what is now St. Clair County, Ill., and almost opposite St. Louis, Missouri.

On July 30, 1778, the same day that Major Bowman wrote the letter from Kaskaskia to his uncle, Col. John Hite, he wrote another from the same place to his brother-in-law, George Brinker, husband of his youngest sister, Rebecca. Although this letter duplicates much that is in the letter to Hite, it relates some additional particulars, and accordingly is reproduced here in full:

Dear Sir—

I embrace this opportunity of writing to you by my brother Isaac, by whom I shall endeavor to furnish you with every particular [of our] progress since our embarking from the Monongahail, until our arrival at this place. We set sail with a plentiful stock of provisions, and continued down to the Big Kanawha; there I found the men had been close confined to the fort for eight days past, at which time there had been an attack made at the fort by a superior body of Indians—appearing to be about two hundred in number. They killed one man of the fort and wounded one or two more, but finding themselves not able to succeed in their attack, they killed all the cattle that they could find, and then made towards Greenbrier, where I expect they intended to make a fatal blow. What has been done I have never heard.

From thence we continued down the river, landing the salt kettles at the mouth of the Kentucky, and proceeded down to the falls of the Ohio, where we built a small garrison on a small island, and stored up a quantity of flour and some bacon. Left eight or ten families there, with a few men to guard them.

Went thence down the river with about 175 men, until within about fifty miles of the mouth of the Ohio, seeing a great deal of

¹See Clark's Memoir, 1791, George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 235.

signs of Indians all along the Ohio. We ran our boats, in the night, up a small creek, to hide them, as we had not men enough to leave a guard with the boats. The next morning we started, with about four days' provisions, and steered a northwest course for the Illinois, and in six days' time we arrived there in the night. We traveled two days without any provisions, being very hungry. Our men were all determined to take the town or die in the attempt.

About midnight we marched into the town without ever being discovered. We pitched for the fort and took possession. The commanding officer we caught in bed, and immediately confined him. His name is Philip Rochblave, a Frenchman, who is to be conducted to Williamsburg, with all his instructions which he has had, from time to time, from the governors at Detroit and Quebec, to set the Indians against us and give large rewards for our scalps.

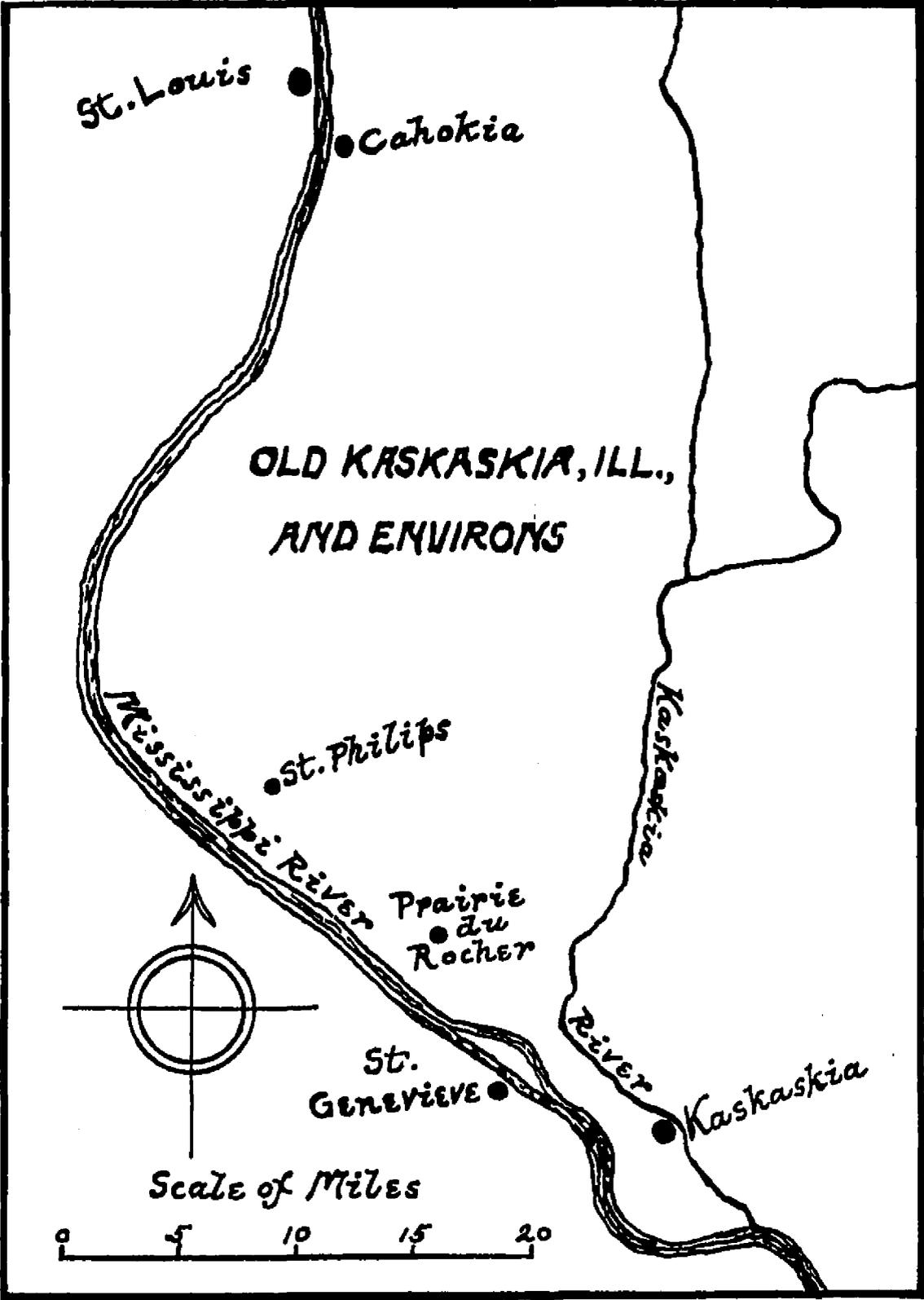
This town [Kaskaskia] consists of about 250 families, and was fortified strong enough to have fought a thousand men; but coming on them by surprise, they were obliged to surrender to us on the 5th day of July.

The same day I was ordered off by Colonel Clark with a detachment of thirty men, mounted on horseback, to proceed up the river Mississippi to three more towns, and lay siege to them. The first I came to was about fifteen miles from Kaskaskia—the town we had possession of—which was called Parraderushi [Prairie du Rocher]. Before they had any idea of our arrival, we had possession of the town. They seemed to be a good deal surprised, and were willing to come to any terms that would be required of them.

From thence I proceeded to St. Philips, about nine miles higher up. It being a small town they were forced to comply with my terms, likewise. Being in the dead time of the night, they seemed scared almost out of their wits, as it was impossible that they could know my strength.

From thence went to Cahou [Cahokia], between forty and fifty miles above St. Philips. This town contained about one hundred families. We rode up to the commander's house and demanded a surrender. He accordingly surrendered himself, likewise all the inhabitants of the place. I then demanded of them to take the oath of fidelity to the states, otherwise I should treat them as enemies. They told me they would give me an answer next morning. I then took possession of a strong stone house, well fortified for war, and soon got word that there was a man in the town who would immediately raise 150 Indians, who were near at hand, and cut me off. I, being much on my guard, happened to find out the person and confined him under a guard, and lay on our arms that night, this being the third night we had not closed our eyes.

The next morning I assembled the inhabitants together, and, before ten o'clock, 105 of them took the oath of fidelity to the states. In less than ten days near 300 took the oath from the sev-



eral towns, and seem now much attached to the American cause. But as this part of the country lies so remote from any other part, and the Indians being always furnished here with goods by the British officers, and offering large rewards for our scalps . . . this place without a commander, and being willing to do every thing in my power for the good of my country in order to establish peace and harmony once more amongst us, has engaged my attention for the ensuing winter.

The inhabitants in this country, along the river Mississippi, have had, without any kind of doubt, the whole influence over several nations in this quarter, as well as along the river Ohio. I can assure you that since the commencement of this war, trade up this river has never. . . It is evident that the said Philip Rocheblave has done everything in his power to set the Indians against us, and they are only too apt to accept of such offers. I am in hopes that his correspondence with them is entirely at an end, and wish that the executive power of Virginia may deal in the most severe terms with him, as no punishment can be too severe for the barbarity of his former proceedings.

As for any other particulars, I must refer you to my brother Isaac. I am sorry that it is not in my power to hear from you, but as I am now at the distance of about twelve or thirteen hundred miles [round trip] from home, I can't much expect to hear from you or any other of my friends, but if any opportunity should offer, I should expect to be furnished with every particular with regard to the news from the northward, or our present circumstances in general.

I, therefore, conclude, wishing you all the blessings of God.
Your most affectionate friend and very humble servant,

JOS. BOWMAN

A few words in the above letter were illegible, as indicated by the dots. Both these letters, the one to Col. John Hite and the one to George Brinker, were sent from Kaskaskia by Major Joseph Bowman in the hands of his brother Isaac, who was a lieutenant in Joseph's company on the expedition and was one of the guard sent with Rocheblave to conduct him to Williamsburg. From Williamsburg Isaac came up to his old home on Cedar Creek before returning to the West. It is not known that the originals of these letters are now in existence. Copies were made many years ago. They were printed in 1912 in the first volume of the George Rogers Clark papers published by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, at Springfield. The letter to Colonel Hite is credited to Almon's *Remembrancer*, the one

to George Brinker was copied from English's "Conquest of the Northwest," Vol. I, page 558.

As soon as Kaskaskia and Cahokia were well in the possession of Clark and Bowman, a number of the Virginians were anxious to return home, and some did return. Clark says, in the account of the campaign that he wrote from Louisville the next year, that by presents and promises he prevailed on about 100 to remain with him. Those who insisted on leaving were sent along with Rocheblave to guard him on his way to Williamsburg. A number of the Frenchmen at Kaskaskia and Cahokia volunteered to serve with the Americans, and in a short time Clark and Bowman had about as many men under their command as they had brought with them in July. Gabriel Cerré, a merchant and man of influence around Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and Francis Vigo, a man prominent at Vincennes and in the region round about, were of great assistance to Clark and Bowman, as was Father Gibault, a French priest. Vincennes was found to be open to occupation, with the people friendly to the American cause, and Captain Helm was sent there to take command. It was not long, however, until Henry Hamilton, with a strong force from Detroit, came down and took Vincennes, making Captain Helm and the few men with him prisoners; and early in the winter he sent a company of men over towards Kaskaskia in an effort to capture Clark. Although this attempt failed, Clark and Bowman were convinced that Hamilton would come over with a strong force early the next spring. Their efforts to obtain reinforcements from Virginia, Kentucky, and Pittsburgh brought no substantial aid. They decided that their only chance for further success, indeed for safety, was to capture Vincennes during the winter, before Hamilton should take the field against them in the spring.

VICTORY AT VINCENNES

The capture of Vincennes was an undertaking that was difficult enough in a mild season, and with a large and well equipped force. In the winter, with fewer than 200 men, it was a task to dismay any but the stoutest hearts. To reach Vincennes from Kaskaskia it was necessary to march across the present state of Illinois. With the numerous rivers and smaller streams flooded out of their banks or frozen over with ice, the difficulty

of carrying a sufficient supply of provisions and of getting a supply on the way, success could be hoped for only with great hardship and suffering. But undeterred by the forbidding prospect, those bold adventurers laid their plans and proceeded to put them into execution. A large boat or batteau was fitted out with two four-pound cannon, four swivel guns, ammunition, etc., with a crew of 46 men under command of Lieut. John Rogers. This boat was to go down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, up that river to the mouth of the Wabash, and then up the Wabash to meet the force coming overland from Kaskaskia. These operations, with details of the ensuing campaign, are narrated in the two accounts written by Clark, one in 1779, the other in 1790-91, but the most concise and graphic account is given in the journal of Major Joseph Bowman, which is quoted in full below. In this transcription some of the abbreviations are written out in full, present-day spelling is followed, and certain punctuation marks supplied, in order to make the narrative more easily readable.

A Journal of Col. G. R. Clark's proceedings from the 29th January, 1779, to the 20th March instant [1779].

Mr. Vigo, a Spanish subject who has been at Post St. Vincent [Vincennes] on his lawful business, arrived and gave us intelligence that Governor Hamilton and thirty regulars, with fifty French volunteers and about 400 Indians, had come last November and took that fort with Captain Helm and several other Americans, who were there with a number of horses designed for the settlement of Kentucky, &c.

30th, on which Col. Clark called a council with his officers and it was concluded to go and attack Govr. Hamilton at all events [for fear] if it was let alone till the spring that he with his Indians would undoubtedly cut us all off.

31, Sent an express to Cahokia for the volunteers. . . . [A company or two of Frenchmen, "Creoles," went with Clark and Bowman against Vincennes.]

Feby. 1st, Orders given for a large batteau to be repaired and provisions got ready for the expedition; concluded on—

2nd, A pack horse master appointed and orders to prepare pack saddles, &c.

3rd, The galley or batteau finished—called her the *Willing*; put the loading on board together with two four-pounders and four swivels, ammunition, &c.

4th, About ten o'clock Capt. McCarty arrived with a company

of volunteers from Cahokia, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the batteau set off under the command of Lieut. Rogers, with 46 men, with orders to proceed to a certain station near Vincennes till further orders.

5th, Raised another company of volunteers under the command of Capt. Francis Charleville, which added to our force and increased our number to 170, including the artillery [on the *Willing?*], pack-horsemen, &c. About three o'clock crossed the Kaskaskia River with our baggage and marched about a league from the town. Rainy and drizzly weather.

7th, Began our march early; made a good day's march for about nine hours [nine *leagues* in one copy]—the roads very bad with mud and water. Pitched our camp in a square, baggage in the middle; every company to guard their own square.

8th, Marched early through the water, which we now began to meet in those large and level plains where, from the flatness of the country, the water rests a considerable time before it drains off; notwithstanding, our men were in great spirits, though much fatigued.

9th, Made a moderate day's march; rained most of the day.

10th, Crossed the River of the Petit Ford upon trees that we felled for that purpose, the water being so high there was no fording it. Still raining and no tents. Encamped near the river. Stormy, &c.

11th, Crossed the Saline River. Nothing extraordinary this day.

12th, Marched across bad plain [in another copy, Cot Plains]; saw and killed numbers of buffaloes; the roads very bad from the immense quantity of rain that had fallen; the men much fatigued. Encamped at the edge of the wood, this plain or meadow being fifteen or more miles across. It was late in the night before the troops and baggage got together. Now 21 leagues from Vincennes. [Another copy says "21 miles." The distance was about 50 miles.]

13th, Arrived early at the two Wabashes. Although a league asunder, they now made but one. We set to make a canoe. [These were two branches of the Little Wabash River, probably at the northern end of the line that now divides the counties of Wayne and Edwards, Ill.]

14th, Finished the canoe and put her in the water about four o'clock in the afternoon.

15th, Ferried across the two Wabashes with it—being then five miles in water to the opposite hills, where we encampd. Still raining. Orders given to fire no guns in future except in case of necessity.

16th, Marched all day through rain and water. Crossed the second river. [Probably Boppas, or Bonpas, Creek.] Our provisions began to grow short.

17th, Marched early; crossed several rivers, very deep. Sent Mr. Kennedy (our commissary) with three men to cross the river Embarras, to endeavor to cross if possible and proceed to a plantation [opposite] Vincennes in order to steal boats or canoes to ferry us across the Wabash. About one hour before sunset we got near the river Embarras; found the country all overflowed. We strove to find the Wabash. Traveled till 8 o'clock in mud and water, but could find no place to encamp on. Still kept marching on, but after some time Mr. Kennedy and his party returned. Found it impossible to cross the Embarras River. We found the water fallen from a small spot of ground; staid there the remainder of the night. Drizzly and dark weather.

18th, At break of day heard Govr. Hamilton's morning gun; set off and marched down the river; saw some fine land. About 2 o'clock came to the bank of the Wabash; made rafts for 4 men to cross and go up to town [Vincennes], and steal boats, but they spent the day and night in the water to no purpose, for there was not one foot of dry land to be found.

[The little army had probably struck the Embarras River near the center of the present Lawrence County, Ill. They followed down its west bank, out of banks, to its mouth, where it enters the Wabash.]

19th, Captain McCarty's company set to making a canoe, and at three o'clock the 4 men returned after spending the night on some old logs in the water. The canoe finished, Captain McCarty, with three of his men, embarked in the canoe and made the next attempt to steal boats, but he soon returned, having discovered four large fires about a league distance from our camp, and seemed to him to be fires of whites and Indians. Immediately Colonel Clark sent two men in the said canoe down to meet the batteau, with orders to come on day and night, that being our last hope. Starving. Many of the men much cast down, particularly the volunteers. No provisions of any sort. Now two days hard fortune.

20th, Camp very quiet, but hungry; some almost in despair. Many of the Creole volunteers talking of returning. Fell to making more canoes, when about 12 o'clock our sentry on the river brought to a boat with 5 Frenchmen from Vincennes, who told us we were not yet discovered; that the inhabitants were well disposed toward us, &c. Captain Williams's brother (who was taken in the fort) had made his escape—also to us; one Maisonville with a party of Indians were 7 days in pursuit of him—with much news—more news in our favor, such as the repairs done to the fort, the strength, &c. They informed us of two canoes they had seen adrift at some distance above us—ordered Captain Worthington with a party to go in search of the canoes; returned late with one only. One of our men killed a deer, which was distributed in camp—very acceptable.

21st, At break of day began to ferry our men over in our two

canoes to a small little hill called the lower Mamell (or Bubbie). Captain Williams with two men went to look for a passage, but were discovered by two men in a canoe, but could not fetch them to. The whole army being over, we thought to get to town that night, so plunged into the water, sometimes to the neck, for more than one league, when we stopped on the second hill of the same name, there being no dry land near us on one side for many leagues. Our pilots say we cannot get along, that it was impossible. The whole of the army being over, we encamped. Rain all this day. No provisions.

22nd, Col. Clark encourages his men, which gave them great spirits. Marched on in the water, those that were weak and faintish from so much fatigue went in the canoes. We came one league farther to some sugar camps, where we staid all night. Heard the evening and morning guns from the fort. No provisions yet. Lord help us!

23rd, Set off to cross a plain called Horse Shoe Plain, about 4 miles long, covered with water breast high. Here we expected some of our brave men must certainly perish, having froze in the night, and so long fasting, and no other resources but wading this plain or rather a lake of water. We pushed into it with courage, Col. Clark being the first, taking care to have the boats close by to take those that were weak and benumbed (with the cold) into them. Never were men so animated with the thoughts of revenging the wrongs done to their back settlements as this small army was. About one o'clock we came in sight of the town. We halted on a small knoll of dry land, called Warriors Island, where we took a prisoner that was hunting ducks, who informed us that no person suspecting our coming in that season of the year. Col. Clark wrote a letter to the inhabitants in the following terms—

To the Inhabitants of Post Vincent

Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village, with my army determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprize you, I take this step to request of such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses, and those (if any there be), that are friends to the King will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer General and fight like men; and if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment; on the contrary, those that are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request they shall keep out of the streets, for every person I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

Signed, G. R. CLARK.

In order to publish this letter, we lay still to about sundown, when we began our march all in order, with colors flying and drums brased. After wading to the edge of the town in water breast high,

we mounted the rising ground the town is built on about 8 o'clock. Lieut. Bayly with 14 regulars was detached to fire on the fort, while we took possession of the town, and ordered to stay till he was relieved by another party, which was soon done. Reconnoitred about to find out a place to throw up an entrenchment; found one, and set Captain Bowman's company to work. Soon crossed the main street about 120 yards from the fort gate.

We were informed that Capt. Lamoth with a party of 25 men were out on a scout, who heard our firing and came back. We sent a party to intercept them, but missed them; however, we took one of their men and one Capt. Maisonville, a principal man, the rest making their escape under cover of the night into the fort. Smart firing all night on both sides; the cannon (in the fort) played smartly, but not one of our men wounded. Seven men in the fort badly wounded—fine sport for the sons of Liberty.

(Clark and Bowman, with their men, crossed to the east side of the Wabash seven or eight miles below Vincennes, and made a circuit to the northeast side of the town, entering from that side. In the attack on the fort, Bowman's company took position under the river bank at the foot of Busseron Street and Main Street, and were thus able to work down under the bank to a point within easy rifle range of the fort. Whenever an embrasure was opened for the firing of a cannon, the marksmen along the river bank, and in other positions, fired in.)

24th, As soon as daylight the fort began to play her small arms very briskly. One of our men slightly wounded. About 9 o'clock the Colonel sent a flag to Govr. Hamilton. The firing then ceased, during which time our men were provided with a breakfast, it being the only meal of victuals since the 18th instant.

Col. Clark's letter as follows:

Sir: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you to immediately surrender yourself up with all your garrison, stores, &c., &c., for if I am obliged to storm, you may depend upon such treatment justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that is in your possession, or hurting one house in the town, for, by heavens, if you do there shall be no mercy shown you.

Signed, G. R. CLARK.

Answer from Govr. Hamilton:

Govr. Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark that he and his garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects.

H. HAMILTON.

The firing then began very hot on both sides. None of our men wounded. Several of the men in the fort wounded through the port

holes, which caused Govr. Hamilton to send out a flag with the following letter, viz.:

Lt. Govr. Hamilton proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days, during which time he promises there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition Col. Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any offensive work; that he wishes to confer with Col. Clark as soon as can be, and further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any other person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain a secret till matters be finally concluded, as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference, may be to the honor and credit of each party. If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lt. Govr. Hamilton will speak to him before the gate. 24th Feb'y, 1779.

Col. Clark's answer:

Col. Clark's compliments to Mr. Hamilton, and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and garrison prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Col. Clark he will meet him at the church with Capt. Helms. 24th Feb'y, 1779.

(Captain Leonard Helm was still a prisoner with Hamilton.)

The messenger returned with the above answer, during which time there came a party of Indians down the hills behind the town, who had been sent by Govr. Hamilton to get some scalps and prisoners from the falls of Ohio. Our men having got news of it, pursued them, killed two on the spot, wounded three; took 6 prisoners, brought them into town, two of them proving to be white men that they took prisoners. We released them and brought the Indians to the main street before the fort gate, there tomahawked them and threw them into the river—during which time Govr. Hamilton and Col. Clark met at the church. Govr. Hamilton produced certain articles of capitulation with his name signed to it, which was refused. The Colonel told him he would consult with his officers and let him know the terms on which capitulate on, as follows:

1. That Lt. Govr. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present, with all stores, &c.
2. The garrison are to deliver themselves prisoners of war and march out with their arms and accoutrements, &c.
3. The garrison to be delivered up tomorrow at ten o'clock.
4. Three days time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the traders and inhabitants of this place.
5. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, &c.

Signed at Post Vincent 24th Feb'y, 79. Agreed to for the following reasons: The remoteness of succor, the state and quantity of provisions, &c., the unanimity of officers and men on its ex-

pediency, the honorable terms allowed, and lastly the confidence in a generous enemy.

HENRY HAMILTON, L. GOVR.
& SUPR. INTENDT.

25th, About 10 o'clock Captain Bowman and Captain McCarty's companies paraded on the one side of the fort gate. Governor Hamilton and his garrison marched out, whilst Colonel Clark, Captains Williams and Worthington's companies marched into the fort, relieved the sentries, hoisted the American colors—secured all their arms. Govr. Hamilton marched back to the fort—shut the gates. Orders for 13 cannon to be fired, during which time there happened a very unlucky accident, for through mismanagement there blew up 26 six-pound cartridges in one of the batteries, which much burnt Captain Bowman, Captain Worthington, and four more men very much.

No account of our boat as yet.

26th, Rain all day. Capt. Helm, Bosseron, Henry, and Major Le Gras, with 50 men, of the militia, ordered to proceed up the river, with 3 boats with a swivel in each, to meet 10 boats that were sent in December last for provisions and stores to Omi (Miami), to take the same in custody.

27th, The *Willing*, our batteau, arrived, to the great mortification of all on board, that they had not the honor to assist us in the same. Came William Myers, express from Williamsburg, with very good news—Capt. Bowman receives a major's commission inclosed from the Governor.

(The governor issuing this commission to Major Joseph Bowman was probably Patrick Henry, though he was succeeded about this time or soon thereafter by Thomas Jefferson as governor. At any rate, the name of the fort captured at Vincennes, Fort Sackville, was now changed to Fort Patrick Henry. Joseph Bowman's promotion to major was no doubt due to his outstanding services at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and was doubly merited by his achievements in the campaign against Vincennes.)

28th, Nothing extraordinary.

March 1st, The officers discharged on parole; nothing extraordinary.

2nd, 3rd, and 4th, Wet weather.

5th, About 10 o'clock Capt. Helm arrived with his party. Took seven boats laden with provisions, bale goods, &c., taken from the enemy, with the following prisoners: Mr. Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, Mr. Adhemar, Commissary, with 38 privates. Letters that were taken from the commissary, dated at Detroit the 6th February, say that they are much afraid of our people—in the spring pray Govr. Hamilton to come back again. War was not yet declared

between France and England. This (day) sent off a party of volunteers to Kaskaskia.

6th, A very rainy day—nothing extraordinary.

7th, Captain Williams and Lieut. Rogers, with 25 men, set off for the falls of the Ohio to conduct the following prisoners: viz.: Lieut. Govr. Hamilton, Major Hay, Capt. Lamothe, Mons. Dejean, Grand Judge of Detroit, Lieut. Shiffin, Dr. McBeth, Francois Maisenville, Mr. Bellefeuille, with 18 privates.

8th to the 14th, Cloudy weather and rain all the foregoing week. This morning William Myers set out for Williamsburg with two men.

15th, A party of Piankashaws, Peorians, and Miami Indians wait on Col. Clark and assure him of fidelity &c. to the Americans and beg their protection.

In the meantime an express arrived from Kaskaskia by which we learn that Capt. (Robert) George with 41 men were arrived there from New Orleans and took command of Fort Clark, and also that Capt. James Willing had resigned his company to said Capt. George and that he and Capt. (Alexander) McIntire had embarked for Philadelphia.

William Myers returned, not being able to go by land to the falls of the Ohio—the country overflowed with water—so took a canoe and three men and went by water. (He went down the Wabash to its mouth, 50 miles, then up the Ohio, 150 miles, to the Falls (site of Louisville). He reached the Falls, but four miles up the Bear Grass Creek from there, on April 4, he met tragedy.)

16th, Most of the prisoners took the oath of neutrality and got permission to set out for Detroit. Sent by them a copy of the Alliance between the United States and France.

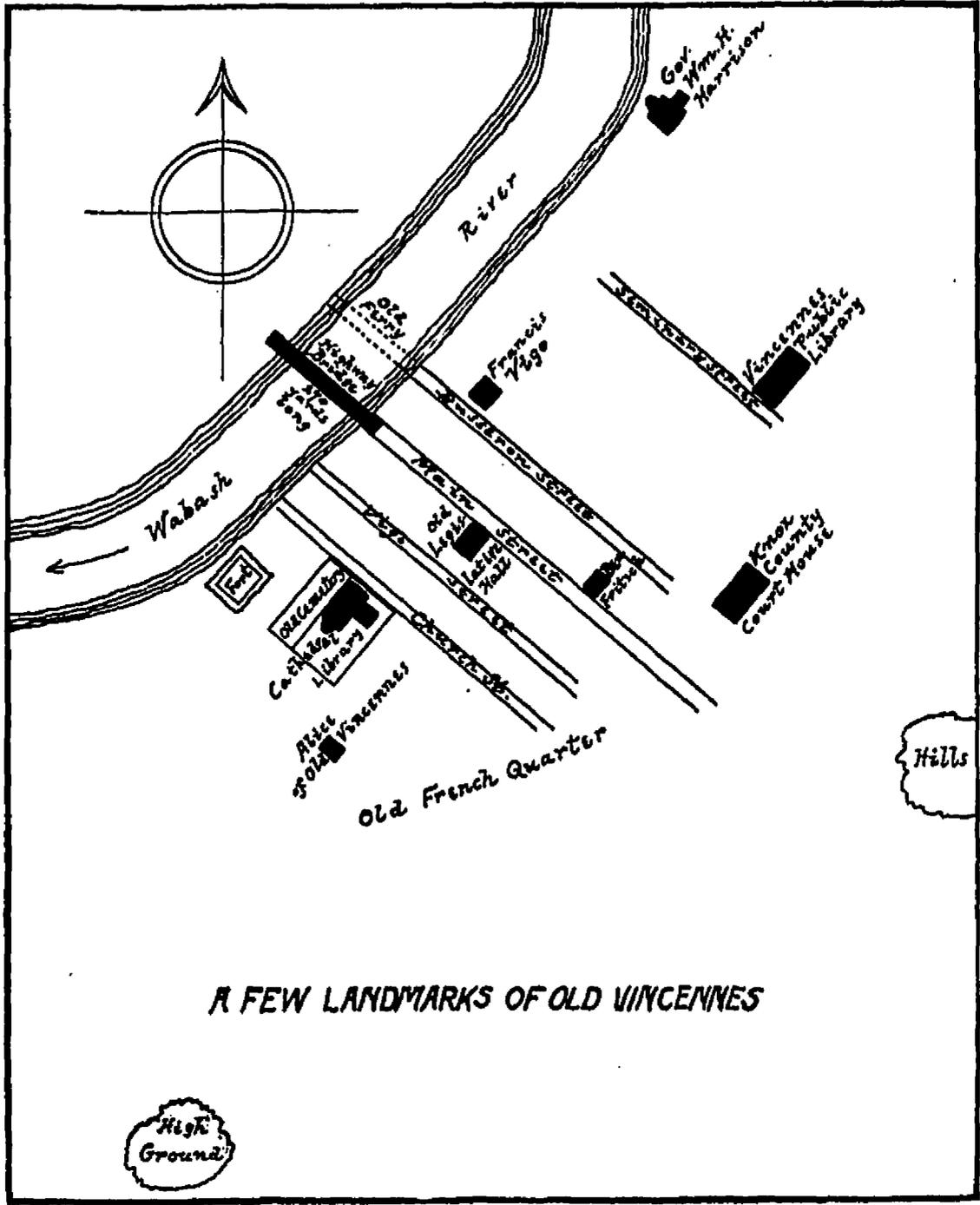
17th, Nothing extraordinary.

18th, Snow and rain the best part of the day.

19th, Orders for six boats to be got ready to return to Kaskaskia with the prisoners.

20th, The boats ready and loaded. Capt. McCarty takes charge with the *Willing*; Capt. (Abraham) Keller, Capt. (Edward) Worthington, Ensigns Montgomery and Lawoin each of them take charge of one boat; a sergeant and six men take charge of the small boat called the *Running Fly*. About 4 o'clock the whole embarked, leaving Lieut. (Richard) Brashier commandant of the fort (Fort Patrick Henry at Vincennes), with Lieut. Bayly, Lieut. Chaplin, 40 men, sergeant and corporal included, to take care of the garrison till relieved from Kaskaskia.

Captain Helm (in) command of the town (Vincennes) in all civil matters and superintendent of Indian affairs; Mr. Moses Henry Indian agent; Mr. Patrick Kennedy quartermaster, &c. The boats, after much rejoicing, are now out of sight—God send them a good and safe passage!



A FEW LANDMARKS OF OLD VINCENNES

Thus ends Major Joseph Bowman's notable journal, a worthy presentation, by one of the chief actors, of the Illinois Epic, a brief, unstudied narrative, of dramatic eloquence. The original of this journal has not been located. A copy was published in the *Louisville Literary News*, November 24, 1840, and in the "Campaign of the Illinois Country," Cincinnati, in 1869; in other publications at various times since. A copy of the original document, then in the possession of the Kentucky Historical Society, was made for Lyman C. Draper by Leonard Bliss, Jr., of Louisville. The transcript given above was made with permission from the printing in the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Vol. I, pages 155-164, published in 1912 by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library.

Major Bowman states that on the morning of February 24, during the lull of firing when Clark sent his flag of truce to Hamilton, with a note demanding surrender, the attackers were provided with a breakfast. The food, we are told, was set out by the women of Vincennes, whose sympathies were with the Americans. Francis Vigo, the merchant, and Father Gibault, the priest, had strengthened their disposition to side against the British and the Indians. Captain Leonard Helm, while he was in command at Vincennes in the autumn of 1778, and after he was held a prisoner there by Hamilton, no doubt made a number of friends among the people of the town, which was about the size of Williamsburg; but however well disposed the inhabitants were towards the Americans, Hamilton held the place in a strong grip which could be broken, and was broken, only by the heroic and almost superhuman achievement led by Clark and Bowman, an achievement which, considering the small number of men engaged, the hardships endured and overcome, and the momentous results accomplished towards the building of the American nation, is without parallel in our history. When Father Gibault at Kaskaskia on February 5, 1778, lifted the cross and blessed the little band as it started toward Vincennes, "every name told off by the company sergeants belonged to a hero, and every voice making response struck a full note in the chorus of freedom's morning song." They had the courage to undertake, the practical common sense which overcomes the lack of technical training, and the vital force which never flags under the stress of adversity.

The sentences immediately preceding are borrowed, with

only slight changes, from *Alice of Old Vincennes*, by Maurice Thompson, a book in which the art of the novelist is splendidly wrought out in the fabric of history. Since the monumental work by Hon. William H. English, *The Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, was published in 1898 in two large volumes comprising over 1,000 pages, the story of those crucial months from June, 1778, to February, 1779, has become familiar to American readers through many different sources, but even today many of our most intelligent citizens do not fully appreciate the significance of what those youthful heroes of Virginia and Kentucky accomplished. On February 25, 1779, when Governor Hamilton surrendered Fort Sackville at Vincennes, George Rogers Clark was only three months over twenty-six; Joseph Bowman, his able second, was about the same age. Many of the bold fellows who served under them were younger.

With Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes in their possession, Clark and Bowman did not regard their campaign as finished—they looked towards Detroit and planned repeatedly to take it. Though this plan was thwarted, what they had already done secured to the new nation the vast region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes. When the Treaty of Paris, ending the Revolutionary War, was signed on September 3, 1783, this region was acknowledged as belonging to the United States. From it later were formed the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota. Without the conquests of Clark and Bowman it can hardly be doubted that this rich empire would have remained in British hands and would today be a part of Canada.

FIRST "PRINCIPAL PERSON"

The receipt of a major's commission by Joseph Bowman from the Governor of Virginia on February 27, 1779, two days after the triumph at Vincennes, was naturally pleasing to him and thoroughly merited. The confidence reposed in him by Clark had already been shown in different ways. He was entrusted with the capture of Cahokia and the regulation of affairs at that town and other places between there and Kaskaskia. The post at Cahokia was named Fort Bowman, as appears from letters written from there by Clark in the summer of 1778. Already we have

seen that when an election by the residents of Cahokia for judge was held, Bowman was chosen. In a letter written to Governor Patrick Henry from Kaskaskia on February 3, 1779, Clark said: "I shall March across by Land (against Vincennes) my self with the Rest of My Boys. The principal persons that follow me on this forlorn hope is Captn. Joseph Bowman, John Williams, Edwd. Worthington, Richd. McCarty, & Frans Charlovielle, Lieuts. Richd. Brashears, Abm. Kellar, Abm. Chaplin, Jno. Jerault, and Jno. Bayley, and several other Brave Subalterns."

It was not by chance that Clark named Captain Bowman first among the "principal persons." From first to last in the momentous Illinois campaign, Bowman was his right-hand man. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that Clark's interest and activity in Kentucky and adjacent regions was due in large measure to the operations and influence of Captain Bowman and his brothers.

Major Bowman noted in his journal of March 15, 1779, the second start that William Myers made from Vincennes to carry letters to Williamsburg by going down the Wabash in a canoe, thence up the Ohio to the Falls, and from there overland. On April 10, following, James Patton wrote from the Falls as follows:

Last Sunday Wm. Moyers, Express, was killed & scalped by a party of Indians who waylaid the road about four miles up Bear-grass. He was found yesterday evening and I went out this morning expecting to find the Packet about him, as he was not stripped, but found nothing on him only his Clothes; and found in different places through the Woods the following Letters which I forwarded by Express to Colo. Bowman Viz.

1 Letter to his Excellency Pat. Henry, torn in two & the seal not broke

1 Letter to Colo. Arthur Campbell, torn in two pieces & the seal broke

1 Letter to Peter Dierly, Botetourt, entire

1 Letter to Capt. Donolly, Botetourt, entire

Part of a Letter from Major Bowman to Colo. Bowman

Some piece of writing (Mr. Girault's hand) torn to very small pieces, & a Letter from Major Bowman to some person in Frederick County torn in pieces, were found nigh the place where Moyers was killed—John Moore, who was with Moyers, is supposed to be taken prisoner. Dominick Flanagan & Henry Homan were fired

upon & taken prisoners on the same Day by a Party of Western Indians.²

It is believed that the letter to Peter Deyerle of Botetourt was written by Major Joseph Bowman, and that Deyerle was the husband of Major Bowman's sister Regina.

In the spring and summer following the capture of Vincennes, Colonel Clark and Major Bowman did not remain all the time at Vincennes, but spent longer or shorter periods at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and other places, negotiating with the various Indian tribes, collecting supplies for the garrisons on the Wabash, the Mississippi, and the lower Ohio, and endeavoring to assemble a force of fighting men sufficient to carry out their cherished plan of capturing Detroit and other British posts on the Great Lakes.

In the British Museum is a letter in French, dated April 20, 1779, and probably written from Vincennes, addressed by Major Bowman to Mech Kigie and other chiefs of the Potawatomi. The following copy of this letter is a translation made about 30 years ago by Professor James Alton James of Northwestern University:

To Mech Kigie, Chief of the village of Chicago, 20th April, 1779.

I have received your letter of 12th of November and have read it. When our children listen attentively to their father, they hear what their father says, but your ears are stopped; there is a way to open them: Listen—

I say to all the savages as well as to you to stay quietly at home, to hunt, to support their wives and children, to treat well the French and traders who honestly come to them for their welfare and pay them justly with goods, so that they come among them with contented hearts, and return with the same feeling.

I say also that when bad people come among you with goods and other presents to try to excite you and incite you to war, they work therefore for your own destruction, and instead of being your friends, they are your most cruel enemies.

To you I recommend that if any such are found in your village, to take their goods and bring them to me, for which care you will be rewarded, or divide it among yourselves equally.

The Bostonian always says the same thing; he does not ask that the savage make war for him, he does this for himself—so that the savage can rest quietly. I advise, nevertheless, that those who wish to fight for the English to sharpen well their tomahawks and

²See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 309.

to fight like men, for we love war—that is what my young men want, without, however, demanding it.

Let those to whom we have extended the hand not draw back. If any one fools us it is only once.

Remember this, you and all yours, for punishment follows close the crime; treat well all the French, for they are my brothers.

Your good father if you are good children,

Jo. Bowman, Major^a

This was certainly fatherly talk for a young man of 26 or 27, a bachelor, so far as we know; but the young major obviously knew how to deal with the children of the forest—they themselves habitually employed concrete and graphic figures of speech. He knew that they had respect for a friendship that was without fear, a pipe of peace with a tomahawk attached.

Early in June, 1779, Major Bowman was back at Cahokia, on the Mississippi. This we know from a letter which he wrote from there to Colonel Clark on June 3. It was in this year that he appointed Daniel Linctot, a French trader who had much influence with the Indians, Indian agent at Cahokia. Linctot proved loyal to the government of Virginia and the American cause, and rendered important services in military and civil affairs.⁴ Later the same month (June, 1779) Major Bowman was at Kaskaskia, and there on the 14th he wrote a long letter to his uncle, Isaac Hite, who was probably at the old home in the Shenandoah Valley at the time, though he or his nephew of the same name spent considerable time at intervals in Kentucky where the family owned much land and dealt extensively in real estate. This letter to Isaac Hite is of so much personal and historical interest that it is quoted below in full:

Dear Sir:

I received your letter by Brother Isaac who arrived safe at this place the 10th of May last, which gave me the greatest satisfaction to hear from you & the rest of my friends so distant from me. I am sorry that it is not in my power to furnish Isaac with a quantity of goods &c. agreeable to his instructions from you, as I should approve of it much could they be had, but believe me there is none in the country, as there has been no supplies brought from New Orleans since last summer, by which means I was disappointed of

^aSee *Idem*, pages 311-313.

⁴See *Idem*, Vol. I, pages 327, 328, and Vol. II, page 28, Note 1.

getting a cargo I had sent for. The trading vessels at New Orleans has for some time employed themselves seeking of trade else where on the American coasts. Money has become so plenty here with us by traders from different quarters that it does not rate at above half as high as it does any where else in the United States, so that there is no chance of purchasing any commodity whatever whereby a profit might be had from it, at present, and as the distance is too great for Isaac to return without doing something, I have recommended him to continue here and go with our regiments, which is to start in about four days for Detroit, where I hope to find goods in great abundance. We have had every piece of intelligence we could wish for from that quarter and make no doubt of our success, notwithstanding the reinforcement by Colo. Montgomery and our own troops will not exceed five hundred men; but our men here being accustomed to success since our arrival in this country, and their anxiety so great, gives us the greatest confidence of their bravery and good conduct.

If we should be successful on our expedition I expect to return with my brother, which will be some time towards Christmas.

Kentucky is very strong; several forts built there lately. I am informed that Brother John has marched some time ago with a body of troops from there against the Shawnees.

I wrote to you in March last giving you a detail of our last expedition against Governor Hamilton at Post St. Vincent, but our express unfortunately got killed near the falls of Ohio and all the letters and papers destroyed, so that I do not expect you have had a true account as yet. Some time in December last Governor Hamilton came down the Wabash from Detroit with about 800 men, including French, English, & Indians, retook St. Vincent from us without the loss of any men of either side. He immediately sent off belts and speeches to sundry nations to the north & westward of this in order to collect as many as to enable him to retake the Illinois country, destroy Kentucky, and drive all before him as far as Fort Pitt; thus finding our situation without the least expectations of succor, obliged us to fall on an expedient resolution, which was for a boat with two four-pounders & 4 swivels to be sent off immediately with 50 (40) to proceed by water to Post Vincent whilst Col. Clark, myself, and the rest of his forces, consisting of about 130, were to conduct ourselves by land and meet our boat on her way within a few miles of that place and then lay siege to the fort upon all events. Accordingly, on the sixth of February we started through rain, mud, and mire, continuing our route the distance about 180 miles, and in nineteen days arrived at the place, but no account of our boat, it being kept back by high water. Our men were almost perished to death, being 5 days without provisions and having the waters to wade the chiefest part of that time from their middles up to their necks. Mere hunger then forced

us to attack the fort before the arrival of our boat, which began about 8 o'clock in the night with a brisk fire on both sides and continued all night and the chiefest part of the next day, during which time their cannon played on us from every quarter of the fort, but done us no damage. We wounded sundry of their men through the portholes, which caused them to surrender themselves and garrison, to the great mortification of our boat's crew who had not the opportunity of making use of their cannon. The chiefest part of the Indians (under Hamilton) were sent out in parties to war, some to Kentucky, some to watch the Ohio &c. until their main body could collect for executing the plan they had laid, so that we took but seven Indians, which was immediately tomahawked, and between 130 and 140 prisoners, amongst whom were some French troops which was discharged upon parole. Many nations has since been in and treated for peace. At the surrender of the garrison we got one six-pound brass field piece, two four-pounders of iron, & two swivels, likewise a large quantity of military stores and Indian goods to the amount of twenty thousand pounds, . . .

We have sent all the officers with their attendants to Williamsburg, the rest distributed to the different towns in this country. . . . If we could have had more men here than what we had there is no telling what we might have done, but I am afraid that the Assembly has not thought this country of so great importance as what it really is; otherwise there might have been a final peace settled with the Indians by this time; and nothing but that alone induces me to continue as long as what I have done, as I am sensible that the acting in a publick capacity interferes too much with our private affairs. . . .

The bearer stands waiting for my letter and have not time to write or answer other letters that I received by my brother, for which I hope you'll excuse me to all you hear complain. My compliments to Aunt and all enquiring friends, not forgetting my Uncle John.

Whilst I remain, Dear Sir, your most obedient friend & humble servant,

JOS. BOWMAN.

N. B. Isaac informs me that Abram has quit the service. If so, I am in hopes he will drive out our stock to Kentucky this fall.

J. B.⁵

In this letter several points of interest may be noted: (1) Additional particulars concerning the capture of Vincennes; (2)

⁵The above letter of Major Joseph Bowman to his uncle, Isaac Hite, was first printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XV, page 211 (1907-08), and again in the *George Rogers Clark Papers*, Vol. I, pages 332-335, in 1912.

that Isaac Bowman had returned from Virginia to the Illinois country in May, 1779; (3) that Major Bowman and Colonel Clark were expecting to make a successful advance upon Detroit—which was not made, owing to inadequate support; (4) that Major Bowman, his uncle, Isaac Hite, and others, were much interested in merchandising and in the development of Kentucky; and (5) that there was a possibility of Col. Abram Bowman coming to Kentucky in the fall, which he did, as shall appear more fully in our next chapter.

Early in August (1779) or before, Major Bowman was back at Vincennes. In Colonel Clark's general orders issued there on August 5, Major Bowman was assigned to the work of recruiting—to have direction thereof—the officers out recruiting were to make reports to him and to receive instructions from him.⁶ It is probable that he had never recovered from the injury he had suffered in the explosion in the fort at Vincennes on February 25, preceding, and this may have been a reason why he was thinking of retiring from active military service, and had hopes of going back to his old home on Cedar Creek before Christmas. His plans and hopes were cut short. On August 20 (1779) Major Thomas Quirk wrote a letter from Vincennes in which we find the following paragraph:

Col. Montgomery is Stationed at Kaskaskias, Capt. McCarty at the Cahokias, and we are now lamenting the loss of the Worthy Majr. Bowman who Departed this life the 19th Inst.⁷

Within a few rods of the old fort at Vincennes was the Catholic church—a cathedral stands there today—and between the site of the church and the fort site is an old cemetery. In the latter, in all probability, Major Bowman was buried. No doubt the grave was marked at the time, but in no permanent manner. In January, 1926, the writer visited Vincennes and made a careful search among the tombstones then remaining in the old cemetery, without finding any trace of a memorial to the valiant young Major who had closed his notable career there 147 years before. But he really did not need a tombstone—he wrote his

⁶See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 355.

⁷See *Idem*, page 360.

name in the history of his country. The Illinois Epic is his adequate and enduring memorial.⁸

⁸The most complete account of the operations against Kaskaskia and Vincennes is to be found in the 2-volume work of W. H. English: *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*, published in Indianapolis in 1898. The George Rogers Clark Papers in two large volumes, published in 1912 and 1926 by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, are authoritative source books. Among the other useful and interesting publications that may be mentioned are *The Capture of Old Vincennes*, by Milo M. Quaife, and *A History of the City of Vincennes*, by Henry S. Cauthorn. For a fascinating story, in which fiction is woven into a background of history mostly accurate, the reader is referred to *Alice of Old Vincennes*, by Maurice Thompson.

CHAPTER X

TWO COLONELS IN KENTUCKY

Already we have seen that Colonel John Bowman was in Kentucky as early as 1775 and 1776, although he evidently continued his residence at intervals in Botetourt County until 1779 or thereabouts. On June 20, 1776, he was at Harrodsburg, a member of the committee that drew up the petition to the Virginia convention urging the formation of Kentucky County. He no doubt had been in and around Harrodsburg for a month or two preceding, including corn-planting time. In a letter of May 27, 1943, Judge Samuel M. Wilson of Lexington says:

Col. John Bowman applied for and was allowed certificates in his own right and in his own name for a settlement of 400 acres and a pre-emption of 1000 acres, 'on account of raising a crop of corn in the country in the year 1776,' these tracts 'lying on the waters of Harrod's Run, on the south side thereof, adjoining the south line & east line of Edward Bulger, to include a cabin built by one McConnell.' These certificates were issued at Harrodsburg on February 8, 1780.

When the Virginia Convention provided for the formation of Kentucky County in December, 1776, the Governor, Patrick Henry, commissioned Colonel Bowman colonel of the militia in the new county, and he at once set about raising 100 men whom he led into Kentucky for the defense of the settlements in the summer of 1777. Concerning these operations we quote the following pertinent items from Judge Richard H. Collins's *History of Kentucky*, published in 1874:

From original papers and vouchers of Col. John Bowman, the first military commander and military governor of the County—now State—of Kentucky, we have noted or transcribed the following documents and lists. These papers are now (November, 1871) in the possession of his relative, John B. Bowman, Esq., Regent of Kentucky University at Lexington.

Prominent among these heir-looms is the commission of John Bowman as "Colonel of the Militia in the County of Kentucky," with the bold signature appended of the great orator of the Ameri-

can Revolution, Patrick Henry, Jr., "Governor of the Commonwealth of Va." The paper on which the commission is written is coarse in texture and yellow with age, and is addressed to "John Bowman, Esquire." After reciting his appointment it thus concludes:

"You are therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Colonel of the Militia, by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging; and you are to pay a ready Obedience to all Orders and Instructions which from Time to Time you may receive from the Convention, Privy Council, or any of your Superiour Officers, agreeable to the Rules & Regulations of the Convention, or General Assembly, and to require all Officers and Soldiers under your command to be obedient and to aid you in the Execution of this Commission according to the Intent & Purpose thereof. Given under my Hand & Seal,

"Williamsburg this 21st day of December 1776.

P. HENRY, JR."

There is, also, the original of another commission to the same gallant officer, dated in 1778, and signed by "Th. Jefferson, Governor of the Commonwealth of Va.," appointing Col. John Bowman "County Lieutenant (or Governor) of the County of Kentucky."¹

On October 14, 1778, at Harrodsburg, Colonel Bowman wrote a letter to Col. George Rogers Clark, in which he says, "The Indians have Pushed us hard this Summer . . . have Done More Damage in the Interior Settlements this summer than ever was Done in one season before."²

Herein, no doubt, we can see the reason why Colonel Bowman led an expedition across the Ohio River against the Indian towns in the Little Miami Valley early the next year (1779). He notified the settlers to plant their corn and then to rendezvous for the expedition. Some time in May, with a force from the various stations of between 250 and 300 men, he went over into Ohio and attacked the Shawnee towns in what is now Greene County, Ohio. Having reached the vicinity of the towns in the night, attack was delayed until morning. From John Bradford's "Notes on Kentucky" we quote the following account:

At clear daylight, it was discovered that Bowman's men were from 70 to 100 yards from the cabins in which the Indians had

¹See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, page 10.

²See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, pages 69, 70.

collected, and which they appeared determined to defend. Having no other arms than tomahawks and rifles, it was thought imprudent to attempt to storm strong cabins, well defended by expert warriors. The warriors having collected in a few cabins contiguous to each other, the remainder of the town was left unprotected; therefore while shooting was kept up at the portholes, so as to engage the attention of those within, fire was set to 30 or 40 cabins, which consumed them. A considerable quantity of property, in kettles and blankets, was taken from the burning cabins; and searching the woods near the town, 133 horses were collected.

About 10 o'clock, Bowman and his party commenced their march homeward, after having 9 men killed. The loss of the Indians was never known, except that their principal chief, Blackfish, was wounded through the knee, and died of the wound. He proposed to surrender, hoping to find surgeons among the whites who would cure his wound and save his life.

On their retreat Bowman's men were followed and attacked by the Indians, but the latter were finally driven off.

By Benjamin Logan, who was second in command on this expedition, and others, Colonel Bowman was sharply criticised for retreating from the attack on the towns, without destroying them. Much could be said, and was said, on both sides. For one thing, it was reported to Bowman, during the attack, that a relief party of 100 Mingoës under Simon Girty was not far away. Logan was several years younger than Bowman, and probably less considerate of the lives of the men under him. Mrs. Daviess no doubt presents what approximates a just estimate of the case:

General James Ray, whose character as a pioneer and soldier, qualified him well to judge, rendered a true verdict, "that Col. Bowman had made the great mistake of going against a brave and well prepared enemy, and had the moral courage to retreat and not sacrifice his men to false pride."³

The next year (1780) Colonel Clark went against the same Indian towns, and after a hard fight succeeded in destroying them; but he had over 1,000 men. Bowman had fewer than 300. This is a fact of no small significance. But in spite of his inadequate force, Bowman inflicted severe damage on the enemy, captured and brought off valuable goods, including more than

³See *History of Mercer and Boyle Counties*, by Mrs. Maria T. Daviess, 1924, Vol. I, page 21.

100 horses, and created decided alarm among the tribes and their British supporters. "Early in June (1779), Captain Henry Bird collected some two hundred Indians at the Mingo town. The account brought in by runners of the attack which had been made by Colonel Bowman on the Shawnee towns produced a panic among his followers. Some of the savages deserted in order to protect their villages against the American advance which was momentarily expected. Still more of them were anxious to sue for peace."⁴

From a letter written from Harrodsburg on June 13, 1779, by Colonel John Bowman to Colonel Clark, we learn that Colonel Bowman, immediately following his return from the expedition outlined above, was planning to start in a few days for Williamsburg. No doubt, on his way going and returning, he spent some time at his old home in Botetourt. On September 25, 1779, he and his wife Elizabeth made a deed to Isam Hannan for 166 acres on Roanoke River. From a letter written by Benjamin Logan to Colonel Clark on October 17, 1779, it appears that Colonel Bowman had not yet gotten back to Kentucky, but no doubt he did return soon after that date.⁵ Already he had established himself about six miles east of Harrodsburg, near Dick's River, where he founded Bowman's Station, and where he spent his last years. He and his brother Joseph had taken up extensive tracts of land near by.

It was probably sometime during the autumn of this year, 1779, that Colonel Abraham Bowman moved to Kentucky. It will be recalled that in June of this year Major Joseph Bowman, writing from Kaskaskia, had expressed the hope that Abraham would drive out their stock to Kentucky in the fall. This expression was based upon what his brother Issac had told him the preceding month of Colonel Abraham's plans. From other sources we learn that Colonel Abraham went to Kentucky in 1779 with 30 families.⁶ It is interesting to speculate on the route they followed. Colonel John, of course, in going from Botetourt to Harrodsburg, went by way of Cumberland Gap, a distance of about 275 miles. From the Cedar Creek country, from which locality Colonel Abraham and his colony started, the distance

⁴See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page cxiv.

⁵See *Idem*, pages 371, 372.

⁶See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, page 17.

would have been 450 or 500 miles, whether they went down the Valley and through Cumberland Gap or to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio River. The usual route from Cedar Creek appears to have been by way of Pittsburgh. There it was necessary to provide flatboats for the long, winding trip down the river. This procedure would probably have required less time than the journey all the way overland by Cumberland Gap, and would have been easier on the livestock; however, the difficulties of getting feed for the stock would have been greater on the river than on the journey overland.

It has been stated by some writers that Colonel Abraham Bowman and his 30 families founded Bowman's Station (Bellevue), six miles east of Harrodsburg. This statement appears to be erroneous. The station was founded by Colonel John Bowman; however, it is reasonable to assume that Colonel Abraham and his party may have sojourned at first for a while at Colonel John's settlement until they decided upon permanent locations. Colonel Abraham, in 1781, settled in Fayette County. Colonel John's official duties took him over a large area. On July 1, 1780, he was foreman of a jury at Lexington, to try a case of escheated lands. Paul Froman, Daniel Boone, and James Wood were also on this jury. Paul Froman was probably the son-in-law or a grandson of Jost Hite, and James Wood was almost certainly General James Wood of Winchester, Va., or a relative of his.⁷ Colonel Abraham, being a man of means, like his brother John and other members of the family, was no doubt an important member of the new settlements from the beginning. On March 29, 1783, the commissioners settling western claims, allowed his account for 3 pounds and 18 shillings for 52 pounds of iron provided for a row galley in public service.⁸ The date when he furnished this iron does not appear, but it was probably soon after his arrival in Kentucky. It may be assumed that he had brought along a supply of iron from Zane's Iron Works on Cedar Creek. Iron, powder, and lead were among the few commodities that had to be brought into the frontier communities from long distances.

The first winter, 1779-1780, after Colonel Abraham Bowman moved to Kentucky was memorable for its severity, being re-

⁷See *Idem*, page 183.

⁸See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. II, page 363.

ferred to for many years thereafter as the "Hard Winter," and the "Cold Winter." The severity of the cold extended over a number of states. In the interior of Kentucky, around Harrodsburg, from the middle of November to the middle of February, snow and ice continued on the ground without a thaw, and snow storms, accompanied by driving, piercing winds, were frequent. Not a drop of rain fell. The rivers, creeks, and springs were all frozen solid, and water for drinking, cooking, and washing could be obtained at many places only by melting snow and ice. All through the hours of the night the suffering pioneers could hear the roaring and struggling of herds of distressed buffaloes and other wild animals that fought and strove with one another to reach positions of shelter from the winds and the slight warmth that might be found against the chimneys of the rude log cabins. Not only livestock of the settlers, but also large numbers of bears, wolves, buffaloes, deer, and other wild animals, as well as fowls and birds, were found starved and frozen to death. Several winters soon following were also severe.⁹

In June, 1780, Kentucky County was divided into the three counties of Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln, and on January 16, 1781, the first court for Lincoln County was organized and held at Harrodsburg. Under a commission from Governor Jefferson the following 13 "gentlemen" were authorized to qualify as justices: John Bowman, Benjamin Logan, John Logan, John Cowan, John Kennedy, Hugh McGary, William Craig, Stephen Trigg, Abraham Bowman, Isaac Hite, William McBride, William McAfee, and James Estill. Benjamin Logan and John Cowan first administered the oaths to John Bowman, and then he to Benjamin Logan, John Logan, Hugh McGary, Stephen Trigg, and William McBride. John Cowan, having already taken the oath of fidelity to the United States, at first refused to take the oath of allegiance to Virginia, but having slept over it and seen the matter in a better light, he came in the next morning, took the required oath, and took his seat upon the bench with the others who had already qualified. Most of the others qualified when they could conveniently come to the county-seat, except Col. Abraham Bowman, who removed to Fayette County, where he took a leading part in public affairs. In 1792 he was one of

⁹See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. I, pages 394, 395.

the representatives and electors of the senate from Fayette County, under the first state constitution.

Of the 13 men named above in the commission for Lincoln County, 1781, two, Kennedy and McAfee, were dead, killed by Indians, when the court first convened, and within 17 months afterward three more, Trigg, McBride, and Estill, fell victims to the red men in battle.

Colonel John Bowman was the first sheriff for Lincoln County. He was succeeded in November, 1783, by Col. Benjamin Logan. Colonel Bowman was also the first county-lieutenant, from January to July, 1781, when Colonel Logan was appointed. Bowman had previously been county-lieutenant (military governor) for the whole of Kentucky.¹⁰

We recall with interest that in 1619 a shipload of young women had come from England to Jamestown, Va., to be wooed and won by the lonesome bachelors. In 1781, we are told, there was a "great immigration of girls to Kentucky." As in all frontier communities, women were in the minority, and wives were in demand. When savage warfare made a widow, she was not permitted to wait very long, as a usual thing, until she received attentions from some ardent suitor. On March 18, 1777, as Colonel Clark tells us in his diary, Hugh Wilson was killed and scalped about half a mile from the fort at Harrodsburg, and on April 19, following, James Berry married the Widow Wilson. No doubt the "great immigration of girls" in 1781 gave new interest and new courage to the Kentucky settlements.

About this time, or soon thereafter, Colonel Abraham Bowman, who was a bachelor of 30-odd years, took to himself a wife—not from the brave young lasses who had come adventuring, but one who had been the wife of one of his companions in arms, Colonel David Bryan. The story as handed down in the family is as follows: Colonel Abraham Bowman had been sick and was at home on a furlough when he received a message that every man was needed for a battle that was impending. He started to his regiment, but became very weak, got off his horse, and was found lying on the ground by Colonel Bryan, who told him to go back home, and asked him to send word to his wife that he, Bryan, had gone to take Bowman's place. In the battle

¹⁰See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, pages 475, 476.

that soon was fought Bryan was killed. Colonel Bowman felt it his duty to look after his friend's widow. He did so, fell in love with her, and married her in about two years after Bryan's death.

Mrs. (Bryan) Bowman was born Sarah Henry, in Pennsylvania, September 8, 1757. By her first marriage she had a son, David Bryan, born April 30, 1779. Her first husband, David Bryan, is believed to have been the son of David Bryan who died in Botetourt (then Augusta) County in 1767, whose widow, Elizabeth Bryan, married Colonel John Bowman. David Bryan, who died in 1767, had, when he made his will in 1766, sons William and David.

While we are upon the subject of matrimony and on or near the edge of romance, it may be permissible to relate a story of Andrew Jackson and Rachel (Donaldson) Robards, which seems to be well supported by tradition in Mercer (formerly Lincoln) County and some other parts of Kentucky, to the effect that while Jackson was practicing law at Harrodsburg and operating a little mercantile store in the neighborhood, he eloped with Mrs. Robards, later Mrs. Jackson, by taking her on the horse behind him, fording Dick's River near Bellevue (Bowman's Station), and riding southward. Colonel Donaldson, Rachel's father, had come from the vicinity of Nashville, Tenn., to Mercer County, Ky., where he remained several years to escape the Indians at Nashville. The Robards home was about one mile west of Bellevue (Fort Bowman), on an adjoining farm. The fording of Dick's River was difficult and dangerous, and, according to the story, Jackson prevailed upon a young Negro at Bellevue to guide him to a passable ford. Mr. A. Smith Bowman, who was born and grew up at Bellevue, and is now a resident of Sunset Hills, Va., often heard of the incident and is familiar with the place of the hazardous crossing. Further details of the elopment may be found in the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (October, 1937), pages 253, 254, 256.

The early Bowmans evidently were, as most of their descendants have been, fine specimens of manhood. Tradition has it, as already noted, that George Bowman, one of the sons of George Bowman Sr. and Mary Hite, was a giant, almost seven feet tall. None of young George's brothers, so far as we know, nearly approached his unusual physical proportions, but most of

them, certainly one or two of them, were considerably above the ordinary height, weight, and physical vigor. The following description of Col. John Bowman, by one who knew him, indicates that he was large, athletic, had a remarkable voice, and was endowed with a natural and enduring sense of humor:

Colonel Bowman was a man of great voice. Could be heard a mile. Went in through the Wilderness alone, and came on a camp of Indians; made a great noise, and routed the whole camp. Weighed 300 pounds, stripped. Ran eighty miles from Limestone to Harrodsburgh, in one day; pursued by the Indians; and turned round and tantalized them, whenever they came near.

Colonel Bowman built the first mill on Cane run and the first in the State, I think. And I know that he built the first that was on Dick's river. He was sick when he built this last (would drink a gallon of water of a night). Died not long after. Weighed 260, common weight. He was the swiftest man of his size I ever saw. He was a jolly man; mighty funny man.¹¹

Concerning Col. Abraham Bowman, his great-grandson, Mr. A. Smith Bowman, now of Fairfax County, Va., has written the following:

In regard to Col. Abram Bowman, I have always heard that he was a man over six feet in height and very athletic; but as to the particular height, I do not know other than I have heard Cousin Henry Bowman who lived at Lexington say that he was always considered to look and talk like his grandfather, Col. Abram Bowman. Cousin Henry was a man about six feet two or three inches, I imagine, and weighed about 200 to 225 pounds. He was in his younger days very athletic, as were all of the Bowmans that I knew; and he had one of the most delightful Southern drawls, I think, of any man I ever listened to, and all of his family that I knew inherited this drawl.

Colonel Abraham lived to a ripe old age; Colonel John died under fifty, possibly as a result in some degree of his remarkable physical exertions; but he maintained his interest in business and public affairs even after he was ill, and held the office of sheriff, as we have seen, until November, 1783, which was less than a year before his death. A notable example of his concern for the general welfare is to be found in a long letter that he wrote on

¹¹See the *Filson Club History Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 4, page 258.

August 30, 1782, to Governor Benjamin Harrison at Richmond, advocating peace conferences with the Chickasaws and Creeks and calling attention to disturbances caused around Vincennes by horse thieves. This letter may be found among the Executive Papers in the Virginia State Archives, and was printed in 1926 by the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library in the second volume of the George Rogers Clark Papers. Near the end of this letter is the following paragraph:

Our scattered inhabitants are daily diminishing, having lost 65 of our militia in a late unfortunate action with them (the Indians), the particulars whereof you will have from Colo. Logan, the commanding officer of this county.

This unfortunate action was the disastrous battle of Blue Licks, which had taken place only 11 days before Colonel Bowman's letter was written. On September 26 Col. William Fleming of Botetourt wrote Governor Harrison, referring to Colonel Bowman's report concerning the horse-stealing at Vincennes and the serious trouble that was likely to result from it, the French people thereabout having reason to believe that the thievery was being encouraged by some of the officials who were acting under Virginia authority.

In the autumn of 1782 William Fleming, Thomas Marshall, Samuel McDowell, and Caleb Wallace, who had been appointed commissioners by the Virginia government to settle public accounts in Kentucky, held numerous meetings at different places, and among other places they met at Colonel John Bowman's on December 2, 1782, March 7 and March 17, 1783.

On February 5, 1784, Colonel John Bowman, being "weak in body, but of sound mind and perfect memory," made his will, which was proved in the Lincoln County court on August 17, following. He had died on May 4. Among other provisions he took care for the education of his son, John Bowman, and the comfort of his wife Elizabeth during her natural life. The date of her death has not been ascertained. His son John died on October 19, 1824, unmarried.

Sixteen days after the death of Colonel John Bowman, his brother, Colonel Abraham Bowman, received and entertained in his house a distinguished guest, none other than General Muhlenberg, under whom he had enlisted at Woodstock on that

notable Sunday in January, 1776. On February 22, 1784, General Muhlenberg had left Philadelphia on a journey to the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), as one of the superintendents appointed by the Assembly of Virginia to locate the lands intended for the officers and soldiers of the Virginia Line on Continental establishment. He and his party went to Pittsburgh, secured a boat, laid in supplies, and on March 31 set off down the Ohio River. On April 11 they reached the Falls at about 11 o'clock, "and came to in Bear Grass Creek, opposite Louisville." Here they found Colonel Clark and a number of other gentlemen waiting for them.

All these details, with many others, are recorded in the General's journal, which was printed (pages 425-453) in his Life, written by Henry A. Muhlenberg and published in Philadelphia in 1849.

On May 17 (1784) General Muhlenberg and several companions left Louisville, heading for Lincoln County, and on the 20th the General reached Colonel Bowman's. He says:

I left Mr. May, and went five miles further to visit Colonel Abraham Bowman, who was formerly my lieutenant-colonel. I got there about 12 o'clock and immediately after my arrival I was taken with the fever and ague, which will perhaps disable me from going through the wilderness with the next company, who start on the 25th from Crab Tree Orchard.

He was unlucky in thus falling a victim to the chills and "shakes" so prevalent for many years in the western country, but certainly very fortunate in being in a friendly and hospitable home when the malady developed. His journal continues:

May 21st—I took an emetic, and in the evening began to take bark.

May 22d—To-day I had the ague, but its violence was much diminished. Colonel Bowman persuades me not to hazard the journey through the wilderness, unless I am perfectly rid of it; but as perhaps there may not be another company ready for some time to go that way, and as the Indians are still troublesome, I shall if possible attempt to go on with the company.

May 23d—I determined to proceed. Colonel Bowman furnished me with two bacon hams, and some dried buffalo-tongues for the journey. In the afternoon he accompanied me to the place where Mr. G. May is, from whence we proceeded five miles to

Crow's station. The land at this place and its vicinity is excellent. They have lately laid out a town here, where the public buildings for the county are to be erected. Captain Crow made me a present of one half-acre lot.

May 24th—Set out early for Crab Tree Orchard, in company with Mr. G. May, Colonel Slaughter, and Mr. Towles. We rode twelve miles to Colonel Logan's where we laid in four bushels of corn for the journey. We then continued on, and rode thirteen miles farther to Crab Tree Orchard, where we stayed all night with Colonel Edwards. Here we met with a company who have just come through the wilderness; they came safely, but saw signs of Indians on the road.

At break of day the next morning a start was made, the company consisting of 42 men, one woman, and three Negroes. For protection they had 19 guns, several brace of pistols, and some swords. Supplies were carried on packhorses. Gruesome evidences of tragedy were seen along the way, but on the 28th Cumberland Gap was crossed without serious mishap.

From the places named and the distances given, it is believed that Colonel Abraham Bowman may have been temporarily at this time at Bellevue, looking after the affairs of his deceased brother John. The latter's son at that time was only thirteen years of age.

The following items of interest concerning Bellevue (Fort Bowman, Bowman's Station) are supplied by Mr. A. Smith Bowman:

I was born at Bellevue (Fort Bowman) about six miles east of Harrodsburg. It was about four and one-half miles from the location of the school, on Joseph Bowman's land, that finally developed into Transylvania University. It was three and one-half miles from Boone's Cave where Daniel Boone spent his first winter in Kentucky.

An article which I saw recently in the pamphlet of the Kentucky State Historical Society (Filson Club) says that Andrew Jackson lived at Bowman's Fort for three years. I never heard that before, but less than a mile from Bowman's Fort was the home of Lewis Robards whose wife Andrew Jackson was accused of running away with. The facts as related to me by my father [Dudley Mitchum Bowman (1820-1901)] were that Andrew Jackson knew her in Nashville before she married Robards. Jackson was up trying a law case in Harrodsburg, where they met again and evidently decided to run away. He came to the Robards home

one afternoon about four o'clock and took her behind him on horseback down into Tennessee. Harvey Gaiton, a colored boy about 16 or 17 years old, was there to pilot him across Dick's River to the south. Dick's River is one of the picturesque streams running through a gorge 200 to 300 feet deep; and as is usually the case, one side was perpendicular and the other side slanting. This boy piloted Jackson across the river into what is now Garrard County, and Jackson went with her from there on to Tennessee, as the story goes. Anyway, as you will recall, this was the cause of one if not two duels, and much political gossip was made of the incident at the time and later on among his cabinet in Washington while he was President. Claude Bowers in his history states that they were married in Natchez, which I presume is so; but I think the trip began on horseback about one mile west of Bowman's Fort.

The land around Bowman's Fort was inherited by my father, and I lived there until I was about 18 years of age. The Bowman fort was about the third or fourth fort established in Kentucky, and it was established by Colonel John Bowman, who was County Lieutenant, which would correspond at the present time to Territorial Governor, of the territory which was then a part of Virginia but is now Kentucky.

I expect I am about the only man alive who knows exactly where the old Bowman fort was. Col. Abram Bowman, while he owned Bellevue, planted a row of locust trees as markers all around the four sides of the old stockade. These locust trees were fast dying or being blown over when I was a boy. My father, seeing that the markers were fast disappearing, and being in need of an ice house, dug an ice house in the old stockade grounds. He said that the markings of the ice house would last longer than any trees planted there. There was a wooden marker when I was a boy which showed that it was the place of the fort; but on a visit there some years ago, all of this had disappeared, except the ice house.

I have always understood that there were, besides the stockade at Fort Bowman, sixteen log houses in which the people lived. When I first remember, there were seven or eight of these log houses still in existence. They were used for various things such as stables, negro cabins, a saddle room, and one had been weatherboarded and fixed up for a kind of an office. On my last trip there, every one of them had disappeared.

This site was an ideal one for a fort, as the spring was one of the best I ever saw.

The house at Bellevue was one of the oldest brick houses in the State. It began with a kitchen and one room, and was added to in three sections. The front door of the last section added was one of the most artistic I ever saw. It was a fan-shaped, leaded glass; and I have heard professionals say that it was one of the rarest specimens of its kind. Here I might add that I have never



BELLEVUE, HOME OF COL. JOHN BOWMAN OF THE
REVOLUTION
Site of Fort Bowman, near Harrodsburg, Ky.

known a home built by a Bowman, either in Virginia, Kentucky, or Louisiana, which was not of the highest type of architectural design.

Col. John Bowman, his wife and son, were all buried at Bellevue. I have thought that I would have their remains moved to Harrodsburg; but upon reflection, I felt that they had dwelt so peacefully there for nearly 150 years that it would be almost sacrilegious to move them. . . .

Col. John Bowman had a mill on Dick's River about a mile below the pass in the river that I alluded to above. The remains of that mill were still in existence the last time I saw it. He also had a mill at Bellevue and a small distillery, the product of which was put in hogsheads and at high water taken to Brooklyn Landing where it was put on flatboats for New Orleans.

The pass in the river, to which I alluded as having been crossed by Andrew Jackson, came into prominence during the Civil War, by Buell bringing his army through there in pursuit of Bragg. Bragg's army at the time was encamped about a half mile west of Bellevue; and when the word came that Buell's army was crossing the river, Bragg retreated, and the battle of Perryville was fought. I have heard my father say that he expected the battle to be fought at Bellevue, and everything was taken from the house and all of the family gotten to safety.

In Fayette County, Kentucky, Col. Abram Bowman purchased and lived on 8,000 acres of land about five miles southwest of Lexington, on South Elkhorn Creek, his home being well known as "South Elkhorn Farm." About 1923 it was renamed "Helm Place." His land is now partly in Fayette County and partly in Jessamine. He erected one of the first brick houses ever built in Kentucky. It is still in a perfect state of preservation and one of the handsomest homes in the state. The present owner and occupant is Mrs. Helm, the only surviving sister of Mrs. Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER XI

HEIR AT LAW UNDER BRITISH LAW

Did Major Joseph Bowman make a second will prior to his death at Vincennes on August 19, 1779? We know that he made a will on March 20, 1773, amended it on April 16, 1778, and that this will was duly executed in accordance with its provisions, by one of the executors named, in a settlement that was finally wound up and recorded at Winchester, Va., in 1798, nineteen years after Major Bowman's death.

Already reference has been made to this will, which Joseph Bowman wrote just 12 days after he was 21. He evidently was going out from the old roof-tree to seek adventures on distant trails that were beset with danger. The Ohio Valley and the fertile lands of the "Dark and Bloody Ground" were alluring him. This will is brief and we reproduce it here:

In the Name of God Amen. I Joseph Bowman of the County of Dunmore & Colony of Virginia Being at this Present of sound and Disposing Memory do make Constitute and ordain this my Last Will and Testament whereby revoking void all other wills by me heretofore made. First. It is my will & Desire that all my just Debts be paid & Discharged In the next place its my will & Desire that my land that I now possess may be valued by Twelve Honoust Freeholders and that my Brother Abraham Bowman should have it at what it is valu'd to if he should se cause to take & if not to be set up to the Highes Bidder and sold and the amount thereof with the rest of my Personal estate to be devided equally amongst all my Brothers & sisters Except my sister Mary Stephen And I also give to my Brother Abraham Bowman all that part of Sister Mary Stephens and that he is to put to the Best use of her Children & that it may be equally Devided amongst them. And Lastly I do hereby nominate Constitute & appoint my Brother Abraham Bowman my Brother Isaac Bowman and George Brinker Exctor of this my will in Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand & Seal this 20th day of March 1773.

JOS. BOWMAN (Seal)

Signed Sealed & Published by the
Testators in the presence of us,

Jn Hite Jr
Abr. Bowman
James Smith
Elizabeth Hughes

[Codicil]

NB That part of my Estate of the within mentioned will; Desired to be given to my Sister Marys Children Thereby Revoke & Disannull my desire now is that the same be given to my sister Mary to her own use to Dispose of as She may Think proper by my Exors within mentioned as Witness my hand and seal this 16 Day of April 1778.

JOS. BOWMAN (Seal)

In presence of
George Brinker
Rebecca Brinker

(Copy supplied by Lee N. Whitacre, Clerk.)

On March 3, 1780, this will was proved before the Frederick County Court at Winchester, and George Brinker, one of the executors therein named, was granted a certificate for probate. Abraham Bowman was no doubt in Kentucky and Isaac was a captive with the Indians or the Spaniards.

Joseph Bowman, by his father's will, had received about 180 acres of land, two horses or mares, 150 pounds current money and additional monies from the sale of real estate and personal property. Probably his land, or some of it, lay in Frederick County, and therefore his will was put on record in Winchester.¹

As settlements in Kentucky increased, many conflicts over land titles arose, and in 1779 four commissioners, William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour, and Stephen Trigg, were appointed to adjudicate land claims and grant settlement and pre-emption rights. As the years passed this body of commissioners, with changes in personnel and powers extended to other matters, took cognizance of an almost endless number of cases. Their journal is a valuable source of information. For example, on Saturday, May 24, 1783, they settled Major Joseph Bowman's pay roll, amounting to 164 pounds and 3 shillings, as

¹See Frederick County Will Book 4, page 509.

per voucher No. 9 of Colo. Bowman's papers. These papers were in the hands of Colonel John or Colonel Abraham Bowman.² On August 4, 1784, the board of commissioners meeting at Louisville and consisting of Walker Daniel, George R. Clark, John Montgomery, John Bailey, Robert Todd, William Clark, and Abraham Chapline, allowed the claim of Major Joseph Bowman for lands to which he was entitled for service in the Illinois Regiment. The claim of Lieut. Isaac Bowman was allowed at the same time, with many others.³

At a meeting of the commissioners at Louisville, February 20, 1788, present, G. R. Clark, Jas. F. Moore, Richard Taylor, Wm. Croghan, Alexander Breckenridge, Andw. Heth, and Wm. Clark, "Resolved, whereas satisfactory proof is made to this Board, of Jacob Bowman's being Heir at Law to Joseph Bowman Dec'd that Deeds for the Lands allow'd said Joseph, be Issued in the name of said Jacob."⁴

At Louisville, on Friday, July 18, 1788, to the Board, Ab. Chapline, Will. Clark, Richd. Taylor, James Francis Moore, Will. Croghan, Andrew Heth, Alexander Breckenridge, and R. Terrell, were presented and executed a number of deeds, among others, to Jacob Bowman, Heir at Law, deeds for Nos. 125, 49, 237, 5, and 97; and at Louisville, on June 2, 1789, the Board, consisting of Geo. R. Clark, Alexr. Breckenridge, James F. Moore, Richd. Terrell, Richd. Taylor, William Croghan, and William Clark, executed deeds for Jacob Bowman, Heir of Joseph Bowman, dec'd., for Nos. 140, 186, and 193.⁵

This Jacob Bowman who inherited the lands of Major Joseph Bowman was, as it appears, the son, the eldest son, if he had brothers, of Jacob Bowman, the eldest brother of Major Joseph. This Jacob's father, as we have seen, had moved to South Carolina in or about 1767, when his brother, Captain (later Colonel) John Bowman, had moved to the Roanoke River Valley in what was then Augusta, and was later Botetourt County, Va. In 1887 Hon. John Bryan Bowman of Lexington, Ky., wrote to Lyman C. Draper: "Jacob Bowman, the eldest son, after the

²See the Journal of the Western Commissioners, in the George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. II, page 391.

³See *Idem*, pages 418-424.

⁴*Idem*, page 433.

⁵*Idem*, pages 436 and 440.

death of George Bowman the first, moved to South Carolina—District of Ninety-Six.” The district of Ninety-Six included the counties of Abbeville and Laurens. Tradition has it that Jacob Bowman, Sr., was a loyalist or Tory, and was killed in the battle of Ramsour’s Mill, N. C., on June 20, 1780. In this engagement the Tories, several hundred of them, were encamped on a hill, 300 yards east of Ramsour’s Mill and half a mile north of the site of the present town of Lincolnton. They were attacked by a force of colonial militia, Whigs, and defeated, about 35 killed and 100 wounded on each side.⁶

As to the political sympathies of Jacob Bowman, Sr., there are conflicting statements. According to one account, he was shot in the doorway of his mill by Tories.

The counties of Abbeville and Laurens, S. C., seem to have been a Tory stronghold. In May and June, 1781, at the village of Ninety-Six, which is in Abbeville County not far from the Laurens County line, a loyalist force of about 550 was unsuccessfully besieged by General Greene.

An old manuscript that has been preserved in one branch of the Bowman family contains this statement: “Jacob Jr. inherited his Uncle’s property by the British law.”

In Virginia the old rule of the eldest male heir, or his eldest, inheriting the whole estate in the absence of a will, had been done away with during the Revolution. Major Joseph Bowman was a Virginian, but he had died at Vincennes, in the Illinois country, which was, technically at least, British territory until the signing of the Treaty of Paris on September 3, 1783. If he had made no will, or none was found, the old British rule prevailed. This seems to be the only logical explanation. Evidently the validity of the inheritance was later questioned. Apropos, Mrs. Abram Hite Bowman of Louisville, who has a wide acquaintance with the family records, on April 3, 1943, wrote as follows:

As far as I know, Joseph never was married, and under the British law, Jacob as eldest brother of Joseph inherited his estate. There are in Bullitt County, Ky., and Jeffersonville, Clark County, Ind., court records in which the children of Jacob Bowman (Jr.)

⁶See General Joseph Graham’s Papers on North Carolina Revolutionary History, 1904, pages 211-227.

are trying to clear title to land their grandfather (Jacob Sr.) inherited from his brother Joseph Bowman, which had been given for military service.

But Jacob's inheritance, under the old law, of course did not include the estate of Joseph Bowman that was covered by his will of 1773. The provisions of this will, as we have seen, were carried out, and final settlement was made by Abraham Bowman, executor, in 1798. Why was settlement so long delayed? Was it because the surviving brothers and sisters of Joseph Bowman were unwilling to see so much of their brother's estate diverted under an alien law, and were hoping that his will of 1773 might be construed as covering his property subsequently acquired? This might be inferred, but proof of it has not been found. There was some legal action or effort against Jacob Bowman, but evidently of slight importance—see below.

In Frederick County Will Book No. 6, page 393, may be found the settlement of Joseph Bowman's estate under his will of 1773, amended in 1778, as follows:

Dr. The Estate of Joseph Bowman Dec'd in Accot with Abraham Bowman

Settlement of his Executor. The Estate of Jos. Bowman			
1789	To his pro. of a redivision of land	1	1 1½
	To Clerks fees 305 lb Tobacco at 1½	1	18 1½
	To Lawyers fee agt. Jacob Bowman	1	10 0
	To Bal. of Abram Bowmans Acct	52	17 3
	Balance in the hands of the Executors	487	13 6
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		£545	0 0
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	To Jacob Bowman his pro. according to Will	54	3 7½
	John Bowman Do.	54	3 7½
	Abram Bowman Do.	54	3 7½
	Isaac Bowman Do.	54	3 7½
	Mary Stephens Do.	54	3 7½
	Elizabeth Ruddle Do.	54	3 7½
	Reginor Dyerley Do.	54	3 7½
	Sarah Wright Do.	54	3 7½
	Rebecca Brinker Do.	54	3 7½
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		£487	13 6

By Land on Cedar Creek at appraisement	545	0	0
	£545	0	0
By Balance to be divided according to Will	487	13	6
	£487	13	6

At a Court held for Frederick County the 3d day of September 1798. This Settlement of the Estate of Joseph Bowman dec'd was returned into Court and the same being Examined & approved of is ordered to be recorded.

By the Court

J A KEITH C^lur

Pursuant to an order from the County Court of Frederick, We the undersigned have Examined and settled the Estate account of Joseph Bowman decd, which with the supporting vouchers we hereby transmit—and by order of the aforesaid Court, we have also Examined and settled the Estate account of George Bowman decd. which account with its Vouchers we transmit in like Manner

A BAINBRIDGE

JAS. SINGLETON

Jany 20th 1798

No evidence has been found that Jacob Bowman of South Carolina or his son of the same name acquired lands in Kentucky prior to the inheritance as heir at law of Major Joseph; but very soon after the commissioners, on February 20, 1788, recognized the claims of Jacob Bowman, Jr., he began to dispose of lands in Kentucky, presumably some of those acquired by inheritance from his uncle Joseph. For example, on March 13, 1788, he was grantor in a power of attorney in a contract relating to real estate, and on June 15, 1789, in another contract, also in or by power of attorney. Three days later, that is on June 18, 1789, he was grantor for 400 acres, this deed executed under authority of the Court of Appeals. In all three instances his place of residence is given as South Carolina. Evidently, however, it was not long until Jacob or his descendants located in Kentucky, where they, like their relatives in other branches of the family, attained prominence and wealth. In 1881 Charles E. Bowman, a grandson of Jacob, was appointed by Governor Luke B.

Blackburn Commissioner of Agriculture for the State of Kentucky. He served four years, and was the second man to hold that office. This information was supplied under date of June 17, 1943, by Hon. George Glenn Hatcher of Frankfort, Secretary of State.

On April 3, 1943, Mrs. Abram Hite Bowman of Louisville (who was Miss Pauline Newman) wrote as follows:

Whom Jacob Bowman, Sr., married, I do not know other than that her name was Sarah. This I found through deeds in Laurens County, S. C. Their son, Jacob, Jr., was married to Nelly Tilford in Mercer County, Ky., in 1798, and later went to Bullitt County, Ky., where they raised a large family of children. A son of theirs, known in the family and through court records as Jacob W., married Mary Jane Field, and their son, Abram Hite Bowman (Sr.), was the father of my husband, Abram Hite Bowman (Jr.).

My research has revealed that Jacob, Sr., was a member of the House of Burgesses of South Carolina and a Tory. I sometimes wonder if he was married more than once.

Jacob Bowman (Sr.) probably was married twice. Cartmell gives him a wife whose maiden name was Grizel Greenlee. (See page 2.)

Abram Hite Bowman (Jr.), who was a public-spirited and highly honored citizen of Louisville, where he had been a resident for 40 years, died on July 19, 1943, aged 68. He was a civic leader and fathered the city air center, now so well known, and which fittingly in his honor bears the name of Bowman Field.

CHAPTER XII

A LIGHT IN THE CLEARING

At Lexington, Kentucky, in June, 1930, was celebrated the sesquicentennial of Transylvania University, whose brilliant history could be adequately set forth only in a large volume. Records show that it had the first medical college, the first college of law, the first normal college, and the first considerable library west of the Alleghanies. Lists of its officials, professors, and students show the President of the Confederacy, 45 U. S. Senators, two Confederate Senators, 91 members of the U. S. House of Representatives, 35 governors of states and territories, three Speakers of the U. S. House of Representatives, two members of the U. S. Supreme Court, seven chief justices of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, 13 Cabinet members, and more than 30 ministers to foreign countries.¹

Like many other great institutions, Transylvania University had its beginnings in rude and primitive quarters and in the dreams of a few men whose energies were distracted by the insistent demands of pioneer life with its multitude of hardships and dangers. That the menace of savage foes and the labors of subduing the wilderness did not keep the desire for greater light and learning out of the minds of optimists in the "Dark and Bloody Ground," is clearly shown in a measure that was passed by the General Assembly of Virginia in May, 1780, when 8,000 acres of land, escheated from British subjects, Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins, and Alexander McKie, were set aside as a free donation for the purpose of a public school, or seminary of learning, to be erected within the said county (of Kentucky) as soon as circumstances and funds would admit.

We may be certain that these lands would not have been devoted to such a purpose unless there had been a demand for education in the new county of Kentucky. In accordance with this initial provision, another Act was passed in 1783, as follows:

¹See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, pages 184-186; *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*, Vol. 33, No. 105 (October, 1935), pages 356-367; *Kentucky Progress Magazine*, April, 1930, etc.

An Act to amend an act, intituled An act to vest certain escheated lands in the county of Kentucky in trustees for a public school.

Preamble.

I. WHEREAS by an act of assembly, intituled, "An act to vest certain escheated lands in the county of Kentucky in trustees for the purpose of a public school," eight thousand acres of escheated lands were vested in certain trustees therein named, as a free donation from this commonwealth for the purpose of a public school or seminary of learning, to be erected within the said county, now called the district of Kentucky, as soon as the circumstances of the country and the state of its funds will admit. And whereas it hath been represented to this general assembly, that voluntary contributions might be obtained from individuals in aid to the public donations, were the number of the aforesaid trustees now alive and willing to act, increased, and such powers and privileges granted them by an act of incorporation as are requisite for carrying into effect the intentions of the legislature in the said act more fully recited.

II. *Be it therefore enacted*, That William Fleming, William Christian, Benjamin Logan, John May, Levi Todd, John Cowan, Edmund Taylor, Thomas Marshall, Samuel M'Dowell, John Bowman, George Rogers Clark, John Campbell, Isaac Shelby, David Rice, John Edwards, Caleb Wallace, Walker Daniel, Isaac Cox, Robert Johnson, John Craig, John Mosby, James Speed, Christopher Greenup, John Crittenden, and Willis Green, are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, to be known by the name of the trustees of the Transylvania seminary; and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, with power to break, change, and renew their said seal at pleasure, and to exercise all the other powers and privileges that are enjoyed by the visitors and governors of any college or university within this state not herein limited or otherwise directed.

III. *And be it further enacted*, That the said eight thousand acres of escheated lands in the district of Kentucky, late the property of Robert M'Kenzie, Henry Collins, and Alexander M'Kee, be hereafter held, and the same is hereby vested in the before named trustees and their successors, for the purpose and under the reservations in the said act expressed.

IV. *And be it further enacted*, That the before named trustees and their successors, by the name of the trustees of the Transylvania seminary, shall be able and capable in law, to take, hold, purchase, receive, and retain to them and their successors for ever, any lands, tenements, rents, goods, or chattels of what kind soever, which shall be given or devised to, or purchased by them for the use of the said seminary; and the same or any part thereof to lease,



Marker (above) erected in 1935 by the Colonial Dames of Kentucky. Joseph Bowman house (below) in which Transylvania University had its beginning in 1785 or earlier.

sell, alien, grant, or dispose of in such manner as to them may appear most for the advantage of the said seminary.

(Various provisos follow. The seminary to hold 20,000 acres of land exempt from public taxes.)

VII. *And be it further enacted*, That the first session of the said trustees shall be held at John Crow's station, in Lincoln County, on the second Monday in November next; and thereafter they shall hold two stated sessions in every year, at any convenient place in the said districts to which they shall adjourn, to commence on the second Mondays in April and October, until these stated times are altered by the concurrence of not less than thirteen of the said trustees. . . .

Students were to be carefully examined. The degrees of "Batchelor" and Master of Arts might be conferred upon those found worthy.⁸

Transylvania Seminary (later Transylvania University) had its beginning on the lands of Major Joseph and Colonel John Bowman. On March 29, 1935, after thorough investigation, the National Society of Colonial Dames in Kentucky marked the site of the Seminary in 1785, near the old Wilderness Road, on the farm of Mrs. William Taylor Robinson, which land was conveyed to Rev. David Rice, teacher, on February 26, 1788, by Elizabeth Bowman and Abraham Bowman, executrix and executor of Col. John Bowman, deceased. The farm is on Harrod's Run, and on or near the borders of the counties of Mercer and Boyle, both formerly in Lincoln County.⁹

There is a well-supported tradition in the Bowman family that a school was held or provided for at or near the above-mentioned site prior to 1783, when Rev. David Rice appeared upon the scene, and that Joseph Bowman, before his death in August, 1779, had taken steps towards the establishment of a school, and had begun the erection of a building or buildings for that purpose. It is significant that Col. John Bowman and Rev. David Rice were both named as trustees of Transylvania Seminary in the act of incorporation in May, 1783, and that the first meeting of the trustees was to be held at Crow's Station, which was at or near the site of Danville, and only a few miles from the

⁸See Hening's *Statutes at Large of Virginia*, Vol. 11, pages 282-287, date of May, 1783.

⁹See an article by Annie Stuart Anderson, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, October, 1935, pages 356-367.

lands occupied by Major Joseph Bowman and later by his brother, Col. John Bowman. The next meetings, in 1783 and 1784, were held at Low Dutch Station on Harrod's Run, and the one in November, 1784, at Danville.⁴

Apropos are the following statements made by Mr. A. Smith Bowman in a letter written on April 15, 1943. Mr. Bowman is a great-grandson of Col. Abraham Bowman, and was born and grew up at Bellevue (Fort Bowman, Bowman's Station), near Burgin. He says:

There seems to have arisen some questions as to where the original site of the school that afterwards developed into Transylvania University was located. Some have said that it was near Crow's Station (which is now Danville), but I think there is no question that it was about four and a half or five miles north of Danville on the land that formerly belonged to Joseph Bowman. This location, as you will see from the pamphlet that I sent you from the Kentucky State Historical Society, has been finally fixed upon by the Colonial Dames. The Colonial Dames have located it correctly. This I know from talks in my youth with my father, and the community around when I was a boy knew that that was the location.

While I attended Transylvania, I never knew until three or four years ago that the original site was ever questioned.

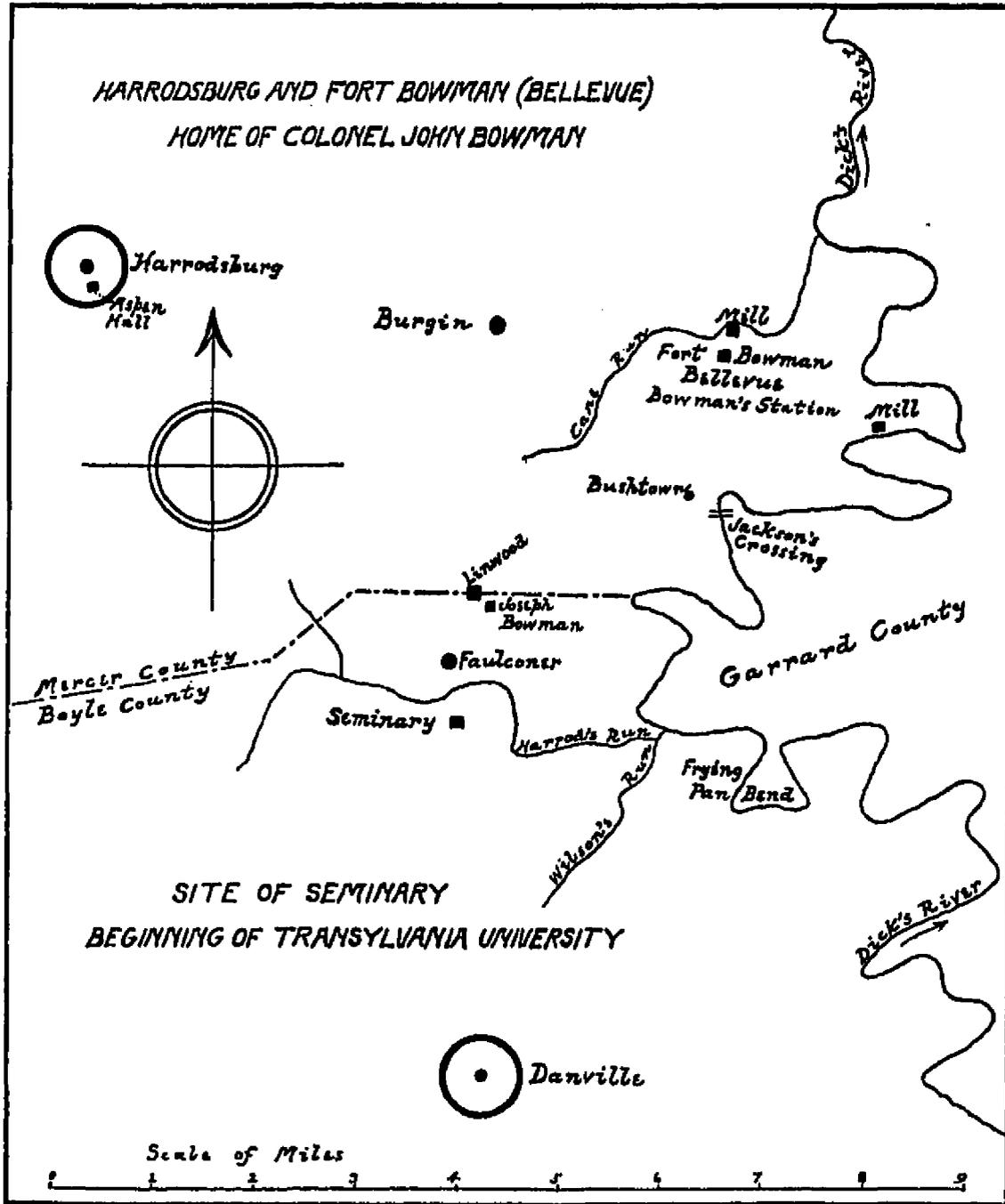
We passed within sight of this place every time we went to Danville; and we, being at about an equal distance from Danville and Harrodsburg, went to Danville about as often as to Harrodsburg, the county-seat. I seldom passed this place with my father that he didn't mention the fact that that was the original location of Transylvania.

As I always got the matter from talks with my father, my two uncles, and John Augustus Williams, who was a brother-in-law of my uncle John B. Bowman and a constant visitor at my home, Bellevue, when I was a boy, and I think they were unanimous in their belief, Joseph Bowman conceived the idea of a school for higher education for the youth of the wilderness and began the erection of a four-room brick house on his farm devoted to higher education; and, as I say, I never heard the location of the enterprise questioned. My understanding is that after Joseph Bowman had begun the erection of this building, he went to war and died at Vincennes, and that Col. John Bowman, possibly with the assistance of Isaac and Col. Abram Bowman, completed the building.

In another communication Mr. Bowman says further:

⁴See *Idem*, page 357.

HARRODSBURG AND FORT BOWMAN (BELLEVUE)
HOME OF COLONEL JOHNY BOWMAN



I read the article on Transylvania in the *Register*, and their version of it agrees with my recollections as to the location, except that they give it as a log house there, whereas my recollection was that it was in a brick house. When I last saw the place, there were both a log house and a brick house there, but it was always my understanding that the brick house was the one that was built for the school. I am certain that it was on the land that was owned by Joseph Bowman. . . .

I think there is no doubt but that the Bowmans and the Hites were instrumental in getting the contributions of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson to the institution, because they were all friends back in Virginia.

In a more recent communication Mr. Smith Bowman says that the building he spoke of as brick may have been stone. There is an old stone building near the log house mentioned above.

The first meeting of the Transylvania trustees was held on November 11, 1783, in accordance with instructions in the act of incorporation, and Col. John Bowman was present at that meeting, but not enough trustees were present altogether to constitute a quorum. This is not surprising in view of the fact that a majority (thirteen) of the twenty-five were required for a quorum and that they were distributed over a wide territory. As a matter of fact, for a considerable period in the early years meetings were irregular and the minutes are scanty.⁵ Col. John Bowman evidently continued to act as a trustee as long as he lived (he died on May 4, 1784), and on May 27, 1785, James Wilkinson was appointed to succeed him.⁶

We may summarize the beginnings of Transylvania Seminary (later Transylvania University) as follows: Prior to his death in 1779, Major Joseph Bowman conceived the idea of a school and began to provide a building for it on his land; his plans were carried on by his brother, Col. John Bowman, and others; Rev. David Rice ("Father Rice") came to Kentucky in 1782 or 1783 and began teaching; in May, 1783, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an act incorporating Transylvania Seminary upon an endowment provided in 1780; in 1785 Father

⁵See a letter written on February 15, 1943, by Professor L. R. Dingus of Transylvania College.

⁶See the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, October 1935, page 363.

Rice was conducting the school in the Joseph Bowman building, and had probably been teaching there for some time prior to that date.

In 1783, 12,000 acres more of escheated lands were granted to Transylvania Seminary; in 1785 Rev. James Mitchell was engaged as a teacher and a small library and philosophical apparatus were donated by Rev. John Todd of Virginia; in 1787 the Virginia government made an additional endowment of one-sixth of all the surveyors' fees in the district of Kentucky and exempted the teachers and pupils from military service.⁷

In 1788 the seminary was located in Lexington, and on April 10, 1790, formal commencement exercises were held, the first of the kind, so far as records show, ever held in the country west of the Alleghanies. In 1791 a lottery was established for the benefit of the institution. Rev. James Moore was appointed president in 1793, but was ejected by the trustees the next year and succeeded by Rev. Harry Toulmin, who resigned after two years. Soon thereafter Rev. James Moore was reinstated as president and was made a professor; Rev. James Blythe, M.D., D.D., and Rev. Robert Stuart were appointed to chairs, and in 1799 Col. George Nicholas was appointed professor of law. The medical school was organized with Dr. Samuel Brown as professor of chemistry and Dr. Frederick Ridgeley as professor of medicine and surgery. Among the later distinguished presidents of the institution was Rev. Holley (1818-1828). Among the eminent professors of law in the early part of the century were George Nicholas, Henry Clay, James Brown, John Boyle, Jesse Bledsoe, and Thomas A. Marshall.⁸ The traditions of William and Mary, as established by such eminent men as President (Bishop) James Madison and Chancellor George Wythe, were carried across the Alleghanies. As Charles Kerr, in his history of Transylvania's law department declared, "Transylvania Law School was as much the daughter of William and Mary as Kentucky was the daughter of Virginia."⁹ Not only in law but also in the medical school and the regular college department, Transylvania had men of the first rank in their fields. Rev.

⁷See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, pages 183, 184, and the Dingus letter.

⁸See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, pages 184, 185.

⁹See *Americana*, January, 1937.

Horace Holley and Professor C. S. Rafinesque were two of the most remarkable men ever connected with Transylvania or any other university in this country. Among the alumni of the early years were Jefferson Davis, Albert Sidney Johnston, John C. Breckenridge, Cassius M. Clay, Matthew Jouette, and Stephen F. Austin, founder of the Republic of Texas.

The name, "Transylvania University," was adopted under an act of the legislature passed on December 22, 1798, when Transylvania Seminary and Kentucky Academy, a Presbyterian institution, were united.¹⁰

Additional facts concerning Transylvania University will be presented in a subsequent chapter.

¹⁰See Collins's *History of Kentucky*, Vol. II, page 184.

CHAPTER XIII

ISAAC, CAPTAIN AND CAPTIVE

Isaac, youngest of the Bowman brothers of Harmony Hall, had, from some considerations, the most spectacular career. He and they participated in the Revolutionary War, Joseph and Jacob losing their lives on opposite sides in that conflict; Colonel John lived through it and a year beyond it; Abraham and Isaac lived many years after that struggle ended, saw another war, that for the freedom of the seas, and then enjoyed peace and prosperity, Isaac for a dozen years, Abraham for twenty-three; but Isaac was the only one, so far as we know, who was captured by savage foes, stripped for burning at the stake, and held for a protracted period in captivity.

When John moved to the "Roan Oak" and Jacob to the District of Ninety-Six, in or about 1767, Isaac was only ten years old; when Joseph, at 22, was a captain under Governor Dunmore in the Ohio Valley, Isaac was still only 17; but in January, 1778, when Joseph and George Rogers Clark were gathering forces for the Illinois campaign, Isaac was a few months over 20, and ready to join them.

On January 23, 1778, Clark wrote in his diary, "Lodged at Isack Bowmans; appointed J Bowman Captn, Isack Lieut. to raise a company for my Ridgement." Evidently at that time Isaac was in charge of the old home on Cedar Creek. George, the giant, had died ten years before; John and Jacob had been away from home for 11 years; for four or five years Joseph had been going and coming between home and the Ohio Valley and Kentucky; and Abraham, after some time as a surveyor in Kentucky, was now in the American army as colonel of the 8th Va. Regiment. Isaac joined Joseph in recruiting, and on May 12 (1778) set off down the Ohio for the Falls and the great adventure against Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

Isaac took part in the capture of Kaskaskia on July 4, 1778, and on or about the 30th of that month, when Rocheblave, captured commander of Kaskaskia, was sent to Williamsburg, Isaac

was one of the guard that accompanied him. This we learn from the letter that Joseph Bowman wrote from Kaskaskia on July 30 to his brother-in-law, George Brinker, and sent by Isaac. The latter evidently made a trip home after leaving Williamsburg, and apparently remained at home until the next spring, when he again went west, joining Joseph at Kaskaskia on May 10, 1779, carrying a letter to Joseph from Isaac Hite. These facts are disclosed in the reply that Major Joseph wrote to his uncle, Isaac Hite, from Kaskaskia on June 14, 1779. About this time, evidently, Isaac was appointed Horse Master to the Illinois Regiment, and advanced to the rank of captain. Proof of this will appear later. He served in this capacity until the following November; what happened to him then is set forth in a letter that was written on June 2, 1780, by John Todd, Jr., to Governor Thomas Jefferson, to wit:

Mr. Isaac Bowman with 7 or 8 men & one family set off from Kaskaskia the 15th Novr. last in a Batteau attended by another Batteau with 12 men & 3 or 4 families in it bound to the falls of Ohio. I judged it safer to send to the Falls many Articles belonging to the Commonwealth by Bowman than to bring them myself by Land. Bowmans Batteau fell into the Hands of the Chickasaw Indians & the other arrived in March or April at the French Lick on Cumberland with the Account that Bowman and all the men except one Riddle were killed & taken. I inclose your Excellency a List of such Articles as belonged to the State as well as I can make out from my Detached Memorandums. My Books & many necessary papers being also lost.¹

For the next three years Captain Isaac was lost, so far as his relatives and friends were concerned. When he finally reappeared, the Revolutionary War was practically over. Jacob and Major Joseph were dead; Colonel John and Colonel Abraham were in Kentucky.

Captain Isaac, still not over 25, had a thrilling story to tell. We regret now that he did not leave a written record of his harrowing experiences—all we have to go upon are the fragmentary traditions that were remembered by his descendants two or three generations later. These were best preserved by his granddaughter, Mrs. Ezra Foltz, with whom the writer had an inter-

¹See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. I, page 423.

view in May, 1925. According to her story, her grandfather, after being taken captive, was condemned to death by burning at the stake; was stripped and bound for that purpose, when his fine figure and undaunted mien so appealed to the sentiment of a certain squaw that she sprang forward and claimed him for her "boy." Her son had been killed not long before, and she desired the young white man to take his place. Accordingly, as the story goes, young Isaac became a member of that Indian family, which then consisted of the said kind-hearted squaw, her husband, her daughter, and the adopted son.

Not content with doing things by halves, the mother soon indicated that she wished young Isaac for a son-in-law, as well as a son—he was to take the daughter as his wife. This, as Mrs. Foltz gave it, was not altogether pleasing to young Isaac, though the domestic arrangements were made accordingly. The family, it appears, had two frying-pans. The mother of the wigwam and her husband took one and gave the other to Isaac and the girl. Whether the latter was a good cook or not is not disclosed, though we may be justified in some conclusions. At meal time Isaac would draw a line through the middle of the frying-pan and direct the girl to keep her fingers out of his portion. This she perhaps did not take very much amiss, being accustomed, no doubt, to seeing other squaws ordered around by their lords and masters.

How long Isaac Bowman was a member of this "happy family" of the wilderness does not appear, probably the greater part of three years. "In November, 1779, he was made prisoner by the Indians and was held in captivity for three years."² It is said that when he finally escaped from the Indians he was for a while among the Spaniards of the Southwest and for a time in Cuba; then one day he gave his people a glad surprise by appearing at his old home on Cedar Creek.

Soon after his return, that is in or about 1782, Captain Isaac Bowman married Elizabeth Gatewood and, after her death, Mary Chinn, the latter a sister to Susan Chinn, wife of Samuel Kercheval, historian. By his two wives it is said that he had 16 children. In his will he names Philip, Abraham, Joseph, John, Susannah, wife of William H. Richardson, and Eliza B., wife

²See *Idem*, page 22, Note 2.

of Joseph M. Fauntleroy, as his older children; as his younger ones, Isaac, George, Robert, Washington, Mary, and Rebecca. It is said that Catharine, also, was a daughter of the first wife. Isaac Sydnor, said to have been fifth from the youngest, was born in November, 1803, and died in 1866. He married Eleanor B. Hite (1813-1903) and had three children: Mary Elizabeth, born in 1842, who married Smith Davison; Frances, born in 1846, who married Ezra Foltz (she died June 4, 1927); and Isaac, born in 1852, who married Susan Hall.

Isaac Sydnor Bowman and his wife are buried in the family graveyard on the hill, a short distance northwest of the stone house at Harmony Hall. It is presumed that Captain Isaac Bowman and his wives also are buried there. There in unmarked graves are buried also Samuel Kercheval, his wife, and two or three daughters.

In connection with Captain Isaac Bowman's experiences among the Indians, Hon. William H. English, in his well-known book, has the following to say:

While there is no evidence that connects Lieutenant Bowman with the circumstances, it is a singular coincidence that when Lewis and Clark made their expedition through the wilderness to the Pacific, in 1804, they came across an Indian woman in the far west with the name 'J. Bowman' tattooed on her arm.³

As we know, I and J in those days were used interchangeably. Whether this woman was the same one who, some twenty-odd years before, had been restricted in her edacious operations to one side of the frying-pan, is a question that cannot at this time be answered; it might, however, afford fruitful speculation to a writer of poetry or fiction.

Revealing sidelights on Captain Bowman's service in the Illinois campaign in 1778 and 1779 are afforded by various official records. On January 1, 1783, the Western Commissioners, meeting as it appears in Lincoln County, Kentucky, settling various claims, entered in their journal this item:

The Papers of Majr. Joseph Bowman Decd. and Captn. Isaac Bowman were laid before the Board, Which were examined; and

³See English's *Conquest of the Northwest*, Vol. II, pages 981, 982.

finding them necessary for the settlement of other Accounts—take them with them to the Falls of Ohio.⁴

On Saturday, March 22, 1783, the commissioners, meeting at Col. John Bowman's in Lincoln County, entered the following interesting record:

An account of Capt. Isaac Ruddles was laid before the Board for his Compy. & Rations when the Illinois Country was taken by Colo. Clark the Money has been drawn by Colo. Montgomery at the Treasury and carried by him to Kaskaskias from whence he sent it by Isaac Bowman on from thence to be delivered, to Isaac Ruddle, & on the passage Isaac Bowman being taken by Indians & his papers destroyd, yet saved the Money, and after he was set at liberty gave it to Mr. Pollock, for this reason and as part of it seems to be a private Account, The Commrs. could not settle it.⁵

This reminds us of the experience that George Rogers Clark and John Gabriel Jones had with the supply of powder they were carrying down the Ohio River in December, 1776. Captain Bowman must have hidden the money at a safe place, well marked, before he fell into the hands of the Indians. Whether his trip back to the place to recover the money was made before he returned to Cedar Creek in 1782, or after, does not appear.

On Wednesday, June 25, 1783, the commissioners meeting in Richmond, Va.:

Mr. Isaac Bowman presented an account of his Service as Horse Master to the Illinois Regiment from 12th May till 17th November 1779, 200 days for which the Commissioners are of opinion he ought to be allowed Equal to Quarter masters pay 6/4 p. day (6 shillings and 4 pence per day) which amounts to £. 63. 6. 8. They are farther of opinion that he was out of the service of the State at the time he was captured & consequently has no legal claim for the time he was in Captivity, but beg leave to refer it to the Honl. The Executive. . . .

It also appears to the Comrs. that £. 1. 2. 6. is due to the said Isaac Bowman for Cash paid on behalf of the State, when he was in Service as pr. Vouchers See Bundle M.⁶

On August 4, 1784, the commissioners, meeting at Louis-

⁴See George Rogers Clark Papers, Vol. II, pages 304, 305.

⁵*Idem*, page 349.

⁶*Idem*, pages 399, 400.

ville, allowed a large number of land claims for service against the British posts northwest of the Ohio, among others to Lieut. Isaac Bowman, Major Joseph Bowman, Capt. Abraham Keller, Capt. Leonard Helm, Sergt. Isaac Keller, Van Swearingen, Henry Funk, Jacob Cogar, Handley Vance, Jacob Spears, and Edward Bulger, all or most of whom, with others, were from the lower Shenandoah Valley.⁷

Several years later deeds were executed to Captain Bowman for his military lands. On April 8, 1788, at Louisville, he received deeds for four surveys of 500 acres each—Nos. 1, 158, 213, and 289; and on July 7, 1789, at the same place, he was given a deed for his balance of acres, part of No. 32.⁸

The foregoing do not represent all the lands that Captain Bowman held from first to last in Indiana and Kentucky. When he made his will in June, 1824, he owned several lots in Jeffersonville, Ind., and also a ferry across the Ohio River, between Jeffersonville and Louisville. How long he had owned these properties has not been ascertained, but it was probably for some years previously. We may believe that he, like his cousin, Isaac Hite, and others, made occasional trips to his western holdings—perhaps sojourning there for extended periods. However, we assume that his chief activities were devoted to his properties and enterprises at home, on and near Cedar Creek, in the counties of Shenandoah and Frederick. The records at Woodstock show that in 1792 he was "about to build a water grist mill on Cedar Creek, Frederick County, one of the abutments of the dam to be in Shenandoah County." This mill, as may be seen by reference to the accompanying map, occupied a location of unusual natural advantage. At this point Cedar Creek makes an extended ox-bow curve of two miles or more in extent and then comes back eastward to a point only a quarter of a mile from the beginning of the said curve. Building the dam at the northern side of the curve and cutting the race across the narrow neck to the southern side of the curve, gave a fall sufficient for all the water-power necessary; thus the expense of digging a long race was avoided. The mill that was here erected became familiarly known as Bowman's Mill, and the older mill, built and operated by George

⁷*Idem*, pages 419-424.

⁸*Idem*, pages 433, 441.

Bowman, farther up the stream, being abandoned, was lost sight of. Consequently, it was Isaac Bowman's mill that is represented in Hon. William H. English's history as George Bowman's mill.

Captain Bowman probably lived in the stone house at Harmony Hall, in which he was born, until about 1812 or 1813, when he built the handsome and commodious brick residence, Mount Pleasant, in which he spent his later years. This house stands on a fine elevation overlooking Cedar Creek, about half a mile northwest of his mill and at about an equal distance southwest from the old stone house at Harmony Hall. Mount Pleasant can be seen from the main highway (now U. S. Route 11) from a point midway between Strasburg and Cedar Creek bridge; the top of the stone house at Harmony Hall is visible from the same highway just west of the bridge.

Isaac Bowman's will, made on June 20, 1824, and proved November 13, 1826, is a masterpiece of its kind and must be read to be appreciated. It may be found in the Appendix of this volume.

CHAPTER XIV

ABRAHAM HOST TO LAFAYETTE

In May, 1784, as we have seen in a preceding chapter, General Muhlenberg was in Lincoln County, Kentucky, and spent several days as the guest of Colonel Abraham Bowman, who had been first lieutenant-colonel and later colonel of the General's old regiment, the 8th Virginia, in the Revolution. In the same month, just 41 years later, Colonel Bowman was host to another notable guest, another distinguished general of the Revolution, the Marquis de Lafayette.

After being entertained as the "Nation's Guest" at Louisville, Frankfort, and other places, Lafayette and his suite, escorted by a company of mounted militia, came on Sunday, May 15, 1825, to Versailles, where a midday meal was served to a large assemblage just outside of town in Brown's (later Stevenson's) woods, the spot being known thereafter as "Lafayette's Green." There the General must have felt very much at home, among old comrades of the Revolution and so near the town with the familiar name of Versailles. In the afternoon the General and his attendants proceeded on the road towards Lexington to the home of Major John Keene, where he was welcomed and entertained over night by Colonel Abraham Bowman. Major Keene had married Colonel Bowman's daughter Mary, and the Colonel chose this place to entertain his distinguished guest because it was more directly on the General's course of travel than was the Colonel's own home. At this place Colonel Bowman delivered an appropriate address of welcome, in which he paid a fitting tribute to Lafayette's character and services in behalf of American liberty, and closed by calling attention to the fact that he was at that time in a county (Fayette) that had been named in his honor. Fortunately a copy of this address has been preserved by one of Colonel Bowman's descendants, and it is reproduced below not only as indicating the general feeling of the people towards Lafayette, but also as giving a fair idea of the culture and eloquence of Colonel Bowman.



HOME OF COL. ABRAHAM BOWMAN AT SOUTH ELKHORN
Near Lexington, Ky. Now known as Helm Place

ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO LAFAYETTE

It is a duty very agreeable to us, Monsieur, to be thus assembled to express to you all the sentiments of esteem, of love and of veneration, which your virtues and your attachments to the cause of our liberty have excited in us, since we have known and appreciated your worth and your services. It is also very agreeable for me to express my feelings in our maternal tongue, and this duty had been still more agreeable to me, if I was not sensible that the feeble means in my power would not suffer me to express all that the companions of my studies and I myself feel for you. In raising my voice here where I see myself surrounded by age and by experience, and above all, when I address myself to him in the assembly who is most capable of criticising and perceiving my incapacity, I tremble, and my words, which are articulated but with fear, far from suiting the grandeur of the subject, flow without energy, weak and languishing.

But can we remain silent when every individual is eager to exhibit the vivid emotion which fills his bosom in the presence of one of the founders of our Liberty? "No!" I hear the accents of my fellow statesmen and the harmony of their voices which unite to celebrate your virtues, to applaud your arrival, to exhibit their zeal, their love and gratitude, and to circulate through every heart sentiments worthy of you. We participate in the happiness which the citizens of this state feel in your presence—we wish to do more, we wish to participate in the honor which they possess of addressing you, and although persuaded that the tribute which they offer is more agreeable than ours, we will nevertheless be satisfied with having made the attempt, and with having spoken, since we have spoken to you.

Thus, without making any vain efforts to load our homage with ornaments, which never could express our feelings, we come to salute the friend of Washington and of liberty. We come to contemplate the venerable features of the man who aided our ancestors in their noble labors; of the man who traversed the immensity of the ocean to succor a people as yet in the bud of existence, and who, when in their infancy, had resisted the attacks of oppression and tyranny; of the man to whom we are indebted, with his companions in arms, for the arts and sciences, for commerce and all the riches which circulate through our cities, but in which they glory less than in his *Name*. For it is the first which the infant learns to lisp, and our offspring to remotest posterity will never cease to repeat that name with pride and enthusiasm.

On Monday morning, May 16, a deputation of citizens and officials, with three troops of horse, came out to Major Keene's

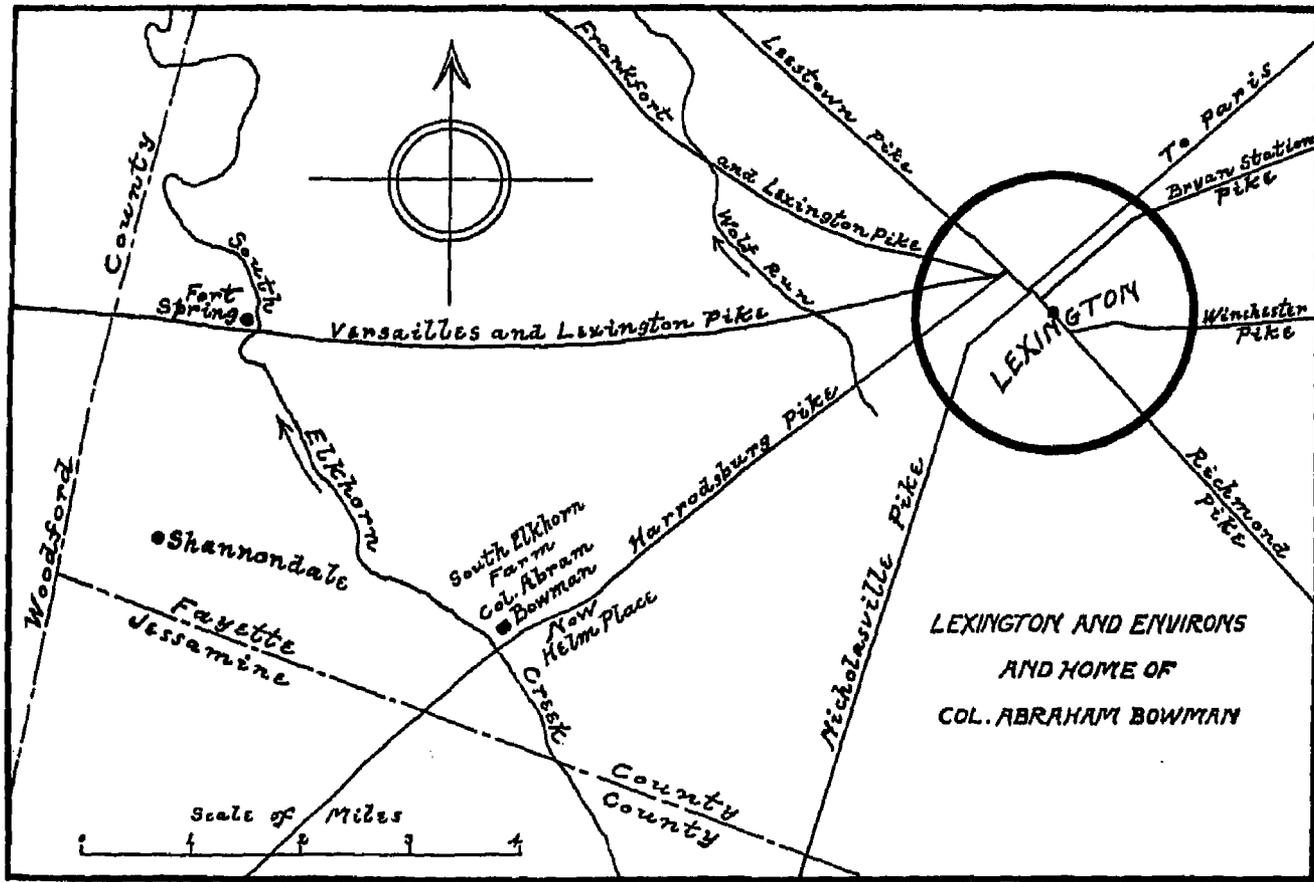
to escort Lafayette and his party to Lexington. The order of procession was as follows: (1) Colonel McConnell, first assistant marshal, and staff; (2) Cavalry and mounted riflemen; (3) Gen. John M. McCalla, marshal of the day, and staff; (4) Committee of Revolutionary officers and soldiers; (5) Fayette County committee; (6) State committee, with Colonel Wash from Missouri; (7) General Lafayette with Colonel Abraham Bowman, in a barouche drawn by four bay horses; (8) George Washington Lafayette, Auguste Levasseur, and the Count de Syon, also in a barouche drawn by four bay horses; (9) Governors Desha of Kentucky and Carroll of Tennessee, with their suites; (10) Revolutionary officers and soldiers; and 18 more units in the parade, among which were (20), the president, professors, and trustees of Transylvania University, (22), students of the University, and (24), citizens on foot.

At the Phoenix Hotel an address of welcome was delivered by John Bradford, then aged 76, chairman of the trustees of Lexington, who, with his brother, in 1787 had established at Lexington the first newspaper published west of the Alleghanies.

Among those who were with General Lafayette in the general reception which followed were Colonel Abraham Bowman and Abraham Hite. Among the places of interest in the town, to which the distinguished visitor was conducted, was Transylvania University, which dated its beginning from 1780 and had been moved to Lexington in 1789¹

Colonel Bowman at this time was between 75 and 76 years of age; Lafayette was not quite 68. Many of those who had fought with them at Brandywine, shivered with cold at Valley Forge, and suffered under the burning sun at Monmouth, had answered the last roll-call. Washington had died in 1799, Muhlenberg in 1807; but there still were many who had followed them all, Washington, Muhlenberg, Lafayette, and Bowman, to cluster around the re-kindled campfires and tell of the days that tried men's souls. Nine more years and four more days were allotted to Lafayette—he died in Paris on May 20, 1834. Colonel

¹A detailed account of Lafayette's visit to Lexington and other places in Kentucky may be found in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, Vol. 33, Nos. 105 and 106, prepared by Major Edgar Erskine Hume, U. S. A.



Bowman outlived him by three years and a half, dying on November 9, 1837.

Lafayette had with him on this tour a mulatto boy (young man), whom he had brought with him from France. In Fayette County, Ky., he fell violently in love with a mulatto girl, a servant of Colonel Abraham Bowman, and begged Lafayette to allow him to remain in Kentucky. To this Lafayette consented. The young man remained and married the young woman who had made him a captive at first sight. Mr. A. Smith Bowman, a great-grandson of Col. Abraham Bowman, remembers this man, having often talked with him about his experiences in crossing the ocean with Lafayette and other incidents of his early life. Mr. Smith Bowman's father, Dudley Mitchum Bowman, was five years old at the time of Lafayette's visit, and always retained a vivid recollection of it.

Inasmuch as mention was made near the beginning of this chapter that Col. Abram Bowman's daughter Mary married Major John Keene, it may not be out of place to speak briefly here of the Bowmans and Keenes of Kentucky as bred-in-the-bone descendants of the Centaurs of Cedar Creek.

Just when these men in the Blue-Grass Country began to breed and race fine horses cannot now be determined with exactness, but it must have been very early in the history of that region; and it is needless to enlarge upon the fame they gave to the turf through successive generations. It is altogether probable that the "Black Mare, half Blooded, 7 yrs. old," for which Col. John Bowman paid a good price in 1776 at the close of the Cherokee expedition, was taken to Kentucky and there made her contribution to equine aristocracy. There is a tradition that some of the fine horses at Bellevue were descended from Col. John Bowman's army horses. Governor Patrick Henry was so intrigued with stories he heard about western horses that he importuned George Rogers Clark to send him such and such to Tidewater Virginia. There are indications that young Captain Joseph Bowman had furnished some horses for Governor Dunmore's campaign in the Ohio Valley in 1774. In 1779 Captain Isaac Bowman was Horse Master for the Illinois Regiment, and in the same year Colonel John and his men brought back to Kentucky 133 horses from the Shawnee towns. We may suppose

that some of these racers of the wilderness carried strains from breeds that the Spaniards had brought into the Mississippi Valley years before. Early in the 19th century, John James Audubon, while living in Henderson, Ky., purchased a remarkable saddle horse named Barro, not long before caught wild on the head waters of the Arkansas River, a descendant of horses originally brought from Spain and set at liberty on the prairies of the Southwest.

On May 27, 1943, in Detroit, Mich., died J. O. Keene, aged 77, owner of Keeneland Farms near Lexington. He was a great-grandson of Col. Abram Bowman and, in the words of a Bowman cousin, "he and his brother were probably the most prominent turfman of all the Bowman tribe." His Kentucky farm is one of the noted horse-breeding centers of this country, and he sold the ground on which are now the Keeneland race tracks. A number of years ago he made a large sale of horses to the Czar of Russia, with a specification in the contract that he was to deliver them and train them for two years or so. At any rate, he and his helpers spent some time in Russia and won many races for the Czar. His brother Hamilton died in 1939.

Dudley M. Bowman, a grandson of Colonel Abraham, was the breeder of both trotting and thoroughbred horses and was one of the early importers of shorthorn cattle. He owned Abdallah Pilot by Alexander's Abdallah, the sire of Goldsmith Maid, the holder of the trotting record of her day and the greatest money-winner of any horse of her time. Abdallah Pilot was also the sire of Pickard, sold to Allie Bonner. Pickard broke the five-year-old trotting record for geldings. Dudley M. Bowman bred horses to sell—he did not race them himself. His nephew Howard, son of Abram Hite Bowman, had a filly Soso by George Wilkes that broke the three-year-old record. He also owned Blondine, a large money-winner. Henry Bowman, a first-cousin of Dudley M. and also a grandson of Colonel Abraham, bred the dam of Red Wilkes, the first stallion in America to stand at \$1,000.00 a season.

While the Keenes and some of the later Bowmans were "raising the dust" on famous race-tracks, James L. Ford, a grandson of Abram Hite Bowman, and hence a great-great-grandson of Colonel Abraham Bowman, was eliminating the

smoke pall that had long hidden the beauties of a great city. For more than 100 years the city of St. Louis had been stifled in a black fog, sometimes so dense as to blot out daylight from its streets and through which winter traffic had to crawl along for many hours of the day with headlights striving to pierce the darkness. Then came a great change in relief. On Sunday, February 2, 1941, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* came out with a splendid 14-page pictured supplement, the first half of which voiced a paean of deliverance. The notable victory of light over darkness was widely celebrated. In October (1941) the millions of readers of the *Reader's Digest* learned of the remarkable achievement through Karl Detzer's graphic condensation from Scribner's *Commentator*.

After numerous surveys had been made and large sums subscribed, with no appreciable relief from the smoke nuisance, a committee elected Mr. Ford, "a go-getting, public-spirited banker," as its chairman, and "common sense won the battle." Keeping the public informed through the coöperating newspapers and radio stations, Mr. Ford and his committee took effective steps. All those burning high volatile fuels were required to employ mechanical equipment to burn them smokelessly; all others were required to burn smokeless fuel. Under emergency or necessary control, the city administration undertook the purchase, sale, and distribution of fuel. The railroads as well as factories and homes were put under the foregoing rules. The story is a long and interesting one, but the remarkable results were achieved in less than a year.

CHAPTER XV

JOHN BRYAN BOWMAN

A number of the Bowmans of Kentucky and other parts of the country, descendants of the pioneer brothers, have been distinguished in different fields of endeavor and achievement, but none, perhaps, more so than John Bryan Bowman whose work over a long period of years in behalf of education, particularly in connection with Transylvania University and related institutions, was outstanding. He was born on October 16, 1824, one of the sons of John Bowman, Esq., and a grandson of Colonel Abraham, and his birthday, October 16, was the same as that of his grandfather.

Col. Abraham Bowman and his wife, the widow Sarah Bryan, had seven children: George, Mary (Polly), Abraham, John, William, Sarah, and Elizabeth, named in this order in his will, though this evidently was not the order of their births. John was born on January 31, 1787; Polly was born June 2, 1800. The birthdates of the others have not been ascertained. John, on November 27, 1817, married Mary Mitchum, daughter of Dudley and Susan (Allen) Mitchum; Polly married Major John Keene; Abraham, Nancy Gatewood; Sarah, Souzee Woolfolk; Elizabeth, Joseph Bowman; William, Nancy Parker; and George married (1) Maria Gist and (2) Isabella Guyton.

John Bowman, father of John Bryan, had other sons: Abraham Hite, born February 6, 1819; Dudley Mitchum, born June 23, 1820; and David Bryan, born January 26, 1826, who died July 25, 1829. Dudley Mitchum Bowman and his wife, born Virginia Smith, April 22, 1826, and married September 29, 1842, were the parents of David Bryan, Mary Clifford (who lived but a few years), Ella Dudley (who died early), Nannie Smith, Carrie, Virginia, Lelia (who died in childhood), Johnie (who died Sept. 1, 1864, aged 3-4-4), Dudley Mitchum, Jr., and Abram Smith Bowman.

John Bowman, born in 1787, studied law under Henry Clay, was a man of prominence in his profession and in general affairs, and lived to an advanced age, dying in Mercer County, Ky., on

January 10, 1873. He was licensed to practice law in 1809, and the certificate granted him at that time has been preserved by his descendants. A copy of it is presented herewith:

State of Kentucky Sct.—

Whereas John Bowman, who is desirous of practising as an Attorney and Counsellor at Law in the State aforesaid, hath produced to us John Monroe and William L. Kelly two of the Judges of the Circuit Courts of Said State a Certificate from the County Court of Fayette of his honest demeanor:—And we having examined into his fitness, capacity and ability, touching his knowledge of the Law, and finding him to be duly qualified:

These are therefore to License and Permit him the said John Bowman to Practise as an Attorney and Counsellor at Law in any of the Courts of the Said State.

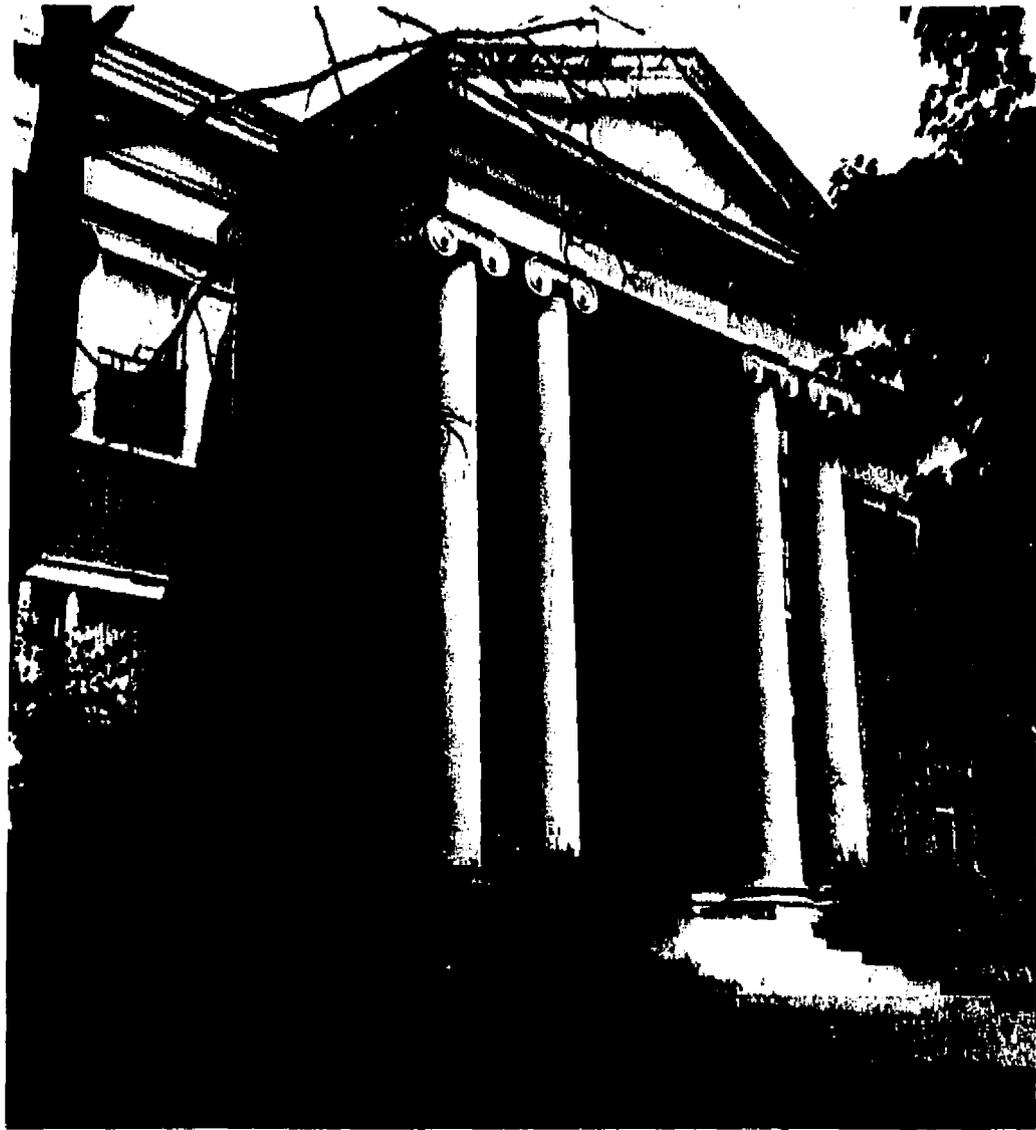
Given under our hands and Seals this 27th day of November in the year 1809.

(Signed) WILLIAM L. KELLY (Seal)
JNO. MONROE (Seal)

(Copied from the original.)

In the War of 1812 John Bowman was in active service under Gen. William Henry Harrison, and in that war or in the state militia of Kentucky later he held the rank of colonel. In 1836 he was one of the founders of Bacon College, at Georgetown, Ky., which, as shall be shown, was expanded into Kentucky University and in 1865 combined with Transylvania University.

John Bryan Bowman, like his father, studied law and was admitted to the bar, but never practiced. His collegiate education was received in Bacon College, from which he graduated in 1842. This school, of which his father was one of the incorporators and a trustee, was begun at Georgetown in 1836 and moved to Harrodsburg in 1839. It was a denominational institution of the Disciples of Christ. Bacon College, like many similar institutions, was handicapped by lack of financial resources. This, to John Bryan Bowman, did not suggest retrenchment or the limiting of operations so much as expansion under a new program. In 1855 he conceived the bold idea of erecting a university, and devoted the remainder of his life to that as a fixed purpose. He was then 31, a large landholder and successful farmer. After a conference with Hon. A. G. Talbott, he enlisted the aid of other influential men, and at a meeting of ten members of the board



LINWOOD, FIVE MILES SOUTHEAST OF
HARRODSBURG

Built by Col. John Bowman of the War of 1812, and later the
home of his oldest son, Abram Hite Bowman.

of trustees in the clerk's office in Harrodsburg, on Monday, October 22, 1855, presented a plan for the endowment of Bacon College and its development into a university.

Mr. Bowman at once set to work to give his plan reality. "At the fireside, on the highway, in the field" he quietly interviewed persons whose support might be expected and in 150 days raised an endowment fund of \$150,000. For notes payable in easy instalments he gave transferable certificates of stock with attached tuition coupons at the rate of \$30 a session to the amount of the subscription. He, with Major James Taylor, Philip B. Thompson, and John Augustus Williams, were later appointed by the trustees to procure the passage through the legislature of the amended charter. The revived institution was opened at Harrodsburg in 1859 as Kentucky University, operating there until February, 1864, when the main building was destroyed by fire.

Undaunted by this disaster, Mr. Bowman and his colleagues continued their constructive efforts. In 1865 a plan was consummated for consolidation with Transylvania University upon its campus in Lexington, in terms agreeable to stipulations in the recent land-grant act of Congress. In 1866 he purchased for the permanent site of the consolidated institution, Kentucky University, with its several colleges, Ashland, the homestead of Henry Clay, and the adjoining estate of Woodlands, the two containing 433 acres of excellent land.

From 1865 to 1874 Mr. Bowman as regent of Kentucky University accepted no salary, but had free residence in Ashland, the former home of Henry Clay. In 1871, owing to differences that arose in his church, he was involved in a controversy that continued for a number of years. Several times he had offered his resignation in the hope of terminating the imbroglio, but yielding to the urgency of the trustees he continued as regent until 1878.

The institution to which he gave such long and efficient service continued to flourish, with occasional changes of name and modifications in organization. It is now represented in the University of Kentucky and Transylvania College, both located in the city of Lexington. These institutions trace their genesis back through Transylvania University to that humble institution

in the wilderness fostered so many years ago by Mr. Bowman's great-uncles, Major Joseph and Colonel John Bowman, and later supported materially, though indirectly, by his own father, Colonel John Bowman.

John Bryan Bowman also shared in the founding of Hocker (now Hamilton) College, the Commercial College, and the College of the Bible, all in Lexington. He also aided in establishing the Lexington Railway Company, later the Lexington Railway System, operating street cars and buses over the streets of the city. He was an early advocate of irrigation in the West.

As already observed, Mr. Bowman's father studied law with Henry Clay, and was a close personal friend of the "Great Pacificator" as long as the latter lived. Naturally he was an ardent Whig. When Mr. Clay died in 1852 John Bryan Bowman was 28 years old and shared his father's admiration for the eminent orator and statesman, approving his political principles. Although a slaveholder, he stood loyally by the Union in the crisis of 1861-65, later affiliating with the Republican Party. Without any solicitation on his part, he was offered by President Grant appointment as U. S. Minister to Ecuador, but declined the honor in order that he might continue his work for education. On February 16, 1846, he married Mary Dorcas Williams, daughter of Dr. C. D. Williams of Paris, Ky., who lived until March 11, 1916. Mr. Bowman died on September 29, 1891. Over his grave a fitting monument was erected in 1915 with money bequeathed for the purpose by Alexander R. Milligan. His portrait, with an extended account of his life and work, may be found in White's National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. IV, page 516.



ASPEN HALL IN HARRODSBURG, KENTUCKY

Built by John Bryan Bowman, fronting on the Harrodsburg and
Danville Pike.

CHAPTER XVI

INDIANAPOLIS EPISODE

The Centaurs of Cedar Creek never dreamed of motor buses nor did they imagine that one of their descendants, who even in youth was a champion horseback rider in the Blue-Grass region of Kentucky, would ride to fortune by means of those mechanical marvels in a great city where horses had become almost a curiosity.

A. Smith Bowman, youngest son of Dudley Mitchum and Virginia Smith Bowman, after growing up in Kentucky, his native state, spent some years as a ranchman and farmer in western Canada; then, after a period of residence and business investment in Louisiana, he located in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., where he instituted and developed to large proportions a street service in motor buses that revolutionized the transportation system of the city and netted him a handsome sum in the process. Inevitably he met opposition in this business, but having a good share of the persistence and fighting spirit of his Revolutionary forebears, he carried his enterprise through to a successful conclusion. Several of those forbears, as we have seen, also participated in the "Seven-Years' War," which fact may be borne in mind as we outline briefly this seven-years' war with the street car company.

"Back in 1920," says Mr. Bowman, "you couldn't go into the market and buy motor buses as you can today. So I had to have mine made to order." The mayor of the city, when he learned of what Mr. Bowman had in mind, was favorable to the project—he thought it would be of public benefit to have some new and additional transportation facilities in the city. The city attorney declared that there was no law either for or against the proposition. Both agreed to keep quiet while the project was in the making. Some 35 or 40 buses were ordered and in due time completed according to specifications. They represented an investment of \$65,000. Drivers were engaged, and then without any advance notice the new vehicles appeared on the streets, ready to take passengers when and where they wished to go. It

was not long until five or six of the principal thoroughfares were getting 15-minute service, and even 4-minute service during the rush hours.

The historic circle in the heart of the city seemed just made to order for this bus service. There, as the people soon learned, buses could be found at any time. The service was at once popular—people liked to ride the buses, and did ride them. Not a cent was lost on the business from the first day of operations.

The street car company was at first inclined to laugh at this unheralded competition, but soon they realized that it was no laughing matter. The buses were so popular that the company took the matter up with the Public Service Commission, basing their protest on the ground that the buses were not a public utility, inasmuch as they had not been authorized by a charter in advance. Mr. Bowman's lawyers argued that the character of a business could not properly be determined on such ground—that the buses were in fact, if not in law, a public utility, and cited precedents, among others the establishment and operation of salt works in pioneer Kentucky, or rather, the recognition of such works as of public benefit, even though they had been started before a law authorized them. Here was another coincidence, in the fact that the Bowmans were among the first salt-makers in the Dark and Bloody Ground.

After various hearings, Mr. Bowman was permitted to continue operating his buses, but not to expand. Meanwhile the street car company began running buses on the same routes, but by this time public interest in the controversy had developed. People showed a preference for the Bowman buses, and would wait for them, if necessary, in order to ride on them. They evidently recognized them as a public utility and of decided public benefit, and seemed to feel a measure of obligation to them for having first answered a real public need. The final outcome of the matter was that the street car company in 1927 bought out Mr. Bowman's bus system and equipment for \$500,000 and assumed another half-million in obligations connected therewith.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BARON OF SUNSET HILLS

On June 20, 1901, Mr. A. Smith Bowman had married Miss Katherine Lyttleton DeLong, and during the "seven-years' war" in Indianapolis his two young sons, E. DeLong and A. Smith Jr., naturally were active and interested spectators; however, at the same time they knew that their father had never lost his attachment to the land, to outdoor life, and to livestock, especially horses, in spite of his notable success with horseless machines. They were stirred with stories of the Blue-Grass Country, of ranch life in Canada, with now and then an echo from hunting horns in Old Virginia, where men, and women too, still rode hard after the hounds, as George Washington and his contemporaries had done so many years ago. In their city home the family dreamed of a day somewhere, surrounded by broad acres, when they might enjoy the leisure as well as the occupations of country life, entertain their friends, and dispense the hospitality that was traditional with them.

It remained for DeLong Bowman, then at the age of 12, to make a discovery that proved an answer to the family dream. One day in idly scanning a Chicago newspaper he came upon an advertisement listing for sale the Sunset Hills estate in Fairfax County, Va. Overjoyed, he carried the news to his father. The latter, upon investigation, decided to make the purchase. His interest in this particular estate was increased by the fact that it lay within the old Fairfax domain, within a few miles of Mount Vernon, the home of Lord Fairfax's youthful surveyor, and not far from the homesteads of his own ancestors in the Shenandoah Valley, where George Washington was entertained while working for Fairfax and later while he commanded at Winchester in defense of the Virginia frontier.

The Sunset Hills farm comprises 4200 acres, and although it lies in a region that has been settled by the white people for more than 200 years, much of it is still in original forest. About 1800 acres are cleared, parts under cultivation, parts in pasture land;

the woodland is threaded with bridle paths, and is noted as affording some of the finest fox-hunting country in Virginia. From the main highway Mr. Bowman has built an excellent three-mile road that leads in to his residence, and one who follows this in its graceful windings on a spring or summer day, with the overhanging forest whitened with dogwood blossoms and woodland flowers, or on a winter's day, when the holly bushes are red with berries, can readily vision a rural paradise.

The mansion house was built 70 or 80 years ago, of brick made on the estate. The walls are 26 inches thick, with an inner air-space, and thus afford effective protection against heat in summer and cold in winter. With broad verandas on three sides, the house stands on the summit of a gentle slope, and is surrounded with a spacious lawn, in which remain some of the beautiful native trees. On one side is a flower garden, surrounded and intersected with box hedges; and in nearly every direction one sees a dense forest. Not far away is another large house, this one frame, which was built originally for a guest house, but is now mainly divided into apartments for resident helpers, many of whom are employed in various capacities. The farm workers and others enjoy so many advantages that ordinarily no difficulty is experienced in securing a sufficient number of competent workers.

Near the mansion house is a small village on the Washington & Old Dominion Railway, with its station house, postoffice, express office, and other convenient equipment. At other places, scattered here and there, are various structures, residences, barns, warehouses, etc., the whole number of buildings on the estate being above 40. So rich are the resources of this baronial manor, this feudal democracy, and so varied and complete its activities, that it is practically a self-sustaining and a self-sufficient community, while at the same time contributing its full share to surrounding communities and to the national life. Enough grain is raised and on hand to feed the 250 men, women, and children who are on the place. Ration books are so little needed that they are almost forgotten. "Any old port in a storm may serve for a refuge," sailors are wont to say, but fortunately the employees of Sunset Hills do not have to seek just any chance refuge in the great world conflict that is now raging. They realize that their place of work and service is the best possible place to be



HOME OF A. SMITH BOWMAN, SUNSET HILLS, VA.

when so many others throughout the nation are distressed with food shortages, job insecurity, and other difficulties.

The restrictions on hunting that were in force during former years have made it possible for this community to have an abundance of game, such as rabbits, squirrels, quail, coons, and opossums. All these can now be hunted in the legal seasons. No one has to worry about coal or oil for fuel when firewood is plentiful, or wait anxiously for trains or buses when horses are available for limited transportation. Milk and beef may prove serious problems in the cities, but not at Sunset Hills. On the place there is a church in which services are held regularly, and the Club House banquet hall can be made available for community gatherings. With a U. S. postoffice right at hand, no one need wait long for letters from friends or news from the world.

Both of the Bowman sons are alumni of Princeton University, Smith, Jr., taking a post-graduate course at Harvard and DeLong a full course at Woodberry Forest before attending Princeton. As practical engineers in the various constructions at Sunset Hills they have proven that they are no less skilled in such arts than they are in following the hounds or in riding winners at the leading horse shows of the country. For some time now their father has turned over the management of the estate, with its varied agricultural and business activities, to them, and he admits that they carry on about as well as he could himself. At present (late 1943) Smith Jr. is a lieutenant in the U. S. Naval Reserve. DeLong, who, on February 17, 1942, married Miss Helen Caldwell Potts of Frederick, Md., a lineal descendant of Francis Scott Key, lives in his own house near his father and is the efficient general manager.

About ten years ago Mr. Bowman built a distillery, the products of which, "Virginia Gentleman" and "Fairfax County" Bourbons, are widely celebrated. Remembering that Kentucky is famous for other things besides horses, blue-grass, and beautiful women, he brought from that state Casey J. Wilken, a noted distiller, descendant of a long line proficient in the same art, to direct the distillery at Sunset Hills. The new enterprise was launched in buildings that are not far from the dairy barns where 100 milking shorthorns provide daily about 350 gallons of excellent milk for the Washington market. It was dairying that brought the first profits to the owner of the estate. In 1934, when

Mr. Bowman started the distillery, it was his expectation that raw materials for it would be produced in sufficient quantities on the farm, and for a while this was true, but as the business expanded he found it necessary to supplement his home growings with grain brought in from outside. Since the emergencies of war have arisen the entire operations of the distillery have been devoted to the manufacture of alcohol for the national government, to be used for making synthetic rubber and high explosives. The output is about 1800 gallons daily. An abundant supply of excellent water for distilling, domestic purposes, and for the fowls and livestock is provided through an approved system fed by springs that flow from the surrounding wooded hills.

Interesting sidelights on distilling at Sunset Hills and the "lord of the manor" are provided by the following paragraphs from the Washington *Times-Herald* of March 17, 1939:

THRIVING FARMER TELLS CONGRESS HOW IT'S DONE

Monopoly investigators in Congress came across a rare specimen yesterday—a successful farmer.

The prosperous farmer, A. Smith Bowman, of Fairfax, Va., also runs a distillery, but he said it was just a "side line." His answers to questions about his whiskey plant—which he said was also successful—were frequently droll. Spectators got a hearty laugh when Bowman said he did not care what it cost, but he would make only good liquor, and a committee member asked immediately:

"Where did you say this plant is located?"

Bowman said that just after prohibition repeal "the public would drink anything," but that now public taste has improved.

To provide feed for the livestock large fields of alfalfa and corn for ensilage are grown on the farm, but hay, fodder, ensilage, and grain are supplemented and in some cases almost superseded by mash from the distillery. When the carloads of grain are dumped into the great cooking tank, and the successive processes of making alcohol have been completed, the by-product (mash) is pumped into huge outside vats, whence it is hauled by four-horse teams and distributed to long troughs for the cattle, hogs, and horses. As it cools sufficiently it is sucked up with appropriate bovine, porcine, and equine grunts of satisfaction. As a dairy feed this mash is unexcelled. It contains about 26 per cent of protein, almost twice as much as is required in a good dairy formula. "The only fault with it, if it can be called a fault,"

says Mr. Bowman, "is that it keeps the cows almost too fat." However, there is no grudge against fat cattle at Sunset Hills. On the farm, in the various fields, are about 50 horses, 600 or 700 cattle, droves of hogs, and numberless domestic fowls, all of the finest breeds. From the time of his boyhood in Kentucky Mr. Bowman has been familiar with the milking Shorthorns, known formerly in the Blue-grass Country as the old Durham breed. These cows, he says, unlike the Jerseys and Guernseys, may be turned into excellent beef cattle when they begin to fall off in milk production. Just recently one of his milk cows brought more than \$200 on the beef market.

Mr. Bowman has owned and operated farms in a number of different states, and they have always paid. Naturally, therefore, he is a champion of farming and farm life; and although he has developed side lines at Sunset Hills he never fails to remind his friends and employees that this estate was, is, and is to be primarily a farm. It really is a place where successful agricultural operations may be observed and studied in concrete demonstration.

From what has been said it might be inferred that the manifold activities of farming, stock-raising, and manufacturing have engaged all of Mr. Bowman's time; but such has not been the case. He has also been active in the vigorous recreational diversions for which this part of Virginia has long been noted. In 1927, almost as soon as he was well settled at Sunset Hills, he organized the Fairfax Hunt, having as its particular field a territory about 15 miles square, including the spot of Washington's ambitious business venture at Great Falls, parts of the battlefields of Bull Run, Chantilly, and Dranesville, and one of Lord Fairfax's places of residence. For a number of years he rode out as master of the hunt, and the spacious club house at Sunset Hills was the original headquarters of the organization. Fairfax Hunt, with others in surrounding communities, is listed in Baily's Hunting Directory, printed in London. In this well-known standard publication, an illustrated volume of over 500 pages, additional particulars may be found.

At this particular time Mr. Bowman is urging all his employees to cultivate a "victory garden," furnishing land and tools gratis and offering prizes for the best results. Everyone has room for a few pigs, chickens, ducks, and geese. In the endless sur-

rounding woods can be found walnuts, hickory nuts, wild honey, and thousands of gallons of edible berries. Maple trees and sorghum cane can be utilized for providing a supply of sugar and molasses. It is not surprising, under such conditions, that the Sunset Hills community should be thrifty, prosperous, and self-sustaining.

With the main burden of affairs shifted to other and capable shoulders, the "baron" now has leisure to entertain his guests, many of whom are from official circles in Washington, and dispense the simple yet gracious and ample hospitality for which he and his ancestors have been distinguished. He has comfortable chairs and lounges on the wide verandas, and can talk informally and entertainingly on either personal or national topics. He has rendered an important service to his kinsmen and many others by collecting, preserving, and making available records and private manuscripts relating to the Bowman family since colonial and Revolutionary times. In his spacious hall he has a davenport of artistic design and elegant workmanship which his great-grandfather, Col. Abraham Bowman, purchased in Baltimore and had conveyed to his well-appointed home near Lexington, Ky. It is seven and a half feet in length, outside measurement, ample in size for the biggest of the Bowmans, and comfortably cushioned for a quiet hour of repose. In an adjoining room is a commodious "secretary," with bookcase combined, also of choice mahogany and fine workmanship. Both these pieces are in their original form, except that the upholstery of the davenport has been renewed. When they were purchased in Baltimore, nearly a century and a half ago, it was necessary to haul them overland on a wagon to the Ohio River, float them down that stream on a flatboat to the mouth of the Kentucky River at Carrollton, propel them laboriously up the winding Kentucky to some point above Frankfort, and then haul them overland again by a slow-moving ox-team (as tradition has it) to the Colonel's home on the South Elkhorn.

Along with the family heirlooms and other relics of past generations are to be found modern pieces of art for use or decoration. Among the old portraits on the walls is one recently made of Mr. Bowman himself, attired in the pink coat that befits him as Master of the Hunt. He is generous in his reminiscences, for which his friends are grateful, and they listen with eager



A. SMITH BOWMAN OF SUNSET HILLS, VA.

As Master of the Fairfax Hunt

interest to what he may tell them of his notable career—his early years in Kentucky, his experiences on his Canadian ranch, when a polo team made up with his cowboys won the championship of the Dominion and narrowly missed a playing tour in Europe, of a bonanza he found in certain old estates in Louisiana, or of his fight with the street car magnates of Indianapolis. And his experiences at Sunset Hills have not been without their incidents of note and human interest. Among these he perhaps enjoys most to tell of the hit he made with blue-grass. Some years ago, a search was made for a product worthy to go on the White House lawn in Washington. Experts went here and there, looking for the best—to the Blue-Grass region of Kentucky, of course, among other places. They finally wound up by purchasing several acres of his blue-grass sod at Sunset Hills and hauling it down to the Capitol City.

A healthy green sward has utility as well as beauty; it is perennial, thus typical of recurring, promising youth. It is luxurious and abundant at Sunset Hills, suggesting a life that is prosperous through industry and thrift, though not indifferent to the pleasures of a leisure hour, such a life as has generally characterized the Bowman family, and is prophetic, we trust, of its future history.

APPENDIX

1. Will of Jost Hite, made April 25, 1758, copy from the original in the Frederick County Clerk's Office in Winchester, Va.

In The Name of God Amen I Joost Hite of Frederick County in the Colony of Virginia being in Good Health of Body and of Sound and Disposing Mind and Memory do make and ordain my Last will and Testament in form following that is to Say First and Principally I recommend my Soul into the Hands of God Almighty, and remit my Body unto the Earth Asuredly trusting to the mercy of Jesus Christ my redeemer for Eternal Salvation, both of Body and Soul at the resurrection of the Just, And, as touching my Worldly Estate I Dispose thereof in the following Manner (Viz) My Will and Desire is that all my Debts and funeral Charges be first paid and Sattisfyed—Item I Give and Devise To my Sons, John Hite Jacob Hite Isaac Hite Abraham Hite, And to the Heirs of my Son Joseph Hite Deceased (Viz) John Hite William Hite and Ann Hite, Sons and Daughter, of my Said Deceased Son, All my Estate, both Real and Personal, of whatsoever Nature or Quality, and to their Heirs and assigns For Ever, to be Equally Divided betwixt them as Soon as may be after my Decease. But and if it Shall So Happen, that if any of my Said Son Josephs Children, Should Die before they Arive at Age, or marriage, that the Survivors or Survivor of them Shall be Equally possessed of the party So deceaseds part, and to their heirs and assigns for Ever. My will is that my Estate above mentioned be Divided into five Equal Parts, To my Son John Hite one fifth part, To my Son Jacob Hite one fifth Part, To my Son Isaac Hite one fifth part. To my Son Abraham Hite one fifth part, And to my Above mentioned Son Joseph Hite Deceased one fifth part, of my Estate to be Divided as above Directed to his three Children heretofore above Named—And Lastly I appoint and Constitute my Sons, John Jacob Isaac and Abraham Hite, my Executors of this my Last Will Ratifying and Confirming this and Noe other to be my Sole Will and Testament, Nulling and making Void, all other wills by me here to-fore made. In Witness, whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and affixed my Seal this Twenty-fifth Day of April, in The Year of our Lord one Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty Eight
Signed Sealed and Published by the
Testator as his Last Will and
Testament

JOST HEID

In the Presence of Us
(Two sign in German) JNO ANDREWS
JOSEPH CARROLL

(Signed in German)

(The two signing in German may be Jacob Frey and Jacob Samstag)
 Jost Hite's will was recorded in 1761.

The first letter of "Jost" (?) is a perfect German Z, but it was probably intended for a J or a Y.

2. Will of George Bowman, Sr., made November 3, 1764, as recorded in Frederick County, Va., Will Book No. 3, pages 431-434.

In the Name of God Amen I George Bowman of the County of Frederick, being of Sound & perfect mind & memory thanks be to God for it Do this day make & Publish this my Last Will & Testament in manner & form following Vizt Impremis I give and bequeath to my well beloved Wife Mary Bowman One full Third part of my moveable Estate, Item I also give and bequeath to my Said Beloved Wife Mary the Negroe fellow Harry and the Negroe Wench Esther and their Increase her Natural Life and after her Decease my Will & Desire is that the said Negroe and Esther with their Increase be Appraised & Sold & the money Arising by Such Sale to be Equally Divided Between my Children which are then Living. Item I give and Bequeath unto my son Jacob Bowman the Tract of Land which I bought of William Linewell Containing Five Hundred Acres Lying and being on Linewells Creek in the County of Augusta to him his Heirs & Assigns forever. Item, I give and Bequeath to my Son John Bowman the Tract of Land Which I Bought of Jost Hite Containing Five Hundred Acres Lying and being on the said Linewells Creek in the said County of Augusta to him his Heirs & Assigns forever Item. I give and Bequeath to my Son Abraham Bowman One Hundred & Fifty Pounds Current money Two Horses or Mares of the Value of Ten Pounds Each to be paid & Delivered him by my Executors hereafter Named out of my moveable Estate and if it Should Happen that my said Son Abraham Should Die before he Comes of Age, then my Will is that the same be Equally Divided Between the Remaining part of my Children Item. I give and Bequeath unto my Son Joseph Bowman One Hundred & Fifty Pounds Current Money Two Horses or Mares of the Value of Ten Pounds Each to be paid & Delivered him by my Executors out of my moveable Estate and if it Should Happen that my Said Son Joseph Should Die before he Comes of Age, then my Will an Desire is that the same be Equally Divided Between the Remaining part of my Children Item. my will & Desire is that the Tract of Land & Plantation Whereon I now Live which Contains Seven Hundred & Twenty Acres be Divided in four Equal parts which I give & Bequeath in manner following Vizt the House and Plantation with the Land Joining thereto according to the Division, I give to my Son Isaac to be by him Possessed when he comes of Age with this Reserve only, That it is my Will &

Desire that my Well beloved Wife Mary, Shall Live thereon and Enjoy the same During her Natural Life, that part of the Said Tract whereon the Mill is, I give to my Son George together with the Mill According to the said Division, That part of the said Tract Joining the Plantation According to the sd. Division I give to my Son Abraham, And the other Remaining part I give to my Son Joseph to be by them Possessed when the Come to Age. Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Mary Stephens One Hundred Pounds Current money Item I give and bequeath to my Daughter Elizabeth Ruddle One Hundred Pounds Current money Item I give and Bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Right One Hundred Pounds Current money. Item I give and bequeath unto my Daughter Reganier Dyeller One Hundred Pounds Current money Item I give and Bequeath to my Daughter Rebecca Bowman One Hundred Pounds Current Money Three Cows & Calves one Heifer Six Sheep and one Horse or Mare of the Value of Ten Pounds, It is my Will & Desire also is that the Tract of Land Containing Three Hundred & twenty Acres Lying on Crooked Run in this County The Tract of Land Containing one Hundred Acres Lying on the North River of Sharrando and the House and Half Lott of Ground in the Town of Winchester Together with the out Lott belonging to the Same be sold by my Said Executors to the best Advantage Given and hereby Granting full power and Authority to them to make Good & Sufficient Titles to the Said Lands and after Such Sales so made my Will is that the money Arising thereby Together with the money Arising by the sale of the Rest & Residue of my Estate both Real & Personal not heretofore mentioned Be Divided Equally between my Beloved Wife Mary and the surviving part of my Children. And further I Constitute & Appoint my sons Jacob and George Bowman and my Son in Law Isaac Ruddle Executors of this my Last Will & Testament. And I do hereby utterly Disallow Revoke & Disanull all & every Other former Testaments; Wills, Legacies, Requests & Executors by me in any Wise before this Time Named Willed & Bequeathed Ratifying and Confirming this & no Other to be my Last Will & Testament. IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto Set my Hand & Seal this Third Day of November. One Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty four

GEORGE BOWMAN (LS)

Signed Sealed Published & Declared by the said George Bowman as his Last Will & Testament in the Presence of us—

The words (and Fifty) and the Words (to them) were interlined before Signed. Thos. Wood, John Warth. Rebecca Bowman.

N. B. Item my Will & Desire is that the above Hundred Pounds I allotted to give to my Oldest Daughter Mary Stephens Shall be

given to her Children my Grandsons as Followeth, Twenty five Pounds to be paid to George William Stephens, Twenty Pounds to Jacob Stephens Twenty Pounds to Isaac Stephens Twenty Pounds to Joseph Stephens & Twenty Pounds to Adam Stephens & the Remaining Five Pounds to be paid out of my Estate by the Executors of this my Last Will & Testament, If there should be any of my Estate over and Above, to be Devid amongst my Children my Daughter Marys Part Shall be Equally Devid amongst her Children and to be paid to them as they arive to the full age of Twenty one years. AS WITNESS my Hand this 28th. Day of August 1766—

GEORGE BOWMAN

John Bowman—Abraham Bowman—Joseph Bowman.

At a Court Continued & held for Frederick County March 2nd 1768

This Last Will and Testament of George Bowman decd. Together with the Codicil thereto Annexed was Produced in Court by Isaac Ruddle & George Bowman Two of the Executors therein Named who made oath thereto and the same being proved by the Oaths of Thomas Wood John Warth & Rebecca Bowman Witnesses thereto is ordered to be Recorded And on the motion of the said Executors who having Complied with the Law Certificate is Granted to Obtain a probate thereof in Due form of Law

By the Court

J. a Keith CIC

3. Will of George Bowman, Jr., made June 27, 1769, as recorded in Frederick County, Va., Will Book No. 3, pages 506, 507.

In the Name of God Amen I George Bowman of Frederick County being of sound and Perfect Mind and Memory thanks be to God for It Doth this day make and Publish this my Last Will and Testament in manner and form following Viz Item. My Will and Desire is that my Estate Both Real and Personal Except the Plantation whereon the Mill Stands is to be Appraised and sold and the Money Arising by such sale shall be Equally Divided amongst all my Brothers and sisters with this Reserve only that my Sister Marys Part is to be Equally Divided amongst her children as they Come of Age and is to be Paid to them by my Executors hereunder Named and Likewise my Will and Desire is that the Plantation with the Mill is to be Let out by the said Executors untill my Youngest Brother Comes of Age and then to be sold to the Highest Bidder and the Money Arising by such sale together with the Rent of the sd. Mill and Plantation shall be Equally Divided as above mentioned And further I Constitute and Appoint Abraham Bowman and George Brinker Executors of this my Last Will and Testament and I do Hereby utterly Disallow Revoke and Disannul all & every other

former Testament Wills Legacies Bequests and Executors by me in any wise Before this time Named and Willed and Bequested Ratying and Confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal this 27th. day June 1769

Signed sealed Published & Delivered by the said George Bowman as his Last Will & Testement in the Presence of us--

N. B. And it is my Will and Desire that my Mother is to have her Grain Ground for the use of her family Toal free Ground

GEORGE BOWMAN (LS)

At a Court held for Frederick County Sept 5th 1769 This Last Will and Testement of George Bowman Decd. was Proved by the oaths of the Witnesses thereto and Ordered to be Recorded.

By the Court
JAMES KEITH C C

4. Will of Colonel John Bowman.

In the name of God Amen, I John Bowman of the County of Lincoln, in the State of Virginia calling to mind the uncertainty of this life and knowing that it is appointed for all men one to die, and as I am at this time weak in body, but of sound mind and perfect memory, thanks be to God for the same, do make by last Will and Testament in manner and form following, that is to say, first and principally, I recommend my Soul to God, who gave it, in hopes of a joyfull resurrection, and my body the Earth to be decently Buried at the descretion of my Executors hereinafter named and as to what worldly estate it hath pleased God to bless me with. I dispose thereof in manner and form following, towit:

It is my will and desire that my just debts and funeral charges be first paid and satisfied out of my estate. I lend to my loving wife Elizabeth Bowman one third part of my estate both real and personal, during her natural life.

It is my will and desire that my Executors hereafter named or such of them as may qualify to this my last Will, may make sale of any of my lands which they think may be most advantageously parted with, and that the money arising by such sale, be applied towards educating my son John Bowman, and that my said Executors be hereby empowered to convey such lands so sold to the purchaser or purchasers thereof, in fee simple clear of all encumbrances whatsoever.

I give and bequeath to my son John Bowman, all the residue of my Estate both real and personal, together with the one third part

thereof above mentioned lent to my loving wife Elizabeth Bowman, which third part she is to enjoy during her natural life, to him and his heirs and assigns forever. But if my said son John Bowman should die before he arrives to the age of twenty one years, without issue of his body lawfully begotten, then and in that case, it is my will and desire that the whole of my personal estate be equally divided, the one half thereof, I give and bequeath to my said wife and the other half to be equally divided between my two brothers, Abraham and Isaac Bowman, to them and their heirs and assigns forever-and that the whole of my real estate be by my aforesaid Executors sold, and the same conveyed by them to the purchaser or purchasers thereof in fee simple clear of all encumbrances, and that the money arising by such sale be divided equally, the one half thereof I give to my said wife, and the other half I give to be equally divided between my brothers, Abraham Bowman and Isaac Bowman and my sisters Mary Stephens, Elizabeth Ruddle, Sarah Wright, Ryner Durley & Rebecca Brinken to them and their heirs and assigns forever, and in case my said Brother Isaac Bowman should die without issue of his body lawfully begotten then it my Will that his part of my Estate should pass to my brother Abraham Bowman and his heirs and assigns forever, and if either of my said sisters should die before receiving her part of my Estate, that such her part shall be equally divided between all her children then living, to them and their heirs and assigns forever.

I do constitute and appoint my loving wife, Elizabeth Bowman, Ex and my two Brothers Abraham Bowman and Isaac Bowman Exrs. of this my last will and testament, utterly disanulling, revoking and making void all other wills by me heretofore made declaring this only to be my last will and testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this Fifth day of February, 1784.

JOHN BOWMAN

Signed, sealed published & declared by the Testator to be his last Will and Testament in presence of us and at whose request we have subscribed our names.

Joseph Love, James Coe, Richard Foley, Wilson Maddox.

Proved in Lincoln County, Va., now Ky., August 17, 1784.

(Copy supplied by V. C. Gilliland, Clerk.)

5. Will of Colonel Abraham Bowman.

In the name of God Amen, I Abraham Bowman of the County of Fayette and State of Kentucky being of sound mind and memory do make ordain & publish the following as and for my last Will & Testament I give and devise to my wife Sarah Bowman during

her life, the use of the plantation whereon I at present live being part of Jovis' Military Survey and also including the One Hundred acres of land part of Mary Fraziers Survey which I purchased of Lewis Craig subject however to the provision hereafter made, in relation to the said plantation for my Son George Bowman I also give and bequeath to my said wife during her life the use of my negroe slaves Susan Elijah Manuel Fanny Sam & Absolem James and Amanda and the increase of the females I also give & Bequeath to my said wife all my household and kitchen furniture my farming utensils of all kinds and with the exception of four Cows and calves the choice out of my stock which I reserve to my son George I give and bequeath to my said wife all or such part as she may think proper to select of my horses Cattle, Sheep, hogs and poultry to be disposed of as she chooses I give and devise to my daughter Polly Keen wife of John Keen and to her heirs two hundred acres of land of which they are now in possession part of *Loves* military survey and which said two hundred acres of land were surveyed by John Bowman about seven years ago I have also given and hereby confirm to my said daughter a negro woman named Edy and her child and all her increase I give and devise to my son Abraham Bowman and to his heirs three hundred and twenty seven acres and ninety five poles of land according to a survey thereof made by John Bowman about seven years ago being part of Loves military survey and for which I have already executed to him a deed I have also given and do hereby confirm to my said son Abraham a negro man named Dick I give and devise to my son John Bowman and to his heirs five hundred acres of land on which he lives in Mercer County and for which I have made deed to him I have also conveyed to him an additional quantity of about forty acres of land which he purchased and paid for adjoining the said five hundred acres of land I have also given and do hereby Confirm to my said son a negro slave named William. I have heretofore given to my son William Bowman five hundred acres of land lying in Mercer County and adjoining the tract of his brother John which I have conveyed to those persons to whom my said son William sold the same. I now give and devise to my said son William and to his heirs the further quantity of thirty five acres and nineteen poles of land according to a survey thereof made by John Bowman about seven years ago being part of Loves Military survey I have given also and do hereby confirm to my said son William a negro slave named Frank I give and devise to my son George Bowman after the death of his mother and to his heirs the plantation whereon I at present live including the aforesaid One hundred acres of land purchased out of Mary Frazier's survey. But as my son George may prior to the death of his mother wish to establish himself separately from her it is my Will and I do direct that if he choose so to establish himself my said plantation shall be divided into two parts nearly as

equally as may be one of which including the mansion house and premises shall be assigned to my wife and the others including the aforesaid One hundred acres part of Mary Frazier's survey shall be assigned to my son George and upon the death of my wife my son George is to have as aforesaid the part assigned to her I give and bequeath to my said son George a negro slave named Solomon and also four Cows and calves his choice out of all my stock, my said son having already acquired a stock of Horses which are kept on the plantation upon which I reside. It is my wish that at my death he may be permitted to take all such as are known or reputed to be his. I give and devise to my daughter Sarah *Woolfolk* wife of *Samyel* *Woolfolk* and to her heirs Two hundred and eleven acres and One Hundred and twenty poles of land according to a survey thereof made by John Bowman about seven years ago being part of Loves Military survey on which they at present reside I have also given and do hereby confirm to my said daughter a negro woman named Jenny purchased by said *Samyel* and paid for by me I give and devise to my daughter Elizabeth Bowman wife of Joseph Bowman and to her heirs two hundred and thirty six acres of land according to a survey thereof made by John Bowman about seven years ago being part of Loves Military survey on which they at present live I have also given and do hereby confirm to my said Daughter Elizabeth a negro slave named Nathan. I give and devise to my two sons Abraham and George and to their respective heirs twenty one acres and One hundred and forty poles of land according to a survey thereof made by John Bowman about seven years ago being part of the aforesaid survey of Love and including my Grist and saw mills I give and bequeath to my step son David Bryan as a further proof of my affection for him and in addition to what I have already given him my negro boy named Reuben, I give and bequeath to my three daughters Polly Keen Sarah *Woolfolk* and Elizabeth Bowman and to their respective heirs a tract of land in Mercer County supposed to contain between two and three hundred acres and being the residue of the tract of which I have given five hundred acres to my son John Bowman and conveyed five hundred other acres to those persons to whom my son William Bowman has sold it, to be equally divided between them. I give and devise to my Executors hereafter named or to such of them as may qualify and to their heirs One thousand acres of land which I have a claim to in Jefferson County and One thousand acres of land in trust to sell and dispose of the said land and to divide the proceeds thereof equally between all my children except my son George for whom the other provisions of my will are sufficiently ample I give and bequeath upon the death of my wife the slaves which I herein lent to her during her life and their increase and also all my other slaves not herein particularly disposed of and

all the rest and residue of my estate not herein before specifically devised or bequeathed to all my Children share and share alike. I do nominate and appoint my son in law Joseph Bowman and my step son David Bryan Executors of this my last Will and Testament hereby particularly directing them to pay in the first instance all my just debts. In Testimony whereof I have hereunto my hand this 11th day of November 1825.

ABRM. BOWMAN

Signed and acknowledged in presence of.....
James Headley Jr., Jacob Lodousky, Jr., John Higbee, Jr., Asa Cartwell, John Cartwell, Elijah Cartwell.

I Abraham Bowman do hereby this 30th day of October 1830 make the following addition or codicil to my last Will and Testament above written I give and bequeath to my Executors my negro man Tom now hired to William Bowman in trust that my said Executors shall permit the said William Bowman to have the use of the said negro during his life for the benefit of his family and upon the said Williams death, that my said Executors shall convey and deliver the said negro man to his Heirs I direct that my son George (contrary to the above provision in respect to the land in Jefferson and Hardin) shall have an equal share of the proceeds thereof with my other children I do nominate and appoint my Son Abraham as one of my Executors with those above named and I direct that no security be required of my Executors when they qualify as such Witness my hand the day and year last above mentioned.

ABR. BOWMAN

Witness Present Robt. Scott, A. W. P. Parker, H. Clay, John Higbee.

Proved in Fayette County, Ky., December Court, 1837. See Will Book N, page 255.

(Copy supplied by J. C. Rodes, Clerk.)

6. Will of Captain Isaac Bowman.

In the name of God Amen I Isaac Bowman of the County of Shenandoah & State of Virginia do make and ordain this instrument of writing to be my last Will & Testament

1st It is my will and desire that after my death my body shall be decently buried by my Executor herein after named and my funeral expenses and all my just debts fully paid and satisfied

2nd I have heretofore given to my eldest son Philip a valuable tract of Land in the County of Shenandoah which I conveyd by Deed to him as his full portion of real estate. I have also given & conveyed to my sons Abraham Joseph & John valuable tracts of Land in the State of Indiana as their respective portions of my real es-

tate—I have also heretofore given to my Said Several sons Philip, Abraham, Joseph & John sundry slaves and other articles of personal property with which they respectively stand charged as their respective proportions of my slaves & personal estate agreeable to my plan of the present division of my slaves and personal estate

3rd I give and devise to my daughter Susannah wife of William H Richardson now resident in the State of Ohio a tract of Land containing five hundred acres more or less being Lot No 232 lying & being in what is generally called the Illinois military Grant in the State of Indiana to his & her heirs or assigns as her full partition of my real estate I have also heretofore given to my said daughter Susanna sundry slaves and other articles of personal estate with which stands charged as her proportion of the present division of my personal estate

4th I give and devise to my daughter Eliza B wife of Joseph M. Fauntleroy of the County of Frederick a tract of Land containing five hundred acres more or less in the Said Illinois Grant and State of Indiana as her full proportion of my real estate I moreover give and devise to my said daughter Eliza B the several slaves and other articles of personal property with which she stands charged as her proportion of the present division of my personal Estate all which I give and devise to her and her heirs or assigns forever

5th I give and devise to my beloved wife Mary the whole of the several tracts of Land on which I now reside part whereof lies in the County of Shenandoah and the remainder in Frederick including the tract I lately purchased formerly owned by my son Philip and on which he now resides with the buildings and improvements thereon and all the residue of my slaves & personal estate subject nevertheless to the conditions and provisions herein after expressed and limited

6th It is my will and desire that as my six younger children to wit Isaac George Robert, Washington, Mary & Rebecca arrive at lawful age my Executors shall deliver to each of them, as many of my slaves in equitable Lots as can conveniently be made which Lots are to be taken from the families of the slaves and their increase of which I acquired possession by my intermarriage with my said wife Mary and as much of my stock of horses and other articles of personal property as will make each one's proportion as nearly equal as can conveniently be done to the distributions which I have heretofore made among my older children by my said wife Mary and each division when so made shall be delivered to my said Six younger children and each one of them shall be charged with his or her respective parts so delivered and when so delivered shall constitute their respective portions of my personal estate except such further provisions for them as hereafter expressed.

7th It is my will and desire that my widow shall maintain and educate my said six younger children without any charge to either of

them for their expences of maintenance and education and I enjoin it as a solemn duty upon my said wife Mary and my nephew & friend George Brinker to be particularly attentive to the decent maintainance of said Six younger children and their education until they respectively arrive at lawful age But if either of said six younger children should depart this life before he she or they shall arrive at lawful age or without lawful issue of their bodies in that event it is my will and desire that the proportion of the slaves to which he she or they would have been entitled shall be equally divided among the surviving children of my said wife Mary and their heirs or assigns.

8th For the better enabling my Executors to maintain & educate my said Six younger children it is my will and desire that my estate shall be kept Together and that the same shall be managed and conducted as if I was still living until my youngest or surviving youngest child shall arrive at lawful age except the event hereafter mentioned shall have taken place and except such specific provisions herein before and hereinafter expressed. I Therefore expressly direct that no appraisment of my personal estate or slaves shall be made nor no Security required of my securities until my youngest or surviving youngest child shall arrive at Lawful age unless my widow should marry in that event an appraisment and division of my slaves & personal estate shall immediately be made among all my surviving children according to the provisions herein before expressed and their heirs or assigns As Soon as my youngest or surviving youngest child shall arrive at Lawful age a general division and distribution of my slaves with future increase and personal estate shall be made amongst all my children and their heirs subject nevertheless to the further provisions hereinafter made to my said wife Mary And whereas I have heretofore given and divided between the children of my first wife the slaves and their increase of whom I acquired possession by my intermarriage with my said first wife and it being equally just & reasonable that the children of my present wife Mary shall exclusively own the slaves and their increase of whom I acquired possession by her it is therefore my Will & desire that the slaves and their increase acquired by my said wife Mary shall be exclusively divided among her several children and their heirs or assigns according to the provisions herein before expressed and the slaves and their increase owned by me previous to my first marriage or acquired by purchase at any time shall be equally divided among all my children & their heirs except as herein after excepted which general division shall be made at the time hereinbefore directed

9th My several Lots of Land in the town of Jeffersonville in the State of Indiana my ferry across the Ohio River and my tract of Land in the said Illinois grant containing One hundred and fifty Six acres more or less being part of Lot No 32 in said grant shall

constitute one other division of my real estate. My tract of Land lying on the waters of Green River & Delawar Creek in the State of Kentucky Containing fourteen hundred acres more or less shall constitute one other division of my real estate and my several tracts of land whereon I now live and occupy part whereof lies in the County Shenandoah & the remainder in Frederick shall constitute four other divisions of my real estate which four divisions shall be made in the following manner the said several contains all together about eleven hundred acres which shall be divided into four equal parts according to quantity & quality and as nearly of a size as can justly be done. My Brick dwelling house with lands and improvements immediately adjacent thereto shall constitute one division My Stone house in which I formerly lived with the lands and improvements thereto shall constitute the Second division My Merchant Mill and the lands and improvements adjacent thereto shall constitute the third division and my tract commonly called the Island tract shall constitute the fourth division The said several four divisions to be so laid off and divided as to give to each legatee as nearly an equal quantity of Land as can be done having due regard to quality & Timber and as there is no building on the Island tract I will and direct that the three Legatees who shall receive the three improved divisions shall each one pay to the one receiving the Island tract a sufficient sum to defray the expences of erecting comfortable and convenient buildings thereon which sum or sums of money so to be paid by each legatee as aforesaid to the one receiving the Island shall be adjudged and awarded by the Commissioners who shall be appointed by the Court of Shenandoah County for dividing and laying off the same If any two of my sons when they arrive at lawful age shall think proper to accept of the Lands in the State of Indiana including my ferry across the Ohio River at Jeffersonville and the Lots in the Town of Jeffersonville with the 156 acre tract and the fourteen hundred acre tract on the waters of Green River in the State of Kentucky as their full proportion of my real estate or if any one of them shall accept the fourteen hundred acre tract on Green River as aforesaid then I give and devise the same to him and his heirs or assigns forever And if any one of them shall accept the Lots in Jeffersonville the ferry and 156 acre tract in Indiana then I give and devise the same to him & his heirs or assigns forever. But if neither of my said younger sons shall accept of either of the divisions of real property in the Western Country then it is my will and desire that the same together with the four divisions of the Lands in the Counties of Shenandoah & Frederick shall be divided by Lot between my said Six younger children Isaac, George, Robert, Washington, Mary & Rebecca and their heirs or assigns forever And if any one of my sons shall accept of either the division of my western Lands the

is the remainder of all my lands to be divided by Lot Between the other five as before directed.

10th I hereby request the County Court of Shenandoah to appoint as many discreet and disinterested men as to them shall seem reasonable & proper for dividing and allotting the Land aforesaid agreeable to the foregoing provisions and for awarding and deciding the amount to be paid in Money to the one which shall receive the Island tract And the division allotment and award of such Commissioners so appointed by the Court shall be final which divisions and allotments with the award of the said Commissioners I give and devise to my said six younger children Isaac George Robert Washington Mary & Rebecca and their heirs or assigns forever

But if either of my said six younger children shall depart this life before he she or they shall arrive at lawful age ' in that event it is my will & desire that the part of my real estate to which he she or they would have been entitled shall be sold by my Exors and the money arising from the Sale thereof to be equally divided between all my surviving children & their heirs or assigns.

11th I give and devise to my said wife Mary One third of my Lands in the Counties of Shenandoah & Frederick for and during her natural life including my Brick dwelling house and all the buildings & improvements attachd thereto her choice of five slaves which is to be taken from the families of those slaves I acquired by her also to be held during her natural life and after her death the said Slaves & their increase to be equally divided between her children and their heirs or assigns I also give & devise to my said wife Mary her choice of three head of horses Six Milch Cows two feather Beds bedsteads and furniture. my riding rig & harness and one third part of all residue of my personal estate (the Slaves excepted) to her exclusive use and benefit & to her heirs or assigns

But if any part of the same shall remain at the time of her death, the same shall be sold by my surviving Executor and the money arising therefrom equally divided between all my children & their heirs or assigns

12th If the money due me at the time of my death shall be insufficient to discharge my just debts my executors are hereby authorised & required to sell as much of my personal estate the slaves excepted as will be sufficient to discharge all my just debts and to sell and dispose of all surplus crops and stock of all kinds from time to time for the more convenient and comfortable maintainance of the family and education of the children

13th When my youngest child or surviving youngest child shall arrive at lawfull age or at the marriage of my widow should that event take place an appraisement of all my slaves and personal estate shall be made and the same divided between my children in the manner before directed and for the more convenient distribution thereof—All my personal estate the slaves excepted shall be sold by

my executors except such part as I have herein before especially bequeathd

14th The slaves and other personal estate to which my son Philip would have been entitled I give and bequeath to his several children as well those now in existence as those which may hereafter be born to be delivered and paid to them as they respectively arrive at lawfull age or when the general division of my estate shall take place and not before

And Lastly I do hereby appoint my said wife Mary my nephew & friend George Brinker my four sons Isaac, George, Robert and Washington Executors of this my last will & Testament Any one or more of my said sons to be permitted to qualify as they arrive at lawfull age

In Testimony whereof I have Signed, Sealed published pronounced & declared this instrument of writing to be my last Will & Testament hereby revoking all other wills by me heretofore made this 20th day of June in the year of our Lord 1824.

ISAAC BOWMAN (Seal)

Signed Sealed published & declared to be his last Will & Testament in presence of

Saml Kercheval, Richd M Sydnor, Will M Bayley.

Codicil Whereas I was appointed Guardian to my four elder children to wit. Philip Abraham Catharine & Susannah in order to receive their respective portions of the Legacy due their mother or to them in right of their mother who was one of the daughters of Philip Gatewood dec'd and as I have heretofore delivered and paid to each of said four eldest children the slaves and all other property and monies due them in right of their said mother I Therefore expressly declare and direct that the said Philip, Abraham, Catharine & Susannah or all and every one claiming under or from them shall release and discharge my Executors from all claim or demand and whatever for and on account of my Guardianship aforesaid before he she or they shall be entitled to receive or demand any part of their respective Legacies provided and devised in my foregoing last Will & Testament

ISAAC BOWMAN (Seal)

Teste

Saml Kercheval, Richd M Sydnor, Will M Bayley.

Proved November 13, 1826, in Shenandoah County, Va. See Will Book N, pages 521-526.

7. BOWMAN FAMILY RECORDS

From the family Bible of Col. Abraham Bowman (1749-1837), as entered by him and continued by his descendants, and other sources, with supplementary notes.

Marriages

John Bowman and Mary Mitchum, Nov. 27, 1817
[John was the son of Col. Abram and grandfather of A. Smith Bowman. John studied law with Henry Clay.]

Dudley Mitchum Bowman and Virginia Smith, Sept. 29, 1842
[Dudley M. was a son of John and father of A. Smith Bowman.]

Abram Hite Bowman and Mary A. Tomlinson, Oct. 3, 1843
[Abram H. was a son of John.]

John Bryan Bowman and Mary D. Williams, Feb. 16, 1846
[John B. was a son of John.]

Dudley Mitchum and Susan Allen, Apr. 22, 1779
[Parents of Mary Mitchum Bowman, wife of John.]

Abram Bowman Sr. married a Widow Bryan, who was born Sarah Henry.

[This Abram was Col. Abram Bowman (1749-1837).]

Bacon R. Moore and Nannie S. Bowman, Dec. 12, 1872

D. Bryan Bowman and Mary Withers, Feb. 27, 1873

Henry H. Ringo and Carrie H. Bowman, Oct. 3, 1877
[Carrie was a daughter of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Virginia S. Bowman and John L. Cassell (about 1882.)
[Virginia was a daughter of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Dudley Mitchum Bowman and Mary D. Dunlap, Sept. 9, 1891
[Dudley M. Bowman was a son of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Abram Smith Bowman and Katherine Lyttleton DeLong, June 20, 1901

[A. Smith Bowman is a son of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Births

John Bowman, January 31, 1787
 [John was a son of Col. Abram Bowman and Sarah Henry Bryan Bowman.]

Mary Bowman, June 2, 1800
 [Mary was a daughter of Col. Abram Bowman. She married John Keene.]

Abraham Hite Bowman, February 6, 1819
 [Abram H. was a son of John, who was born in 1787.]

Dudley Mitchum Bowman, June 23, 1820 (Died Oct. 2, 1901.)
 [Dudley M. was a son of John, who was born in 1787.]

John Bryan Bowman, Oct. 16, 1824
 [John B. was a son of John, who was born in 1787.]

David Bryan Bowman, Jan. 26, 1826
 [David B. was a son of John, who was born in 1787.]

Joannah M. Steele, Dec. 25, 1826
 [Joannah was adopted by John, who was born in 1787.]

David Bryan Bowman, Oct. 23, 1843
 [Son of Dudley Mitchum and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Abram Bowman Sr., Oct. 16, 1749
 [Colonel Abraham.]

Sarah Bowman, Sept. 8, 1757
 [Born Sarah Henry; married (1) David Bryan; (2) Col. Abram Bowman.]

David Bryan, April 30, 1779
 [Son of David and Sarah Henry Bryan.]

Mary Clifford Bowman, March 30, 1846
 [Daughter of Dudley Mitchum and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Ella Dudley Bowman, Sept. 23, 1848
 [Daughter of Dudley Mitchum and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Nannie Smith Bowman, June 5, 1851
 [Daughter of Dudley Mitchum and Virginia Smith Bowman; married Bacon R. Moore.]

Carrie Hite Bowman, Sept. 29, 1853
 [Daughter of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Virginia Bowman, April 1, 1856
 [Daughter of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman; married John L. Cassell.]

Leila Bowman, Oct. 23, 1858 (Died Sept. 5, 1864.)
[Daughter of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

John Bowman, April 27, 1861 (Died Sept. 1, 1864.)
[Son of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Dudley M. Bowman, Feb. 28, 1864
[Son of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Abram Smith Bowman, March 3, 1868
[Son of Dudley M. and Virginia Smith Bowman.]

Carrie Dunlap Bowman, May 4, 1893
[Daughter of Dudley M. and Mary Dunlap Bowman.]

Dudley Mitchum, July 2, 1754; died May 19, 1831

Susan (Allen) Mitchum, Feb. 10, 1759

Sally Mitchum, March 28, 1780; [married James Craig.]

James Mitchum, Dec. 24, 1784

William Mitchum, June 12, 1787

John Mitchum, Jan. 31, 1789

Nancy Mitchum, Aug. 12, 1792; [married Noah Hayden.]

Elizabeth Mitchum, Jan. 25, 1795; [married Samuel Steele.]

Patsy Mitchum, Aug. 20, 1797; [married Joseph Woolfolk.]

Polly Mitchum, June 2, 1800; [Mary Mitchum—married John Bowman.]

Susan Mitchum, Feb. 15, 1804; [married (1) John Ball; (2) Ben. F. Hall].

Virginia Smith, Apr. 22, 1826; [married Dudley Mitchum Bowman; died April 14, 1899.]

Mary D. Williams, Aug. 9, 1826; [married John Bryan Bowman.]

Deaths

John Bowman Sr., Oct. 19, 1824, aged 53
[Son of Col. John and Elizabeth Bryan Bowman.]

David Bryan Bowman, July 25, 1829, aged 3 yrs. & 6 mo.
[Son of John Bowman (born 1787).]

Dudley Mitchum, May 19, 1831

Susan (Allen) Mitchum, Aug. 10, 1833

Nancy Hayden, May 11, 1834
[Nancy Mitchum, wife of Noah Hayden.]

Abraham Bowman Sr., Nov. 9, 1837; in his 89th year
[Col. Abraham Bowman.]

Sarah Henry Bowman, 1846
[Wife of Col. Abraham Bowman.]

Mary Clifford Bowman, July 23, 1849, aged 3 yr. 3 mo. and
23 da.

Ella D. Bowman, June 16, 1856, aged 7-8-24

Mary Bowman, Oct. 2, 1856, aged 56-4-
[Daughter of Col. Abraham Bowman; known as "Polly"; wife
of Major John Keene.]

John Bowman, Jan. 10, 1873, aged 86-0-21
[Son of Col. Abraham Bowman.]

Abraham Smith, Jan. 1, 1865, aged 75
[Father of Mrs. Dudley Mitchum Bowman.]

Nancy Smith, Apr. 23, 1883, aged 87-11-
[Wife of Abraham Smith.]

Sarah A. Daniel, Sept., 1882, aged 64
[Sister of Virginia Smith, wife of Dudley Mitchum Bowman.]

Joanna P. McCann, May 20, 1883, aged 54-4-
[Sister of Virginia Smith, wife of Dudley Mitchum Bowman.]

William Henry Smith, Aug., 1883, aged about 63
[Brother of Virginia Smith, wife of Dudley Mitchum Bow-
man.]

Johnie Bowman, Sept. 1, 1864, aged 3-4-4

Leila Bowman, Sept. 5, 1864, aged 5-10-13

David Bryan Bowman, Dec. 25, 1880, aged 37-2-2

Carrie Bowman Ringo, April 15, 1892, aged 39-6-15

8. BOWMAN ENTRIES OF LANDS IN KENTUCKY
1779-1787

In Lincoln County

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>
Bowman, John	400	2 21 1780	Harrodsburg
Bowman, Joseph	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	No place named
Bowman, Abr. Jno. & Jos.	500	4 27 1780	Fork of Dix River
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	1000	5 10 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	2000	5 10 1780	Dix River
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	2000	5 10 1780	Hanging Fork
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	1000	5 10 1780	Dix River
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	2000	5 10 1780	Skeggs Creek
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	2000	5 10 1780	Harrodsburg
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	1000	5 10 1780	Harrods Run, Withdrawn
Bowman, Jno. Abr. & Jos.	1000	5 10 1780	Hanging Fork
Bowman, John	1000	6 27 1780	Wilson's Run
Bowman, John & Co.	1000	3 31 1781	Harrods Run
Bowman, John	50	9 20 1783	Dix River
Bowman, John	1000	3 1 1784	No place named
Bowman, John	1000	3 18 1784	Kentucky River

In Fayette County

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>
Bowman, Andrew	1000	1 21 1784	Hinkston Fork
Bowman, John	3000	8 1 1783	Elkhorn & Hickman Cr.
Bowman, John	3000	8 14 1783	Surveyed
Bowman, John	3000	8 14 1783	No place named
Bowman, John	1000	10 1 1783	Jessamine Creek
Bowman, John	3000	10 15 1783	Harrods Salt Lick Creek
Bowman, Cox & Morgan	850	10 13 1784	Eagle Creek

In Jefferson County

	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>
Bowman, Abraham	400	2 21 1780	Goose Creek Surveyed
Bowman, Abraham	1000	4 26 1780	Goose Creek
Bowman, Abraham		12 25 1783	Goose Creek Amended
Bowman, Ben	600	5 13 1780	Fork of Licking
Bowman, Ben	900	5 27 1780	S. Fork Licking
Bowman, Isaac	400	2 28 1780	Delaware Creek
Bowman, Isaac	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, John	400	2 21 1780	Harrods Run
Bowman, John	400	2 21 1780	Dicks River Surveyed
Bowman, John	400	2 28 1780	Jessamine Creek
Bowman, John	400	3 2 1780	Fox Run

Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	Jessamine Creek
Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	Brashears Creek
Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, John	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, John	1000	6 27 1780	Bullitts Lick
Bowman, John	1000	6 27 1780	Willsons Run
Bowman, John	1000	6 27 1780	Hammons Run
Bowman, John	400	11 13 1783	Panther Creek Surveyed
Bowman, John	5000	6 26 1784	400 acres
Bowman, John & Co.	5000	5 13 1780	Salt Spring Cr.
Bowman, John & Co.	2000	5 13 1780	Dicks River
Bowman, Joseph	400	2 21 1780	Cane Run
Bowman, Joseph	1000	4 26 1780	Cane Run

Practically all the streams named above are shown on the U. S. Geological Survey maps. The names are repeated on different streams in different localities. There is a Hite Creek not far northeast of Louisville.

MILITARY WARRANTS, 1782-1793

			Date
Bowman, James	200 acres	Warrant 2325	1 31 1783
Bowman, John	100 acres	Warrant 2749	3 yrs. in Va. Line 3 10 1784
Bowman, Mackness	100 acres	Warrant 2730	3 yrs. in Va. Line 3 6 1784

COURT OF APPEALS DEEDS—GRANTEES

	Residence	Date	Acres	Place
Bowman, Joseph	Fayette	2 22 1825	200	Shannons Run

COURT OF APPEALS DEEDS—GRANTORS

Bowman, Abraham	Fayette	6 15 1790	260	Hanging Fork
Bowman, Abr., Atty.	Fayette	8 18 1809	2179	Little Kentucky
Bowman, Benj.	Virginia	12 1 1821	70	
Bowman, Jacob	S. Car.	6 18 1789	400	

COURT OF APPEALS DEEDS—GRANTEES IN POWER OF ATTORNEY

Bowman, Abraham	Fayette	3 16 1809	Contract
-----------------	---------	-----------	----------

GRANTORS IN POWER OF ATTORNEY

Bowman, Benj.	Shenandoah	6 16 1815	Contract
Bowman, Jacob	S. Car.	3 13 1788	Contract
Bowman, Jacob	S. Car.	6 15 1789	Contract

The foregoing items of land entries are from "Filson Club Publications: No. 34: Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds: A Complete Index to All of the Earliest Land Entries, Military Warrants, Deeds and Wills of the Commonwealth of Kentucky: By Willard Rouse Jillson, Sc. D., . . . Louisville, Kentucky, 1926."

9. IN THE WORLD WAR, 1943

DESCENDANTS OF DUDLEY M. BOWMAN:
(Grandson of Colonel Abraham)

Lieut. Col. Bacon Rochester Moore, organized and commanded 192nd Tank Battalion, now at Ft. Knox, Ky.

Capt. Charles Preston Henly, U. S. Army.

Lieut. (j.g.) Virgil Cassell Morelle, U. S. Naval Reserve, enlisted at Austin, Texas.

Lieut. (j.g.) John Lewis Morelle, U. S. Naval Reserve, enlisted Austin, Texas.

Capt. Roy Dunlap, Cannon Co., 1582 Infantry, inducted Tulsa, Okla.

Pfc. Bacon Davenport, Oklahoma Artillery, enlisted Tulsa, Okla.

2nd Lieut. James Hand, III, Infantry, commissioned at Ft. Benning, Ga.

Dudley Bowman Batchelor, ac/s U. S. Navy, volunteered, now at Yale.

Lt. A. Smith Bowman, Jr., U.S.N.R., Naval Intelligence.

DESCENDANTS OF THOMAS BOWMAN:

Cpl. Everett Bowman Voris, 68th Armed Regiment of 6th Armed Division, inducted at Harrodsburg, Ky.

Pvt. William Lee Smock, 115th Ordnance Co., inducted at Harrodsburg, Ky.

DESCENDANTS OF HENRY CLAY BOWMAN:

Cpl. Henry Clay Bowman, inducted at Lexington, Ky., Signal Messenger Corps.

Pfc. Sam H. Bowman, Co. H and S, 1302d Regt. Engineers, Camp Claiborne, Louisiana.

DESCENDANTS OF ABRAM HITE BOWMAN:
(Grandson of Colonel Abraham)

Pfc. David D. Metcalfe, U. S. Marine Corps, Co. 1.

Lt. James Avery Draper, Operative Officer and Adjutant, U. S. Naval Air Station, now at DeLand, Fla.

Lt. Ford Bowman Draper, Air Combat Intelligence, U. S. Navy.

Ensign Clifford Bowman, U. S. Coast Guard Temporary Reserve, Louisville, Ky.

DESCENDANT OF ALPHAEUS M. BOWMAN:

(Great-grandson of Capt. Isaac and Mary Chinn Bowman)

Aviation Cadet J. Killian Bowman, Jr., navigator in U. S. Army Air Corps, now at Santa Ana Army Air Base, Santa Ana, Calif.

OTHER DESCENDANTS OF CAPTAIN ISAAC BOWMAN:

Captain Rufus Calvin Bowman II, Capt. Co. 181, Va. Reserve Militia ("Minute Men"), Salem, Va. He in July, 1942, organized the third company of "Minute Men" in Virginia. The following are his sons:

Lieut. William Pollitt McClain Bowman, Army Air Force instructor, Greenwood, Miss.

Corpl. George Logan Bowman, Hdqs. Co., 1st Bat., 17th Marines, c/o Fleet P. O., San Francisco; cited and decorated for heroic action at Guadalcanal, Aug. 9, 1942—his birthday.

Mr. Rufus Calvin Bowman III, Army Air Forces—"loaned" to the Pan American Airways as a radio communicator. Address, c/o Pan American Airways, Tampico, Mexico. Ranks as a 2d lieutenant.

DESCENDANTS OF ERNEST BOWMAN:

Seabee Ernest Bowman Stagg, U. S. Navy.

Pvt. George Wheaton Bowman, U. S. Army.

DESCENDANT OF COL. ABRAM BOWMAN:

Seaman 2d Class William Keene Stoll, U. S. Navy, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

INDEX

- Abraham's address to Lafayette 9 137
Aide to Muhlenberg 16 17
Alice of Old Vincennes 92 99
Alsace 10 14
Arbuckle, Capt. Matthew 39 71
Ashland, home of Clay 145
Audubon, John James 141
Austin, Stephen F. 128
Axes 38 51
- Bacon College 144
Bancroft, George 55 56 59
Baron Hite 12
Bartonsville 17
Beale, Mrs. Frances Madison 14 17
Beale, Tavener 54
Belle Grove 16 17
Bellevue 111 112
Beveridge, Albert J. 18
Bible burned 28
"Big-foot Wallace" 52
Bird, Abraham 54
Bledsoe, Capt. Isaac 49 52
"Bloody Year" 69
Blue-grass at Sunset Hills 155
Blue Licks battle 109
Boone, Daniel 22 36 104
Bowman, Col. Abram :
 a centaur at 17, 28 29
 magistrate at 23, 40
 at Woodstock 40 53 54
 at Charleston 56-59
 col. of the 8th 55-62 129 136
 in Pa. and N. J. 59-62
 in Kentucky 44 61 63 97 98 103
 marries Mrs. Sarah Bryan 106 107
 host to Muhlenberg 109 110
 host to Lafayette 136-140
 his will 162-165
 his family 143 171
Bowman, Abram Hite (of Abram) 171 172
- Bowman, Abram Hite (of Jacob) 120
Bowman, Mrs. Abram Hite (born Tomlinson) 171
Bowman, Mrs. Abram Hite (born Newman) 120
Bowman, A. Smith :
 in Kentucky 111 112 124 140
 in Canada 147 155
 in Louisiana 155
 in Indianapolis 147 148
 at Sunset Hills 149-156
Bowman, Mrs. A. Smith 149 171
Bowman, A. Smith, Jr. 149 151 177
Bowman, Hon. Chas. E. 119
Bowman, Dudley M. 141 143 171 172
Bowman, E. DeLong 149 151
Bowman, Elizabeth (Mrs. Ruddle) 2 3
Bowman, Frances (Mrs. Foltz) 3 4
Bowman, George, Sr. :
 on Cedar Creek 1-9
 lands on Linville Creek 6 34
 his family 1-4 8
 his will 158 159
Bowman, George, Jr. (giant) :
 items 2 4 6 107
 his mill 6 7
 his will 160 161
Bowman, Col. George 16
Bowman, Henry 108
Bowman, Capt. Isaac :
 in the Ill. campaign 71 80 95 97
 Master of Horse 130 133 140
 captured by Indians 129-133
 at home on Cedar Creek 129 131 132 134
 his family 131 132
 his will 165-170
Bowman, Isaac Sydnor 3 132
Bowman, Capt. Jacob :
 items 2-7

- in French and Indian War 25 26
 in South Carolina 32 34 35 116 117
 119
 killed in the Revolution 116 117
 descendants in Kentucky 117 119 120
 Bowman, Col. John (of George) :
 in French and Indian War 27
 vestryman 29 30
 on the Roanoke 32-40 48-51
 marries Mrs. Eliz. Bryan 33 37
 in Kentucky 33 45 48 63-65 71 100
 patron of learning 67 122 124 126
 personal qualities 66 108
 his will 109 161 162
 Bowman, Col. John (of Abram) :
 lawyer 143 144
 churchman 31
 in War of 1812 144
 friend of Henry Clay 143 146
 Bowman, John Bryan :
 his work for education 143-146
 for family history 63 64
 Bowman, Major Joseph :
 in Dunmore's War 42 43
 pioneer of Ky. 44 45 63 66
 raises a co. for Clark 71-73
 at Kaskaskia and Cahokia 73-77
 at Vincennes 85-99
 patron of learning 67 111 123 124
 126
 his will 114 115
 Bowman, Mary (Mrs. Stephens) 2 3 7
 Bowman, Rebecca (Mrs. Brinker) 2-4
 Bowman, Regina (Mrs. Dierly) 2-4
 Bowman, Sarah (Mrs. Wright) 2-4
 Bowman family record 171-174
 Bowman Flying Field 120
 Bowman heirlooms 154
 Bowman lands in Ky. 175 176
 Bowman (Jos.) letters 74 77 95
 Bowman mills 4 6 7 113 134
 Bowman wills 114 157-170
 Bowmans in the World War, 1943,
 177 178
 Bowman's Journal 82-89
 Bowman's Station 104
 Braddock's defeat 13 23
 Bradford, John 101 138
 Brandywine battle 61
 Breckenridge, John C. 128
 Breckenridge, Robert 32 37
 Brick houses 16 135 150 169
 Brigantine *Swift* 12
 Brinker, George 27 80
 Bryan, Daniel 36
 Bryan, David (of Kentucky) 106
 Bryan, David (of Roanoke) 32 33 107
 Bryan, Widow Eliz. 8 32 37
 Bryan, Widow Sarah 107
 Bryan, Morgan 13
 Bryan, Rebecca 22 36
 Buck, Thomas 26
 Cahokia taken 76
 Campbell, Col. Arthur 93
 Campbell, Gen. William 39
 Camp Long Island 50
 Captains fourteen 25
 Captains twenty-two 49
 Captured by Chickasaws 130
 Cartmell, T. K. 1 2 4 13 20
 Cauthorn, Henry S. 99
 Cedar Creek 4 14 131 134
 Cemetery at Vincennes 98
 Cerré, Gabriel 81
 Charleston, S. C. 56-59
 Cherokees on the warpath 48
 Chinn, Susan 131
 Chrisman, Jacob 4 11 13
 Chrisman's Spring 13
 Christian, Israel 36
 Christian, Col. Wm. 32 37 38 43 48 49
 52 122
 Christiansburg 38
 Church membership 30 31
 Clark, Geo. R. 2 42 43 45 64 67 68 70
 122
 Clark, John 46 54

- Clark, Jonathan 43 53 55
 Clark papers published 99
 Clark's diary 65-67 129
 Clay, Henry 31 127 146
 "Cold Winter" 105
 Collins, Judge Lewis 66
 Collins, Judge Richard H. 100
 Colonial Dames marker 123 124
 Commissioners to settle claims 109
 115 132 133
 Cooper, Leonard 53
 Corn Island 72 73
 Corn-shellers attacked 66 67
 Court martial records 24-26
 Cresswell, Nicholas 35
 Crow's Station 123 124
 Cumberland Gap 69 103 104 111

 Danville, Ky. 123 124
 Daviess, Mrs. Maria T. 102
 Davis, Jefferson 128
 Death of Major Joseph Bowman 98
 Defense of Charleston 56-59
 DeLong, Katherine Lyttleton 149 171
 Detroit in view 92 98
 Deyerle, Peter 2 3 93 94
 Dingus, Prof. L. R. 126 127
 Dinwiddie, Governor 23
 District of Ninety-Six 117 129
 Draper, Lyman C. 3 63 91 116
 Drapers MSS. 61-63
 DuBois, Anna Maria 10 13 19
 Duff, William 11 22
 Dunmore, Lord 42 43 56
 Dunmore County 1 40

 Education of the Bowman brothers 9
 Eltinge, Cornelius 14
 Eltinge, Eleanor 14
 Eltinge, Sara 14
 Embrey, Alvin T. 17
 English, Hon. Wm. H. 99 132 135
 Estill, Capt. James 105 106
 Expedition against the Cherokees
 48-52
 Expeditions against the Shawnees 96
 101-103

 Fairfax, Geo. William 19 25
 Fairfax, Lord 18 25 26 149
 Fairfax Hunt 153
 Falls of the Ohio 16 71-73
 Family records 171-174
 "Father of Tennessee" 52
 Fayette Co., Ky. 105 106 136
 Ferry at Louisville 134 168
 Filson Club 7 73 107
 Fincastle 37-39
 Fleming, Col. Wm. 38 109 115 122
 Flints 1301, 51
 Foley, Elijah 7 8
 Foley, Richard 162
 Foltz, Mrs. Ezra 3 4 6 130-132
 Ford, James L. 141 142
 Fort Bowman (Ky.) 104 107 111 112
 Fort Bowman (Va.) 8
 Fort Chiswell 69
 Fort Duquesne 27
 Fort Lewis, near Salem 24 38
 Fort Lewis, near Staunton 24
 Fort Loudoun 13 24
 Fort Moultrie 57-59
 Fort P. Henry, at Vincennes 88
 Fort P. Henry, on Holston 50
 Fort Pitt 64 69
 Fort Sackville 88 92
 Frederick Parish 29 30
 Fredericksburg 17
 Frederick Town 10 19
 French and Indian War 13 23
 Froman, Paul 4 11 14 35 104
 Frontier forts 23 24
 Front Royal 26
 Funk, Capt. John 25 26
 Funk's mill 4 6
 Fur trader 11

 Gatewood, Elizabeth 131

- Gay, Dr. Samuel 53
 Genn, James 19
 German Regiment 55-62
 Germantown 10 17
 Germantown battle 61
 Gibault, Father 81 91
 Girls to Kentucky 106
 Girty, Simon 102
 Gooch, Gov. Wm. 22
 Graham, Gen. Joseph 117
 "Great Waggon Road" 14
 Green, Robert 11 22
 Greenlee, Grizell 120
 Grymes, Mollie 16
- Hamilton, Gov. Henry 81-91
 Hamilton College 146
 "Hard Winter" 105
 Harmony Hall 7 8
 Harrison, Burr 40
 Harrison, Thomas 24
 Harrison, Gen. Wm. H. 144
 Harrod, Capt. James 16 17 42 45 63
 Harrod, Capt. William 73
 Harrodsburg founded 17 42
 Hatcher, Hon. Geo. Glenn 120
 Heir at law of Maj. Jos. 116-118
 Helm, Capt. Leonard 42 43 64 70 71
 73 81 87 88 91 134
 Helm Place 113
 Helphinstine, Peter 43 53 59
 Henderson, Col. Richard 46
 Henry, Patrick 48 64 88 100 101
 Hite, Col. Abram (Sr.) 13 16 53
 Hite, Abram (Jr.) 16 17 44 46 63
 Hite, Eliz. (Mrs. Froman) 10 13 14
 Hite, George 14 17
 Hite, Isaac, Sr. :
 items 13 14 16
 in French and Indian War 26
 vestryman 29
 merchant 95 96 98
 his home Long Meadows 14--16 54
 his son Isaac 16 17
- Hite, Major Isaac (Jr.) :
 items 9 16 17 20
 at Wm. and Mary 9 16
 aide to Muhlenberg 16 17
 at Belle Grove 16
 Hite, Capt. Isaac (of Abram Sr.) 16
 17 44 45 63 105
 Hite, Jacob (of Jost) :
 items 13 14 17
 at Leetown 14 34
 in S. Carolina 8 14 34 35
 Hite, Col. John :
 items 4 10 13 14
 in French and Indian War 26
 vestryman 29
 his house on Opequon 14 18
 Hite, Joseph 13 17
 Hite, Jost :
 items 1 6
 in Europe 10 12
 New York 10 12
 Penna. 10 12
 Virginia 10-22
 a baron? 12
 his family 11-17
 his will 157
 Hite, Magdalena (Mrs. Chrisman)
 10 13
 Hite, Mary (Mrs. Bowman) 1-3 10 13
 Hite's Colonies 1 7 10 12
 Hite's Creek 17
 Hite's mill 4 6
 Holley, Rev. Horace 127
 Hollingsworth's mill 4
 Horses in Kentucky 140 141
 Horses sold in 1776, 35 51 52
 Huger, Col. Isaac 59
 Hume, Col. Edgar E. 138
- Illinois Campaign 70-99
 Illinois Historical Library 80 91
 Indianapolis bus service 147 148
 Indian atrocities 12 14 27 28

- Jackson, Andrew 107 111 112
 James, James Alton 42 65 94
 Jefferson, Thomas 16 101
 Jefferson Co., Ky. 105
 John's account book 9 49
 Johnston, Albert Sidney 128
 Jones, John Gabriel 45 46 63 64
 Joseph's journal 9 82-90
- Kaskaskia taken 74-76
 Keene, Hamilton 141
 Keene, J. O. 141
 Keene, Major John 136 137 140
 Keeneland Farms 141
 Kegley, F. B. 33
 Keller, Capt. Abram 73 134
 Kenton, Simon 64 67
 Kentucky County formed 46
 Kentucky Historical Society 111 124
 Kentucky horses 140 141
 Kentucky University 144 145
 Kercheval, Samuel 11 23 27 131 132
 Kernstown 17 21
 Kerr, Charles 127
 Killed by Indians 14 35
 Kingsport, Tenn. 48
 Kingston, N. Y. 12
 Kinkead, Ludie J. 73
 Knights of the Horseshoe 11
- Lafayette in Kentucky 136-140
 "Lafayette's Green" 136
 Laurens Co., S. C. 117 120
 Lead mines in Wythe Co. 69
 Lead, 1565 pounds 51
 Lee, Gen. Charles 56-59
 Leetown 14 35
 Lewis, Gen. Andrew 38 42 43
 Lewis, Col. Charles 48
 Lexington, Ky. 100 113 121 127 138
 Lincoln, Capt. Abram 34
 Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham 113
 Lincoln, John 34
 Lincoln, Thomas 22
- Lincoln Co. 105 132 133
 Linn, Capt. Benj. 70 71
 Linville Creek 6 11 22 33 34 36
 Logan, Col. Benj. 65 102 103 105
 Logan's Fort 65 67
 Long Island (in Holston) 48
 Long Meadows 14 16 17
 Louisville 16 71-73 110 116 136
 Louisville *Literary News* 91
 Love, Phillip 37
 Lyle, Capt. John 49 51
- McKay, Robert 11 22 26
 Madison, Ambrose 14
 Madison, Dolly 16
 Madison, Pres. James 16
 Madison, Nelly C. 16
 Marriage contract 19, 20
 Marshall, John 18 19 54
 Marshall, Thomas 54 109 122
 Maury, Ann T. 16
 Maury, Rev. Walker 16
 Maysville, Ky. 64
 Meade, Bishop Wm. 30
 Middletown 15 16
 Militia captains 25 26
 Miller, Henry 36
 Miller family killed 27 28
 Miller's Iron Works 36 69
 Mitchum, Collan 53 55 59
 Mitchum, Mary 171
 Money saved 130 133
 Monmouth battle 61 62
 Montgomery, John 37 49 52 73 116
 Moody, Minnie Hite 16
 Moravian diary 4 6
Mountain Muse, The 36
 Mount Pleasant 135
 Muhlenberg, Henry A. 55 110
 Muhlenberg, Gen. Peter 16 17 43 53-62
 109 110 136
 Myers, William 2 88 89 93
- Names on trees 44

- Nicholas, George 127
 Ninety-six District 117 129
 Niswanger, Widow 19-21
 North Carolina battalion 48
 North Car. Revo. History 117
 North Carolinians at Charleston 57-59
 Northern Neck 18
 Nourse, James 35

 O'Bannon, Catherine 14
 Opequon Church 21 22
 Opequon Creek 1 10 11 17

 Painter, George 24
 Palmer, William 3
 Pennypacker, Gov. Saml. 12
 Pennypacker's Mills 12
 Perkiomen Creek 12
 Phi Beta Kappa 16
 Pittsburgh 13 64 71
 Point Pleasant 42 71 74
 Porteus, James 20 36
 Pot metal kettles 51
 Powder by the barrel 50 51
 Powder hidden 64

 Quaife, Milo M. 99
 Quaker colony 13
 Quaker history 23
 Quirk, Major Thomas 98

 Radford 38
 Rafinesque, C. S. 127 128
 Ramsour's Mill battle 2 117
 Randolph, Edmund 18
 Ray, Gen. James 102
 Redstone Old Fort 71 74
 Rice, Rev. David 122 123 126
 Rinker, Col. Jacob 53 59
 Roanoke City 38
 Robards, Rachel D. 107 111
 Robertson, Capt. James 37 49 52
 Rocheblave, Philip 74-80
 Ross, Alexander 13
 Ruddell, Cornelius 25 29

 Ruddell, Capt. Isaac 2 133
 Ruddell's Station 2
 Rupp, I. Daniel 21
 Russell, Col. Wm. 48

 Salem, Roanoke Co. 38 39
 Salt pans to Ky. 67 68 77
 Sandusky, Jacob 16
 Sandusky, James 16
 Savannah, Ga. 59
 S. C. Burgess 120
 Schooner *Friendship* 12
 Scotch-Irish 23
 Scott, Gen. Chas. 62
 "Seven Years' War" 147
 Shane, John D. 7
 Shawnee Spring 10 13
 Shelby, Isaac 122
 Shenandoah Co. formed 1 40
 Shepherdstown 13
 Slaughter, Francis 40 54
 Society of the Cincinnati 17
 South Carolina 2 8 14 56-59
 South Elkhorn 113 139
 Spotswood, Alexander 11
 Springdale 7 17 19
 St. Louis, Mo. 77 79 142
 Staunton 11
 Stephen, Gen. Adam 35
 Stephens, Lewis 2 7 25 69
 Stephens, Peter 7 11
 Stephens City 7 17
 Stone houses 4 8 10 14 16 132
 Strasburg 6 10 14 26 27
 Streit, Rev. Christian 53
 Sullivan's Island 57-59
 Sunbury, Ga. 59
 Sunset Hills Farm 149-156
 Surveyors 9 44 63

 Taylor, John 18
 Textile manufacturer 10 11
 Thompson, Maurice 92 99
 Thruston, Rev. C. M. 70

- Tipton, John 54
Todd, Dolly Payne 16
Todd, Col. John 64
Tories 8 59 117 120
Transylvania College 126 145
Transylvania University 9 67 111 121-
128 138 143 145
Treaty of Paris 92 117
Trigg, Stephen 37 105 106 115
Trustees of Transylvania Seminary
122 126
Two frying-pans 131

Union upheld 146
University of Kentucky 145
Unready defenders 26
U. S. Geological Survey maps 44

Valley Turnpike 14
Van Meter, Rebecca (Mrs. Eltinge) 14
Van Meter, Rebecca (Mrs. Hite) 16
Versailles, Ky. 136

Vigo, Francis 81 91
Vincennes taken 81-92
*Virginia Magazine of History and
Biography* 97

Wallace, Samuel 49 52
Washington, George 13 19 22 23 36 149
Will acquitted 37
Will convicted 38
William and Mary College 9 16 127
Williams, Mary D. 146
Wilmington, N. C. 56
Wilson, Judge S. M. 100
Winchester 4 6 10 11 13 19
Wisconsin Historical Society 61 63
Wolfe, Peter, 18
Wood, James 104
Woodstock in the Revo. 53 54

Zane, Gen. Isaac 68 69
Zane's Iron Works 28 47 68 71 104

