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SETTLEMENT IN THE OLD NORTHWEST FRONTIER
AND THE MERGING OF CULTURE, 1750 -1790

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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SETTLEMENT IN THE OLD NORTHWEST FRONTIER
AND THE MERGING OF CULTURE, 1750 -1790

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SETTLEMENT IN THE OLD NORTHWEST FRONTIER
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An Abstract of the Thesis by
Sandra Ellefsen

During the late 1700s, the Cumberland Gap in the Appalachian Mountain Chain became the main corridor that precipitated settlement into Kentucky. Along this frontier line, settlers had to contend with various Native American tribes, and settlement on the frontier from the beginning of colonization irrevocably altered the Native American way of life. Warfare, encroachment, and disease caused the Native American population to decline drastically in the process of contact; often as a result, Native tribes chose to adopt many settler captives to replace the lost tribal members. They treated assimilated captives as equals and members of the tribe, although the captives and the European American population often viewed Native American methods of assimilation as brutal. Settlers remained less tolerant of the Native Americans, even though to persevere in the wilderness, pioneers adopted many survival skills they had learned from their Native American counterparts. Regardless of this animosity, the result of the clash between these two cultures was a single, uniquely American culture, with neither original culture - Native American or European American - completely absorbing the other.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT OF THE OLD NORTHWEST

During colonization and settlement of the old Northwest, settlers and Native Americans in the Kentucky and the Ohio River Valley frontier encountered each other, sometimes engaging in a friendly exchange of goods, services, and information and at other times in unfriendly or hostile confrontations. The cultural, social, political, and military encounters have provided historians with ample sources to research. In the more than two hundred years since American independence, historians have analyzed those sources from a variety of viewpoints. Early histories tended to focus on political and military interactions, while historians in the latter half of the twentieth century, following trends in the historical profession, concentrated on social history. More recently, social and cultural historians have explored these early interactions through the lens of race, class, and gender, while environmental historians have analyzed the effect of colonization and settlement on the land and its original inhabitants.

As early as 1784, John Filson wrote a description of the region in *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*. Filson gives a flowery description of Kentucky during early exploration to promote settlement of Kentucky. A customary work of history, the references in his writing are from the pioneering men who settled the region, such as Daniel Boone, that venerated colonial nation building and described the

tribes in the region as “savages.” Filson’s narrative salutes efforts of conquest of the Native Americans and the land.¹

Over one hundred years later, Frederick Jackson Turner explored the effect settlement had on the land and on the Native tribes living in the region, but more specifically how pioneers acclimated to the elements encountered on the western frontier. This process of expansion into the frontier heavily influenced America’s cultural climate according to Turner. In his work, *The Frontier in American History*, settlers prevailed to conquer the North American West through assimilation, and the American frontier was “the meeting point between savagery and civilization.”² The “fluidity of American life” defined “American character,” as European Americans continued to expand into the frontier.³ Turner adheres to the premise that settlers developed societies in the West that resembled a new culture, rather than exclusively taking on the traits of their European homelands. Life in Europe did not prepare colonists and settlers for the hardships they encountered on the frontier; thus, “a steady movement away from the influence of Europe” transpired, making expansion into the West the true definition of what it was to be an American.⁴

Almost forty years after Turner’s work, historian John Caruso concentrated on the settlement of the southern regions of the western frontier. His book, *The Appalachian*

¹ John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke (1784)*, ed. Paul Royster (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 39.

² Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 3.

³ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

Frontier: America's First Surge Westward, focused on pioneers, such as Daniel Boone, who settled the region and portrayed Native Americans as part of the wilderness to be tamed. Caruso argues that expansion into Appalachia played a significant role in establishing American identity, but he touches only lightly on the influence settlement had on Native cultures. In his introduction, he refers to Native Americans as “stubborn and resentful Indian tribes.”⁵ Caruso celebrates the European immigrants who built the nation on the frontier line, praising them for their frontier skills and conquests.

Responding to the growth in the field of women's history in the 1970s, Nancy F. Cott published *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Women's Sphere” in New England, 1780-1835*. Cott investigates the role women played in the late 1700s to early 1800s in New England. As with other historical revisionists of the 1970s, she assesses women's function in early American society. Moreover, she concentrates on women's role in society and their delegated position in the household. Cott's analysis of women's place in the social structure from 1780 to 1835 reveals a fresh point of view. To be accepted by polite society, these women had to be pious, pure, domestic, and submissive. Although Cott's research focuses on women in New England instead of on the old Northwestern frontier, the women who settled that new region of the country in the late 1700s and early 1800s came from New England and brought their cultural and social expectations with them.⁶

While women's historians in the 1970s, like Nancy Cott, were reinterpreting

⁵ John Caruso, *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1959), 7.

⁶ Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Women's Sphere” in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997).

historical events through women's perspectives, Native American historians were doing their own reinterpretations through the Native American perspective. In *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*, for example, Wilbur Jacobs related a less romantic tale of settlement. In his interpretation of colonization, settlers and pioneers upset the balance of nature and therefore disrupted the Native American way of life. This emphasis on the Native American experience is typical of Americanists in the 1960s and 1970s.⁷

James Axtell, Native American historian and author of *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America*, states that the contact between European American culture and Native American culture consisted of “an interweaving of mental selves” with each culture presenting a “strangeness.”⁸ The constant push and pull between settlers and Native tribes resulted in acculturation between the two societies. When Native Americans experienced “the civilization process,” they became dependent on material goods introduced by European Americans, such as “clothing, weapons, tools – and ending with deeply engrained habits of thought and feeling.”⁹ Axtell's work reveals the absorption of Native culture into European American culture.

In the 1990s, historians began to analyze colonization and settlement through the lens of cultural history. John Canup, for example, researches Puritan religion during early colonization and relates how religious beliefs affected colonial attitudes towards the

⁷ Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites of the Colonial Frontier* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), xiii.

⁸ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

Native tribes and the wild frontier. In *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England*, the Native American population and the land held mystery and darkness that Puritans equated with the devil, but some colonials welcomed the Native Americans and accepted them as they were, much to the consternation of many of the Puritan faith.¹⁰ Those few who decided to embrace Native American culture helped in the long process of melding and mixing of culture. Although Canup positions his research more than a century before settlers ventured into the old Northwest, there is much in common in the religious experience of colonization in both eras.

John Demos reinterprets the relationship between the New England Puritan and Native American populations in *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. Both Canup and Demos explore the confrontations between Puritans and Native Americans, but Demos takes a more individualized perspective as he tells of a young Puritan girl, Eunice Williams, abducted from her village with her siblings and Puritan minister father and mother by a French and Native American war party.¹¹ Eunice remained with the Mohawks and French and chose to convert to Catholicism. In his narrative, Demos conveyed the choice made by some of Puritan faith to embrace Native tribal culture.

According to Richard White, author of *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, the American identity of the early

¹⁰ John Canup, *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 4-7.

¹¹ John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Alfred Knopf: Distributed by Random House, Inc., 1994), 18-19, 142.

1800s evolved through accommodation between Native American and European American cultures; the result of that accommodation is a new culture which White refers to as “the middle ground.”¹² He defines “the middle ground” as the setting in which European Americans and Native Americans met and influenced each other, resulting in “the shared meanings and practices of the middle ground.”¹³ This “acculturation” refers to how one culture takes on the characteristics of the more dominant culture by “correct behavior” imposed on the “subordinate group.”¹⁴ Essentially, European Americans did not obliterate Native American culture, but instead integrated it into American settler culture. The continuous exchange of goods, practices, and information led to a culture that retained more characteristics of the dominant one. European American culture took on some aspects of the Native American culture, such as methods of surviving on the frontier, mode of dress, and trade interactions.

Published at about the same time that White published his work, Daniel Friedenbergs’ *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* presents an opposing colonization narrative with no evidence of a middle ground. Instead, he uncovers an unflattering history of how settlers exploited the land and its people to pioneer and establish the United States. As the title implies, the rise of America and the settlers’ relentless pursuit of autonomy displaced the Native tribes, initiated exploitation of land, and proliferated enslavement of Africans to ensure the success of

¹² Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxvi.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

that autonomy.¹⁵

Nearly twenty years after the groundbreaking cultural histories of the 1990s, another wave of historiography seems to be developing. Historians are reevaluating the narratives of exploration in an attempt to discover early middle ground negotiations. For example, in *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America*, Meredith Mason Brown narrates Boone's place in frontier America and dispels previous legends and myths. Brown relates a realistic picture of the explorer, including his shortcomings and triumphs. After more than two centuries, from Filson's first acknowledgement of Boone in 1784 to Brown's portrayal of the man behind the legend, the story of one man's life and his effect on the region has evolved to include a realistic rendering of the interactions he had with the Native Americans he encountered.¹⁶

This thesis explores the melding of two very different cultures separated by time and space for millennia. It contains six primary sections that focus on what happened to the two cultures as they encountered each other. It also demonstrates the effects of European American culture moving persistently onto Native American lands, primarily in the Ohio River Valley during the Revolution. Chapter I presents an overview of the era's historiography, giving different perspectives on cultural merging of pioneers and Native Americans on the North American continent.

Chapter II examines the differences in the social and religious structures of the Native Americans and the settlers. Innate qualities possessed by those who chose to

¹⁵ Daniel M. Friedenber, *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992), 13-14.

¹⁶ Meredith Mason Brown, *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), xiv.

forge into the interior were as responsible for frontier success as the skills they learned in the process. The perils of the land led to the evolution of a new breed of settler. The pioneering culture diverged from the more civilized British colonials on the east coast, and it did so to survive a hostile environment. Since the frontier was a wild land fraught with numerous dangers, the roles women had to assume diverged from those acquired by their eastern counterparts, and women shouldered many of the same responsibilities as the men they accompanied. Women in the West had to be willing to put themselves at risk to help establish a home and achieve prosperity for themselves, their husbands, and their families. Living within a system of coverture, they could not legally own the land, but they still played a significant role in pioneering the Old Northwest and the Ohio River Valley.

As settlement continued into the West, Native American societies in general also evolved in order to protect their lands. Christian beliefs provided a basis for ethnocentrism among the settlers. Native American belief systems varied from tribe to tribe, although most included some sort of understanding of a higher power. Because unconverted tribes did not subscribe to a belief in the Christian God, their spirituality held little or no validity with Christians. Chapter III demonstrates how the two societies responded to each other when their belief systems collided.

During the American Revolution, the British provoked increasing hostilities between the Native population and the settlers, but the conflicts did not halt westward expansion. Chapter IV explores the significance of warfare on the frontier region during this conflict. Americans used the Native American alliance with the British as a justification for retaliation and land acquisition. This chapter explains how many Native

tribes joined the British side, believing this could preserve their ancestral right to the land. Throughout the western region, the constant skirmishing consumed Continental resources and lives at unsupportable rates, resulting in more reason for retribution upon the Native tribes.

Chapter V relates the perils settlers faced when captured by Native Americans. Many captivity narratives include information about both adults' and children's experiences. Some stories tell of benevolent abductors, while others reveal a much darker experience and primal despair, such as when mothers observed their children being brutalized and murdered. Individual tribes sometimes adopted captives but other times treated them as little more than slaves. Occasionally, the Native Americans adopted men, but in general, tribes found women and children to be more suitable as adoptees.

The conclusion describes this constant interaction's result: a uniquely hybrid American culture that integrated Old World European Americans and New World Native Americans. Neither society remained unaffected by westward expansion or entirely absorbed its opponent. The predominant American culture that emerged was a melding of the two.

Regardless of the historiographical arguments about accommodation and the middle ground, there remains little doubt that interactions on the frontier heavily influenced attitudes and culture in North America during settlement. Both Native Americans and European Americans used assimilation and accommodation during the era of western expansion. Whether arising from conflict or through mutual association, a distinctive culture emerged in the wake of westward expansion. Through this constant

interaction, both cultures borrowed from one another to survive as a people in North America, thus establishing a new American culture.

CHAPTER II

THE RISK OF PURSUING AUTONOMY IN THE SOUTHEASTERN WOODLANDS

Colonization in the Ohio River Valley became an early embodiment of American autonomy. From the beginning of English colonization, the New World offered unique economic and religious opportunities. Concepts of economic and political liberties, the freedoms initially offered in the English North American colonies, helped to further the unique American attitude and cultural expectation of economic and political sovereignty.

Initially, British colonization of North America sought to offset the imbalance of economic power in Europe created by the Spanish Empire. Spanish dominion in the western hemisphere began with Columbus' discovery of the West Indies and expanded as the Spanish accumulated gold and silver through conquests. British colonization and acquisition of resources in the New World focused in early days on finding precious metals to acquire wealth, but as British settlement progressed, the exploitation of land and its resources for wealth became paramount.¹⁷ Expansion into the interior of North America's frontier, exploitation of the land, and opportunistic land acquisition by the settlers caused increasing conflict between settlers and Native Americans.

¹⁷ T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," *Journal of British Studies* 25, no. 4 (Oct. 1986): 474.

Even before the arrival of settlers, the “bluegrass region” was known as “a dark and bloody ground,” because the northwestern tribes, such as the Iroquois, often warred with their southern enemies in the region.¹⁸ As settlers moved into the region, they inserted themselves into the conflict and complicated those Native American aggressions. Native tribes attacked settlers from three sides, traveling from the north, the south, and the west. Virtually none of the settlements in the bluegrass region remained untouched by frontier Native American assault.

In the 1700s, the Ohio River Valley and surrounding southeastern woodlands were abundant with wildlife, streams, rivers, and fertile soil. The region possessed a temperate climate and bountiful wildlife, such as, “buffalo, elk, and deer,” along with many game animals that supported the fur trade, such as “beavers, otters, minks, and musk-rats.”¹⁹ These features would prove to be inviting to settlers. The predator population included “panthers, wild-cats, and wolves.”²⁰ The resources in Kentucky west of the Appalachian Mountains impressed early American settlers, who initially thought it did not contain permanent Native settlements.²¹ In 1784, historian John Filson claimed the tribes only used the Kentucky region for hunting and warring purposes. In his book, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke (1784)*, he asserted the lands lay empty of permanent Native American habitation.²² However, Cherokee and Shawnee

¹⁸ Danske Dandridge, *George Michael Bedinger: A Kentucky Pioneer* (Charlottesville, VA: Michie Co., 1909), 37.

¹⁹ Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, 21-22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

²² *Ibid.*, 9.

homelands covered Kentucky and much of the lower Ohio River Valley. Kentucky possesses numerous caves and underground dwellings that provide evidence of Cherokee habitation before European colonization and settlement, as Kentucky represented the northern portion of the Cherokee homelands, but after the American Revolution, Cherokee boundaries moved to include the area south of the Cumberland River.²³

The Shawnee also lived in the area as a semi-nomadic people “at least part of the year.”²⁴ A famous Shawnee settlement in Clark County, Kentucky abandoned in 1754 provides strong evidence of early and longstanding Shawnee habitation. It makes little sense that the Shawnee would choose to harass settlements in a region they did not occupy at least part of the time. Even though early literature neglected to mention the presence of the Shawnee, explorers in the region soon found out how opposed the Native tribe was to settlers claiming their rich hunting grounds.²⁵

Most of the interactions between the Cherokee and Shawnee that happened before the American Revolution were hostile, especially during the French and Indian War.²⁶ Contact involving the Cherokee and the Shawnee often resulted in warfare for regional resources, and captivity of opposing tribal members occurred on a regular basis.²⁷ As

²³ Kenneth B. Tankersley, *Kentucky Cherokee: People of the Cave*, Ancestry.com RootsWeb, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~brockfamily/KYs-Native-Past-byKTankersley.html>.

²⁴ Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 66.

settlers became more numerous and if the opportunity presented itself, Native tribes captured them as well.

European exploration of what is now Kentucky began in the mid-1700s when the rich landscape of the Ohio River Valley called to settlers. In 1750, Dr. Thomas Walker discovered a pass through the Alleghenies in the southern region of the Appalachian Mountain Chain, the Cumberland Gap, through which settlers would flood into the Ohio River Valley.²⁸ He and his fellow explorers “established the Loyal Company with the purpose of petitioning for a large grant of land west of the Allegheny Mountains.”²⁹

Many English colonists thought they were entitled to land on the North American continent, as they believed Native tribes neglected to cultivate most of it and so consequently, the tribes must have had no claims to the neglected land. Squatters’ rights, leading to legal ownership, perpetuated the spread of people into the interior. The Virginia Colony established the Ohio Company, which began to sell tracts of land west of the Appalachian Mountains, lending to the settler attitude regarding land. After the French and Indian War, the British attempted to protect Native American lands from settlement by issuing the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited expansion west of the Appalachians. However, settlers continued to encroach on Native tribal lands as they continued west regardless of the proclamation.

James McBride, an Irish explorer, came down the Ohio River with his party in

²⁸ Thomas Walker, *Journal of Doctor Thomas Walker (1749-1750)* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2003).

²⁹ Carole Hammett, “The Land of Our Ancestors: A TNGenWeb Project History Presentation,” *A Free TNGenWeb.org Genealogy Website*, August 2000, accessed February 7, 2015, tngenweb.org/tnland/squabble/walker.html.

canoes.³⁰ He surveyed the Kentucky region in 1754 and assessed the land west of the Appalachians as “the best tract of land in North-America, and probably in the world.”³¹ He stated, “this fertile spot became an object of contention, a theatre of war, from which it was properly denominated ‘the Dark and Bloody Ground.’”³² McBride became a pioneer of the “Blue Grass State” before the famous Daniel Boone, although Boone often receives credit for paving the way into Kentucky. As exploration into the Old West continued, Boone’s exploits shadowed most explorers that came before him.³³

Expeditions in Kentucky continued as Boone helped establish the fort of Boonsborough, resulting in his and his daughter’s captivity at the onset of the American Revolution. On July 14, 1776, some male members of the Shawnee and Cherokee tribes seized Boone’s daughter, Jemima, and two daughters of Colonel Calaway, another founder of the fort. After only two days in captivity, a small party of Kentucky settlers including Boone retrieved the young girls. Shortly after this incident, Boone himself became a captive of the Shawnee in 1778 while out hunting. He lived with the Shawnee for four months before escaping to return to Boonsborough.³⁴

Along with the dangers of enemy attacks upon the settlements, the settlers dealt with the indigenous wildlife of the western lands, and Kentucky presented perils for the pioneers because of its large population of predators. The land abounded in bears,

³⁰ Michael J. O'Brien, *Irish Pioneers in Kentucky: A Series of Articles Published in Gaelic American* (Louisville, KY: James Thompson, 1916), 2.

³¹ Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke*, 7–9.

³² *Ibid.*, 7.

³³ *Ibid.*, 1.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 46-7, 49.

cougars, and wolves that hunted the livestock brought to the settlements, especially during the winter months. Predators attacked mainly the settlers' animals, but on rare occasions would seek out a man, woman, or child if the opportunity presented itself. For example, the Carter family immigrated to a remote Kentucky region from Virginia. They found out how troublesome the panthers and wolves of the area were to their colts and lambs. Because of the constant incursions of predators, the Carter boy and his sisters started to lay traps and shoot the beasts, "for they were all good shots with the rifle, - the girls as well as their brother."³⁵

While living on the frontier, the Carters experienced an extremely frightening confrontation with a pack of wolves. The Carter siblings attended a party 10 miles from their home. Their African-American house servant, Hannibal, drove the girls to a party in a wagon while their brother rode on horseback alongside. After the party, the Carters made their way back to the homestead. On their way through the dense forest, a relentless pack of wolves began harrying their wagon, and the young women resorted to hitting a wolf if it got close enough to snap at them. Eventually they came upon an abandoned cabin, and the girls made for the cabin's loft while the eldest sister wielded a "stout stick" to keep the wolves at bay.³⁶ Reportedly, more than 20 wolves attacked the Carter sisters and Hannibal that night. When morning came, the father, two of their servants, and their brother, who had ridden ahead of the wagon the night before, made

³⁵ William Worthington Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier: A Valuable and Authentic History of the Heroism, Adventures, Privations, Captivities, Trials, and Noble Lives and Deaths of the "Pioneer Mothers of the Republic"* (Hartford, CT: S. S. Scranton & Company, 1877), 316 - 17.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 318, 320.

short work in dispatching the pack with gunfire.³⁷ The Carters developed survival skills from their experiences on the frontier leading to Turner's assessment of American pioneering culture.

With the settlers also came disease, to which Native Americans had little or no resistance. Disease introduced by Europeans to the Native American population facilitated the conquest of North America. Estimates of Native American deaths due to disease alone range as high as ninety five percent of the entire Native American population. Those diseases included "smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, diphtheria, whooping cough, and influenza."³⁸ European domestication of livestock led to microorganisms mutating, causing sickness in humans. Because of their close and extended proximity to the domesticated animals, Europeans developed some resistance to these new diseases, but the introduction of the microorganisms to the Native American population decimated the indigenous peoples.³⁹

Even without confrontational settlement, the devastation from disease continued to be a motive for tribal retribution and became a significant reason why Native tribes took captives into their communities. On occasion, Native Americans chose to replace lost tribal members with settler captives, thus revealing less ethnocentrism in their societies than existed in European American society. Eligibility for integration into tribes mostly depended on sex and age. Women and children captives were typically less likely to resist and more likely to become productive members of the tribe, so they were more

³⁷ Ibid., 321.

³⁸ David Walbert, "Disease and Catastrophe," *North Carolina Digital History: Learn NC*, accessed March 21, 2016, <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-twoworlds/1689> .

³⁹ Ibid.

desirable for integration.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, as the expansion into Native tribal lands continued, Native tribes tortured and killed many settlers to try to prevent further settlement into the interior woodlands.

After a Native American attack on a settlement, capture and subjugation usually took place and yielded one or more prisoners. The captives then marched under the duress of force back to the Native American town or village. If the prisoner survived the long harrowing journey, then induction into the tribe could occur. However, at times, the survivors suffered torture and then the Native tribal members often decided to kill them regardless. This killing embodied revenge for European American transgressions against the tribe.

On the Pennsylvania frontier, a group of Shawnee and their French companions captured teenage Mary Jemison along with her mother, father, and three of her siblings, scalping and murdering all but Mary. A rescue party pursued the abductors to no avail. The Shawnee then sold Jemison to two Seneca sisters, who adopted her in a ceremony as a replacement for their deceased brother. Her induction in the tribe allowed her all the privileges of tribal membership, without prejudice. Despite her violent abduction, Jemison underwent a peaceful conversion and chose to stay with the tribe for the remainder of her life.⁴¹

After an abduction, the captors set a furious pace and required the captives to keep up or die, regardless of the prisoner's sex or age; this rapid march was often

⁴⁰ James Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 1975): 58-60.

⁴¹ James Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (Canadigua, NY: J.D. Bemis, 1824), 48, 60, 64-5.

necessary to escape pursuit. Once the captors and captives arrived at their destination, the captors often determined whom to keep as members of the tribe through the ritual running of the gauntlet. Returned captives described the ritual. The gauntlet required that the captive run between two lines of tribal members that included men, women, and oftentimes children, while being beat mercilessly by those on either side and having dirt or sand thrown into their eyes.

[T]he whole village turned out to form a gauntlet from the entrance to the center of the village and their captors ordered them to run through it. With ax handles, tomahawks, hoop poles, clubs, and switches the Indians flogged the racing captives as if to beat the whiteness out of them. . . ‘the young prisoners of Both Sexes Escaped without’ or were rescued from any serious harm by one or more villagers.⁴²

This running of the gauntlet happened in both the Iroquois Nation and the Shawnee tribe to determine the worthiness of the initiate.

Children had to run in between two lines of the tribe’s children, who beat them with switches, rather than a club or large stick used on the adult males. Women and children captives traditionally did not receive as harsh of a beating in this ritual as the men. John Bricknell related his experience as a 10-year-old captive stating, “a very big Indian came up, and threw the company off me, and took me by the arm, and led me through the lines...and was not once struck after he took me.”⁴³

After a captive made it successfully through the gauntlet, more rituals followed. The individual then undressed and bathed as a symbol of cleansing their old life away, and was given fresh Native American garments to signify their acceptance into the tribe

⁴² Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 312.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 312.

and as a symbol of rebirth. The running of the gauntlet and the ceremony afterward applied to captives taken from enemy tribes, as well. These acts represented Native American guardianship of their way of life and the desire to preserve their culture, identity, and society.⁴⁴

The Native American treatment of captives varied widely, and at times, tribes treated captives as little more than slaves revealing feelings of ethnic superiority among the tribes. For example, when Mrs. Jennie Wiley became a captive in eastern Kentucky, servitude was her only option during the months of captivity. Her story is a harrowing account of her abduction and murder of her children. Wiley performed duties normally given to the women in Native American villages, such as building fires, scavenging for wood, preparing the food, and cooking it, while the male tribal members lounged, occasionally hunted, and scouted. While in captivity, she also witnessed a European American man being beaten and strongly suspected that the man had been burned alive, but she did not witness it. Wiley wondered if she would suffer the same fate.⁴⁵

By the mid-1700s, the Native American way of life had changed markedly since their first interaction with settlers.⁴⁶ Some tribes assimilated captives into all aspects of tribal life and allowed them to contribute fully.⁴⁷ This constant contact between the Native tribes and the European American settlers and captives, overall, eventually created

⁴⁴ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁵ William Elsey Connelley, *The Founding of Harman's Station: The Indian Captivity of Mrs. Jennie Wiley* (New York: The Torch Press, 1910), 5-12, 57, 60.

⁴⁶ James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1973), viii.

⁴⁷ Axtell, "The White Indians of Colonial America," 60.

a unique frontier American cultural identity, which became evident in agricultural practices, ways of dress, and gender roles.

Whether through friendship, conflict, or exploitation between the settlers and Native tribes, settlement of the interior determined how American cultural and economic integration transpired. The fur trade changed the economy, introducing imported European goods that supplanted Native weapons, tools, and cloth. These goods permanently changed hunting practices, modes of dress, and agricultural customs, and Native American tribes became dependent on the colonizers.

Life on the frontier came easy to no one. Those men and women who made their way westward did so at a price. Because of the open Native American hostility to settler encroachment, the pioneers constantly lived in fear of captivity or death. Their drive for autonomy overshadowed that fear, resulting in the constant surge west. The results of pioneering into the interior and engaging with the Native tribes determined the nature and characteristic of Americans throughout the West.

CHAPTER III

THE FRONTIER SETTLERS AND THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

The personal qualities European American settlers needed to endure and prosper in a land full of dangers must have been decidedly different from those who chose to stay in civilized areas. Meeting the challenge of settling into the hostile interior took resolve. Pioneers learned of the risks that the frontier represented from reports of previous explorations, settlement, and colonization. Effectively, this process of self-selection forged a collective American identity on the frontier associated with hard-won existence in an untamed land; Frederick Jackson Turner termed the process “Americanization.”⁴⁸

Turner argued that Americanization occurred on a line of expansion into the interior of the North American continent. As settlers moved to that frontier, they developed a new culture, as their civilization experienced a “continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish[ing] the forces dominating American character.”⁴⁹ If the pioneers living on this line of expansion neglected to adjust to their harsh new environment, they would perish.⁵⁰ Ultimately, although Turner argued that settlers

⁴⁸ Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

overcame Native American culture during westward expansion, he also demonstrated that settlers adjusted to their new environment by adopting some Native American ways, which would enable them to thrive in the West.

As pioneers adjusted to their new surroundings and worked to develop self-sufficiency, the methods Native tribes employed to prevent further advancement into the American frontier proved mostly ineffectual because of the sheer number of settlers. The practice of increasing tribal numbers through assimilating captives into the tribe produced insufficient results in compensating for death rates among the tribes. Instead, some Native American practices began to contribute to the creation of a new cultural identity among the growing number of settlers in the Ohio River Valley.⁵¹ Settlers accepted these contributions selectively.

Settlement into the Ohio River Valley began in earnest after the mid-eighteenth century with settlers primarily of Scotch-Irish and German descent. The Atlantic coastal region retained much of its English identity because the majority of settlers descended from the initial English colonists. As more immigrants from Scotland, Ireland, and Germany made their way to the North American colonies, their desire for cheap land drove them toward the frontier. These non-English immigrants retained much of their homeland's culture while at the same time adapting to the established society of the colonies. For example, Scotch-Irish immigrants brought their Celtic culture when they settled the frontier regions. Considered moderately backwards by the British, the Scotch-Irish became stalwart supporters of the American Revolution, as they were often historically at odds with the Crown and moving to a new land did not change the Scotch-

⁵¹ Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 4; White, *The Middle Ground*, xxvi.

Irish perspective. As settlement gained momentum, the migrants built forts as protection from the Native American tribes and the British.

Pioneers cleared the land to establish farms, and vast forests allowed for the construction of log cabins throughout the Eastern Woodlands.⁵² The first home construction was rudimentary because the settlers needed to plant and cultivate crops before the first winter. Once the settler families cleared enough land for farming, they expended efforts on building cabins that would better endure the onslaught of harsh weather. Because of their relative distance from established communities, pioneers depended on their ability to gather supplies and resources from their surroundings. As on the east coast, women made many of the essentials used in the household, from candles to textiles, and the sparseness of population on the frontier encouraged settlers to keep in touch with neighbors whenever possible for support, community, and protection.

Forts in early Kentucky incorporated timbers taken from the surrounding area that settlers used to form a “hollow square” that structured the outside walls of the fort.⁵³ The crude dwellings built inside the square, “consisted of cabins, block-houses, and stockades at a height of nine to twelve feet.”⁵⁴ Cabins lined one side of the inside of the fort, while builders constructed block-houses at the corners above the top of the fort’s wall to serve as a look-out point and to deter enemy attacks. Iron was always in short supply on the

⁵² “Encountering the First American West,” *The First American West: The Ohio River Valley, 1750-1820*, accessed February 18, 2015, <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawsp/sp4.html>.

⁵³ Timothy Shay Arthur and William Henry Carpenter, *The History of Kentucky: From Its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, PA: Lippincott, Grambo, 1852), 28.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.

frontier, and in general, construction of forts and the structures within did not include the aid of “a single nail or spike of iron.”⁵⁵ The forts’ thick walls could potentially withstand an onslaught of arrows and gunfire. However, they often proved vulnerable to British cannons, especially 6-pounders.⁵⁶ This vulnerability to British cannons and the British alliance with Native tribes prompted the surrender of a number of forts in the Kentucky region during the American Revolution. Consequently, forts and stations did not guarantee their inhabitants’ safety from Native American attacks.

The success and survival of communal forts depended on the fort’s construction, the tenacity of the people within, and the persistence of the attackers. Basic survival necessitated settlers regularly leaving the safety of the fort to hunt and fish, invariably risking capture or murder. Conversely, many Native American habitations provided little defense against the settlers’ weaponry. Because of their semi-nomadic lifestyle, local tribes did not build fort structures similar to what the settlers had built. This made attacks upon indigenous settlements less challenging for the settlers, especially when the Native tribal defenders were not in residence.

The tribal region contributed to the construction of the dwelling. The Iroquois, a tribe in the Old Northwest region, built palisades that surrounded their villages and required the warriors to serve as lookouts for invaders.⁵⁷ The average Iroquois village lasted about 10 years, after which soil depletion of the farmland surrounding the

⁵⁵ Ibid., 29.

⁵⁶ Edward Butts, *Simon Girty: Wilderness Warrior* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2011), 116.

⁵⁷ Barbara A. McCall, *The Iroquois* (Vero Beach, FL: Rourke Publications, Inc., 1989), 11.

settlement rendered it unusable. At that point, the inhabitants sought out a new fertile area to farm. Both the Iroquois and Huron, another Old Northwestern tribe, typically built longhouses that housed several families and served as places for ceremonial gatherings.⁵⁸ The wigwam constructed by Algonquian tribes in the woodland regions of the Old Northwest, possessed a round top covered with “woven mats or birch bark rather than skins,” and served as a structure many settlers encountered in Native American villages in the northeast, such as the Seneca in Pennsylvania.⁵⁹ The Shawnee in the southeast built their wigwams with wooden frames covered either with animal hides or mats from sheets of bark from a birch or elm tree.⁶⁰ The Cherokee of the southeastern woodlands built their wattle and daub homes by “weaving rivercane, wood, and vines into a frame, then coating the frame with plaster.”⁶¹ The thatched roof consisted of either grass or bark shingles, and was intended for living in one area for an extended length of time, although not permanently, similar to the semi-nomadic lifestyles of the Iroquois.⁶² This allowed the Cherokee to move on when the game or soil had been depleted.

With support from friendly Native American tribes and already established settlements, pioneers learned skills needed to thrive and survive on the frontier. Depending on their regional European origins, some of the fundamental adeptness came

⁵⁸ Candy Moulton, *Everyday Life Among the American Indians: 1800 to 1900* (Cincinnati, OH: Writer's Digest Books, 2001), 167.

⁵⁹ Moulton, *Everyday Life Among the American Indians*, 167; Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, 60.

⁶⁰ Clark, *The Shawnee*, 43.

⁶¹ “Native American Houses,” accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.native-languages.org/houses.htm>.

⁶² *Ibid.*

from actual knowledge when fighting against enemies in their homeland, but much of the expertise needed for life on the frontier originated from the teachings of Native Americans, such as frontiersmen learning the ways of Native American tribes. This contributed to a successful settlement in America. Although not necessarily peaceful peoples, with their constant warfare between enemy Native tribes and European Americans, Native Americans often taught settlers to live off the land by showing them methods of hunting, farming, fishing, and building appropriate to the American landscape. Native Americans used the bow and arrow, the tomahawk, the spear, and eventually the musket or rifle when hunting or warring. The tomahawk, similar to the axe and consisting of a wooden handle and a stone or metal blade, was adopted by settlers as a tool for warfare.

As a new generation of settlers and small farmers sought to expand into the interior region of the Ohio River Valley, civilization in the eastern seaboard colonies no longer defined American identity. Those colonials on the east coast had grown used to an urban way of living, which was very unlike life on the American frontier. The men and women new to the frontier line learned tribal ways and took off “the garments of civilization.”⁶³ Accommodating the rough environment, pioneer men adopted dress that was most practical, such as moccasins of deerskin and often a coonskin cap, breechclout, and a shirt hanging loose that reached mid-thigh. However, women most often kept the modest mode of dress appropriate to European dictates and their cultural origins, such as a dress and petticoat, although most of the time they adopted a more practical and shorter

⁶³ Maude Ward Lafferty, “Destruction of Ruddle’s and Martin’s Forts in the Revolutionary War,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 54, no. 189 (October 1956): 300.

version because of the workload. Women kept to the expected dress norms of European styles and propriety, only altering it to the extent of regional practicality. Having recently migrated from the more settled coastal areas, they carried with them the gendered conventions of domesticity.⁶⁴

While they retained those expectations regarding their roles, however, their behaviors changed. To survive on the frontier, women took on extraordinary responsibilities. The skills they learned while still in the bounds of established urban society formed the basis of their ability to endure on the frontier, but the essential knowledge and skills they acquired during their time forging into the interior assisted in the success of new settlements. These women cooked, sewed, reared their families, and managed their households and gardens, and protected the homestead often without the aid of their male counterparts. As frontier settlers, they also assisted in raising crops and clearing fields, building homes, hunting for wild game, chopping wood, fishing, and making many of the supplies necessary to live with some semblance of comfort.⁶⁵

Spiritual and religious beliefs held by settlers and Native Americans in the Ohio River Valley region differed significantly. Most of these Native American societies were polytheistic, although with the worship of one central Supreme Being along with lesser deities. The main spiritual being was often known as the “Great Spirit,” but was also referred to by other names depending on the tribe.⁶⁶ Because these beliefs did not derive

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Fowler, *Woman on the American Frontier*, 18.

⁶⁶ C. C. Trowbridge, *Shawnese Tradition: C. C. Trowbridge's Account* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1938), 56.

from Christianity, many settlers deemed Native American religion as inconsequential, and, at times akin to devil worship. Most settlers, in general, had come from the Christian tradition, and for them, no other form of worship was acceptable. Conflicting religious beliefs and understandings of morality caused the settlers to judge themselves as spiritually and morally superior to the indigenous people. In response, many Native American societies kept their religious practices to themselves to protect their “communal identity” from Christian persecution. To retain their cultural and spiritual beliefs, Native American tribes secretly practiced their faith even before tribal displacements in the early 1800s.⁶⁷

During the mid-1700s, Native Americans developed a shared commonality that further separated them from the European American settlers, who by this time identified themselves as white. Indigenous peoples rejected “Laws and Customs,” particularly Christianity, of the settlers and tried to reinstate the purity of their societies and spiritual dominion within the Native tribes. As settlement into the Southeastern woodlands increased, so did Native American resistance to European American ways, thus unifying tribal identities against settlers. As a Native American movement of resistance against the incoming tide of settlement increased, indigenous peoples continued to separate themselves from settlers.⁶⁸

Along the frontier, settlers occasionally sought to assimilate the indigenous

⁶⁷ Lee Irwin, *Native American Spirituality: A Critical Reader* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 1, 307.

⁶⁸ Sean P. Harvey, "Ideas of Race in Early America," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*, April 2016, accessed June 11, 2017, <http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-262>.

peoples by introducing Christianity with the expectation of conversion. This conversion process caused numerous Native American societies and religious practices to become lost and virtually forgotten. In Kentucky, however, the Christian settlers had little interest in converting the Native Americans during the latter part of the 1700s and possessed slight regard for Native American spiritual practices. Instead, their primary interests were survival, making a living on the frontier, and land acquisition despite Native tribal occupation or utilization of those lands.

Christianity came to the shores of North America as soon as the first European ship landed. Because the New World offered opportunity for religious freedoms, the immigrants brought their belief systems with them. The diversity of the immigrants and the vastness of the continent contributed to the numerous Christian belief systems. Evangelicalism, which is salvation by grace, began to take hold in the colonies as preachers spread the Protestant message. Anglican preacher George Whitefield traveled throughout the American colonies in the 1740s and helped to change the religious landscape of North America to a personal “heartfelt” experience and not the solemn practices associated with more formal religions.⁶⁹ Whitefield’s rhetoric aided in the commencement of North America’s Great Awakening in a series of revivals. Many Scotch-Irish who settled the Southeastern Woodlands practiced Presbyterianism, a Protestant religion founded in Scotland during the 1500s by John Knox. Methodism gained momentum in America after the Revolution with “standards of piety, worship, and service,” which heavily influenced religious life in America.⁷⁰ Founded in England by

⁶⁹ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2000), 33, 50.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

John Wesley in the early eighteenth century, early Methodist missionaries spread their message to the Native Americans and attempted to convince the indigenous people of their immorality and sinfulness.⁷¹ Baptists who celebrate the fact that belief in Jesus Christ assures salvation and eternal fellowship with a loving God, also made up a large portion of people that settled on the frontier line.⁷²

Religious movements in America allowed converts to believe in “self-respect, instilling hope, purpose, meaning, and identity” to which older formal religion did not subscribe.⁷³ The Americas were “extraordinary” in the diversity of religions that made their way to their shores which “made the United States one of the world’s most dynamic societies.”⁷⁴ Nevertheless, survival remained more important on the frontier in Kentucky than converting Native Americans to the Christian doctrine.

In 1779 John Taylor, Joseph Reding, Lewis Lunsford, and several other ministers visited Kentucky, but owing to the constant alarms from Indian depredations there seemed to be but little interest manifested for religion, and but few opportunities for preaching.⁷⁵

It was not until after the American Revolution that most Protestant religions began to

⁷¹ Robert F. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 52-3; Dee E. Andrews, *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 16.

⁷² “10 Facts You Should Know About American Baptists,” *American Baptist Churches USA*, 2017, accessed June 17, 2017, <http://www.abc-usa.org/10facts/>.

⁷³ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 58.

⁷⁴ Noll, *Protestants in America*, 8.

⁷⁵ William B. Allen, *A History of Kentucky, Embracing Gleanings* (Louisville, KY: Bradley & Gilbert Publishers, 1872), 176.

proliferate in the Kentucky region.⁷⁶

The foreign concept of Native American spirituality contributed to the sense of a Native American otherness in European perceptions of the Americas. This otherness was complicated by the fact that Native American religions were as diverse as their languages and cultures. Ultimately, though, that diversity exerted little influence on the European sense of superiority. When Native Americans did convert to Christianity, the settlers expected the converts to freely abandon their old spiritual practices. In contrast, Native Americans did not always demand the same concession from their captives.

Native American spirituality commonly consisted of a communion of the self with the intangible. Essentially, they had an intrinsic faith in the interdependence between the individual and others, the connection of one with a Supreme Being and with the spirit of the land and all living things. Native Americans tended not to focus on the self as a separate entity, but instead they saw the self as an element of the whole. The spiritual journey was a deeply personal endeavor, requiring individuals of many indigenous faiths to seek guidance through trials, meditation, and a communion with the spirit realm, through which the individual would evolve into a more enlightened member of the tribe. Thus, spirituality in Native American societies preserved an individual's encompassing belief that he or she made up a small part of the earthly and etheric realms. The Shawnee and Iroquois, two tribes that traversed the Kentucky region, subscribed to this belief system.⁷⁷

Another aspect of spirituality among Native societies, and more specifically the

⁷⁶ Ibid., vi, 170-235.

⁷⁷ Irwin, *Native American Spirituality*, 11.

Shawnee of southeastern woodlands, involved a belief in ghosts or restless spirits of the dead.⁷⁸ The Shawnee felt a “deep obligation to the souls of their dead.”⁷⁹ If the deceased family and friends did not offer proper deference to their dead loved one, such as “making a dance,” or “a feast” in his or her honor, the survivors would suffer the anger of the disquieted spirit until such acknowledgement was made.⁸⁰

Spirituality contains elements of religion, just as religion possesses a component of spirituality, although they differ enough to make distinctions. The Christian faith retains some elements of spirituality, but it focuses less on interconnectedness with the physical world and to one another. Christianity centers on the Christian God and the belief that His “only begotten” son “was crucified under Pontius Pilate; suffered, died, and was buried” for the forgiveness of our sins against God and against one another.⁸¹ This belief influenced much of Western culture, as Christianity focused more on the self and his or her relationship with God and emphasized a strict moral code.

The Iroquois worshipped a central deity, the “Great Spirit,” along with other deities. They also believed in the presence of evil spirits, who delivered malevolent tragedy upon people. Like the Iroquois Nation, the Shawnee’s Supreme Being “the Great Spirit or Grandmother” also acknowledged other lesser divine beings present in their

⁷⁸ Ibid., 53-54.

⁷⁹ Stephen Warren, *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 72.

⁸⁰ Irwin, *Native American Spirituality*, 54.

⁸¹ “The Nicene Creed,” accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/credo.htm.

lives.⁸² These tribal beliefs are significant in the Kentucky region, as both the Iroquois and Shawnee traversed much of the southern land west of the Appalachians nomadically and warred upon each other there.

Both Native Americans and European Americans used rituals to induct people into their faith. In some tribes, new initiates washed in a cleansing ritual as a symbol of renewal and acceptance into the tribe. The basic procedure for Christians came from the act of baptism or christening, a process of immersing the supplicant in water, or the act of pouring blessed water over the head.⁸³ This ceremonial tradition, in some denominations, absolves the supplicant of original sin. In Christianity, if one is to achieve salvation, baptism is required. For the most part, the act of baptism in Christianity represented the individual's acceptance of Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior and rejection of the supremacy of the physical self. Baptism embodies a religious Christian ritual and article of faith regarded as a sacrament or a sign of grace, in which people "are freed from sin and reborn."⁸⁴

The procedures of indoctrination into either culture were significantly different, according to one's culture and spiritual beliefs. Ultimately, Native Americans and settlers constantly observed a divergent method of worship, with religion and spirituality playing a large part of cultural introduction into either society. Most individuals remained steadfast in their original faith even with the contact, but at times, some converted to the opposing belief system, whether European American or Native

⁸² Clark, *The Shawnee*, 49.

⁸³ "The Sacrament of Baptism," accessed April 2, 2015, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p2s2c1a1.htm.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

American.

People on the frontier learned from and adapted to conditions the environment posed. Little did the Native Americans know that their generosity would lead to constant settler intrusion onto their lands. Both European and Native cultures borrowed from one another to adjust to the changes that quickly engulfed the North American landscape during settlement of the region west of the Appalachians. Each culture took on aspects of the other culture acquiring new facets to survive in new social, political, and topographical environments. However, most Native American tribes chose to resist the onslaught of settlers by opposing some European American ways, and borrowing from others in order to subsist alongside the new arrivals.

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS IN THE WESTERN FRONTIER

The American West, especially the land between the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers, was a significant theater in the American Revolution. Many histories of the war, however, have neglected the importance of the western lands.⁸⁵ Often allied with the British, Native Americans played a major role in fighting along the frontier line against the rebels. Many Native tribes occupying the western region attacked European American settlements, attempting to discourage further settlement in the lower Ohio River Valley. Reclaiming sole possession of the Old Northwest remained their goal.

The French and Indian War in North America, which was part of the larger Seven Years' War between England and France, brought these European nations and the Native American tribes into conflict in the bid for occupation of the Ohio River Valley. The struggles between the Native tribes and the British escalated after the French surrendered their forts in the Old Northwest according to terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763). In addition, dissent between the British Empire and the settlers over land increased when the British Crown limited colonial expansion west of the Appalachians with the Proclamation of 1763. Nevertheless, land speculators encouraged colonists to buy land to establish

⁸⁵ O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, vii.

farms, forts, and stations in the Ohio River Valley, and settlers moved only when imperial forces forced them to do so. This incursion onto Native American lands further exacerbated relations between the British and the colonists and between colonists and Native Americans. When the colonies declared independence, those worsening relations exploded into war. But even though many potential settlers became reluctant to move into the interior during the American Revolution, the constant raids and warfare only temporarily slowed expansion.⁸⁶

Many of the tribes that had aided the French during the French and Indian War continued to fight even after the war had ended. In the spring of 1763, Pontiac led a Native American coalition that captured numerous British forts in the region. In an attempt to placate the Native tribes, King George III issued the Proclamation of 1763, angering colonists who wanted new land beyond the boundary line. As tensions among colonists, Crown, and Native tribes deteriorated, the British lacked sufficient military forces to enforce the proclamation, and colonists continued westward.⁸⁷

When the American Revolution erupted twelve years later, His Majesty's government assured Native American tribes that they would retain the rights to their lands if they sided with the British, aggravating an already tense situation. Almost everywhere along the western frontier, fighting occurred between the rebels and the British-Native American alliance. As the frontier fighting dragged on, it got more

⁸⁶ Alan Taylor, "1763: Pontiac's War: A Great Lakes Indian Rebellion Against the British Changed the Balance Forever Between Indian and Colonist," *American Heritage Publishing* 59, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 30.

⁸⁷ O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 30; Taylor, "1763: Pontiac's War," 30.

expensive; continual loss of life and resources only aggravated hostilities toward the western tribes.⁸⁸

Commanding the “irregular militia” in 1775 from Kentucky’s “parent state,” Virginia, Colonel George Rogers Clark proposed an expedition to capture major British military posts north of the Ohio River in Illinois country.⁸⁹ This Illinois Campaign captured the British strongholds of Kaskaskia and Vincennes and took Fort Detroit’s British Governor Henry Hamilton as prisoner at Vincennes in 1779. Clark’s role in the region contributed to the success of frontier communities, although this expenditure weakened the already overextended Continental Army.

In 1780, the British planned a strategy to retake the West from the Gulf of Mexico to the Canadian borders. British troops and their Native American allies attacked Ruddle’s and Martin’s stations in Kentucky, seeking to solidify the Crown’s hold on the West. The expedition that left Fort Detroit under the command of Captain Henry Bird included hundreds of Native American allies including “Delawares, Hurons, Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippawaa, Tawas, Miamis, and Potwatomies” who intended to retaliate against the settlers for burning Native villages and crops in the Old Northwest during the late 1770s.⁹⁰

One western theater participant in the war was turncoat Simon Girty, who took

⁸⁸ Taylor, “1763: Pontiac’s War,” 17.

⁸⁹ George Rogers Clark, *Col. George Rogers Clark’s Sketch of His Campaign in the Illinois in 1778-1779* (Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clarke & Co., 1869), 10, 17.

⁹⁰ Don Lee and Martha Pelfrey, “British Attacks Against Ruddle’s & Martin’s Stations in June 1780,” *The Ruddlesforter: Quarterly of the Ruddell and Martin Stations Historical Association* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 2.

charge of these Native American forces on Captain Bird's expedition to attack the two Kentucky forts that were situated a few miles southeast of current day Cynthiana, Kentucky on the South Licking River. A native of Pennsylvania, Girty grew up on the frontier in the mid-1700s.⁹¹ The Delaware captured him as a teenager and later traded him to the Seneca, who released him at the end of the French and Indian War. After his return to society, Girty endured ridicule for his inability to acclimate; he had adopted more Delaware and Seneca ways than the community felt comfortable accepting. His experience with the tribes, however, gave him the language skills and cultural knowledge that made him a good interpreter for the British during the Revolution. Girty and his brothers, James and George, joined the British forces and fought primarily in the West, following the Bird expedition into Kentucky.⁹²

As Bird's expedition journeyed south on the Great Miami River, a tributary of the Ohio River, additional Shawnee joined their party. In all, the expedition included approximately twelve hundred fifty men, with a Native American majority.⁹³ In a letter to his superior, British Major Arent S. De Peyster, Bird illustrates the ease with which Ruddle's was taken by threat of the "Six Pounder."⁹⁴

The Three Pounder was not sufficient, our people raised a battery of rails & earth within 80 yards of the fort-taking some advantage of a very violent storm of rain which prevented them being seen clearly-They stood two discharges of the little gun, which only cut down a spar and stuck the shot in the side of a house-When

⁹¹ Butts, *Simon Girty*, 21.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 11, 31, 41, 68, 127; Allan W. Eckert, *The Frontiersmen: A Narrative* (Ashland, KY: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 2001), 219.

⁹³ Eckert, *The Frontiersmen*, 218-19.

⁹⁴ Captain Bird to Major De Peyster, July 1, 1780 in the "Haldimand Papers," *Historical Collections: Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, vol. XIX (Lansing, MI: Robert Smith & Co., State Printers and Binders, 1892), 538-9.

they saw the Six Pounder moving across the field, they immediately surrendered.⁹⁵

Captain Isaac Ruddle, the man who established the station, surrendered under the condition that the women and children receive British protection and not suffer molestation by the intruders.⁹⁶ Bird agreed to the conditions proposed by Ruddle's surrender, but unfortunately when the gates opened to the invaders, Bird was unable to control the situation. Having little patience for a siege the Native warriors rushed into the fort violating the terms of surrender, claiming prisoners, and killing civilians. As Captain Alexander McKee, who maintained a close association with the Girtys and accompanied the expedition observed.

The Indian chiefs agreed to the proposals, as well for the preservation of the prisoners as an equal distribution of the plunder amongst their several nations, to prevent jealousies or dissatisfaction, but the violence of the Lake Indians in seizing the Prisoners, contrary to agreement, threw everything into confusion.⁹⁷

In the violence following the surrender, Ruddle saw his three-year-old son being ripped from his wife Elizabeth's arms and then thrown in the fire to die. Native American warriors captured Ruddle, his wife, and their surviving children. Their young sons, Stephen and Abraham, remained captives of the Shawnee, while their parents made their way north with the other prisoners into Canada.⁹⁸

After attacking Martin's Station, which surrendered without opposition, British

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Thomas D. Clark, ed., *The Voice of the Frontier: John Bradford's Notes on Kentucky* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 35.

⁹⁷ Captain Alexander McKee to Major Arent De Peyster, July 8, 1780, in the "Haldimand Papers," *Historical Collections: Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, 542.

⁹⁸ Lafferty, "Destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Forts," 316-17.

troops gathered the fifty survivors and marched them north to Detroit. Martin's Station inhabitants did not suffer the atrocities visited upon the settlers at Ruddle's Station. Bird hurried the pace of the retreat to avoid being intercepted by Clark's forces as news spread of the attacks upon the Kentucky forts.⁹⁹ Also in the letter to his superior, Major De Peyster, Captain Bird related the story of the march north as having been extremely difficult for many of the captives: "I marched the poor women & children 20 miles in one day over very high mountains, frightening them with frequent alarms to push them forward."¹⁰⁰ As the British party drove them northward over and through hundreds of miles of wilderness toward Detroit, those who failed to keep up with the party's set pace risked being scalped and killed by their Native American captors. James Morrow, one of the captives, noted that one of the Native elders stated, "the Great Spirit would be angry because they had scalped so many infants."¹⁰¹ Clark was unable to catch or intercept Bird, leaving the captives to their fates and many were dispersed among Bird's Native American allies.

In 1782, Clark gathered another one thousand men and led an attack upon the Indian towns of the Scioto and Miami on the banks of the Ohio River. Though there was little loss of life among the Native Americans, their towns "were reduced to ashes, and all

⁹⁹ Lee and Pelfrey, "British Attacks Against Ruddle's & Martin's Stations," 3; Scott Holland Goodnight, "The Good(k)night (Guknecht) Family in America," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 33, no. 105 (1935): 336; J. Norman Heard, *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*, vol. I, *The Southeastern Woodlands* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987): 42.

¹⁰⁰ Captain Henry Bird to Major Arent De Peyster, July 1, 1780, in the "Haldimand Papers," *Historical Collections: Collections and Researches Made by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society*, 539.

¹⁰¹ Lafferty, "Destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Forts," 313.

their provisions destroyed.”¹⁰² Clark, a “brilliant tactician in wilderness warfare,” used Native American guerrilla tactics to gain American control of the Illinois region.¹⁰³ His attacks on Indian villages during that 1782 campaign -- reprisals for the Ruddle’s and Martin’s Station assaults -- contributed to the Native American refusal to participate in attacks against the frontier settlements in Kentucky for the remainder of the American Revolution.

Ultimately, settlers had established more than the two stations taken by the Bird expedition, which helped expansion in the West after the Revolution. The rebels could not have faced the Native American foe by marching on a battlefield as typical European warfare dictated at the time. Clark and Girty represented the unique adaptation of frontier-style fighting that existed during settlement in the interior of North America. The military tactics the settlers had learned, either directly or indirectly from the Native tribes, aided them in keeping their hold on the western frontier and in delivering retribution on the Native tribes.

¹⁰² Clark, *Col. George Rogers Clark's Sketch*, 20.

¹⁰³ Butts, *Simon Girty*, 88.

CHAPTER V

STORIES OF ABDUCTION

Captivity represented one the most intimate, yet involuntary contacts between the Native tribes and settlers. A captive's introduction to Native society contributed to the cultural merging that was occurring on the frontier. Captors targeted both sexes and all age groups, although most captives were women. Stories of captivity abound from the era of colonization, as freed women began publishing their captivity experiences for the reading public. These stories provide a perspective of the intricate and sometimes unwelcome negotiations of the middle ground.

Social propriety regarding women's purity and chastity lent to details of their captivity being withheld because of the damage an in-depth narrative would have on their reputations.¹⁰⁴ Men authored numerous biographical tales of female captivity, contributing to a male bias in the existing literature and hiding the women's voices. For example, one source text, *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870*, includes 13 accounts of male captivity and only two female. Essentially, even though more women became captives, their voices remained much less influential and accurate

¹⁰⁴ Sarah Hawkes, "Captivity Narratives: Exploring Motives of the Capturers and Captives," *US History Scene*, last modified 2015, accessed February 8, 2015, www.ushistoryscene.com/uncategorized/captivitynarratives/.

in the telling of their stories compared to their male counterparts. Regardless of the authorship and sex of the captives, however, the stories contain a similar underlying theme: what life was like while being held captive by a people of an alien culture.

Matthew Brayton, a settler abductee at the beginning of 1800s, related his story of captivity among numerous tribes before returning to his family years later. In his memoir, *The Indian Captive: A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Matthew Brayton, in his Thirty-Four Years of Captivity Among the Indians of North-Western America*, he narrates his story. Brayton became a captive at the age of seven while accompanying his older brother, William Brayton, in the search for stray cattle. Matthew became tired and started making his way to a neighbor's house alone in northwestern Ohio and was captured.¹⁰⁵

Brayton's experience is an example of abduction without violence. During his "first seven or eight years" of captivity, his captives traded him numerous times among various tribes.¹⁰⁶ His recollection of these experiences remained sparse, and he readily admits that his telling of the events relied on accounts from the tribal members involved in his trading. His travels took him to many regions in the Northwest and up into Canada. Brayton spent the majority of his life among different Native tribes. His memoirs detail the differences in culture his Native American captors impressed upon him from an early age, especially the diversity of work requirements between the sexes. His observations of Native cultural conventions revealed differences in cultural standards

¹⁰⁵ Matthew Brayton, *The Indian Captive: A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Matthew Brayton, in his Thirty-Four Years of Captivity Among the Indians of North-Western America* (Cleveland, OH: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1860), 5-7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

of the settlers.¹⁰⁷

The men do nothing but hunt and fight, leaving the women and captives to do the drudgery. The women are very hard worked, having to collect wood for fires, cut up the game, carry the heavy burdens and the other work which the warrior considers beneath his dignity to perform. They are very hardy and can perform with ease labors which many white men would shrink from.¹⁰⁸

Often life on the frontier required settler women to take on the same workload as the Native American women in performing these duties. In this, the pioneer female carried out much of the same workload as their Native American counterparts.

The Winnebago, Sioux, and Chippewa sold Brayton several times before his final adoption into the Snake tribe in the upper Ohio River Valley region. Since he no longer remembered, Brayton's curiosity about his origins pushed him to inquire about it from the chief, O-wash-kah-ke-naw. The chief told Brayton of Brayton's background, and this led to his eventual return to his family after thirty-four years, thus abandoning his Native American wife and their two children.

Brayton's desire to return to society after years with Native tribes happened frequently among captives, but some abductees, such as Mary Jemison, chose to remain. Abducted on the southern Pennsylvania frontier during her early teen years in 1755, Jemison remained among the Seneca tribe even after repeated chances to return to society. She related the events of her "almost seventy years" among the Seneca tribe to Dr. James Seaver, who authored her story.¹⁰⁹ At the time of the interview, Jemison still dressed in the Native American manner and her religious beliefs corresponded with the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 11-12.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 20.

¹⁰⁹ Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*, 4, 18.

Seneca making Jemison was a veritable example of the melding of cultures.¹¹⁰

Jemison barely remembered her original captors, “The Indians by whom I was taken were a party of Shawnees, if I remember right, that lived, when at home, a long distance down the Ohio.”¹¹¹ The Shawnee and their French companions captured her mother and father, and three of her siblings. A rescue party pursued the Shawnee who murdered and scalped her parents and siblings, but the would-be rescuers were unable to catch the Shawnee. Two Seneca sisters adopted her in a ceremony after she arrived at Fort Pitt as a replacement for their deceased brother. Her induction in the Seneca tribe allowed her all the privileges of tribal membership, without prejudice, and Jemison stated, “I was ever considered and treated by them as a real sister, the same as though I had been born of their mother.”¹¹²

Jemison married Sheninjee, “according to Indian custom,” at the behest of one her Seneca sisters. She shared a good marriage with Sheninjee and soon conceived her first child.¹¹³ Because of her marriage and the children she had while with the Seneca tribe, she was reluctant to return to her family. She knew that her society of origin would not accept her children as their Seneca relatives did, and so she continued in the life to which she was accustomed. Her choice to stay still resonated with her at the time of her interview with Dr. Seaver.

My son, Thomas, was anxious that I should go; and offered to go with me and assist me on the journey... But the Chiefs of our tribe, suspecting from his

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 22, 26.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 58.

¹¹² Ibid., 48, 60, 65.

¹¹³ Ibid., 72-3.

appearance, actions, and a few warlike exploits, that Thomas would be a great warrior, or a good counselor, refused to let him leave them on any account whatever.

To go myself, and leave him, was more than I felt able to do; for he had been kind to me, and was one on whom I placed great dependence. The Chiefs refusing to let him go, was one reason for my resolving to stay; but another, more powerful, if possible, was, that I had got a large family of Indian children, that I must take with me; and that if I should be so fortunate as to find my relatives, they would despise them, if not myself; and treat us as enemies; or, at least with a degree of cold indifference, which I thought I could not endure.¹¹⁴

Jemison retained some memory of her life among her family of origin, but most of her adult life spent with the Seneca taught her their culture and society. She gave birth to eight children and gave all of them Christian names. By choosing Christian names but staying with the Seneca tribe, Jemison again embodied the notion of cultural melding on the “middle ground.” She alone took on aspects of Native culture while keeping concepts important to her, such as her Christian upbringing in naming her children. Thus, Jemison is a personification of integrating European Americans and Native Americans culturally on the middle ground.

A significantly different experience of captivity was that of Mrs. Jennie Wiley. Her account is of an extremely traumatic abduction with little or no conscious cultural negotiation. In 1790, Wiley became captive of a party of eleven Cherokee, Shawnee, Wyandot, and Delaware in eastern Kentucky. Her husband had left early on the morning of the abduction to sell ginseng and other products; remaining at home were Jennie’s brother and the couple’s four children, the youngest of whom was about fifteen months old. The Wileys’ neighbor offered the family a place to stay while her husband was absent and she agreed. Always on the lookout for trouble in the area, Jennie quickly fed

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 152-3.

and watered the animals in preparation for her absence. Unfortunately, she lingered too long, and at about four that afternoon, the attackers invaded her home.¹¹⁵

She watched helplessly as they attacked her children and brother, striking them with their tomahawks and killing them. Only the youngest of her children survived the attack because of her diligence in protecting him. The Shawnee chief admired her tenacity and spared her and her child's life claiming them as his captives. Jennie then helplessly witnessed the scalping of her slain children and brother. Her captivity by the Shawnee chief was to replace "his daughter who had recently died, the last of his children."¹¹⁶

The Native American party set out from the Wiley homestead at a rapid pace to avoid rescue parties, and Wiley feared that if she could not keep up with her captures, her child would be murdered. However, her slow pace resulted in her child's murder; she helplessly watched as one of the attackers bashed the child's head against a tree and scalped him. Wiley also hid her pregnancy from her captors for as long as possible, for fear it would result in her death; but they allowed her to keep her newborn while spending the winter in camp. She lived alone in a small rock house with her baby until the onset of spring when the Shawnee decided to leave the winter camp.¹¹⁷

At the age of "three moons," the Shawnee chief put Wiley's baby boy through a test that supposedly all Shawnee male babies underwent. The baby failed the test when he started crying while floating on the river strapped to a piece of bark. Wiley rescued

¹¹⁵ Connelley, *The Founding of Harman's Station*, 36-37.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 37-39.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 43, 46, 49.

her child from the river, but the Shawnee killed and scalped him anyway.¹¹⁸

During her time with her captors, Wiley witnessed the beating of a European American male captive but did not witness his demise, though she assumed he was burned at the stake and she wondered if she would suffer the same fate. After showing her Native American captors little fear of death at their hands, the Cherokee chief bought her from the Shawnee chief, although his demeanor was less accommodating than the Shawnee chief. She remained a captive for about 11 months until the time of escape presented itself and she made her way back to her husband to live in Virginia. Her experiences as a captive reveal the least favorable conditions an abductee could experience. Wiley was little more than a servant to her captors who abducted her and never became a member of any of the tribes responsible for her captivity. In this instance, the will to accommodate failed. These Native tribal members showed little interest in meeting the settlers on the middle ground as shown by the violence of Wiley's abduction.¹¹⁹

The narratives of captivity relate very different stories depending on numerous factors, including the tribes participating and the reasons for securing a captive. Nonetheless, each individual underwent an intimate exposure to Native American society and culture. Not all captives experienced deplorable conditions, and some of the events afforded the captive some measure of stability and happiness, such as Jemison's life among the Seneca. Brayton also achieved some measure of happiness in marrying and having a family. In general, if the captive and Native American captors met culturally

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 49-50.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 58-61, 76.

with some semblance of regard and understanding, then life became much more tolerable. Regardless of individual experience, living along the frontier line made settlers vulnerable to captivity, an experience that contributed to the melding of settler and indigenous culture.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The settlers accommodated the wants and needs of the Native American tribes when that accommodation suited their purpose, but as settlement accelerated, the interaction often became violent. The constant contact between the cultures created a unique cultural identity. Few European American settlements remained untouched by frontier Native American interaction in the western regions. Whether the contact was violent or peaceful, settlers encountered Native American tribes frequently enough that a collective culture emerged.

To state that equal parts from each divergent society endured to create a new society would be untrue. However, these cultures and societies contributed, albeit disproportionately, to produce a unique American culture as more settlers overtook Native American lands. Even as they displaced the tribes, migrating settlers incorporated aspects of Native American culture into their own, and in return, the Native tribes took on facets of European American culture as well. Essentially, the settlers failed to obliterate Native American societies, although they frequently drove them from their ancestral lands.

The drive to seek autonomy in the American West facilitated settlers to incorporate measures to overcome numerous uncertainties that the frontier held. Whether

their relations with the Native American tribes were friendly or hostile, the skills they learned on the frontier enabled the migrants to persevere throughout the West.

Conversely, many Native American tribes learned settler ways that helped them to persist as a people on the North American continent, such as language, trade customs, use of European weaponry, and politics. Most times, this process entailed assimilation into European American society and conversion to Christianity; however, countless Native Americans sought to keep their traditions and succeeded in preventing the total annihilation of their culture.

Warfare along the frontier took on aspects of both Native American and European American cultures. People of European descent no longer only met on the battlefield facing the enemy, but instead they used tactics learned from their Native American counterparts, especially in wooded areas. Native Americans acquired weapons from the settlers, such as muskets and rifles, and learned from their experiences with the British military how to use the weapons to lay siege to frontier stations and forts.

To survive in the unsettled environment, pioneer women supported their families and homes with responsibilities that would have been relegated to their husbands and fathers, had they remained in the settled East. They learned skills, such as wielding guns, sowing crops, and cutting wood. Often the men in these settler families left to perform military service, and women remained as the main defenders of their homes and families. Many times, however, the aptitude to survive proved overwhelming because of the numbers of Native Americans participating in the attacks.

Native American attempts to recover tribal members lost to war and disease unintentionally changed settler culture, as captives learned about and experienced Native

American culture and society. Settlers normally did not adhere to the Native American way of life after returning to their original society, but they learned Native American languages and at times became more sympathetic to the plight of the Native American tribes. Some captives retained no affinity towards their captors, especially if their capture entailed killing the majority of their family members. Another factor in assimilation into Native American culture depended on the time spent in captivity and whether offspring resulted from the union. The younger the captive, the more likely they were incorporated into their captor's culture. Ultimately, the ideal captive was a child, teen, or woman.

The process of expansion into the West forever altered Native American and European American cultures by incorporating characteristics that aided each culture to survive. One of the main corridors in the Southeastern Woodlands, the Cumberland Gap, facilitated the spread of European Americans seeking personal autonomy in America's western region. Without the constant proximity to Native Americans, development of the interior would have been much less perilous. However, because these divergent cultures came together on the western American frontier, both in hostility and in friendship, they contact created a culture unique to North America.

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Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, Worthington C. Ford et al, ed. Washington, D.C., 1904-37.

The journals are primary source documents of incidents that occurred in the late 1770s, especially in regards to the American Revolution. This is an important source for researching Continental government proceedings during the Revolution.

Kentucky Papers, 1768-1892. 37 vols. The Draper Manuscript Collection. The Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

Frontier Wars Papers. 24 vols. The Draper Manuscript Collection. The Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

This is an extensive collection of manuscripts that cover the period between the French and Indian War through the War of 1812. Lyman C. Draper collected much of his information from first-hand accounts of the events during this time. Because many secondary sources cite the Draper Collection regarding the history of the Ohio Valley makes it essential to my research.

Published Works

Allen, William B. *A History of Kentucky, Embracing Gleanings*. Louisville, KY: Bradley & Gilbert Publishers, 1872.

This is a collection of first-hand accounts about the trials and hardships of settlement from the early settlers in Kentucky. Although, the author maintains many of the stories are from oral histories passed down from generation to generation, he puts these collections together into a biographical interpretation of those experiences. The work helps to determine the different religious sects prevalent in Kentucky among the settlers. It also gives an account of the conflicts that arose between the Native tribes and settlers in Kentucky.

Bedinger, George M. *The George M. Bedinger Papers in the Draper Manuscript*

Collection. Transcribed by Craig L. Heath. Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2002.

This is a transcribed account of the George M. Bedinger Papers that is included in the Draper Manuscript Collection. Bedinger was a pioneer of Kentucky, patriot, and major in the Continental Army. The author uses the Bedinger Papers as his source and asserts his narrative into the text. Essentially, Bedinger was an important historical figure during Kentucky's settlement, and his first-hand experiences support my research.

Bleeker, Leonard. *The Order Book of Capt. Leonard Bleeker, Major of Brigade in the Early Part of the Expedition under Gen. James Clinton, Against the Indian Settlements of Western New York, in the Campaign of 1779*. New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865.

This is a primary source account of the conflict waged against the Indian settlements in Western New York. The author of the book was also a major player in the conflicts with Indians during the American Revolution. Written by Captain Leonard Bleeker, a primary participant during the actual campaign, all the proposed information, although biased, gives an extremely important view of the Indian warfare that took place during the Revolution.

Brayton, Matthew. *The Indian Captive: A Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Matthew Brayton, in his Thirty-Four Years of Captivity Among the Indians of North-Western America*. Cleveland, OH: Fairbanks, Benedict & Co., 1860.

The memoir is about the experiences of a young settler kidnapped by Natives when he was 7 years old. It effectively presents a primary account of the hardships young Matthew Brayton faced during his captivity. This account helps to narrate the experiences of people taken by natives in early America and the difficulties they endured.

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In this collection of biographies written from "person reminiscences" with historical accounts during the Revolution, there is valuable information on the perception the settlers had of the Native Americans and their barbarism. Published 100 years after the event, this book uses primary source documents, oral histories, and secondary interpretation to further its topic. Because much of the text takes place along the Western frontier during the Revolutionary period, it is a valuable resource in ascertaining the attitudes of the people on the frontier, and insight into what happened to American Col. Crawford regarding his torture and death.

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Revolution; or Annals of Tryon County. New York: Baker and Scribners, 1849.

This book includes a collection of first-hand accounts regarding the Revolution on the frontier settlements in New York, with Iroquois political divisions. The author gathered manuscripts and eyewitness descriptions to narrate his work. Though published in the 1800s, this book adds valuable insight into the frontier struggle of the settlers during the Revolution.

Clark, George Rogers. *Col. George Rogers Clark's Sketch of His Campaigns in the Illinois in 1778-9 and Major Bowman's Journal of the Taking of Post St. Vincents.* Cincinnati, OH: Robert Clarke, 1869.

The two aforementioned sources contain the primary source documents of George Rogers and his experiences during the American Revolution. This collection includes valuable first-hand accounts of Clark's campaigns in the West. Since it is an amalgamation of western conflicts during the Revolution, these works further the understanding of military actions in the West.

Clark, Thomas D., ed. *The Voice of the Frontier: John Bradford's Notes on Kentucky.* Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1993.

These are a part of a special collection with John Bradford's "Notes" on Kentucky edited by Thomas D. Clark containing major events that happened there. For a time, Bradford published a newspaper, *The Kentucky Gazette*, in which he identified and researched historical events in Kentucky taken from his own research of sources, both primary and secondary. Bradford wrote an article that described British and Native American attacks on Ruddle's Station on the Licking River in Kentucky, one of my regions of focus.

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Connelley gives an account of Jennie Wiley's captivity narrated by her son. Because of the relationship of the captive and the storyteller, this book is mostly considered a primary source. Along with the captivity story, the author supplies information on the founding a Kentucky station.

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Drake, Daniel. *Pioneer Life in Kentucky.* Cincinnati, OH: The Robert Clark & Co.,

1870.

This text includes a collection of primary source documents that demonstrate life on the Kentucky frontier. Drake derives his research from letters of the Kentucky pioneers along with his narrative of the events that surrounded the letters. The collection gives a better look into life on the Kentucky frontier, not only in wartime, but also during everyday aspects of their lives.

Drake, Samuel G. *Indian Captivities; or, Life in the Wigwam; Being True Narratives of Captives Who Have Been Carried Away by the Indians, From the Frontier Settlements of the U. S., From the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* Buffalo, NY: Derby, Orton, & Mulligan, 1853.

Drake recorded the narratives of captives on the frontier. The stories are firsthand accounts of captives. This text helps to ascertain the experiences captives endured at the hands of their captors.

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The stories of those in captivity remain an important source of determining the reasons why Natives found it necessary to capture settlers on the frontier, and Equiano has supplied a compilation of these narratives. He has obtained much of his information from primary accounts and published stories of those held. This work furthers my research into the captives' viewpoint during their time with the Native Americans.

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Goodnight, Scott Holland. "The Good(K)night (Gutknecht) Family in America." *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 33, no. 105 (1935): 326-55.

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the generations to complete his narrative. The attack on Ruddle's Station, Kentucky, the settler fort in 1780, includes one family's historical significance in the American Revolution.

Hamilton, Henry. *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with the Unpublished Journals of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton*. Edited by John D. Barnhart. Crawfordville, IN: R.E. Banta, 1951.

This is a collection of documents pertaining to Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit and George Rogers Clark, in which Clark took the Lieutenant Governor prisoner. It contains narrative and primary sources to inform the reader of events that took place during the American Revolution. Clark's deeds while in the Ohio Valley provide an important military perspective on the conflicts between the colonists and the British during the Revolution.

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Seaver, James E. *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*. Canadaigua, NY: J.D. Bemis, 1824.

Seaver interviewed Mary Jemison to create this narrative of Jemison's life while she was a part of the Seneca tribe and how she became a captive. The story taken from Jemison, makes it a primary source. Her experiences while being a captive, illuminates a more positive aspect of the assimilation process.

Sinn, John. "Kentucky Ancestors in Pioneer Days – The Taking of Ruddle's Station, 1790." *Kentucky Ancestors* 25, no. 3 (Winter 1990): 153-56.

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Numerous personal accounts in this collection of works pertain to Major General John Sullivan's sanctioned campaign against the Native tribes in 1779. The editor gives most of the events in chronological order, helping the reader to understand the campaign consecutively. Since General Washington sanctioned Sullivan's conquest of Native Americans during the Revolution, it expands the comprehension as to why Native tribes acted as they did toward the settlers.

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Walker was the first European American explorer to discover the Cumberland Gap through the Allegheny Mountains in 1750. His journal of the expedition, digitally reproduced and made available online. Many sources refer to McBride as the first European to explore the Kentucky region in 1754, so this journal repudiates that belief with the actual account of Walker's discovery in 1750.

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Early American Methodism has its roots in England and made its way to the Americas to become a relevant religion. In this secondary source, Andrews illustrates the origins of Methodism and its evolution in North America. The book gives relevant information on the spread of one of the predominant religions on the frontier during the Revolution.

Arthur, Timothy Shay, and William Henry Carpenter. *The History of Kentucky, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1852.

The book gives a historical overview of early settlement in Kentucky to the mid-1800s. Taken from primary sources and statistical information and presented in a narrative of Kentucky's history, the book does not give its sources for the information, but other sources corroborate much of the information. This large collection of stories that reveal the difficulties of the settlement of what would become Kentucky, and the book has many events that relate to frontier warfare with the Native tribes in the Ohio Valley.

Axtell, James. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

The book explores how the European, mainly, English and French, perception of life and culture conflicted with the Native Americans' established societies. Much of the book derives the information from first-hand accounts of each faction during the

settlement of the frontier. It is an important compilation of the struggle between the clashing cultures of the Old and New Worlds, containing a more ethnically unbiased account of events than previous published works from the 18th and 19th centuries.

Bailey, Kenneth P. *The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement, 1748-1792: A Chapter in the History of the Colonial Frontier*. Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912.

This work presents the origins of the Ohio Company and its establishment, which helped to increase expansion into the Western frontier into the Ohio Valley. The book includes primary documentation from the late 1700s and includes maps of the settled areas. This work demonstrates the importance of the Ohio Company and expansion into the interior.

Belue, Ted Franklin. *The Hunters of Kentucky: A Narrative History of America's First Far West, 1750-1792*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2003.

In this book, Belue gives extensive descriptions of the men who chose to endure the Western frontier in Kentucky. He effectively narrates the lives and events of settlement in Kentucky portion of the Ohio Valley and provides maps and illustrations to demonstrate where his narrative takes place. The book consists of stories about the men of European descent who braved the Kentucky frontier and it demonstrates the dangers regularly encountered by European American people living on the frontier, especially in regards to the Indian threat.

Berkhofer, Robert F. *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response*. Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1965.

Berkhofer analyses the early Protestant missionaries in America to the Native Americans. He includes the relevant religions that attempted to convert the Native tribes by spreading God's word. The book provides differences in Protestant types of conversion, which aids in the understanding of the spread of Christianity in the Old Northwest.

Blanco, Richard L., ed. *American Revolution 1775-1783: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland, 1993.

For an overview of the military engagements in during the American Revolution, Blanco provides many of the key participants in the war, ending with last battle at Blue Licks, Kentucky. He describes the battles and skirmishes and includes maps and illustrations, with much of the information in the text gleaned from biographies of the participants. It is important to note detailed information on the clashes that took place in the Ohio Valley, whether they were between the rebels and the British, or the Native American allies of the British and the settlers.

Brown, Meredith Mason. *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America*.

Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State *University* Press, 2008.

The author demonstrates Boone's place in frontier America and seeks to dispel previous legends and myths formerly told about Daniel Boone as a frontiersman. The author utilizes both primary and secondary sources, including the Draper Manuscripts, which contain valuable first-hand accounts of Boone's life. Considered a premier frontiersman make Daniel Boone's experiences in Kentucky very relevant.

Butterfield, Consul Willshire. *History of George Rogers Clark's Conquest of the Illinois and the Wabash Towns 1778 and 1779*. Columbus, OH: F. J. Heer, 1904.

Butterfield adds his narrative to military actions during the Revolution on the Western frontier and provides important cultural perceptions of the rebels in 1778 and 1779. He uses the same source materials to illustrate his narrative of the brave American soldiers and their conquests of the Illinois and Wabash. This facilitates the premise of ethnic supremacy the Americans had towards the Native Americans and contains a wealth of discriminatory information given by Butterfield about the conflicts.

Butts, Edward. *Simon Girty, Wilderness Warrior*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2011.

This work is a biography of one of the most hated loyalists during the American Revolution. Much of Butts' source material is from descendants of Simon Girty, and tends to give a more generous view of Girty's nature than American publications, and Girty tended to be a hero of sorts in Canada. The text examines Girty's life and why he chose to side with the British, even though he was born an American.

Canup, John. *Out of the Wilderness: The Emergence of an American Identity in Colonial New England*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

As the title of the book implies, this study attempts to demonstrate the beginnings of American self-identity during colonial times. The author illustrates the importance of the American frontier on the colonial development of identity, which would become unique to Americans. It explores colonial interaction, whether negative or positive, with the native population and gives a particularly comprehensive view on how the interaction would transpire during the Revolution.

Caruso, John A. *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1959.

The author demonstrates early exploration into the Ohio Valley and the importance of settlement in the westward expansion into the Appalachian frontier. He utilizes the *Draper Manuscript Collection*, a collection of works taken from the actual participants, as his primary source material. Settlement of this region by the Germans and Scotch-Irish adds ethnic validity to the region's population.

Clark, Jerry E. *The Shawnee*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky,

1993.

Clark expounds on the premise that the Kentucky region contained Shawnee and analyzes the notion of why Americans believed that the area remained uninhabited by Natives. His examination, a recent work on the tribe, presents a secondary source of the Shawnee people. Because the Shawnee lived and migrated in the region during the late 1700s, this book offers essential information for Native people in Kentucky.

Clark, Thomas D. *A History of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: John Bradford Press, 1954.

The author strives to accurately note the history of what would become the state of Kentucky and the process unique to its statehood. He includes social history related to the initiation of Kentucky. This work demonstrates the settlement of Kentucky and the different ethnic groups that inhabited the region, lending to its identity.

Cleland, Hugh. *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1955.

This book includes some of Washington's journal entries and letters during the mid-to-late 18th century regarding military campaigns in the Western regions. Cleland includes his own interpretation of the events in the book, along with personal records of the participants. By implementing the primary source accounts into the text, the author's work adds an important depiction of George Washington in the West before, during, and after the American Revolution, lending to how military expeditions affected Kentucky's identity.

Coleman, J. Winston. *The British Invasion of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: Winburn Press, 1951.

Not only were the British fighting against the colonies, but they were also fighting against France and Spain, and as a result, rebel settlers gained access further west, threatening Britain's grasp on the colonies. Because of this many-sided threat, the Crown needed to keep settlement at a minimum in the west and in the Ohio Valley. The author makes use of primary and secondary sources. This book includes the attacks on Ruddle's and Martin's Stations; the former is a primary focus in my research.

Collins, Lewis. *Historical Sketches of Kentucky: Its History, Antiquities, and Natural Curiosities, Geographical, Statistical, and Geological Descriptions; With Anecdotes of Pioneer Life*. Maysville, KY: Lewis Collins, 1848.

Collins, Lewis, and Richard H. Collins. *History of Kentucky: By the Late Lewis Collins, Judge of the Mason County Court*. Louisville, KY: Richard H. Collins, 1877.

----- *History of Kentucky*. Vol. 2. Louisville, KY: John P. Morton, 1924.

Collins demonstrates the history of Kentucky in the three works listed above, through his numerous biographies of the people who settled the region. Admittedly, these biographies are the accumulation of the Collins' memories of the people who settled Kentucky, mostly in the oral tradition. Although the majority of sources Collins provides are his personal recollections, they add to the frontier persona of those who settled the region passed down through oral tradition.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Last of the Mohicans*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1988.

The novel represents an illustration of the conflict between Europeans and the native population during the French and Indian War, with the main character rising above the bonds of race. Although the work is historical fiction, the premise contributes to the intermingling of Native Americans and European Americans, and Cooper raised on the frontier, gives credence to his interpretation. This book, which became highly popular after its publication in the 1800s, lends to the assertion of adoption into Native tribes.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

Nancy F. Cott's analysis of women's place in the social structure reveals a fresh point of view that is unique to the female gender. Cott enables historians and the public to understand the struggles faced by women from 1780 to 1835. Because Cott brings a new perspective not previously examined by other historians at the time of publication, more than any other work represented in this essay, Cott enables me to explore the unique struggle women faced in a man's world.

Cotterill, Robert S. *History of Pioneer Kentucky*. Cincinnati, OH: Johnson & Hardin, 1917.

Cotterill proposes a study into the pioneers of Kentucky beginning in the mid-18th century. He gleans much of the information from the *Draper Manuscript Collection*, a primary source compilation from those who lived in the time of Kentucky's settlement. The author's perspective of Kentucky's settlement lends to a varying viewpoint that enables me to determine how different authors presented contrasting information regarding Kentucky.

Dandridge, Danske. *George Michael Bedinger: A Kentucky Pioneer*. Charlottesville, VA: Michie Co., 1909.

This text contains information on one of the original pioneers in the Kentucky frontier and more specifically Fort Boonesborough, Major George Michael Bedinger. Much of the research derives from the personal correspondences of Bedinger. It helps to illustrate the problems faced on the frontier of Kentucky while attempting to establish a settlement.

Davidson, Robert. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky*. New

York: Robert Carter, 1847.

This work demonstrates how important the Presbyterian religion was to Kentucky's settlement, with origins of westward movement from Virginia. Davidson utilizes ministers' recollections from the Presbyterian Church to further his argument of Kentucky's role in perpetuating the faith. The Presbyterian religion contributes to the understanding of settlers' beliefs when establishing communities in Kentucky.

Demos, John. *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. New York: Alfred Knopf: Distributed by Random House, Inc., 1994.

A story of a female captured by the Mohawks as a child, who later married into the tribe and raised a family, Demos utilizes family records and provides narrative of his own to elaborate on the events that actually took place. This is a captivity story of a woman who chose to cross ethnic lines and remain in the Mohawk community, and her story is important in understanding the female perspective.

Derleth, August. *Vincennes: Portal to the West*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

This book describes a series of events relating including the taking of Vincennes, a fort in what is now the state of Indiana, by the Americans led by George Rogers Clark during the Revolution. The author gets most of his information from primary sources to better illuminate the sacking of the fort. This is yet another source to further understanding of the Revolution in the West and provides more information on a key participant, George Rogers Clark.

Eckert, Allan, W. *That Dark and Bloody River*. New York: Bantam Books, 1996.

The beginnings of settlement into the Ohio River Valley and some of the participants involved in warfare between the British, Colonials, and Native Americans is included in the narrative of this book. Eckert draws from primary sources to add to his narrative of the events surrounding settlement of the valley. Having no obvious bias toward one group of ethnic players, this work supplied me with a better understanding of those people involved.

----- *The Frontiersmen: A Narrative*. Ashland, KY: Jesse Stuart Foundation, 2001.

Although this is admittedly a historical novel, Eckert makes every effort to effectively tell the story of the men who pioneered the Old Northwest. His narrative and dialogue use many primary sources to lend validity to this work. Regardless of the fact that Eckert's book is a novel, it still imparts an air of legitimacy because of his use of primary sources and this contributes to the understanding of frontier life.

English, William H. *Conquest of the Country Northwest of the River Ohio*. 2 vols. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company, 1896.

This book contains descriptions and illustrations of George Rogers Clark's conquest of the West during the Revolution. English utilizes many primary sources, but still narrates his own interpretation of the events during Clark's military expedition. The source gives yet another perspective in the conflict between the British and Americans during the Revolution in the Western theater.

Fernow, Berthold. *The Ohio Valley in Colonial Days*. Albany, NY: J. Munsell's Sons, 1890.

This book is a history of the Ohio Valley from the first explorers to its prolonged settlement. The author uses special collections that recorded the expansion into the Ohio Valley in his narrative. Because of the vast history contained within the text, this work contributes to my research by supplying the necessary historical accounts of pre-settlement and the reasons why European Americans expanded into the Ohio Valley.

Foner, Eric, and John A Garraty, eds. *The Reader's Companion to American History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1991.

As the title implies, this work is a companion for those who want to obtain a better understanding of American history. The *Companion* has numerous contributors and helps the reader to relate one event to another. Because it demonstrates colonial expansion into the Ohio Valley, this work gives an overall view of the settlement west of Appalachians.

Fowler, William Worthington. *Woman on the American Frontier: A Valuable and Authentic History of the Heroism, Adventures, Privations, Captivities, Trials, and Noble Lives and Deaths of the "Pioneer Mothers of the Republic."* Hartford, CT: S. S. Scranton & Company, 1877.

This book contains numerous stories of the women who settled on the frontier, from the earliest settlements, until the early to mid-1800s. Fowler gets his information from primary sources and stories handed down orally. These short stories illustrate the role women played in pioneering into the West, and the skills needed to survive in that environment, effectively relating to a new culture that evolved because of life on the frontier.

Friedenberg, Daniel M. *Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1992.

The author illustrates settlers' bid to expand across the North American continent, beginning in colonial times. His narrative makes use of primary sources, and he claims that the settlers were selfish to the extreme. This contrasting view of settlement differs from texts written and published in the 18th and 19th centuries, and is a necessary source to understand the historiography.

Harrison, Lowell Hayes. *A New History of Kentucky*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.

Often used as a textbook for an overall view of Kentucky's history, this book gives a contemporary view of Kentucky's settlement. The book uses primary source documents in the narrative. For my research, it provides a well-rounded reference to Kentucky's history and conflicts during the Revolution.

Harvey, Henry. *History of the Shawnee Indians: From the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive*. Cincinnati, OH: E. Morgan & Sons, 1855.

Harvey, a Quaker, writes of the Shawnee tribe from very specific dates and includes primary source material along with his observations of their history. He incorporates primary source material from Quaker, William Penn. Because he provides information about the Shawnee during the 1700s, this work is a valuable addition to the research for this thesis.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.

Nathan Hatch provides a well-written account of the most numerous religions in the United States in the late 1700s. The book gives a religious and political look at the United States as groups of like-minded and mostly ethnically-similar people. This secondary source allows me to grasp the religious and political atmosphere of the day.

Heard, Norman J. *Handbook of the American Frontier: Four Centuries of Indian-White Relationships*. Vol. 1, *The Southeastern Woodlands*. Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1987.

This reference book gives the reader insight into the relationship, whether good or not, between the Native tribes and the settlers of the Southeastern woodlands. The book is a compilation of summary information from primary source documents. Since it is more substantial and detailed than other encyclopedic references, I am able to obtain more information relevant to my topic than from an encyclopedia.

Hoffman, Phillip. *Simon Girty Turncoat Hero: The Most Hated Man on the Early American Frontier*. Staunton, VA: American History Press, 2009.

This biographical narrative argues that conflicted turncoat Simon Girty turned his back on the rebel cause for psychological reasons. This narrative consists of secondary accounts of Girty's life. Simon Girty took part in the attack upon Ruddle's Station, so this work has yet another viewpoint concerning the attack on the fort.

Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972.

This is a collection of essays revealing the relationship between colonial European and Native American societies. Jacobs furthers his thesis by analyzing the damage the Europeans did to the land and people during conquest and colonization. By giving an ecological view of European colonization, Jacobs reveals the harm, especially how the English perpetuated havoc on their environment and on native populations. This study is necessary for an environmental standpoint.

Jones, Veda Goodnight, and Mabel Goodnight Stevenson. *William Moore Goodnight of Johnson County, Missouri, 1875-1951*. Orem, UT: Historical Publications, 1983.

The work presents the Goodnight family history in America. It is compilation of stories of the ancestors of William Moore Goodnight, assembled by his descendants. In addition, because it corroborates the murders of George Goodnight and his wife at Ruddle's Station, it is fundamental to my research.

Kinkhead, Elizabeth Shelby. *A History of Kentucky*. New York: American Book Company, 1896.

The book published in 1896, contains textbook commentary of the average Kentuckian and the history of Kentucky. This secondary source attempts to "connect" important events for student comprehension. Because of its date of publication, the author is closer to the time of settlement than the authors of contemporary works, so it has a valuable viewpoint not represented in newer texts.

Murray, Louise Welles, ed. *Notes from Craft Collection in Tioga Point Museum on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and its centennial celebration of 1879: Including Order Book of General Sullivan, Never Before Published, Original Manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society*. Athens, PA, 1929.

This work contains numerous primary sources concerning the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, during the Revolution. Though it does contain lengthy primary source quotes, there is also much editorial narrative in the text. Ordered to attack the Native American settlements in Western New York who sided with the British making Sullivan one of the responsible players as to why the native population regarded the settlers with much resentment.

Nester, William. *George Rogers Clark: "I Glory in War."* Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.

An in depth report of George Rogers Clark, who was a key military figure during the American Revolution in Kentucky. The book concentrates on the military exploits of Clark and utilizes Clark's personal papers and other records of his time in the Ohio Valley. Essentially, it provides important aspects into the military history during the Revolution in Kentucky and the Ohio Valley.

Noll, Mark A., *Protestants in America*. NY: Oxford University Press, 2000.

The colonist and settler religions in North America had a direct influence on the Native American spirituality. This comprehensive secondary source explores the spread of Protestantism. Noll gives accounts of the Protestant origins and how different Christian belief systems continued to thrive on the frontier.

O'Brien, Michael J. *Irish Pioneers in Kentucky: A Series of Articles Published in the Gaelic American*. Louisville, KY: James Thompson, 1916.

Many settlers to the Ohio Valley region were of Celtic descent; this book seeks to demonstrate their importance in the southeast. The author, who himself is of Celtic origin, gives evidence of the cultural personality of the region during settlement.

O'Donnell, James H., III. *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.

O'Donnell demonstrates the situation of the southern Indians caught between the settlers and the British in the South and the hopelessness of the situation. Because of its inclusion of the southeastern woodlands, this book gives a comprehensive view of the southern Indians' woes after European encroachment on their lands.

Owen, Roger C, James Deetz, and Anthony D. Fisher, eds. *The North American Indians: A Sourcebook*. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

This book is a compilation of many articles exploring the diverse North American Indian cultures. It includes a vast collection of narratives written by experts on Native American ways of life. Because a few of the articles include perspectives on religion, it is an essential resource in researching the native religious cultures in North America.

Perkins, Elizabeth A. *Border Life: Experience and Memory in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

In *Border Life*, the author demonstrates the realities of settlement of the Ohio Valley. The author utilizes oral histories from interviews conducted by Reverend John Dabney Shane compiled in the *Draper Manuscripts*. Cultural complexities of settlement in the Ohio Valley give this work a refreshing take on how the settlers viewed themselves, and the histories are from ordinary people who survived on the frontier in the Ohio Valley.

Perrin, William H., and Robert Peter. *History of Bourbon, Scott, Harrison, and Nicholas Counties*. Chicago: O. O. Baskin & Co., 1882.

By describing the "blue-grass" region of Kentucky and its history, the authors demonstrate why settlers chose to inhabit this rich region. Considered a secondary source, this narrative includes one of the counties researched in the text, Harrison County, and is vital to relating the geography of the rich land situated in the "blue-grass" region.

Rand, Silas Tertius. *Legends of the Micmacs*. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.

Published in 1894, this text demonstrates the significance of the power of dreams in Native American spirituality. The writings taken from the Micmacs and their oral tribal traditions, aid in understanding the divergence of Native American spirituality and Christianity.

Roberts, Robert B. *Encyclopedia of Historic Forts: The Military, Pioneer, and Trading Posts of the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1988.

This reference has numerous entries regarding the forts in America for all 50 states. Within the text, the author has recorded the establishment of forts, military and otherwise, to complete this comprehensive secondary source. It contains valuable information about the forts or stations established in the Ohio Valley.

Smith, Zachariah Frederick. *The History of Kentucky: From Its Earliest Discovery and Settlement, to the Present Date*. Louisville, KY: The Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1892.

----- *School History of Kentucky: The Earliest Discoveries and Settlements to the End of the Year 1888*. Louisville, KY: The Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1889.

----- *Youth's History of Kentucky: From the Earliest Discoveries and Settlements to the Year 1898*. Louisville, KY: The Courier-Journal Job Printing Company, 1898.

These three texts are a comprehensive narrative of Kentucky's history. They contain numerous primary and secondary sources to extend the reader's understanding of the state's establishment. Written in the late 1800s, the texts give a valuable European ethnocentric concept of the establishment of Kentucky.

Sosin, Jack M. *The Revolutionary Frontier 1763-1783*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967.

This book argues that the British relationship with the Native Americans and tribal respect for the land surpassed that of the colonists. It is a narrative in which Sosin offers a varying view concerning settlements on the frontier than other historians, such as Frederick Turner. He paints the British monarchy in a more gracious light. This text helps to compare divergent views of colonialism.

Stone, William L. *Border Wars of the American Revolution*. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1845.

----- *Life of Joseph Brandt-Thayendanega, Including the Indian Wars of the American*

Revolution. 2 vols. New York: Alexander V. Blake, 1838.

These two texts inform the reader of the plight of the Native Americans during the Revolution with much less bias than other publications from the 1800s. The author demonstrates his perspective of the Native Americans as victims of colonial avarice and draws from primary and secondary sources. Because of its divergent views of European American conquest, these volumes help illuminate the Native American view on the encroachment of their lands.

Strong, Pauline Turner. *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1953.

The author takes a candid look at the British oppression of the Native Americans in Colonial America. It draws from both primary and secondary British sources. This work is essential to determine why the Native tribes committed acts of violence on the settlers. It makes the determination that because of the atrocities visited upon the Native Americans, it was recompense.

Treuer, Anton. *Indian Nations of North America*. Washington DC: National Geographic, 2010.

National Geographic demonstrates the regional differences in culture and society among the North American Indians. The representation of numerous tribes makes this book a vital secondary source. Detailed descriptions of the Indigenous tribes contributes to understanding of the differences in Native American societies.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1920.

Turner's work argues that the American frontier became the place where American's cultural identity developed under the strain of contact with the indigenous people and the taming of wild lands. He presented a paper at the 1893 Chicago World Fair presenting his findings and his work remains a valuable secondary source. His historiography of American cultural emergence possesses an important point of view relevant to the clash of cultures and this thesis.

Warren, Stephen. *The Worlds the Shawnees Made: Migration and Violence in Early America*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Warren gives a broad comprehension of the migration patterns of the Shawnee people from the late 1600s to the early 1800s that demonstrates the nomadic lifestyles of Shawnee during this time-period. Considered a secondary source, this book provides cultural information of the Shawnee relevant to this thesis.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

White argues the concept of the “middle ground” involved in the melding of cultures in North America. His work analyzes the contact between the peoples of North America and supplies crucial viewpoints as a secondary source. White’s work contributes to the understanding of how the American culture became an amalgamation of several European cultures and numerous Native American cultures critical to this thesis.

Articles

Axtell, James. “The White Indians of Colonial America.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 1975): 55-88.

Axtell explores how the settlements of the English and French affected their own societies in North America and the results of the cultural invasion upon the Native tribes. The article, published in 1975 remains a vital secondary source for historiography on cultural collisions during colonial and expansion periods in North America.

Barnhart, John D. "A New Evaluation of Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 37, no. 4 (March 1951): 643-52.

This article seeks to extinguish the hero worship of colonial officer George Rogers Clark and to reveal a less biased version of the Clark’s capture of Henry Hamilton, the British lieutenant governor of Fort Detroit. The author uses numerous letters written by Hamilton and his perspective of the events. It is important to note all sides of the Revolution on the western frontier.

Breen, T. H. “An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776”. *Journal of British Studies* 25 no. 4 (Oct. 1986): 467-99.

When considering how colonization affected the Native tribes and changed the way they conducted trade, this article illustrates the intermingling of cultures. A secondary source that perpetuates the give and take to create a new culture, this article furthers this thesis by offering the Anglicization of North America through trade with Natives.

Calloway, Colin G. "'We Have Always Been the Frontier': The American Revolution in Shawnee Country." *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 39-52.

In the past, historians have been interested in Indian military roles in the Revolution while neglecting the profound effect the war had on their communities. Calloway seeks to reveal why many of the Native tribes sided with the British during the Revolution. He derives his information from primary and secondary sources. This study is important to establish the effects of westward encroachment on Natives societies during the Revolution and how this led to changes in their communal living.

Castro, Wendy L. "Stripped: Clothing and Identity in Colonial Captivity Narratives." *Early American Studies* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 104-36.

In regards to colonial self-identity, the article describes how captives were dressed after abduction, and argues the importance of their dress to their overall self-perception. The author makes use of first-hand accounts of captivity along with secondary sources to further his argument. Because part of my thesis includes the treatment of captives, this article provides the psychological perspective of those forced to assimilate into Native American society.

Lafferty, Maude Ward. "Destruction of Ruddle's and Martin's Forts in the Revolutionary War." *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 54, no. 189 (October 1956): 297-338.

The article tells the story of the destruction of two of the settler forts or stations established in Kentucky by the British and their Native American allies, and why the British felt it necessary to destroy such settlements in the West during the Revolution. The article draws from both primary and secondary sources. It demonstrates what happened to the captives after the attacks and the settler captivity in the Ohio Valley.

Lee, Don, and Martha Pelfrey. "British Attacks Against Ruddle's and Martin's Stations in June 1780." *The Ruddlesforter* 1, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 2-3.

This article narrates Bird's invasion of Ruddle's and Martin's Stations, explaining the conflict and result of English and Indian attacks upon the Kentucky settler forts. It is a secondary source, but the pamphlet also contains primary sources from the *Draper Manuscripts* pertaining to the event. Hence, this article and the adjoining pamphlet information are extremely relevant.

Mahon, John K. "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676-1794." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45, no. 2 (September 1958): 254-75.

Colonial warfare against the Native Americans developed as a concerted effort of training to effectively defeat the Native Americans, but the author argues that the frontiersmen's individual efforts had little to do with overcoming the Indians. The author uses both primary and secondary sources to further his thesis. Because of the methods adopted to conquer Indians on the American frontier, this article helps to define colonial military techniques during westward expansion.

Quaife, Milo M. "When Detroit Invaded Kentucky." *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (January 1927): 53-67.

Quaife tells the story of British Captain Bird, the military leader whose expedition into Kentucky destroyed settler forts, and of the alliance the captain maintained with Native Americans against the settlers. This account is a secondary narrative of Bird's invasion. It describes notable people involved in the taking of the forts during the

expedition and their experiences.

Sheehan, Bernard W. "'The Famous Hair Buyer General': Henry Hamilton, George Rogers Clark, and the American Indian." *Indiana Magazine of History* 79, no.1 (March 1983): 1-28.

Sheehan argues the importance of the western theater regarding the Revolution, and how the Native American hostilities helped to define American self-identity. The author mainly uses secondary sources to further his thesis. This article develops the premise of the main players on the western frontier during the Revolution and adds to my thesis by explaining the role the Indians had and how influential that was in determining American character.

Taylor, Alan. "1763: Pontiac's War: A Great Lakes Indian Rebellion Against the British Changed the Balance Forever Between Indian and Colonist." *American Heritage Publishing* 59, no. 4 (Winter 2010): 30.

Taylor's article gives a comprehensive overview of Pontiac's War against the British occupation of land around the Great Lakes region. He includes the end of the French and Indian War and why Pontiac started the rebellion in this secondary source. The article contributes to the understanding of why the Native tribes opposed colonists settling in the region.

Electronic Sources

"Encountering the First American West." *The First American West: The Ohio River Valley, 1750-1820*. Accessed February 18, 2015.
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/award99/icuhtml/fawsp/sp4.html>.

This website has many different facets concerning what life was like in the West during the time period that my thesis covers. From culture to household goods, the site provides relevant information.

Hammett, Carole. "The Land of Our Ancestors: A TNGenWeb Project History Presentation." *A Free TNGenWeb.org Genealogy Website*. Last modified August 2000. Accessed February 7, 2015.
www.tngenseb.org/tnland/squabble/walker.html

This web page summarizes Dr. Walker's trek into Kentucky and gives the information provided in his journal as evidence to his exploration into the Ohio Valley in 1750.

Harvey, Sean P. "Ideas of Race in Early America." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. April 2016. Accessed Jun 11, 2017.
<http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-262>.

Harvey explores how race in early America came about among the different ethnic groups in North America. The author uses extensive primary sources for his article and aids in the demonstration of how the divergent races viewed each other during settlement and encroachment onto Native tribal lands.

Hawkes, Sarah. "Captivity Narratives: Exploring Motives of the Capturers and Captives." *The US History Scene*. Last modified 2015. Accessed February 8, 2015. www.ushistoryscene.com/uncategorized/captivitynarratives/.

This article summarizes why natives captured settlers in early America. Considered a secondary source, the author's perspective on the plight of captives helps to establish an underlying theme during their captivity.

"Margaret Corbin & Mary Ludwig Hays McCauley: Revolutionary War (1775-1783)," *US Army Women's Museum – Fort Lee, Virginia*. Accessed April 4, 2016. http://www.awm.lee.army.mil/research_pages/margaret_corbin.htm.

This site depicts Margaret Corbin's contribution to the Revolutionary War effort and her award for the Executive Council in 1779. Showing the strength women exhibited during the Revolution.

"The Nicene Creed." Accessed February 20, 2015. http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/credo.htm.

"The Nicene Creed" tells of both Protestantism and Catholicism, and the doctrine of many Christians. The creed is a guideline of the divergent beliefs of European American culture as compared to Native American spirituality.

Walbert, David. "Disease and Catastrophe." *North Carolina Digital History: Learn NC*. Accessed March 21, 2016. <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/nchist-twoworlds/1689>.

Walbert's article demonstrates the Native American mortality rates because of disease after contact with Europeans. This article, a secondary source, not only lists the diseases the Native Americans succumbed to, but also the percentage of deaths among the Native population.

"18th Century Clothing." *First Ladies.org*. Accessed February 26, 2017. <http://www.firstladies.org/curriculum/docs/18th%20Century%20Clothing.pdf>.

First Ladies.org is a library site that retains many useful historical articles. In particular, the article, "18th Century Clothing," is a guide that demonstrates how settler mode of dress was chosen, making this article very relevant.

"10 Facts You Should Know About American Baptists." *American Baptist Churches USA*. 2017. Accessed June 17, 2017. <http://www.abc-usa.org/10facts/>.

American Baptists were one of the main Protestant groups in Early America. This source tells of the beliefs of the Baptists and their doctrine. There is a better understanding of religion on the frontier landscape from this article.