

TERROR IN THE CANELANDS:
THE FATE OF DANIEL BOONE'S SALT BOILERS

TED FRANKLIN BELUE

Until now, their story has never been told. Since 1778 their faded scrawls have lain neglected on deteriorating pages of yellowed parchment.¹ There is no justification for this oversight. For some this void is just another of history's murky omissions, but for Daniel Boone's salt boilers who willingly surrendered to the Shawnee on 8 February 1778, the unresolved ambiguity of their fate is a tragic disservice involving their families, their comrades, and posterity.

A few histories - most notably writers of Kentucky history and biographers of Daniel Boone - hint at Boone's men being sent to Detroit. Indeed, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton had promised the Indians twenty pounds (about \$100) in trade silver trinkets for every healthy prisoner received.² Frontier historian Lyman Draper contends that ten of the captives were sold.³ However, evidence shows that over the course of five years, fourteen men were taken to Detroit. The

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1 Lyman Copeland Draper's unfinished biography of Daniel Boone, "Life of Boone," has sketches of varying lengths of fifteen of Boone's salt boilers. See "Life of Boone," Draper Collection 4B:194-201, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; For more recent scholarship, see William Dodd Brown, ed., "The Capture of Daniel Boone's Salt Makers: Fresh Perspectives from Primary Sources," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 83 (1985): 1-19. Brown's work contains nine biographical sketches.

2 For one of the most complete accounts of the salt-boiler episode, see William Stewart Lester, *The Transylvania Company* (Spencer, Indiana: Samuel Guard, 1935), 197-223. Although George Rogers Clark called Henry Hamilton the "Hair Buying General," there are conflicting reports as to whether or not Hamilton actually purchased scalps. There is considerable evidence that Hamilton treated prisoners as humanely as circumstances permitted. See John D. Barnhart, ed., *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution; with the Unpublished Journal of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton* (Crawfordsville, Indiana: Banta, 1961), 21-23, 34.

3 Draper Collection, 4B:168.

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others were adopted by the Shawnee at Old Chillicothe (near present-day Xenia, Ohio) and lived as nomadic white Indians.

But for too long, too many questions have been left unanswered. How many were captured? Did any of the men escape? Did they die in captivity? What happened to them? The fate of some we will never know. Yet, much of the struggle and drama of these brave men's ordeals can be reconstructed.

There has always been confusion about the number of men captured. On 7 March 1778, William Bailey Smith sent George Rogers Clark this dispatch from the Holston River:

[A] few days ago came an express from Kentucky and informed me of Captain Boone with twenty-eight men being taken prisoner from the salt springs at Licking Creek without shedding one drop of blood.⁴

Three weeks later, Smith wrote to Clark that Boone and twenty-seven men had been captured.⁵ Perhaps the most authoritative source is this memorandum written by Henry Hamilton, the British lieutenant-governor of Detroit:

April the 5th [1778] Mr. Charles Beaubin who acts at the Miamias came in from a scout . . . with a young man named [Louis] Lorimier engaged four score Shawanese [Shawnee]. . . . had the good fortune to make prisoners Captain Boone with 26 of his men, whom they brought off with their arms without killing or losing a man.⁶

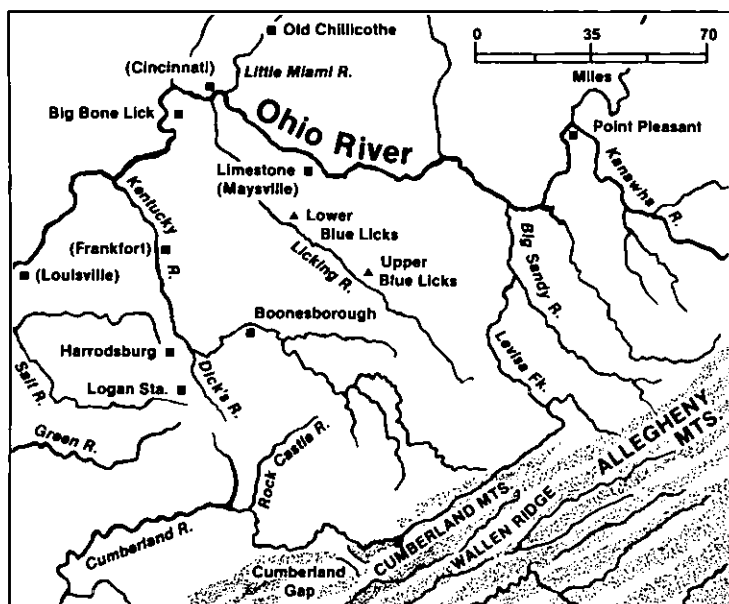
No one knows. Draper believed there were twenty-eight to thirty salt boilers, two or three couriers, and two or three hunters.⁷ After plowing through hundreds of microfilmed pages of unpublished primary and secondary source material - including narratives, memoirs, and copies of Revolutionary War pension records of the captives - and obsessively and obstinate-

4 William Bailey Smith to George Rogers Clark, 7 March 1778, James Alton James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781* (2 vols.; Springfield, Illinois: American Manuscript Society Press, 1972), 1:40; originally found in "George Rogers Clark Papers," Draper Collection, 48J:19.

5 James, *Clark Papers*, 40.

6 Henry Hamilton to Sir Guy Carleton, 25 April 1778, "Daniel Boone Papers," Draper Collection, 11C:96(2).

7 *Ibid.*, 24C:126(5).



Jack Turbeville

Kentucky in 1775

ly ferreting through bits of minutiae, this is also my opinion.

Their stories are dramatic. Some, like Jack Dunn, were traitorous rogues. Others, like Samuel Brooks and James Callaway, never bowed their knee to the English Crown and are worthy of being enshrined in any gallery of American patriots. There is tragedy and pathos here, and both barbarism and poignancy. Most important, there is no fiction.

Listed below is a breakdown of Boone's men and their duties during the salt-boiler episode. Only a brief biographical sketch is devoted to each of the couriers and hunters/scouts who were not captured. The adventures of Daniel Boone during his Shawnee captivity are not recounted here. But of the salt boilers that vanished into obscurity that fateful day, I include as much information as I could find. For that reason the length of the biographical sketches varies considerably. This list was adopted and modified from an earlier list prepared by William Dodd Brown in his fine work on Boone's salt boilers. See footnote one.

THE SALT PACKERS/COURIERS

William Cradelbaugh Stephen Hancock
 Jesse Hodges

THE HUNTERS/SCOUTS

Thomas Brooks Flanders Callaway

THE CAPTIVE SALT BOILERS

Daniel Asbury*	John Holley
Daniel Boone (Captain)	William Humphries*
Samuel Brooks*	Joseph Jackson
William Brooks*	William Jackson
Arabia Brown	Andrew Johnson
John Brown*	Benjamin Kelly*
Nathaniel Bullock*	Jonathan Ketcham++
James Callaway*	James Mankins++
Micajah Callaway	John Morton*
Jesse Copher*	James Robson++
Jack Dunn	Bartlett Searcy*
Thomas Foot++	William Staggs++
Ansel Goodman	William Tracey*
William Hancock	Richard Wade*
George Hendricks*	

* Those men taken to Detroit.

++ Those men whose names appear in Robertson's "List of Names Attached to Petitions." I have found no further information on them.⁸

THREE SALT PACKERS/COURIERS

William Cradelbaugh

Cradelbaugh assisted in carrying salt to Boonesborough.

⁸ James Rood Robertson, ed., *Petitions of the Early Inhabitants of Kentucky to the General Assembly of Virginia 1769 to 1792* (1st Publication series, no. 27; Louisville: The Filson Club, 1914), 48-52. This document contains "the names of every person killed and taken belonging to this said fort [Boonesborough] since the time of its being first settled."

He was not captured and received a pension as a Revolutionary War veteran.⁹

Stephen Hancock

Stephen Hancock, brother of William Hancock, was not captured. Before the 1778 siege of Boonesborough, Hancock was one of the "subaltern peace commissioners" who negotiated with Shawnee chieftain Black Fish and his emissaries. Later, Hancock moved to Missouri.¹⁰

Jesse Hodges

Hodges packed salt to Boonesborough twice. While on his second trip, Boone's men were captured. Hodges was not taken.¹¹

TWO HUNTERS/SCOUTS IN WOODS

Thomas Brooks

Brooks and Simon Kenton were scouts for Boonesborough in 1777. He and Flanders Callaway served as scouts and hunters for the salt boilers and were not captured. Thomas Brooks received a Revolutionary War pension.¹²

Flanders Callaway

Flanders, James, and Micajah Callaway were sons of Colonel James Callaway and nephews of Colonel Richard Callaway.¹³ In 1776 Flanders, along with Daniel Boone and a

9 Brown, "Boone's Salt Makers," 18; Draper Collection, 11C.

10 For a complete overview of the siege of Boonesborough, see George W. Ranck, *Boonesborough* (1st publication series, no. 16; Louisville: The Filson Club, 1901; Ayer reprint, 1986); John Bakeless, *Daniel Boone: Master of the Wilderness* (3rd ed.; University Press of Lincoln, 1989), 359. For added insights regarding the complex negotiations prior to the siege, see Lester, *Transylvania Company*, 209-216.

11 Draper Collection, 4B:147.

12 Ranck, *Boonesborough*, 57; "George Rogers Clark Papers," Draper Collection, 28 J.

13 Draper Collection, 4B:210.

party of Kentuckians, rescued his fiancée Jemima Boone, and Fanny and Betsy Callaway from the Shawnee.

During the salt-boiler episode Flanders and Thomas Brooks were hunting and were not captured. It was Callaway and Brooks who reported the missing men. When Daniel Boone moved to Missouri in 1799, Flanders and Jemima went too and were at Boone's bedside when he died in 1820. Flanders died 22 February 1829.¹⁴

THE CAPTIVE SALT BOILERS

Daniel Asbury*

Asbury was twenty-one years old when captured. He was taken to Detroit and shipped to Montreal where he escaped in September 1781 with five other fleeing salt boilers.¹⁵

Daniel Boone

For a good overview of Boone's captivity, I suggest *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* by John Mack Faragher. Two other well-known sources are John Bakeless's *Daniel Boone: Master of the Wilderness* and Lawrence Elliott's *The Long Hunter: A New Life of Daniel Boone*. All three biographies are crisply written and, aside from some romanticized narration, are reasonably accurate portrayals of Boone's days in Shawnee captivity.¹⁶

14 *Ibid.*, 23C:112(3). Flanders Callaway was a seasoned woodsman and figured prominently in Daniel Boone's trans-Mississippian trapping exploits. See Draper's interview with Nathan Boone, "Draper's Notes," Draper Collection, 6S.

15 *Ibid.*, 11C:67; 24C:135(3). The five other Kentuckians were John Brown, Richard Wade, John Morton, Ansel Goodman, and William Humphries.

16 Lawrence Elliott contends that Boone "went to live in his own wigwam with a handsome Shawnee girl." Elliott does not cite his source for this revelation, and I have seen little evidence confirming it. However, Stephen Hempstead, who lived near Boone while Boone was in St. Charles, Missouri, being treated for a skin disorder in 1809, had many conversations with him. Hempstead recalled Boone saying that during his captivity he "had been obliged to be married in Indian fashion." Also Evisa Coshow, Daniel Boone's great-granddaughter, wrote: "Grandfather Boone said he had a squaw that claimed him as her buck; said she mended and dried his leggins and patched his

Samuel Brooks*

Brooks and some fellow prisoners escaped from Detroit by canoe one foggy night and at daylight found themselves close to an Indian town. The men were captured and made to run a gauntlet composed of the whole village. Brooks attacked his tormentors during his run and got his arm broken. The Kentuckians were resold at Detroit and confined with James Callaway.¹⁷ They plotted another escape, but a guard overheard Brooks telling Callaway - who was hard of hearing - their plans. In October 1778, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton was preparing to leave for Vincennes, Indiana, and, realizing that the Americans knew Detroit's weaknesses, clasped them in leg irons and shipped them to Quebec. Samuel Brooks died in prison.¹⁸

William Brooks*

Born in Virginia in 1761, Brooks later went to Kentucky with his two brothers, Samuel and Thomas. After his capture in 1778, he was sold at Detroit. He was still a prisoner in November 1782, though later he returned to Kentucky. Little else is known about his captivity. In December 1816, at age fifty-five, William Brooks died "very poor and dissipated." His body was dug up and publicly displayed in an attempt to extort money from his children for a debt - but the grisly scheme failed. Brooks was noted for his kindness.¹⁹

Arabia Brown

Born on 27 November 1755, Arabia Brown, along with

moccasins." See Lawrence Elliott, *The Long Hunter: A New Life of Daniel Boone* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1976), 125; Stephen Hempstead to Lyman Draper, 13 February 1863, Draper Collection, 16C:76(2); Evisa Coshow to Lyman C. Draper, 3 May 1887, 21C:63(2). For additional information on Evisa Coshow, see Ted Franklin Belue, "Haste to the Wedding," *Muzzleloader*, January/February 1991, pp. 46-47.

17 Draper Collection, 4B:198-99.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 11C:67; 4B:198(1).

his brother John, enlisted in the militia for six months in Bedford County, Virginia, in 1777 and served under Captain Charles Gwatkin. Gwatkin's company of fifty men was raised to aid the beleaguered Kentuckians during the Indian border wars and soon marched to Boonesborough.²⁰

Little is known of Arabia Brown's captivity. His brother John was sold at Detroit. Their mother Sarah, "an ancient widow," received thirty pounds sterling 1 December 1778 as compensation for her sons' absence, but Arabia must have soon escaped, as his obituary states that he fought against the British and Indians at the nine-day siege of Boonesborough in September 1778. Then he and Squire Boone went to Virginia. Arabia returned to Kentucky and lived out his days in present-day Garrard County.

In June 1832, Arabia, "afflicted with palsy," began receiving his Revolutionary War pension. He died 14 March 1844 at age eighty-eight. Brown was a Presbyterian.²¹

John Brown*

John Brown enlisted in Bedford County, Virginia, and served under Captain Charles Gwatkin as a private; after his capture on the Lower Blue Licks in 1778, he was sold at Detroit. The following summer, Brown and Richard Wade and five other Americans escaped but were seized by the Miami Indians and marched back to Detroit, then put in leg irons and

²⁰ Ibid.; See John Frederick Dorman, ed., *Virginia Revolutionary Pension Applications, Abstracted* (42 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1958-), 11:13-14. Born in Scotland on 3 April 1741 Colonel Charles Gwatkin filled numerous military offices in Bedford County, Virginia, during his lifetime, including: justice of the peace in 1777; lieutenant colonel of the militia in 1787; sheriff in 1788; militia colonel in 1791; coroner in 1792, and colonel of regulars in 1793. Gwatkin married Mary Callaway, daughter of Colonel Richard Callaway of Boonesborough, and died in 1806. See Mary Denham Ackerly and Lula Eastman Jeter Parker, *Our Kin: The Genealogies of Some of the Early Families Who Made History in the Founding and Development of Bedford County, Virginia* (2nd ed.; Harrisburg, Virginia: C.J. Carrier, 1976), 266-67.

²¹ Draper Collection, 11C:75; 11C:46; For Arabia Brown's obituary, see the "Kentucky Papers," 29CC:12.

shipped to Montreal. Two years later, Wade languished and nearly died, and Brown took it upon himself to care for him. While Brown nursed Wade for seven weeks, they plotted their escape. Wade's son John later wrote, "They were treated much better by the Indians than by the British."²²

In September 1781, Brown and Wade and fellow salt boilers John Morton, Daniel Asbury, Ansel Goodman, and William Humphries were released from jail to build a grain mill on an island in the St. Lawrence River. The men got a leaky canoe and, using their hats to bail, fled. Paddling by night and lying up in swamps by day, their journey back to America took nine days. With no provisions, they suffered greatly.

The men were given full back pay "in specie" [silver], and Brown and Wade returned to Kentucky in the fall of 1781. John Brown - who never married - lived out his days near Richard Wade's farm in Wayne County, Kentucky. He never applied for his pension because "he didn't want anyone to meddle with his claim for his services after his death."²³

Richard Wade's son John Wade, who knew John Brown well and was named for him, wrote in 1839: "My father and John Brown came to Kentucky together, were captured together, and remained together till Brown's death." Brown was a Presbyterian and was considered "a very truthful, honest man." He died either on 22 or 25 December 1832.²⁴

Nathaniel Bullock*

Bullock was taken to Detroit. En route to the fort an "old hag" following the party hoping to secure a husband set

22 Brown, "Boone's Salt Makers," 15; Draper Collection, 24C:135(2).

23 Draper Collection, 24C:135(2-3). James Coyle, brother-in-law of John Brown, states in his deposition given 26 December 1842 that Brown and Richard Wade spent time at Vincennes, Indiana, during their salt-boiler captivity. Coyle also says that John Brown died in Wayne County on 25 December 1832 in the part of Wayne County which is now in Clinton County. See Dorman, *Virginia Pension Applications*, 11:51.

24 Draper Collection, 11C:75; 24C:135-42.

her sights on Bullock, who begrudgingly carried her bundles. He lagged behind until they were hidden from view.²⁵ While he and the old woman were crossing a frozen stream, Bullock pushed her through a hole in the ice and held her under water till she drowned. Not seeing her, the braves assumed she had returned to Old Chillicothe.

At Detroit, Bullock was eating by a fire when he was attacked by a brave. Expecting to be burned at the stake anyway, Bullock knocked his assailant down and beat him.²⁶ The gathering Indians jerked Bullock away and carried him around the fort yelling "So-jer! So-jer!" Then he was sold to a Frenchman.²⁷

Jesse Copher and Nathaniel Bullock escaped from Detroit with Simon Kenton in June 1779 and reached Louisville by way of the Wabash. Bullock married "the widow Boughman" and settled near Boonesborough. When Simon Kenton would visit, Bullock's children would gather around him and ask to see the scars he received during his captivity. Nathaniel Bullock died in June 1820.²⁸

James Callaway*

A brother of Micajah and Flanders Callaway, James Callaway was born in Bedford County, Virginia, and in 1777 enlisted in the army of the United States with Captain Henry Pawling and came to Kentucky under the command of Colonel John Bowman. He was about seventeen when captured by the Shawnee. Gangly and spare, Callaway stood six feet tall.²⁹

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 24C:152(2).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24C:152.

²⁷ *Ibid.* For a visceral eyewitness description of stake burning, read Dr. John Knight's grim account of the death of Colonel William Crawford, who was burnt at the stake in June 1782 by Delaware Indians. See Ted Franklin Belue, "Crawford's Sandusky Expedition," *The American Revolution 1775-1783: An Encyclopedia*, Richard Blanco, ed. (2 vols.; New York: Garland, 1993), 1:416-20.

²⁸ Draper Collection, 24C:150-52(2); John A. McClung, *Sketches of Western Adventure* (2nd ed.; New York: Arno, 1969), 123-24.

²⁹ Draper Collection, 23S:141.

The day after Boone surrendered his men, one Indian tried to force James Callaway to carry a kettle. The Indian threatened him with a raised tomahawk, but the bold Kentuckian bent over and removing his hat, patted his head, saying: "Here, strike! I would as lief [gladly] lie here as go along, but I won't tote your kettle!" Callaway did "tote" his captor's gun and a confiscated auger - both of which he lost by "accidentally" tripping and shucking them into a deep stream.³⁰

After arriving at Old Chillicothe, Callaway was forced to run the gauntlet and managed to knock down two or three braves. He sustained no injuries, but Callaway was "deemed too intractable in temperament" and was sold at Detroit. In November 1778, he was to work for a Detroit resident on the condition that he would swear allegiance to King George III. Callaway refused and was locked up for two weeks.³¹

While confined, Callaway and Samuel Brooks were overheard planning their escape. Fearing they could carry vital intelligence to George Rogers Clark, Henry Hamilton sent them "in irons" to Fort Niagara and on to Montreal where Callaway was bound "hand and foot" and shipped off to the jails of Quebec. By 1780 Callaway could stand it no more. He and eight other hostages escaped to a nearby small lake and forced a Frenchman to bring them a canoe and provisions. When their food ran out, six prisoners returned to the British and disclosed the plans of the other three, but Callaway and his accomplices hid out for a month.

In preparation for their journey to the American border, the fugitives stockpiled a cache of dried frogs and fish. One night they stumbled upon a small party of sleeping Indians. Quietly they stole their muskets and killed two or three of them, but it was in vain. The Americans were soon spotted by five

30 Draper Collection, 11C:62; 4B:163.

31 Ibid., 4B:168, 172, 198.

Indians and a Frenchman and were recaptured.³²

In October 1780, Callaway was sent to Baie-Saint-Paul (St. Paul's Bay), located on the western end of the St. Lawrence River near present-day St. Simeon, Quebec. In 1781, he was deported to New York, and his homeward trek to Virginia was grim. He suffered mightily, often eating ants to keep from starving.³³ But he arrived on Christmas Eve.

Callaway married Susan White and went back to Kentucky. In 1821, he moved to Howard County, Missouri. In his later years, he received a Revolutionary War pension. It was said that he "retained many of the habits of Indians." James Callaway died in August 1835.³⁴

Micajah Callaway

Micajah was a volunteer in the Virginia militia and served under Captain Henry Pawling. A brother of Flanders and James Callaway, Micajah spent five years and five months in captivity and led a "tribal nomadic existence." Later he recalled that he "was not well-treated and fared hard while living with the Shawnee." But Callaway adapted too well to Indian life. Ezekiel Lewis was one of the survivors of Colonel Archibald Lochry's ill-fated flotilla on the Ohio that was attacked by Joseph Brant on 24 August 1781. During the din of rifle volleys and tomahawk blows that felled nearly forty men, Lewis saw Callaway fighting alongside the warriors. Years later he said that, "'Cage Callaway was the worst savage amongst them!"³⁵ In November 1782, George Rogers Clark attacked New Piqua - then Callaway's home - and captured Lamatuinque,

32 For a geographic representation of the region, see Mario Lalancette, "Exploitation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1680-1760," in R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada: From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: Toronto United Press, 1987), Plate 11; Draper Collection, 24C:119(1).

33 Draper Collection, 4B:198(1); 24C:24; 23S:141.

34 *Ibid.*, 4B:210.

35 *Ibid.*, 30J:80.

"Queen of the [Shawnee] nation."³⁶

In July 1783, the Shawnee hired Callaway as an interpreter at a prisoner exchange held at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville). Callaway and seven Shawnee diplomats parleyed with the Americans for a week, and at Clark's request, Micajah was released.

Micajah's linguistic skill and intimate knowledge of the Ohio Valley made him a valued commodity. In 1787 Daniel Boone recorded in his ledger book at his store at Maysville that during a prisoner exchange with the Shawnee "Macagy Callaway . . . served twenty days as interpreter." Later he served as a scout for General "Mad" Anthony Wayne. He died near present-day Salem, Indiana, on 11 April 1849 at age ninety-four - the last of the salt boilers to die.³⁷

Jesse Copher*

Jesse Copher was from Culpepper County, Virginia. Taken to Detroit during his salt-boiler captivity, Copher, Nathaniel Bullock, and Simon Kenton (who was captured just after the Boonesborough siege) escaped in June 1779. Aided by American sympathizers at Detroit who got them guns and jerky and sent them southwest to the Wabash to avoid Indian towns along the Scioto and Great Miami, their thirty-day trek was not easy.

The first day they cached their guns and lay hidden in a lake most of the day to elude some Indian duck hunters. On the second day, Kenton killed a deer, but the shot roused a band of warriors who came running just as the trio was kindling a fire, forcing them to flee. Not bothering to hunt for the whites, the Indians made off with the deer. Hunger and

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24C:119(1).

³⁷ For Boone's account book, see excerpts published by Julia Truitt Bishop, "Old Papers Give Lights As To How Daniel Boone Ran His Store," *The Kentucky Explorer*, June 1993, p. 38. Lyman Draper, trying desperately to contact Micajah Callaway, managed to get a letter to him two days before Callaway died. But Callaway was "very feeble" and was unable to respond to questions. See Draper Collection, 24C:118.

weariness wore on Copher, who conceded he was "not much of a hunter," and he became chilled and feverish that night from lying underwater most of the day before. Jesse nearly gave up, saying "he would join the first Indians he met."

Copher found no pity. Bullock told him that he "would not do so, that he prided himself upon his name and his family and would not disgrace them by such conduct." And Simon Kenton, who after months of Indian captivity had survived a mind-boggling assortment of tortures, heard the exchange. Kenton told both men he "had been long enough with Indians and would sooner die in his tracks than suffer himself again to fall in the hands of such unfeeling wretches." Nothing more was said. While returning to Kentucky, the three men ate "slippery elm bark, hickory nuts, a young porcupine and a 'coon." And Copher, unable to shake his illness, was sick nearly the whole way home. But there is no record that he ever again complained.

After his arrival and his convalescence, Jesse went to Virginia to see his family; he then returned to settle on a 1400-acre tract near Stoner Creek in Clark County in the fall of 1780. Later, he married a niece of Daniel Boone's and died in 1822 in Boone County, Missouri. Jesse Copher was six feet tall and was considered "a worthy and patriotic Baptist."³⁸

Jack Dunn

Called "a renegade destitute of principles," Jack Dunn escaped from the Shawnee in 1778 or 1779. In 1780 he deserted his Kentucky regiment and betrayed it to the Mackujay sept of the Shawnee. Lyman Draper noted:

Such a deserter from Clark's army in 1780 reporting to the Indians that only Col. [Benjamin] Logan's regiment was approaching, and when they subsequently encountered three times as many . . . they burned the white deserter under the impression he had deceived

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 5C:156-57; 22S:253-55; McClung, *Sketches*, 123-24; Draper Collection, 4B:199.

them. This may have been Jack Dunn.³⁹

Jack Dunn was never heard of again.

Ansel Goodman

Ansel enlisted in 1777 in Bedford County, Virginia, under the command of Captain Charles Gwatkin and came to Kentucky that year. After Goodman's capture, he was taken to retrieve some Indian goods cached before the February raid on the Lower Blue Licks. During the detour, the two braves escorting Goodman shot a bear and forced him to shoulder a heavy load of meat. Arriving at Old Chillicothe the day after the other captives, Goodman was stripped naked as he neared the town and his arms tied fast with buffalo tugs and his load tightened.⁴⁰

Upon entering the town, he "was met by many Indians . . . and [ran] the gauntlet with the load of meat and was severely beaten and bruised in the race." Then Goodman and "the other prisoners were ordered to dance like the whites." He was afterward adopted by the Shawnee.

When the Indians went against Boonesborough in September 1778, Goodman and salt boiler George Hendricks and another hostage named Aaron Ferman, who "had got lost from Simon Kenton on some horse scrape," escaped. Their timing was disastrous. While they were gathering red haws, some Wyandots returning from the aborted siege fired on them. Hendricks was recaptured and taken to the Lower Sandusky

39 Shawnee Indians in the 18th century were divided into the following five divisions: Chalahgawtha, Makujay, Peckuwe, Kispokotha, and Thawegla. For a succinct overview of Shawnee culture and migration patterns from contact to the 19th century, see William C. Sturtevant, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians* (20 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1978-), XV, 622-35. For the most complete monograph on the Shawnee from the 19th century to the near-present, see James H. Howard, *Shawnee!: The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1981); Draper Collection, 4B:196.

40 Draper Collection, 4B:180; 11C:62(9-10).



Shawnee Warrior, circa 1760, by David Wright

Ted Franklin Belue

Draped over this warrior's shoulder is a blue stroud blanket matchcoat bordered with gold lace; his musket is French and his blue wool leggings are edge beaded in white. His beaded, red wool shooting bag, center-seam moccasins, leg ties, and knife sheath are quilled and adorned with tufts



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of red-dyed deer hair. Arm bands, nose ring, and ear broaches are sterling silver, and he holds a maple-ball-head war club. Defiant and proud, the Shawnee fought desperately to keep white intruders east of the Blue Ridge.

The model is Wes Studi, who portrayed Magua in the 1992 edition of "The Last of the Mohicans," and was featured as the fierce Pawnee in "Dances With Wolves." Powder horn, dated 1747, and French "Type D" trade gun, circa 1730, are from the collection of Jim and Carolyn Dresslar, as is the war club, collected in 1774 by James Robertson near Kingsport, Tennessee, during Lord Dunmore's War. ("The Warrior" by David Wright, 1992. Courtesy of Gray Stone Press, Nashville, TN)

River. Accounts differ about Ferman's fate, but Ansel Goodman got away.⁴¹

Goodman later became a preacher and received a pension. At age eighty, while reflecting on his captivity, Ansel said: "[I] suffered misery and wretchedness, hunger, cruelty, and oppression of almost every sort."⁴²

William Hancock

Hancock was born in Goochland County, Virginia, in 1738. He fought in the French and Indian War and moved to Boonesborough early in 1777.⁴³ During the snowy, ten-day march to Old Chillicothe after his capture, Hancock recalled that Daniel Boone often shared his meager rations with the other captives. When Hancock ran the gauntlet at the Shawnee town, he knocked one brave sprawling.⁴⁴

William Hancock was adopted by "Captain Will," whose party of Shawnee captured Daniel Boone and his brother-in-law John Stuart in 1769. But Hancock hated "the savage life" and marveled that Boone could be content among a "parcel of dirty Indians." Depressed, he became ill.⁴⁵

When Hancock learned that Indians, British, and French-Canadians were gathering to attack Boonesborough, he

41 Ibid., 11C:62(14); 4B:196.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., 4B:197.

44 Ibid., 30C:51; 24C:17(1).

45 Ibid., 4B:194; Bakeless, *Daniel Boone*, 53.

decided to escape or die in the attempt. He cached "three pints of raw corn" and waited, but Captain Will became suspicious and at night hid Hancock's clothing and slept with his head against the door of his lodge. One morning, just before daylight, Hancock feigned sleep. Captain Will called out, "William?" No answer. Satisfied, Captain Will dozed off. Hancock waited and then silently pushed the door open and eased out. He was naked.⁴⁶

As he left the village, Hancock tripped over a tug restraining a horse.⁴⁷ He loosed the tether, and mounted, and pushed hard for Kentucky. Luckily, the pounding summer rains washed away his trail, and he made it to the Ohio where he bound two logs together with grapevines and launched himself into the mighty river. But his raft hung on a mat of driftwood, and the river, swollen and churning from the rain, floated him twenty miles downstream before he landed on the southern shore.

Hancock's corn soon gave out; the cloudy weather blotted out the sun and the stars, and he became disoriented. Lost, Hancock lay down to die. Providentially he saw a tree with "Stephen Hancock" - his brother's name - carved on it

and a couple of chumps [of wood] near each other in a position that reminded him, of a sudden, that the spot was where he had formerly camped when out hunting. Now knowing his whereabouts, he bent his course for Boonesborough.⁴⁸

When Hancock reached the fort on 17 July, he was so weak he had to be carried in. His ordeal had lasted nine days. In his sworn deposition, taken by Colonel Richard Callaway, Hancock spoke of the coming storm:

46 Draper Collection, 24C:17(2).

47 Tugs were made by cutting freshly skinned deer or buffalo hides round and round into long hairy strips and twisting them. When dry, tugs made nearly indestructible hide ropes.

48 Draper Collection, 24C:17(2-3); 11C:62(13).

The Indians informed that they should come four hundred strong and offer the English flag to the inhabitants, and if the terms were rejected, they intended to batter down our fort with their swivels, as they are said to have four sent them from Detroit.⁴⁹

While convalescing, Hancock was "fed broth" and brought back from near starvation under the care of his brother Stephen, Colonel Callaway, and Captain Daniel Boone.⁵⁰

In the September siege at Boonesborough, Hancock fought honorably "with his long fowling-piece." Molly, his wife, molded balls and kept a six-foot-long iron skillet handle close for "the last action." And Hancock's Indian father, Captain Will, stood on a high bluff outside the fort forlornly beckoning "Wil-lum" to come home.⁵¹

After the siege was lifted, Hancock's account of Boone's preferential treatment by the Shawnee may have influenced some prominent Kentuckians, like Benjamin Logan and Richard Callaway, whose nephews, Micajah and James, were still held captive, to investigate Boone's seemingly suspicious behavior. Boone was brought before a court-martial but was acquitted of the charges of treason. And the jurors underscored their verdict by unanimously promoting Boone to major in the militia.⁵²

49 Ibid., 4B:204-205. Swivels were small cannons or modified large-caliber, smoothbore muskets - though some were rifled - balanced on an easily maneuverable support swivel mechanism. Often transported by canoe or horseback, swivels were used throughout the eastern and western fur trade. Heavily loaded with buck and ball, or any combination thereof, swivel volleys wreaked devastation upon canoes and ships, log enclosures, and human flesh. See Carl P. Russell, *Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981), 77-84.

50 Draper Collection, 4B:196.

51 Ibid., 16C:7(3-4)

52 Lester, *Transylvania Company*, 207. Much has been written about the acrimonious relationship between Daniel Boone and Richard Callaway. William Dodd Brown contends that part of the conflict that led to Callaway's attempt to court-martial Boone came from Richard Callaway's bitterness over his nephews Micajah and James Callaway being taken captive as a result of Boone's surrender at the Lower Blue Licks; see Brown, "Boone's Salt Makers," 10. Callaway also tried to have one of George Rogers Clark's men court-martialed for having "shot down and barbecued" one of his cows during the starving times

Hancock's feelings toward Daniel Boone are understandable. No one fully comprehended Boone's actions at the Lower Blue Licks until Boone testified in his own defense that, "He thought he would use some stratagem. . . he told them tales to fool them." Even Hancock admitted afterwards that he had misjudged Boone's motives.

William Hancock served under George Rogers Clark in 1780 and fought at the Battle of Blue Licks in 1782. In 1799 he moved to present-day St. Charles County, Missouri, where he died in 1821 "an exemplary member of the Baptist denomination."⁵³

George Hendricks*

Hendricks was born in Bedford County, Virginia, and ran away from home when he was fourteen. After his capture at the Licks he was adopted by the Shawnee and remained at Old Chillicothe for seven months. In September, he, Ansel Goodman, and Aaron Ferman - another white captive - fled, but Hendricks was retaken by a war party of Wyandots returning from the siege of Boonesborough.⁵⁴

For about two years, George Hendricks lived with the Wyandot on the Lower Sandusky River, then with the Miami - who nearly whipped him to death - at Pickawillany (near present-day Piqua, Ohio). Later, he was purchased by the Kickapoo and sold at Detroit for \$300 in April 1780. Hendricks ultimately served as a guide for George Rogers Clark in many campaigns and died in present-day Monroe County, Illinois, at

at Boonesborough. That case too was dismissed. See Draper Collection, 11S:43.

⁵³ Chester Raymond Young, ed., *Westward into Kentucky: The Narrative of Daniel Trabue* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1981), 63. Daniel Trabue was present at Boone's trial, and his memoirs constitute the only primary source for the event. Trabue's manuscript autobiography is originally found in the Draper Collection, "George Rogers Clark Papers," 57J; *ibid.*, "Kentucky Papers" 11CC:41; *ibid.*, 4B:197.

⁵⁴ Draper Collection, 24C:160.

age thirty-three.⁵⁵

John Holley

In July 1755, Holley served under Major General Edward Braddock in Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War. After his capture at the Lower Blue Licks, he was adopted. In November 1782, he was rescued when George Rogers Clark attacked McKee's Town. According to Draper:

Holley had tied his horse and was rummaging in a cabin, some Indians in company, when whites, came into sight. The Indians with him dashed off, and he pretended to be bothered in untying his horse, thus delay[ing] till the whites came up.⁵⁶

William Humphries*

William Humphries escaped from Montreal in 1781 with Richard Wade and John Brown and the other Kentuckians.⁵⁷

Joseph Jackson

Jackson enlisted in the Virginia Line of States Troops under Captain Charles Gwatkin and marched to Boonesborough in 1777. In January 1778, he was sent to guard the salt boilers at the Lower Blue Licks. Like the other captives, he was taken to Old Chillicothe on the Little Miami River. Jackson took to Native life better than he would later admit. While dictating his memoirs in April 1844, he lied to Lyman Draper, saying he was freed in 1783 and "stayed with some British traders for a time." The truth is far more startling.

Draper realized that Jackson was lying. He wrote that, "Jackson chose to live with the Indians [until 1799] becoming an Indian in every sense." Draper believed that Jackson had

55 *Ibid.*, 11C:62(14); 24C:159.

56 *Ibid.*, 11C:62(31).

57 I have yet to find any documentation confirming that William Humphries was sold at Detroit. However, since there is no question that he escaped from Montreal in 1781, I necessarily infer that he was probably at Detroit prior to his confinement at Montreal. See Draper Collection, 24C:140(1).

fought the Americans at Blue Licks in 1782 and that he had fought against Colonel Josiah Harmar in 1790, against General Arthur St. Clair in 1791, and against General "Mad" Anthony Wayne at Fallen Timbers in 1795. Jackson denied it.⁵⁸

The white Indian visited Detroit in 1799 and heard that his brother - who was from Bedford County, Virginia - was living in Kentucky. Jackson returned to Kentucky the following spring with enough fur to buy two slaves and a farm in Bourbon County. He later married into a wealthy family and "made a good citizen."⁵⁹

But Joseph's life slowly crumbled. He said "the Indians ruined him and he wanted to go back and get some satisfaction." He and his young wife quarreled constantly. A few months after his interview with Lyman Draper in 1844, Joseph Jackson hanged himself. He was eighty-eight years old.⁶⁰ Draper wrote that Jackson "was kind and intelligent." His neighbors said he was "respectable." He received a pension as a veteran of the Revolutionary War.⁶¹

William Jackson

Joseph Jackson names William Jackson as a salt boiler, but there is no other record of him.⁶²

Andrew Johnson

Andrew Johnson was small, and to the Shawnee who adopted him, his size added to his charm. They were not sure if Pe-cu-la - meaning "Little-Shut-His-Eyes" or "Little Duck" - was a half-grown boy or a tiny man, but Andrew Johnson was a big hit at Shawnee town. He was a fool, the Indians supposed. They would set up a mark for him to shoot and Pe-cu-la

58 Draper Collection, 11CC:35; 11C:62(11),63.

59 Ibid., 4B:200-210; 24C:17(5).

60 Ibid., 11CC:45; 11C:62.

61 Ibid., 4B:201; "Pension Statements," 100.

62 Ibid., 11C:62.

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dependable breed used by Long Hunters as buffalo catch dogs. ("The Long Knife" by David Wright, 1991. Courtesy of Gray Stone Press, Nashville, TN)

would flinch the trigger off and howl at the belching roar of the flintlock's flash. Not only would he miss the mark; he would also miss the tree holding the mark.⁶³

And Pe-cu-la's sense of direction was no better. During his brief stay at Old Chillicothe, the warriors would call out, "Hey Pe-cu-la, which way Kentuck?" Poor Pe-cu-la would look bewildered and ponder the question and after careful deliberation would point north. The braves would fall to the ground expiring with laughter. Little Pe-cu-la was a "mere infant."

One day Pe-cu-la and one of his adopted brothers got into a fight and Pe-cu-la not only whipped him but began to terrify the rest of the family. When Pe-cu-la's father returned from a horse-stealing expedition in Kentucky, he rebuked his idiot son sharply and threatened to sell him.⁶⁴ That night there was to be a great dance, his father said, but he sent Pe-cu-la to bed with the children.

Pe-cu-la balked. Sometime during the night he went to the big doings anyway. His father asked him "what business he had there?" Pe-cu-la said he "wanted to dance." His father consented. He told him to "take a dance, go home, and do not come back." Pe-cu-la obeyed. And he took with him his father's gun, tomahawk, knife, powder and lead, and blanket coat.

The Shawnee grieved for poor Pe-cu-la. He could not shoot and did not know the way back to Kentucky - surely he would starve. His adopted father felt especially bad. Had he been too hard on Pe-cu-la? The Indians asked Daniel Boone, "Did he think Pe-cu-la could find the way to Kentuck?" Boone

63 *Ibid.*, 4B:176.

64 *Ibid.*, 12CC:76-77.

shrugged, "I don't know."⁶⁵ They looked for three days and never found a track. It was in May 1778 that Andrew Johnson, a crackerjack woodsman and a master of duplicity, became the first salt boiler to escape.⁶⁶

Johnson went "straight as a leather thong to Harrodsburg," bringing the Kentucky folks their first news about the salt boilers. His escape bode ill for the Shawnee because he knew the location of their towns. He stayed at Harrodsburg for two weeks. Then he and five Kentuckians rode through the canelands to the Ohio River.⁶⁷

After crossing the Ohio, Johnson piloted the men some fourteen miles beyond and came across a freshly abandoned Indian camp. They dogged the visible trail and about an hour before sundown heard the tinkling of horse bells.⁶⁸ Brazenly the whites caught seven horses and hid them. Outnumbered, they decided to attack the Indians in Indian fashion right before daylight. They waited.

During the night, the camp dogs scented the whites and began barking. The Long Knives opened fire and reloaded feverishly and shot again. Chief Black Fish, Chalahgawtha (Chillicothe) Shawnee warlord and adopted father of Daniel Boone, mistook the attackers for Indians and cried out, "Huy! Huy! Shawanese, we are Shawnees!" But the lethal volleys poured from the woods as the Shawnee scattered.

It was a victory for the Kentuckians; two braves were killed and seven horses stolen. But the midnight skirmish puzzled Black Fish. After returning to Old Chillicothe, he mentioned the attack to Boone. Boone guessed it might have been Pe-cu-la. "No," answered Black Fish, "Pe-cu-la was a fool and could never have reached Kentuck!" "He was no fool,"

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid., 4B:176.

68 Ibid. It was common practice for frontier whites and Indians to put bells on their horses while camping overnight, so they could be more easily located the following morning. See Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, 77.

replied Boone, "but a man of good sense and a fine woodsman." Black Fish wondered.⁶⁹

About the same time, a small band of Indians raided Boonesborough, and one brave was hit. After crossing the Ohio River, the party hid the wounded Indian and went to get a horse to carry him. The hidden brave saw Pe-cu-la and his men and his Shawnee horses pass by. The Indians returned for the wounded man and hastened away. At Old Chillicothe the news spread rapidly. The Indians told Boone that "Pe-cu-la was a little man, but a great rogue."

Johnson prospered as a farmer and lived on the Elkhorn River in Scott County, Kentucky. Andrew "Pe-cu-la" Johnson died on his birthday, 25 January, in 1820. He was seventy-five years old.⁷⁰

Benjamin Kelly*

After seventeen-year-old Benjamin Kelly marched to Old Chillicothe, he "was adopted into the same family as Tecumseh."⁷¹ For the next few years, he lived an aboriginal, wandering life throughout the Ohio Valley.

In 1779 he watched white Indian James Girty and a half-breed named Ragin slaughter a flatboat full of whites helplessly snagged on a sandbar in the Ohio River. Kelly recalled that he drew his gun three times to kill Girty but could not do it because Girty had "treated him with great kindness." Later, Benjamin was taken to Detroit to Loyalist Colonel Alexander McKee, who "wanted him for company as the Indians weren't much company."⁷²

69 Draper Collection, 4B:177.

70 *Ibid.*, 24C:153.

71 *Ibid.*, 4B:200. Tecumseh (1768-1813), the Shawnee warlord who attempted to organize an eastern pan-Indian confederacy to drive back the white invaders, belonged to the Kispokotha sept.

72 Alexander McKee was a Pennsylvanian who remained loyal to the Tory cause. McKee, Simon Girty, and Matthew Elliott fled from Pittsburgh 28 March 1778, and later all three led numerous attacks against the Americans. See Barnhart, *Hamilton*, 148; Draper Collection, 24C:126(2). A useful geographic,

In the fall of 1782, the English and their Native allies prepared to march on Fort Wheeling, Virginia. Colonel McKee gave Kelly a horse, a saddle, and a bridle, and he discreetly told him how to find the white settlements beyond the Ohio River. A few days later, when asked if he wanted to take part in the Fort Wheeling raid, Kelly offhandedly agreed to go. Fully accoutered and dressed and painted like a warrior, Benjamin Kelly resolved "never to return."⁷³ Once across the Ohio River, McKee never spoke to him again.

When the war party arrived within striking distance of the fort, Kelly and a fellow-prisoner named John Moore left the Indians. Crawling to the fort, they hallooed the stockade but were driven back by musket fire. They then returned to their camp.

The shots alarmed the Natives, but the whites assured them that they were harassing the fort. Kelly and Moore fled that night, walking in creeks and streams to break their trail and "made a bark canoe." The next day, they saw some cattle and shot a heifer and cooked it over a nearly smokeless fire of hickory bark. But hearing the distant tinkling of a horse bell, Kelly and Moore hid.⁷⁴

As the riderless horses appeared and disappeared down a path, the fugitive whites followed them. Presently they came upon an isolated cabin and hid, waiting. A man later emerged from the cabin and began chopping wood, but as Kelly and Moore approached him, the fellow brandished his ax and warily backed to his house. Hastily they explained they were not Indians but whites making an escape. Convinced, the pair were invited in for supper.

Soon "a small, black-eyed man" brazenly entered the

demographic, and topographic overview of the Ohio Valley Indian towns is the *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History*, edited by Helen Hornbeck Tanner (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Draper Collection, 24C:124-26(2).

73 Draper Collection, 24C:124-26(2).

74 *Ibid.*, 4B:200; 24C:126(3).

house unannounced and asked to speak with Kelly and Moore outside. Moore and Kelly were startled to learn the "suspicious character" was an American officer who had the house surrounded with thirty men. "Their host," the officer explained, "was in sympathy with the Indians and was going to shoot them." Benjamin Kelly - the ex salt boiler - and John Moore were saved by a hairsbreadth!⁷⁵

Kelly married Nancy Jarrel and returned to Kentucky in 1790. He became "an ordained Baptist preacher - a Baptist in the fullest sense of the term" and supported his ministry by teaching English. Two years before his death, a bout with typhoid fever caused him to lose his mind. But four hours before he passed away, "he became perfectly rational and died in his right mind." Benjamin Kelly died sometime between 1826 and 1830 in Ohio County, Kentucky.⁷⁶

John Morton*

After his capture, Morton was taken to Detroit, and later he was shipped to Montreal. In July 1781, Morton and five other salt boilers escaped. They reached the American border in nine days and were sent to John Hancock, governor of Boston. Hancock conferred with the men and gave them passes to "draw provisions homeward." John Morton went on to Virginia, but from there his trail runs cold.⁷⁷

Bartlett Searcy*

Searcy was sold at Detroit where he was employed as a silversmith, but later he duped the British by taking a loyalty oath and in October 1778 traveled with Henry Hamilton to capture Vincennes.⁷⁸ Hamilton recorded in his diary on 31

75 *Ibid.*, 24C:126(4-5).

76 Nancy Jarrel died in 1803. In 1810, Benjamin Kelly married Nancy Roach. See Draper Collection, 24C:132(2)-134; 4B:200; 24C:134(2).

77 Brown, "Boone's Salt Boilers," 15.

78 Draper Collection, 11C:71; 4B:200.

January 1779:

A Shawnee asked for Barblet Searcy [sic]. This man had been taken prisoner by the Indians and carried to Detroit where he engaged with a silversmith and had a dollar per day wages besides his board and lodging - after some time, he took the oath of allegiance and enlisted with the volunteers, being an active able man and a very good marksman - on this occasion, he deserted.⁷⁹

Searcy sped to Harrodsburg where his vital intelligence was dispatched to Colonel George Rogers Clark:

Harrodsburg, 27th March, 1779

Dear Colonel,

We are informed by one Searcy [sic], who was with Hamilton on taking Post Vincent, all the particulars of its loss, of which I expect you also have had information. . . . I hope Mr. Hamilton will have cause to repent [of] this step of his.

John Todd, Jr.⁸⁰

Bartlett Searcy helped Daniel Boone bury his brother Edward when he was shot and decapitated by Indians in October 1780. Searcy was killed in the late 1780s in Woodford County.⁸¹

William Tracey*

Tracey enlisted as a private in Bedford County, Virginia, under Captain Charles Gwatkin and came to Kentucky in 1777. He was adopted by the Shawnee and for over five years lived throughout the Ohio Valley and near the Great Lakes. Tracey was sold to the British, who released him on the shores of Lake Erie.⁸²

79 Barnhart, *Hamilton*, 82.

80 John Todd, Jr., to George Rogers Clark in Clarence Walworth Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778-1779* (3 vols.; Virginia Series; Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1909), 2:75.

81 The death of Edward "Ned" Boone occurred in October 1780 while he and Daniel were hunting on the Upper Blue Licks. After shooting Ned, the Indians pursued Daniel, who shot one warrior before escaping into a canebrake. Ned Boone was born in 1740, near Reading, Pennsylvania. See Draper Collection, 7C:92; 11CC:279-83.

82 Brown, "Boone's Salt Boilers," 10.

Richard Wade*

After serving a tour of duty at Williamsburg, Wade enlisted in Bedford County, Virginia, under Captain Charles Gwatkin, and arrived at Boonesborough on 12 October 1777. After his capture, he and John Brown were to be sold, but they were held back by the Shawnee at the "Indian towns on the Miami" to plant corn and arrived at Detroit later than the other captives. Wade stayed at Detroit until the summer of 1779, when he and six other American prisoners escaped. After traveling nearly one hundred miles, the whites were seized - possibly by the Miami Indians - above the confluence of the Little River St. Joseph and the St. Mary's. For their trouble, they were returned to Detroit, shackled, and shipped to Montreal.⁸³

Wade became ill and probably would have died, had it not been for the care of John Brown. After seven weeks Wade recovered. On 11 September 1781, he and five other Kentuckians were sent on a work detail.⁸⁴ The men escaped, and after a grueling nine-day trek they arrived at the American border. After meeting briefly with John Hancock, governor of Boston, Wade went to Fort Pitt and secured passage to the Falls of the Ohio where he conferred with George Rogers Clark before returning to Boonesborough.

Wade, like the others, was given full back pay as a prisoner of war. Richard Wade married, became a Baptist preacher, and settled in Madison County; he later moved to Clinton County, near the Wayne County line. John Brown lived next to Wade; they were companions for life.⁸⁵

Postscript

After Daniel Boone's capitulation to Black Fish, he was marched, with his hands bound with buffalo tugs behind his

83 *Ibid.*, 15.

84 Draper Collection, 4B:199; 11C:75.

85 *Ibid.*, 24C:17(5).

back, to the Lower Blue Licks. Behind him walked a tall brave with a raised tomahawk aimed at his head. At Boone's request, his salt boilers stacked their arms.⁸⁶

Much has been written about Daniel Boone's decision to surrender his men. As students of Kentucky frontier history know, Boone was subpoenaed before a military tribunal for treason, and after successfully defending himself, was promoted to major of the militia. Few, however, have bothered to see what the captives thought about it.

The salt boilers are the best judges of Daniel Boone's actions. Benjamin Kelly "thought it very hard, but it was doubtless a wise thing in Boone, for by it he saved the lives of defenseless women and children." William Brooks, who stayed in British irons at least until November 1782 and whose brother Samuel died during the ordeal, "always spoke well of Col. Boone's conduct on that occasion."⁸⁷ In a letter to Lyman Draper, dated 3 May 1853, Robert Hancock, nephew of the late William Hancock, replying to an earlier query from Draper about the episode, noted, "My uncle did not blame Boone for the surrender at Blue Licks."⁸⁸ John Brown and Richard Wade were among those taken, and Boone's decision put their lives in jeopardy many times over. This is what they said afterward:

Colonel Boone was not to be blamed but lauded for his good management. It was conceded by all conversant with the circumstances that the course he pursued was the only wise, safe, and prudent course he could pursue . . . this treaty was the means of saving the host.⁸⁹

In a handful of years, the capture of Captain Daniel Boone and the salt boilers forever changed Shawnee society.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 24C:135(10).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 24C:124(1); 24C:135-36; 20S:146.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 24C:22(2); for Draper's earlier letter, see 24C:19.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 24C:135(2). Daniel Boone was a captain of the militia at the time of his capture in February 1778. After Boone was promoted to colonel by Governor Thomas Jefferson on 7 February 1781, he became generally known as Colonel Boone. See Draper Collection, 63J:129.

Although the area of Old Chillicothe had been explored by Christopher Gist in 1750, the actual location of the Shawnee towns remained a mystery to the whites. But after the escape of Andrew Johnson, followed by that of Boone and the other captives, this was no longer true. At least two of the ex-captive salt boilers - Micajah Callaway and George Hendricks - became scouts for George Rogers Clark during Clark's Indian campaigns into the Ohio Valley. Boone later remarked:

Never did the Indians pursue so disastrous a policy, as when they captured me and my fellow salt boilers, and learned us what we did not know before, the way to their towns and the geography of their country, for though at first our captivity was considered a great calamity to Kentucky, it resulted in the most signal benefits to the country.⁹⁰

90 *Ibid.*, 4B:177; Trabue, *Westward into Kentucky*, 168.