

THE
TAKING OF

JEMIMA
BOONE

COLONIAL SETTLERS, TRIBAL
NATIONS, AND THE KIDNAP
THAT SHAPED AMERICA

MATTHEW
PEARL



HARPER

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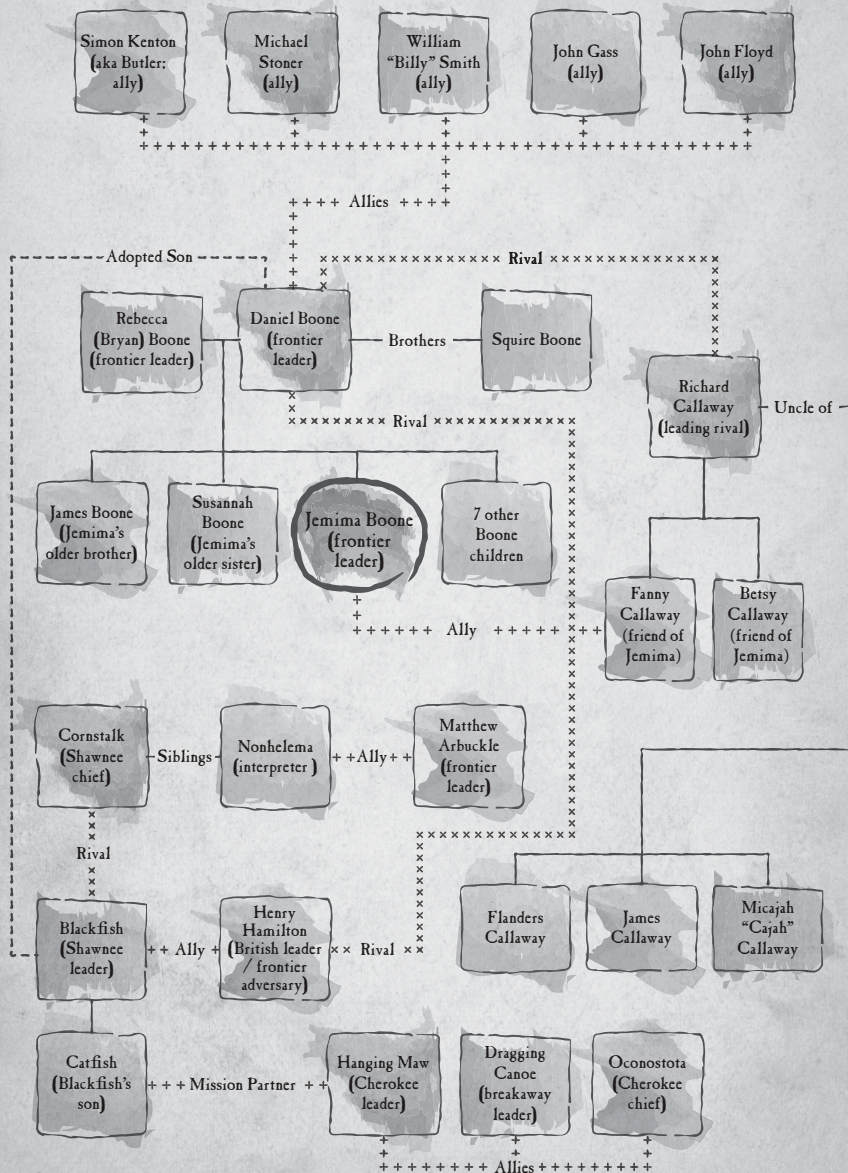
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CAST OF CHARACTERS



NOTES

Prologue

- 1 Rebecca Boone noticed: Martha McCorkle (as “Mrs. Samuel Scott”), 1840s, Draper Manuscript Collection (DM) 11CC225–226, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- 2 Jemima carried the lesson: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1889), 326; Stephen Railton, introduction to *The Last of the Mohicans*, by James Fenimore Cooper (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2004), xii; John Alexander McClung, *Sketches of Western Adventure* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1839), 40.

Chapter 1: Duck

- 7 Jemima strolled the banks: Will. M. Bransford, “The Capture and the Rescue, Part 1,” *Southern Lady’s Companion* 2, no. 8 (Nov. 1848): 170 (though a romanticized account, this contains information provided by the Callaway family); George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 41.
- 8 Late the previous year: Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *African Americans at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2019), 30–31.
- 8 With summer blazing: Eudocia Estill, 1852, DM 24C31; Richard French, 1840s, DM 12CC203; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S94; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1844, DM 22C14(10).
- 9 The Boones had led: Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 52–53.
- 9 “Now, brothers”: Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 216; Maureen Hancock Ward, *The Hancock Brothers from Virginia* (Richfield, ID: Hancock Family Organization, 1992), 11.
- 10 Boone’s early, temporary excursions: John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 83; Anna M. Cartlidge, “Colonel John Floyd: Reluctant Adventurer,” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 66, no. 4 (1968): 326; Neal O. Hammon, “The Fincastle Surveyors in the Bluegrass, 1774,” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 70, no. 4 (Oct. 1972): 283, 286, 292.
- 11 Fanciful notions: John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 46; Felix Walker, “Narrative of an Adventure in Kentucky in the Year 1775,” *DeBow’s Review* 16, no. 2 (Feb. 1854): 150–55; William Pitt Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts, 1652–1781*, vol. 1 (Richmond: R. F. Walker, 1875), 282ff; Ranck, ix; Joseph McCormick, 1870, DM 30C110–113.

- 12 Another pioneer: (Richard Callaway's birth year has been in dispute. Possibilities include 1717, 1722, and 1724.) Charles W. Bryan Jr., "Richard Callaway, Kentucky Pioneer," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 9 (Jan. 1935): 35–50.
- 13 The settlers took pains to appear fair: Stan Hoig, *The Cherokees and Their Chiefs: In the Wake of Empire* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1998), 58; Palmer, ed., 282.
- 13 Dragging Canoe, part of the: Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 3; Palmer, ed., 283, 292.
- 13 Years earlier, the British had forbidden: "Proclamation Respecting New Governments in America," *Gentleman's Magazine* 33 (1763): 479; Ranck, 149, 181.
- 14 Such brewing controversies: Draper, *Life*, 363, note t; Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C47; Faragher, 91.
- 15 Before beginning her own journey: Draper, *Life*, 363, note s; Ranck, 5.
- 16 Boone's thirty-person advance party: Neal O. Hammon, "The First Trip to Boonesborough," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 45 (July 1971): 249–63; Ranck, 192.
- 16 "Delightful beyond conception": Willard Rouse Jillson, *Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (Louisville: C. T. Dearing, 1930), 73; Ranck, 166.
- 17 "A new sky and strange earth": Walker, 152; Harry G. Enoch, *Pioneer Voices* (Winchester, KY: 2012), 3.
- 17 Conceiving of themselves as versions of Columbus: Draper, *Life*, 337–38; Hammon and Taylor, *Virginia's Western War*, 7.
- 18 Boone wrote weeks later: Walker, 154; Ranck, 169, 183.
- 18 Into these combustible circumstances: Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 55 (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 102–3; John Ferdinand Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, vol. 1 (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 331; Ranck, 32–33; Wilbur H. Siebert, "Kentucky's Struggle with Its Loyalist Proprietors," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 7, no. 2 (Sept. 1920): 114–15.
- 19 The far bank of the Kentucky River: Stephen Hempstead, 1863, DM 16C76; Moses Boone, c. 1846, DM 19C48; S. Paul Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(3); William Phelps, 1868, DM 24C57; Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(4); Estill, DM 24C31; Samuel Dixon, 1852, DM 24C30; Evisa Coshow, 1885, DM 21C28; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C14(10).
- 20 Changes had swept the region: Ranck, 31–32.
- 20 A figure thrashed: French, DM 12CC204; Ranck, 180; Enoch and Crabb, *African Americans at Fort Boonesborough*, 62–63.
- 21 "Simon! How you scared me!": Nathaniel Hart Jr., c. 1843, DM 17CC192; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(9); Bush, DM 24C59(4); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S94; Craig, DM 30C47.

Chapter 2: Bloody Ground

- 22 During that same era: Henry Timberlake, *The Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (London: J. Ridley, 1765), 33, 112.
- 23 Most of their exchange: Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1993), 41; Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C78.
- 24 That pattern played itself out: Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), 12; Robert G. Parkinson, "From Indian Killer to Worthy Citizen: The Revolutionary Transformation of Michael Cresap," *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 100–101; Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Historical and*

- Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, part 4 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1854), 624; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 357.
- 25 Soon after that: Peter C. Mancall, “‘The Bewitching Tyranny of Custom’: The Social Costs of Indian Drinking in Colonial America” in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500–1850*, eds. Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell (New York: Routledge, 2000), 194–215; James H. Perkins, *Annals of the West* (St. Louis: James R. Albach, 1851), 142.
 - 26 According to one account: Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 51.
 - 26 When the dust settled: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 433; Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 56–57; Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns, 1853), 497.
 - 27 Whatever resistance Cornstalk put up: Joseph C. Jefferds, *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1981), 62; Harry G. Enoch, *Captain Billy Bush and the Bush Settlement* (Winchester, KY: 2015), 14; Edward Eggleston and Lillie Eggleston Seelye, *Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1878), 37.
 - 28 In contrast to the conventional narrative: Neal O. Hammon, ed., *John Floyd: The Life and Letters of a Frontier Surveyor* (Louisville: Butler Books, 2013), 63–64; Eggleston and Seelye, 37.
 - 28 Cornstalk ended up leading treaty talks: Calloway, *Shawnees*, 62.
 - 29 From a non-native perspective: Joe Nickell, “Uncovered—the Fabulous Silver Mines of Swift and Filson,” *Filson Club History Quarterly* 54 (Oct. 1980): 324–45; John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 73.
 - 29 The confused fable: John Ferdinand Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, vol. 1 (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 337; Lewis H. Kilpatrick, “The Journal of William Calk, Kentucky Pioneer,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 7, no. 4 (Mar. 1921): 369; Clark, 39–40.
 - 30 When colonists protested: Alan Leander MacGregor, “Tammany: The Indian as Rhetorical Surrogate,” *American Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (Autumn 1983): 396–97.
 - 31 The visitors reported to the Cherokee leaders: William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 1 (Raleigh, NC: Josephus Daniels, 1890), 773, 778.
 - 32 “to take a look at the white people”: George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 38.
 - 32 Not far from Boonesboro: E. Polk Johnson, *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*, vol. 3 (Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1912), 1445–46; John Floyd, 1776, DM 33S300–303.
 - 33 As he stepped out: Clark, 45–46; J. P. Hale, “Daniel Boone, Some Facts and Incidents Not Hitherto Published,” *West Virginia School Journal* 2, no. 4 (Feb. 1882): 85–86; Craig, DM 30C46; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S95.

Chapter 3: The Plan

- 34 From her vantage point at the fort: George Soelle diary, Apr. 12, 1771, Archibald Henderson Collection, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 40.
- 34 Rebecca married Daniel: Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S40.
- 35 As she glanced down: Nathan Reid, n.d., DM 31C2(25); S. Paul Jones, 1889,

- DM 21C8(3); John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73; Eudocia Estill, 1852, DM 24C31; Samuel Dixon, 1852, DM 24C30(3); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S96.
- 35 In one of the cabins, Daniel: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S96; Ranck, 177; Evisa Coshow, 1885, DM 21C28.
- 36 Nathan Reid had forgotten: Reid, DM 31C2(25); Anna M. Cartlidge, "Colonel John Floyd: Reluctant Adventurer," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 66, no. 4 (1968): 320, 337.
- 36 Samuel had been out hunting: Richard French, 1840s, DM 12CC204.
- 37 John Gass volunteered: Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 367.
- 37 Richard Henderson had commented: Ranck, 191.
- 37 Some of these settlers: Anthony Camp, "John Ferdinand Smyth: Loyalist and Liar," *Genealogists' Magazine* 31, no. 11 (Sept. 2015): 404–14; Sidney Lee, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 55 (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 103.
- 38 In the case of John Floyd: Cartlidge, 319–21; Neal O. Hammon, ed., *John Floyd: The Life and Letters of a Frontier Surveyor* (Louisville: Butler Books, 2013), 58; Ranck, 171, 173, 188; John Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC11.
- 38 Also rushing to the spot: Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 28; "Richard Callaway," in *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, ed. John E. Kleber (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press), 152.
- 39 Herculean legends: Michael A. Lofaro, "Tracking Daniel Boone: The Changing Frontier in American Life," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 82 (1984): 327–28; Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC74; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S43; Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), 89.
- 39 Not that Boone's missions always succeeded: Harry G. Enoch, *Captain Billy Bush and the Bush Settlement* (Winchester, KY: 2015), 4; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S83, 6S42.
- 39 In their long history of hunting: Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 31.
- 40 James Boone's group: Ranck, 229; William Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, vol. 2 (New York: William Harned, 1852), 75; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619*, vol. 4 (Richmond, VA: R. & W. & G. Bartow, 1823), 131.
- 41 One of the enslaved men: Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C45.
- 41 Informed of what happened: Soelle, Archibald Henderson Collection; George Bryan, 1844, DM 22C16(2).
- 41 Rebecca gave her husband blankets: Craig, DM 30C45; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S83; *Rind's Virginia Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1773; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 39; Arthur Campbell, Oct. 16, 1774, DM 3QQ124.
- 42 One of the few: Robert M. Addington, *History of Scott County, Virginia* (Johnson City, TN: Overmountain Press, 1992), 16–17; Robert L. Kincaid, "Boone and Russell Graves in Lee County, Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 60, no. 1 (Jan. 1952): 174.
- 42 When the Indian warrior towed: The girls' experiences in this section are drawn from Gass, DM 11CC11; Pleasant Henderson, n.d., DM 24C36(4); Coshow, DM 21C28, 21C43; Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(4); William Phelps, 1868, DM 24C57; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S95; Ranck, 190.

- 45 As captors and captives: James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1898), 45; for background and context on Jemison, Susan Walsh, "'With Them Was My Home': Native American Autobiography and *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison*," *American Literature* 64, no. 1 (Mar. 1992): 49–70.
- 45 Boone ordered the rescue party to split into two: Reid, DM 31C2(25).
- 46 Floyd's trio identified the captors' initial trail: Will. M. Bransford, "The Capture and the Rescue, Part 1," *Southern Lady's Companion* 2, no. 8 (Nov. 1848): 173; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S97.
- 46 Boone hatched a strategic plan: Gass, DM 24C73; Ranck, 190; Henderson, DM 24C36(5); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S97; John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 47.
- 47 Daylight faded: Willard Rouse Jillson, *Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (Louisville: C. T. Dearing, 1930), 73; Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 107.
- 47 The British were launching fronts: Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *African Americans at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2019), 57, 58; Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 115; Marion B. Lucas, *A History of Blacks in Kentucky: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760–1891* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 2003), xiv. Hines also appears with spelling variants that include Hinde, Hine, Hind, Hinds.
- 48 Young John Gass: Reid, DM 31C2(26).
- 48 By break of day: George Bryan, DM 22C16(14); Ranck, 14.
- 49 The experience and circumstances: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S83.
- 49 Daniel's striking descriptions: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S83; Craig, DM 30C45–46.
- 50 In the improvised team: Ranck, 12.
- 50 At six feet, Smith stood: Draper, *Life*, 525 n12.
- 50 the mission to find Jemima: Draper, *Life*, 3; Charles H. Ambler, *The Life and Diary of John Floyd* (Richmond, VA: Richmond Press, 1918), 11–12, 20; Cartlidge, 317–20.
- 51 Floyd married young: Cartlidge, 319; Ambler, 13, 18.
- 51 Some members of the rescue party: Hazel Atterbury Spraker, ed., *The Boone Family: A Genealogical History* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1922), 119, 123; Joseph Scholl, 1868, DM 24S209; Stephen Hempstead, 1862, DM 16C75.
- 52 The girls' thoughts: French, DM 12CC204.
- 53 Legal consequences: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History*, 39, 78; LaVelda R. Faull, *Isaac Crabtree: Portrait of an American Frontiersman and His Family* (Glasgow, KY: L. R. Faull, 1993), 29; Addington, 16–17.
- 54 The girls' minds raced: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC75; David Henry, n.d., DM 31C40; Ranck, 32–33; John Ferdinand Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, vol. 1 (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 330; Camp, 404–14.
- 54 The captors informed the girls: Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 108.
- 55 The next day: Estill, DM 24C31(2); Bush, DM 24C59(4); Jacob Boone, 1890, DM 14C84; Craig, DM 30C47.
- 55 Some of this escaped: Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C48; Jones, DM 21C8(5); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S96; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(9); George Bryan, 22C14(10); Gass, DM 24C73(20); Bransford, 193 (romanticized account but containing information provided by the Callaway family).
- 55 The Cherokee culture: Clark, 31, 36.
- 56 Jemima urged the other girls: Coshaw, DM 21C28, 21C37.

Chapter 4: *Ends of the Earth*

- 57 Boone's party: Neal O. Hammon, ed., *John Floyd: The Life and Letters of a Frontier Surveyor* (Louisville: Butler Books, 2013), 107; John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(20); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1889), 326n1; Nathan Reid, n.d., DM 31C2(26).
- 58 Boone had decades of experience: Robert Wickliffe, 1849, DM 5C51(8–9); George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 237–38.
- 58 “It would never do to follow”: Nathan Reid, DM 31C2(26–27).
- 59 Continuing through the sweltering heat: Ralph Clayton, 1877, DM 7C43(1–5); William B. Smith, “Adventure with the Indians” in *The Museum of Perilous Adventures and Daring Exploits* (New York: G. & F. Bill, 1859), 420; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S97–98.
- 60 A renowned hunter: Ranck, 206.
- 60 To Boone, the buffalo: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S98; Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 39; Nathan Reid, DM 31C2(27–28).
- 60 Callaway family legend: Will. M. Bransford, “The Capture and the Rescue, Part 2,” *Southern Lady's Companion* 2, no. 8 (Dec. 1848): 197.
- 61 Even those members: S. Paul Jones, 1885, DM 21C15(5); Ranck, 22–23, 188.
- 62 Boone stopped again: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S98; Nathan Reid, DM 31C(27–28).
- 62 Boone directed the group: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S98; Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(2–6); Joseph Scholl, 1868, DM 24S209.
- 62 They discovered items on the ground: Nathan Reid, DM 24C2(27); Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC12; Smith, 420.
- 63 For the hostages: Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 55–56.
- 63 The Girtys were four Pennsylvania-born brothers: George W. Ranck, “Girty, the White Indian,” *Magazine of American History* 15 (Mar. 1886): 256–60; Colin Calloway, “Simon Girty” in *Being and Becoming Indian*, ed. James A. Clifton (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), 43–44.
- 64 As the war progressed: James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1898), 117–18.
- 65 News about the Boone and Callaway girls: Joseph C. Jefferds, *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1981), 80.
- 65 Arbuckle had been a key commander: Jefferds, 15, 40.
- 66 Fort Randolph was recognized: Jefferds, 46.
- 66 Right around his thirty-fifth birthday: Jefferds, 80; Matthew Arbuckle, 1776, DM 7C17(1).
- 66 “The girls were caressed”: David Henry, n.d., DM 31C2(40); John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 31; Smith, 419; Daniel Boone Bryan, *The Mountain Muse* (Harrisonburg, VA: Davidson & Bourne, 1813), 164–65.
- 67 Hanging Maw admired: Jones, 1885, DM 21C15(6); Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C48; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S100; Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C49; Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 415.
- 67 The Cherokee warrior's difficult position: Arbuckle, DM 7C17(1); Jefferds, 19–20.
- 68 To help them: Craig, DM 30C47; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S95; Evisa

- Coshow, 1885 DM 21C37.
- 68 At one point, all three: Coshow, DM 21C28, 21C37, 21C40(1); Gass, DM 24C73(21); Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC75; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S96; Eudocia Estill, 1852, DM 24C31(2).
 - 69 When they reached a place by a stream: Coshow, DM 21C48; Craig, DM 30C48–49.
 - 69 She also had reason: Jacob Boone, 1890, DM 14C84.
 - 69 Hanging Maw insisted: Coshow, DM 21C28; Joseph Haven, *Mental Philosophy: Including the Intellect, Sensibilities, and Will* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1862), 73–74; United States War Department, “Railroad Line East from White Clay Creek” in *Reports of Explorations and Surveys, to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean* (Washington, DC: A.O.P. Nicholson, 1855–1860), 15.
 - 70 With Hanging Maw on his errand: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC75; Frances Lamme, 1851, DM 6S305–306.
 - 70 “There the girls were”: Coshow, DM 21C28; Gass, DM 24C73(20); Estill, DM 24C31(2); Samuel Dixon, 1852, DM 24C30(4); Stephen Hempstead, 1863, DM 16C76; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S100.
 - 71 “That’s Daddy”: Abner Bryan, 1890, DM 4C49; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S99; John P. Hale, *Daniel Boone: Some Facts and Incidents Not Hitherto Published* (Charleston, WV: Lewis Baker, 1889), 10; Isaac Van Bibber, 1854, DM 23C109(1); Pleasant Henderson, n.d., DM 24C36(6); Estill, DM 24C31(2); Dixon, DM 24C30(3); Nathan Reid, DM 24C2(29); Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(10); William Phelps, 1868, DM 24C57.
 - 71 Leading up to this moment: Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 107–8; Nathan Reid, DM 31C2(26–27); Coshow, DM 21C28; Jones, 1885, DM 21C15(4); John Reid, 1848, DM 10NN104.
 - 72 The search party had journeyed: Phelps, DM 24C57.
 - 72 Boone signaled them: Nathan Reid, DM 31C2(27); Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(4–6); George Bryan, 1844, DM 22C16(14); Hempstead, DM 16C76; Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 108.
 - 72 Concealed by the trees: Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(6–7); Lamme, DM 6S305–306; George Bryan, DM 22C16(14); Smith, 420; Nathan Reid, DM 31C2(28); Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 108; Morgan and Elizabeth Boone Bryan, 1851, DM 6S301–302.
 - 73 The Shawnee chopping wood: Richard Holder, 1850, DM 24C29(1–2); Lamme, DM 6S305–306; Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 108; Hale, *Boone*, 10; L. W. Boggs, 1857, DM 23C27(3).
 - 73 The girls started across the ridge: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(10); Phelps, DM 24C57; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S99; Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(7); George Bryan, DM 22C16(14); Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 89; Dixon, DM 24C30(4).
 - 73 Big Jimmy: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC75; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S99.
 - 74 The rescuers gave the girls blankets: Coshow, DM 21C37(2), 21C43; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 341; Susan Callaway Howell, 1868, DM 23S229–231.

- 74 The faction of rescuers: Harry G. Enoch and Diane Rogers, *Deposition Book, 1795–1814* (Winchester, KY: 2005), 15; Coshow, DM 21C48(1).
- 75 As they neared the river: Coshow, DM 21C28, 21C37(2).

Chapter 5: *Fallout*

- 79 Word of the kidnapping: Neal O. Hammon, ed., *John Floyd: The Life and Letters of a Frontier Surveyor* (Louisville: Butler Books, 2013), 107; John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 39.
- 79 In Boonesboro and the isolated outposts: Willard Rouse Jillson, *Tales of the Dark and Bloody Ground* (Louisville: C. T. Dearing, 1930), 74, 75; Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 109; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 189.
- 81 Cornstalk, the Shawnee chief: Cornstalk's actions on tour drawn in part from William Wilson's report, Sept. 26, 1776, repr. in Peter Force, ed., *American Archives: A Documentary History*, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: M. St. Clair and Peter Force, 1851), 514–18.
- 82 Cornstalk, as it turned out: Ranck, 238.
- 82 Now as he heard the news: Force, 514; Charles H. Faulkner, *Massacre at Cavett's Station* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2013), 47–48; Spencer Tucker, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Wars of the Early American Republic, 1783–1812*, vol. 1 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2014), 95–96.
- 83 Meanwhile, when the three soldiers: Joseph C. Jefferds, *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1981), 80; Colin G. Calloway, *The Shawnees and the War for America* (New York: Viking, 2007), 43; Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, *The Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 1775–1777* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1908), 41.
- 83 The three soldiers and the Shawnee chief: Jefferds, 80–81.
- 84 What Cornstalk actually did: Richard L. Pangburn, *Indian Blood*, vol. 1 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1993), 533; Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian World of George Washington* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 196; Force, 514; Edgar W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland: A History of Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution* (Pittsburgh, PA: J. R. Weldin, 1900), 18–23.
- 85 “A ducking is very disagreeable”: Peter Houston, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1997), 17.
- 85 With the joyous return: Ranck, 53; Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 37.
- 86 With the girls' kidnapping: Anne P. Crabb, *And the Battle Began Like Claps of Thunder* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 1998), 97; Ranck, 176; Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 101.
- 86 Just weeks after the girls' return: Ranck, 53; Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 423; Nathan Reid, n.d., DM 31C2(42); Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *African Americans at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2019), 58.
- 87 Whether Daniel or Squire: Draper, *Life*, 423; Robert Wickliffe, 1859, DM 15CC84.

- 87 The other girls: S. Paul Jones, 1889, DM 21C8(7); Richard Holder, 1850, DM 24C29(4); R. G. Williams, 1861, DM 24C43; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C9(10); Harry G. Enoch, *Colonel John Holder: Boonesborough Defender and Kentucky Entrepreneur* (Winchester, KY: Acclaim Press, 2009), 28–36, 38–39, 82–83.
- 88 Progress was made: Hammon, ed., *John Floyd*, 27, 31–32, 109.
- 89 As so many fled: Lewis H. Kilpatrick, “The Journal of William Calk,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 7, no. 4 (Mar. 1921): 369; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S85; George W. Stoner, 1868, DM 24C55; John M. Stoner, 1853, DM 24C53.
- 89 Another Boonesboro newcomer: Material for Simon Kenton in this section drawn from Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 22–25, 52, 75–77, 84–85; Sarah McCord, 1851, DM 5S133–135, 5S142.
- 90 Boonesboro faced major disappointment: Ranck, 55, 194–198.
- 91 Henry Hamilton, forty-two, set his sights: Bernard W. Sheehan, “The Famous Hair Buyer General,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 79, no. 1 (Mar. 1983): 4–5; H. W. Beckwith, ed., *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. 1 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1903), 173–74.
- 92 Hamilton was a bureaucrat: Beckwith, ed., 174; John D. Barnhart, “Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton’s Apologia,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 52, no. 4 (1956): 386; Clarence Walworth Alvord, ed., *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, vol. 8 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1912), 175.
- 92 Enlarged repeatedly: Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County*, vol. 1 (Detroit: S. Farmer & Co., 1889), 222.
- 92 Later Hamilton would recall: Barnhart, 387; Sheehan, 9–10; Farmer, 244.
- 93 Cornstalk would be an especially valuable ally: John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 19.
- 93 During Cornstalk’s visit: Force, 516–17.
- 95 American policy: Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters, William Alexander pension petition S2344, 1832, <http://revwarapps.org/s2344.pdf>; Keith Krawczynski, *William Henry Drayton: South Carolina Revolutionary Patriot* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 231.
- 96 On April 24, 1777, Simon Butler: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S93.
- 96 Boonesboro’s dire circumstances: Draper, *Life*, 435.
- 96 Boone and as many as a dozen: Filson, 39.
- 97 “Boys, we are gone”: John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(24); George W. Stoner, DM 24C55; George R. Chalfant, *Firearms and Ammunition Used by Fort Defenders and Native Americans at Fort Boonesborough 1777 & 1778* (self-published, 2019), 9; Bess L. Hawthorne, “The Famous Falls of the Ohio Trip,” *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 36, no. 117 (Oct. 1938): 371.
- 97 Now while raising his rifle: Stoner’s experiences in this battle drawn from Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(1–2); George W. Stoner, DM 24C55(5–6); Samuel Tribble, c. 1840s, DM 12CC43–44; Nancy O’Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed: Frontier Archaeology at a Revolutionary Fort* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019), 132.
- 99 As they tried to reach the fort: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S102; Edna Kenton, 88.

Chapter 6: Rise of Blackfish

- 100 Henry Hamilton finally received the message: John D. Barnhart, "Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton's Apologia," *Indiana Magazine of History* 52, no. 4 (1956): 384; Richard C. Adams, "History of the Delaware Indians," Senate Document no. 501, 59th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 23.
- 101 Hamilton decided to unveil: Hamilton's conference in this section drawn from Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912), 8–9, 19.
- 101 When they gathered outside: Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County*, vol. 1 (Detroit: S. Farmer & Co., 1889), 246. Governor Cass dates the event as 1776, but all circumstances suggest this later meeting.
- 102 "I constantly addressed the Indians": Barnhart, 384.
- 102 Hamilton also encouraged the braves: Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 240n28; Bayless Hardin, ed., "Whitley Papers, Volume 9," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 36, no. 116 (July 1938): 192.
- 102 Captain Matthew Arbuckle, as leader: Joseph C. Jefferds, *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1981), ix, 81–84.
- 103 Nonhelema's strong build: Jefferds, 70, 74, 83; Thwaites and Kellogg, eds., *Documentary History of Dunmore's War, 1774* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1905), 301.
- 104 By incorporating Nonhelema's insights: Emilius O. Randall and Daniel J. Ryan, *History of Ohio: The Rise and Progress of an American State*, vol. 2 (New York: Century History Co., 1912), 183–84; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 186.
- 104 Arbuckle, suspicious by nature: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 126.
- 105 Rather than looking forward: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 125, 149, 175.
- 105 Cornstalk arrived: John Stuart, "Memoir of Indian Wars" in *Collections of the Virginia Historical & Philosophical Society*, vol. 1 (Richmond, VA: T. W. White, 1833), 58.
- 106 The imprisonment of Cornstalk: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 175.
- 106 Cornstalk cooperated with demands: Stuart, 62.
- 106 Having anticipated an Indian siege: Stuart, 59–60.
- 107 "Let us kill the Indians": Stuart, 60; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 163.
- 107 The commotion sent a woman inside: Stuart, 61.
- 108 Daniel Boone continued to recover: Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S102; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 63; Nancy O'Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed: Frontier Archaeology at a Revolutionary Fort* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019), 102; Samuel Dixon, 1852, DM 24C30(6–7).
- 109 In the wake of Cornstalk's death: Stuart, 62; John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 264.
- 109 Colonel William Preston of Virginia: Stuart, 62; Jefferds, 65, 90; "Fighting Chief Cornstalk's Remains Laid to Rest Again," *Charleston Gazette*, Sept. 21, 1954; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 169, 175, 225, 234.

- 110 Shawnee war chief Blackfish: Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 460; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 161.
- 110 Blackfish's warriors: John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 39.
- 110 Only when militias entered the area: Ranck, 60; Ansel Goodman, 1832, DM 11C28–30.
- 111 Saltmakers would collect sediment-rich water: Draper, *Life*, 459–60.
- 111 At the encampment: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S282; Faragher, 13.
- 111 Eeriness continued: Draper, *Life*, 460–61; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S103, 6S125; Joseph Jackson, 1844, DM 11C62(3–4).
- 112 Boone launched into a run: Draper, *Life*, 461; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S104–105; Filson, 40.
- 112 The warriors seized Boone's weapons: Draper, *Life*, 461–63; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S105–106; Filson, 40; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1844, DM 22C14(13).
- 113 This pair had tried to engage the Miami tribe: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), 435.
- 113 Pompey then escorted Boone: Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C57; Elizabeth A. Perkins, *Border Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 89; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S106–107; Draper, *Life*, 463.

Chapter 7: Families

- 115 Boone had no good choices: Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S107.
- 115 With his conditions accepted: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S107–108; Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 464; Joseph Jackson, 1884, DM 11C62(4–5); Ansel Goodman, 1832, 11C28–30.
- 116 The captives were taken: Jackson, DM 11C62(5–7).
- 117 When a party of travelers trudged: Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(11); Patrick Henry, 1778, DM 25S222.
- 117 A little more than two months: Daniel Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, ed. Chester Raymond Young (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 46–47.
- 118 Trabue and his party: Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC74; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(11–12); Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 83, 89–90, 93–94; Sarah McCord, 1851, DM 5S144; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 67; Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia's Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 71; Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *African Americans at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2019), 25; John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(7).
- 119 The nearby settlement at Harrodsburg: Charles Staples, ed., “History in Circuit Court Records of Fayette County, Ky.,” *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 31, no. 95 (Apr. 1933): 113; “Certificate Book of the Virginia Land Commission 1779–80,” *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 21, no. 61 (Jan. 1923): 79.
- 119 In addition to these individuals: Hammon and Taylor, *Virginia's Western War*, 71.

- 119 Facing the scarcity: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC67.
- 120 Daniel Boone's absence: Evisa Coshow, 1885, DM 21C45(2–3); Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C75; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(11); John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 44; Josiah Collins, DM 12CC67.
- 121 A battle of wills: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC67; Draper, *Life*, 481.
- 121 Jemima's choice to remain: "Colonel Richard Callaway," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 2, no. 4 (Jan. 1904): 62; Craig, DM 30C78.
- 122 Reportedly, Callaway was a strict taskmaster: Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC16; John Ferdinand Smyth, *A Tour in the United States*, vol. 1 (London: G. Robinson, 1784), 330.
- 123 Though she may have felt more secure: Ranck, 163; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (New York: D. Appleton, 1903), 13; Filson, 38, 44.
- 124 "You have got all the young men": Jackson, DM 11C62(4–5).
- 124 Deliberations continued: Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(6); Jackson, DM 11C62(5–7).
- 125 They were saved: Filson, 40; Craig, 1866, DM 30C51; Jackson, DM 11C62(8–10).
- 125 Blackfish appeared: Isaiah Boone, 1846, DM 19C76; Bush, DM 24C59(6).
- 126 At one point on the march: Bush, DM 24C59.
- 126 Boone objected: Craig, DM 30C52; Bush, DM 24C59(6).
- 126 Staring down these parallel columns: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S110, 6S128; Craig, DM 30C52–53; Septimus Schull, 1833, DM 11CC52.
- 127 The march took almost two weeks: Draper, *Life*, 468–69; Goodman, DM 11C28; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S111; Jerry E. Clark, *The Shawnee* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 94.
- 127 They arrived on February 18: Jackson, DM 11C62(8–10).
- 128 Boone was also in for more tests: Stephen Hempstead, 1868, DM 22S186–187; J. P. Hale, "Daniel Boone, Some Facts and Incidents Not Hitherto Published," *West Virginia School Journal* 2, no. 4 (Feb. 1882): 85–86; David Thompson, c. 1840s, DM 12CC200.
- 128 Revenge was not the priority: Draper notes, n.d., DM 11C81.
- 129 Rumors posited: Hempstead, DM 16C76; Stephen Cooper, 1889, DM 11C101.
- 129 As Boone's notoriety grew: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1889), 52.
- 130 "What one had": Anne P. Crabb, *And the Battle Began Like Claps of Thunder* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 1998), 97.
- 130 Sniping often followed: Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *Women at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2014), 5; Nathaniel Hart Jr., c. 1843, DM 17CC195; Deborah Rosen, "Women and Property across Colonial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (Apr. 2003): 355–81.
- 131 Governor Henry Hamilton was in for a pleasant surprise: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), 431, 435.
- 132 As winter turned to spring: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S112.
- 132 As the "principal prisoner": Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S112; Ranck, 61; Israel Morrison, 1844, DM 8J145(1); Isaiah Boone, DM 19C72.
- 133 The governor and the prisoner: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 435; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S112–113; Ranck, 62.

- 133 Hamilton had a choice to make: Sabina Ellis, 1858, DM 7S45–52; Elizabeth Scott, 1863, DM 19S165.
- 134 Trying his hand at propaganda: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S113.
- 134 Boone likewise considered propaganda: Robert B. McAfee, “The Life and Times of Robert B. McAfee and His Family Connections,” *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 25, no. 75 (Sept. 1927): 228.
- 134 Hamilton offered the Indians a top price: Filson, 40–41; *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 435.
- 135 The conspicuous gap: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S113, 6S117; William Dodd Brown, “The Capture of Daniel Boone’s Saltmakers: Fresh Perspectives from Primary Sources,” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 11; James Callaway, 1868, DM 25S258–259; Thomas S. Bouchelle, 1884, DM 9C68(4–5).
- 136 Boone’s secret: Craig, DM 30C53–54; Josiah Collins, DM 12CC76–77.
- 136 But the Indians still believed: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S114.
- 137 A war dance was planned: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC76; Craig, DM 30C54.
- 137 Boone’s status: Joseph Scholl, 1868, DM 24S109–111; Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C9.
- 138 In contrast with Andrew Johnson’s behavior: Abner Bryan, 1890, DM 4C46–47; Susan Callaway Howell, 1868, DM 23S233; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S118.
- 138 Blackfish addressed Boone as “my son”: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S119; Howell, DM 23S224, 23S233; Bettie T. Bryan, 1884, DM 22C28–28(2); Thomas Spotwood Hinde, 1845, DM 20S253–254; John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 2013), 32–33, 416–17n12.
- 139 Two of Boone’s very young sisters: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S118–119; Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845), 148.
- 139 Blackfish apparently invited Boone: John Sugden, *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 15; Clark, 29.
- 140 Though Boone did not play the fool: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S122; Bettie T. Bryan, DM 22C28–28(2); Filson, 41.
- 140 In other ways, Boone showed his usefulness: Flint, 148; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S121–122; Harriet Boone Baber, 1861, DM 23C34(1); Filson, 41; Hempstead, 1863, DM 16C76.
- 140 In May, Blackfish: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC76; Bayless Hardin, ed., “Whitley Papers, Volume 9,” *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 36, no. 116 (July 1938): 193; Trabue, 54–55.
- 141 Blackfish now asked Boone: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S116; Josiah Collins, DM 12CC76–77.
- 142 Johnson’s success caused ripples: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S116.
- 142 Boone had the opposite agenda: Flint, 148; Filson, 41; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S119–120.
- 143 A story arose about how Boone “proved”: Ephraim McLain, 1884, DM 16C7(1–2)–8.
- 143 Boone also had to find a way to stockpile: Hempstead, DM 16C76.
- 144 Jemima Boone’s long wait: Trabue, 54; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S121; Filson, 41; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1844, DM 22C14(12).
- 145 Allies who usually would have stood up: Edna Kenton, 96–97.
- 146 Urgency mounted for Boone to escape: Craig, DM 30C54; Nathan and

- Olive Boone, DM 6S117.
- 146 Benjamin Kelly, sixteen, one of the youngest: Hinde, DM 20S253–254; Sugden, *Tecumseh*, 32–33, 416–17n12.
- 147 As Boone's escape plot came together: Nathan and Olive Boone interview, 1851, DM 6S120–121; Filson, 41; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S121; Bettie T. Bryan, DM 22C28–28(2); Flint, 137.
- 148 It was announced that Boone would accompany: Thomas Hinde letter, *American Pioneer* 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1842): 374.
- 148 Half King, or Dowyentet: John Heckewelder, *A Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians* (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, 1820), 236–37; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 40.
- 149 Word spread fast about Fort Detroit: Calloway, *American Revolution*, 40; Patrick Griffin, *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2008), 153; James W. McClung, *Historical Significance of Rockbridge County, Virginia* (Staunton, VA: McClure Co., 1939), 24–25; *Virginia Military Records: From the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 319; Joseph C. Jefferds, *Captain Matthew Arbuckle: A Documentary Biography* (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, 1981), 65.
- 149 With the futile court proceedings exhausted: Jefferds, 93; Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912), 70, 82.
- 150 Armed with Nonhelema's intelligence: Jefferds, 93–95; W. Stephen McBride and Kim A. McBride, "Border Warfare in Revolutionary Era West Virginia" in *Partisans, Guerrillas, and Irregulars: Historical Archaeology of Asymmetric Warfare*, eds. Steven D. Smith and Clarence R. Geier (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2019), 26–28; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 72–73.
- 151 Boone continued to hunt: Hinde, DM 20S253–254.
- 151 A man named Jimmy Rogers: Elizabeth Musick, 1868, DM 22S168–170; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S122; Stephen Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 78; Isaiah Boone, DM 31C2; Clark, 42.
- 152 Boone was asked to repair: Henry Wilson, n.d., DM 31C2(70); Filson, 41; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S121.
- 152 Back at the salt springs: Jackson, DM 11C62(11–13); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S123.
- 153 "Blackfish would be angry": Craig, DM 30C48–49, 30C55; James Galloway, n.d., DM 31C2(65); Isaiah Boone, DM 19C78; Thomas S. Bouchelle, 1884, DM 9C68(4–5); Moses Boone, DM 19C9; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S123; Filson, 41; Coshow, DM 21C24(22); Elijah Bryan, 1885, DM 4C33.

Chapter 8: Risen

- 157 Daniel Boone was dead: Draper notes, DM 3B18; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S55–61.
- 158 The search party held a meeting: Draper notes, n.d., DM 4B203; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S122; John C. Boone, 1890, DM 16C132 (I follow John Mack Faragher's belief that John C. Boone confuses "Indian Phillips" and

- Jimmy Rogers); Joseph Scholl, 1868, DM 24S109–111.
- 158 Upon departing from his “old mamma”: Joseph Jackson, 1844, DM 11C62(11–13); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S124–125.
- 159 Having crossed on his makeshift raft: Stephen Hempstead, 1863, DM 16C76; Jackson, DM 11C62(11–13).
- 159 That night, exhaustion: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S125; Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845), 153; Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 480.
- 160 He shot an American buffalo: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S125; John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 41; Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 2, ed. Richard H. Collins (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1924), 555; Draper notes, DM 4B191–92.
- 160 Since the Shawnee had departed: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), 435–40.
- 161 At the same time that Boone was riding: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 442–44.
- 161 Around the very moment: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 446–47.
- 162 By the time a runner: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 452; Bradley J. Birzer, “French Imperial Remnants on the Middle Ground: The Strange Case of August de la Balme and Charles Beaubien,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 93, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 142.
- 162 At this latest Fort Detroit gathering: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 454; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S129.
- 163 Daniel Boone, “emaciated”: George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 69; “Adventures of Daniel Boone,” *Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal* 5, no. 115 (Mar. 14, 1846): 172.
- 163 Hearing that his family had gone: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S140; Ranck, 70.
- 164 Boone came armed: Morton V. Joyes Sr., “Letter by Colonel John Todd, Jr., 1778,” *Filson Club History Quarterly* 2 (1928): 160; Filson, 42.
- 164 “I found our fortress in a bad state”: Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C56; Filson, 42; Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C12; Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(7); John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(2), 24C73(13).
- 165 As thrilled as Jemima: Daniel Boone Bryan, 1844, DM 22C14(12).
- 165 William Hancock: Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louise Phelps Kellogg, eds., *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 1777–1778* (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1912), 114; Robert Hancock, 1853, DM 24C17(1); Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC105.
- 166 Hancock, forty, had lived in Boonesboro: Draper, *Life*, 487n17; Emory G. Evans, “Byrd, William (1728–1777)” in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, vol. 2, ed. Sara B. Bearss et al. (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2001), 470–72.
- 166 In contrast to how Boone ingratiated: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC105.
- 166 Though Hancock admitted: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 114.
- 167 After the council: Hancock, DM 24C17(1); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S119–122.
- 167 To prepare: Hancock, DM 24C17(1–2).
- 168 He became increasingly disoriented: Hancock, DM 24C17(2); Jackson, DM 11C62(13–14).

- 168 On July 17, inside the fort: Hancock, DM 24C17(2–3); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S129; Filson, 42; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 115.
- 169 Boone composed his own account: Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense*, 115; Daniel Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, ed. Chester Raymond Young (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 57; Gass, DM 24C73(2).
- 169 In addition to gathering intelligence: Hancock, DM 24C22(1).
- 169 Boone had little patience: Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 97; William B. Smith, “Attack of Boonsborough [sic],” *Ladies’ Literary Cabinet* 3, no. 19 (Mar. 17, 1821): 147; Harry G. Enoch and Diane Rogers, *Deposition Book, 1795–1814* (Winchester, KY: 2005), 101; Isaiah Boone, 1846, DM 19C81.
- 170 Meanwhile, the settlement was being watched: Filson, 42; Trabue, 57.
- 171 The planners’ specific goals: Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia’s Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 81.
- 171 Richard Callaway fumed: Trabue, 57.

Chapter 9: Before the Thunder

- 173 Boone rounded up twenty-nine men: Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 498; Daniel Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, ed. Chester Raymond Young (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 55–57; Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845), 156; William B. Smith, “Attack of Boonsborough [sic],” *Ladies’ Literary Cabinet* 3, no. 19 (Mar. 17, 1821): 147; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 63.
- 174 One big difference: Jesse Hodges, 1817, DM 11C65; Draper, *Life*, 498; Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 98.
- 174 Butler moved ahead: Draper, *Life*, 499; John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (Wilmington, KY: James Adams, 1784), 42; William M. Kenton, 1851, DM 5S104.
- 175 Just then, Boone: Draper, *Life*, 499, 522n2; Filson, 42.
- 175 Further evidence: Draper, *Life*, 499, 522n2; Filson, 42; Edna Kenton, 98–99; Hodges, 1818, DM 11C66.
- 176 Blackfish’s command: Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C9; *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), 465.
- 177 After Boone’s escape: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 479.
- 177 Some among the tribes: Joseph Jackson, 1844, DM 11C62(15); Stephen Warren, *The Shawnees and Their Neighbors, 1795–1870* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 22, 178n10.
- 178 At Fort Detroit: *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society*, 465, 479; Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(13); “American Cities—Detroit,” *Appleton’s Journal* 8, no. 174 (July 27, 1872): 91; Draper, *Life*, 500; Ranck, 73; Bradley J. Birzer, “French Imperial Remnants on the Middle Ground: The Strange Case of August de la Balme and Charles Beaubien,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 93, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 144.
- 179 There was irony in the situation: Ranck, 71.
- 179 Meanwhile, at Boone’s position: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(13), 1844, 22C14(12).
- 179 In a space designated as his “gunsmith shop”: Moses Boone, DM 19C18; Isaiah Boone, 1846, DM 19C18, 19C57.

- 180 With Butler, Montgomery: Anne P. Crabb, *And the Battle Began Like Claps of Thunder* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 1998), 59–62, 65; Trabue, 59; John Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(4).
- 180 Fanny Holder (née Callaway): Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(13), 22C14(12); Gass, DM 24C73(1); Hazel Atterbury Spraker, ed., *The Boone Family: A Genealogical History* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1922), 116.
- 180 Boone was standing outside: Draper, *Life*, 500; Moses Boone, DM 19C9, 19C48; Isaiah Boone, DM 19C78.
- 181 The Indian army marched: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(13–14); Moses Boone, DM 19C9; Trabue, 58; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S130; John C. Boone, 1890, DM 16C132.
- 181 Boone and Blackfish sat: Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(7); Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14); Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC74.
- 181 Blackfish handed over letters: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S130–131.
- 182 Blackfish also brought wampum: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14).
- 182 “If you will surrender”: Josiah Collins, DM 12CC74; John Bradford, *The Voice of the Frontier: John Bradford’s Notes on Kentucky*, ed. Thomas D. Clark (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1993), 19.
- 182 Boone used the very real power struggle: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14); Gass, DM 24C73(2); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S131–132; Isaiah Boone, DM 19C80.
- 183 Moluntha, the chief: Bradford, 19.
- 183 Like Blackfish, Captain Will: Ephraim McLain, 1884, DM 16C7(9), 16C8(1).
- 183 Inside the fort: Filson, 42; Gass, DM 24C73(2); Nathaniel Hart Jr., c. 1843, DM 17CC198.
- 184 They had two more days: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14); Filson, 42; Moses Boone, DM 19C9–11; Gass, DM 24C73(3–4); Isaiah Boone, DM 19C84–85.
- 184 When the two-day deadline arrived: Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC13; Moses Boone, DM 19C9; Smith, 147; John C. Boone, 1890, DM 16C132.
- 184 Taken aback: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S132–133; Moses Boone, DM 19C9.
- 185 Blackfish suggested: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14–15); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S133; Trabue, 58; Filson, 43; Ranck, 251; Gass, DM 24C73(13).
- 185 Eventually the leaders: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(14–15); Harry G. Enoch, *Pioneer Voices* (Winchester, KY: 2012), 76; Gass, DM 24C73(4), 11CC13; Draper, *Life*, 503; Josiah Collins, DM 12CC74; Moses Boone, DM 19C9–11; Isaiah Boone, DM 19C80; Richard French, 1840s, DM 12CC203.
- 185 Additional clothes were spun: Ranck, 87; Enoch, *Pioneer Voices*, 76.
- 186 Multiple meetings: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(15); Moses Boone, DM 19C25.
- 186 “Friends and brothers”: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(15).
- 186 With this groundwork: Ranck, 88; Moses Boone, DM 19C19, 19C24–25; Gass, DM 24C73(4); Draper, *Life*, 506.
- 187 An elaborate meal: Gass, DM 24C73(4); Nancy O’Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed: Frontier Archaeology at a Revolutionary Fort* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019), 129; Isaiah Boone, DM 19C80–81.
- 187 “Brethren,” Blackfish said: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Moses Boone, DM 19C13–13(1); Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S134–135; Gass, DM 24C73(4–5); Trabue, 58.

- 187 Theodore Roosevelt would later marvel: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1889), 44.
- 188 According to the accounts of settlers: Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(15–16); Gass, DM 24C73(5); Isaiah Boone, DM 9C13, 19C82.
- 188 In hindsight many of these assumptions: Harriet S. Caswell, *Our Life among the Iroquois Indians* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1892), 262, shows the handshake format as part of Indian tradition, with another example in Crabb, *And the Battle*, 25; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Moses Boone, DM 19C13.

Chapter 10: The Last Siege

- 190 Marksmen on the high platforms: Daniel Boone Bryan, 1843, DM 22C5(16); Moses Boone, 1846, DM 19C14; Daniel Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, ed. Chester Raymond Young (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 58; John Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC13; William B. Smith, “Attack of Boonesborough [sic],” *Ladies’ Literary Cabinet* 3, no. 19 (Mar. 17, 1821): 148; Josiah Collins, 1840s, DM 12CC74; Isaiah Boone, 1846, DM 19C81.
- 190 Daniel Boone also struggled free: Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S132, 6S134–135; Moses Boone, DM 19C13–13(1); Hazel Atterbury Spraker, ed., *The Boone Family: A Genealogical History* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1922), 119–21; Harry G. Enoch and Anne Crabb, *Women at Fort Boonesborough, 1775–1784* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 2014), 120–21; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Josiah Collins, DM 12CC64.
- 191 Inside the fort: Isaiah Boone, DM 19C83; Moses Boone, DM 19C14–15; Gass, DM 11CC14.
- 191 Outside, Boone staggered: Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C58; Moses Boone, DM 19C14–15; George Bryan, 1844, DM 22C16(22).
- 191 Squire was unable: Moses Boone, DM 19C13(1), 15; Gass, 1844, DM 24C73(6), 1840s, 11CC13.
- 192 Squire fired: Moses Boone, DM 19C15; John Mason Peck, *Makers of American History: Daniel Boone* (New York: University Society, 1904), 56; Ted Igleheart, “Squire Boone, the Forgotten Man,” *Filson Club History Quarterly* 44 (Oct. 1970): 357.
- 192 William Patton, the settler: Trabue, 59.
- 192 Behind the fort walls: Ephraim McLain, 1884, 16C7(9), 16C8(1); Gass, DM 24C73(6); Moses Boone, DM 19C17.
- 192 At first, Boone sensed: Craig, 1866, DM 30C59; Gass, DM 24C73(16).
- 192 Squire continued: Moses Boone, DM 19C15–16; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 252; Igleheart, 356, 365.
- 193 A pattern began: Moses Boone, DM 19C23; Gass, DM 24C73(14); Evisa Coshaw, 1885, DM 21C24(5), 21C27; Spraker, 120; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S138.
- 193 The tribal army: Moses Boone, DM 19C9–11; Abner Bryan, 1890, DM 4C44ff.
- 194 In the meantime, settlers began to hear: Moses Boone, DM 19C19.
- 194 With Squire now confined: Moses Boone, DM 19C18, 19C20; Trabue, 58; Enoch and Crabb, *Women at Fort Boonesborough*, 27.
- 194 The British and Indian forces: Moses Boone, DM 19C20–21; Gass, DM 24C73(10).
- 194 The settlers had raised an American flag: Moses Boone, DM 19C17–19; Isaiah Boone, DM 19C84; Gass, DM 24C73(7).

- 195 Pompey reportedly got into a habit: Gass, DM 24C73(9); Joseph Jackson, 1844, DM 11C62(15); Peck, 57–58. Review of different accounts of Pompey included in Ted Franklin Belue, “Did Daniel Boone Kill Pompey, the Black Shawnee, at the 1778 Siege of Boonesborough?,” *Filson Club History Quarterly* 67 (1993): 5–22.
- 195 Provisions in the fort: Draper notes, n.d., DM 4B205; Craig, DM 30C58; Coshow, DM 21C27–33.
- 195 The settlers caught rainwater: Moses Boone, DM 19C20–22; Gass, DM 24C73(12); Isaiah Boone, DM 19C84; Harry G. Enoch and Diane Rogers, *Deposition Book, 1795–1814* (Winchester, KY: 2005), 101; Nancy O’Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed: Frontier Archaeology at a Revolutionary Fort* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019), 95.
- 196 The volleys of gunfire: Ranck, 252; Susan Callaway Howell, 1868, DM 23S224; Coshow, DM 21C27–33.
- 197 From inside: Coshow, DM 21C24(5); Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Trabue, 59; Moses Boone, DM 19C9, 19C19–20.
- 197 Indeed, the invading force: Moses Boone, DM 19C20–24; Gass, DM 24C73(9–13); Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (Cincinnati: George Conclin, 1845), 162.
- 197 To counter the tactic: Coshow, 21C24(5); Moses Boone, DM 19C20; Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Gass, DM 24C73(9); Trabue, 59.
- 197 London, the enslaved man: Moses Boone, DM 19C17.
- 198 Blackfish’s troops: Gass, DM 11CC13, 24C73(7), 24C73(10); Lyman C. Draper, *The Life of Daniel Boone*, ed. Ted Franklin Belue (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 530, note p.
- 198 Inside a cabin, Bundrin: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S138, 6S142–143; Gass, DM 24C73(7).
- 198 The settlers scrambled: Draper, *Life*, 515; Moses Boone, DM 19C16–19; Richard French, 1840s, DM 12CC203; Samuel Dixon, 1852, DM 24C30(6); Craig, DM 30C59; George Bryan, DM 22C16(22).
- 198 William Patton, still confining himself to the woods: Trabue, 59.
- 199 While on watch at night: Moses Boone, DM 19C17; Draper, *Life*, 512; Gass, DM 24C73(7–8).
- 199 The campaign to burn: Gass, DM 24C73(11); Daniel Boone Bryan, DM 22C5(16); Spraker, 120.
- 199 As days passed: Ranck, 96.
- 199 Flaws in construction: Gass, DM 24C73(11–12); Moses Boone, DM 19C22; Draper, *Life*, 515–16; Ranck, 96.
- 200 The Indians continued excavating: Gass, DM 24C73(8), 24C73(13); Moses Boone, DM 19C20.
- 200 Still, casualties mounted: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S142; Gass, DM 24C73(7); Moses Boone, DM 19C16; Howell, DM 23S223.
- 200 By this time, the young women: W. D. Holder, 1849, DM 24C27(1).
- 200 At one point as Jemima rushed: Craig, DM 30C58; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S138, 6S142; Anne P. Crabb, *And the Battle Began Like Claps of Thunder* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 1998), 29; Spraker, 119–21.
- 201 The night of September 17: Moses Boone, DM 19C21; Gass, DM 24C73(7).
- 201 At the same time: Trabue, 59.
- 201 Patton reached Logan’s Fort: Trabue, 59.

- 201 After leaving Paint Creek: Crabb, *And the Battle Began*, 32; Draper, *Life*, 519.
- 202 Benjamin Logan also absorbed the news: Lowell H. Harrison and James C. Klotter, *A New History of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 29; Bessie Taul Conkwright, "A Sketch of the Life and Times of General Benjamin Logan," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 14 (Jan. 1916): 22–24; Lynda Williams Closson, "Battle of Logan's Fort," *Hallowed Ground* (Winter 2018), <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/battle-logans-fort>; "Benjamin Logan," in *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, ed. John E. Kleber (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press), 569; Trabue, 47.
- 203 Hearing that Boonesboro was wiped out: Trabue, 60; *Lincoln County, Kentucky* (Paducah, KY: Turner Pub. Co., 2002), 11; Benjamin Briggs, 1844, DM 9J185.
- 203 An air of martyrdom: Trabue, 60–61, 171n34.
- 205 After the agonizing wait: Trabue, 61–62.
- 205 Simon Butler and Alexander Montgomery: Gass, DM 24C73(14); Trabue, 62; Draper, *Life*, 518.
- 206 How a couple dozen settlers: Peck, 60; Moses Boone, DM 19C18, 19C21–22; Gass, DM 24C73(13); Smith, 148.
- 206 Indications suggest: Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 100–101; Dixon, DM 24C30(6).
- 207 Settlers almost instantly: Ranck, 258.
- 207 Though history: Humphrey Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 1 (Frankfort, KY: George S. Robinson, 1824), 62; Ranck, 86, 102; Bradley J. Birzer, "French Imperial Remnants on the Middle Ground: The Strange Case of August de la Balme and Charles Beaubien," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 93, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 144.
- 208 Only an hour after the last: Gass, DM 24C73(14); Isaiah Boone, DM 19C85; Craig, DM 30C58; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S138, 6S142; Draper, *Life*, 515.
- 208 Jemima would always remember: Coshaw, DM 21C27; Conkwright, 29.

Chapter II: *Aftershocks*

- 210 The Boones were in the fight of their lives: Edna Kenton, *Simon Kenton: His Life and Period* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930), 101; William B. Smith, "Adventure with the Indians" in *The Museum of Perilous Adventures and Daring Exploits* (New York: G. & F. Bill, 1859), 417–18.
- 210 The injured Benjamin Logan: Bessie Taul Conkwright, "A Sketch of the Life and Times of General Benjamin Logan," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* 14 (Jan. 1916): 29; *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Kentucky State Bar Association* (Covington, KY: Press of Westerfield-Bonte, 1923), 249.
- 212 "If any commander": "Articles of War; September 20, 1776," Section 13, Articles 22 and 19, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, Avalon Project, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/contcong_09-20-76.asp.
- 212 Logan had to preside: Conkwright, 29; Daniel Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, ed. Chester Raymond Young (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 63; Joseph Martin, 1844, DM 24C41(2–3).
- 213 With all the dangers: Martin S. Lederman, "Of Spies, Saboteurs, and Enemy Accomplices: History's Lessons for the Constitutionality of Wartime Military Tribunals," *Georgetown Law Journal* 105 (2017): 1529–1680, at 1624.

- 214 As his first charge: Trabue, 63.
- 214 Depicting Boone's captivity: Trabue, 57, 63; John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993), 200; Ala Alryyes, "War at a Distance: Court-Martial Narratives in the Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 41, no. 4 (Summer 2008): 526.
- 215 Callaway also introduced: Trabue, 63; Willis A. Bush, 1853, DM 24C59(7); Richard French, 1840s, DM 12CC203.
- 216 As for the events at the Lower Blue Licks: Trabue, 63; *Report of the Pioneer and Historical Society of the State of Michigan*, vol. 9 (Lansing, MI: Thorp & Godfrey, 1886), 435; Willard R. Jillson, "Squire Boone, 1744–1815," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (July 1942): 154.
- 217 The divergent experiences: Noble Callaway, 1868, DM 25S125; Ted Franklin Belue, "Terror in the Canelands: The Fate of Daniel Boone's Salt Boilers," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (Jan. 1994): 14.
- 217 In contrast, the Shawnee: Belue, "Terror in the Canelands," 13; James Callaway, 1832, DM 21C75.
- 217 While Hamilton was away: Edna Kenton, 101, 106–8, 113–18; Rockne Ehle, "The Captivity of Simon Kenton," *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review* 10, no. 12 (Spring/Summer 1981): 12; Sarah McCord, 1851, DM 5S148.
- 218 After a failed escape attempt: Edna Kenton, 121–26, 132–33; Ehle, 13, 20n57.
- 219 Mingo chief Logan: Edna Kenton, 130–36.
- 219 Rather than being placed in the prison cell: Edna Kenton, 135, 137; William Dodd Brown, "The Capture of Daniel Boone's Saltmakers: Fresh Perspectives from Primary Sources," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 13; Ehle, 13.
- 219 While Butler was in Fort Detroit: John D. Barnhart, ed., *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution* (Crawfordsville, IN: R. E. Banta, 1951), 60, 74–78, 83.
- 220 Seven months removed: Barnhart, ed., *Henry Hamilton*, 197.
- 220 That June, Hamilton: Edna Kenton, 140–43; William Kenton, 1851, DM 5S112.
- 220 But Butler's true liberation: McCord, DM 5S135, 5S159; Edna Kenton, 142; William Kenton, DM 5S117.
- 221 Henry Hamilton found himself: Barnhart, ed., *Henry Hamilton*, 36; John D. Barnhart, "Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton's Apologia," *Indiana Magazine of History* 52, no. 4 (1956): 393; Reasons for not accepting parole in answer to Governor Jefferson's demands by Henry Hamilton, Sept. 27, 1780, MS Eng 508.1 (10a), Henry Hamilton Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- 221 After spending part of 1779: Charles W. Bryan Jr., "Richard Callaway, Kentucky Pioneer," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 9 (Jan. 1935): 47–48; Anne P. Crabb, *And the Battle Began Like Claps of Thunder* (Richmond, KY: Fort Boonesborough Foundation, 1998), 97; Eudocia Estill, 1852, DM 24C32; John Gass, 1840s, DM 11CC16.
- 222 In a chilling moment: Joseph Jackson, 1844, DM 11C62(28); Anne Crabb, "What Shall I Do Now?, The Story of the Indian Captivities of Margaret Paulee, Jones Hoy, and Jack Callaway," *Filson Club History Quarterly* 70 (Oct. 1996): 399; George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1901), 67.
- 222 After the siege: "Bowman's Expedition Against Chillicothe" in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, vol. 19 (Columbus, OH: Fred J. Herr,

- 1910), 446–55; John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 2013), 33; Colin G. Calloway, “‘We Have Always Been the Frontier’: The American Revolution in Shawnee Country,” *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1992), 43.
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- 224 Hanging Maw, who carried out the kidnapping: Robert Conley, *A Cherokee Encyclopedia* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 113.
- 224 Theodore Roosevelt later posited: Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1889), 46.
- 225 The 1778 siege: Ranck, 109, 115; Draper notes, n.d., DM 5B56–68.
- 226 The Boones continued to move around: Delinda Boone Craig, 1866, DM 30C78; Kenneth Williams, “Life on the Kentucky Frontier: A Roundtable Discussion,” *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 102, no. 4 (Autumn 2004): 483n23.
- 227 Saving Boonesboro: Neal O. Hammon and Richard Taylor, *Virginia’s Western War, 1775–1786* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2002), 204; Craig, DM 30C78.
- 227 Boone indeed treasured: “Daniel Boone and His Sons in Missouri,” *Lawrence Chieftain*, Sept. 2, 1880; Craig, DM 30C50–51.
- 228 Nineteen years after: Harry G. Enoch and Diane Rogers, *Deposition Book, 1795–1814* (Winchester, KY: 2005), 15–17; Nathan and Olive Boone, 1851, DM 6S221; Ted Igleheart, “Squire Boone, the Forgotten Man,” *Filson Club History Quarterly* 44 (Oct. 1970): 365.
- 228 Familiar faces: Hazel Atterbury Spraker, ed., *The Boone Family: A Genealogical History* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1922), 552; George W. Stoner, 1868, DM 24C55(10–11).
- 229 Kenton smiled: McCord, DM 5S171–172; Edna Kenton, 251–55, 262; Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S93; John James, 1851, DM 5S172.
- 229 Boone came across as a stoic man: David Meriwether, *My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 29–30; Susan Callaway Howell, 1868, DM 23S248.
- 229 Rebecca Boone passed: Nathan and Olive Boone, DM 6S279–280; Craig, DM 30C81–83.
- 230 When James Fenimore Cooper’s: John Alexander McClung, *Sketches of Western Adventure* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1839), 40.
- 230 When her life was memorialized: George Bryan, 1844, DM 22C16(21); Martha Levy Luft, “Charles Wimar’s *The Abduction of Daniel Boone’s Daughter by the Indians*, 1853 and 1855: Evolving Myths,” *Prospects* 7 (1982): 300–314; June Namias, *White Captives: Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 106–107; Nancy O’Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed: Frontier Archaeology at a Revolutionary Fort* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2019), 137; C. C. Ousley, *Kentucky at the Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition* (Louisville: circa 1907), 47.
- 231 Jemima did dictate her stories: Craig, DM 30C48–49, 30C68–69; Faragher, 132; Isaac Van Bibber, 1854, DM 23C109(1).