THE OHIO RIVER TRADE

1788-1830

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CHAPTER I.

BOATS AND BOATMEN.

With the opening of the great West, the Ohio River became the main route of immigration and commerce, and it is in a careful study of the various forms of craft which floated upon "La Belle Riviere" that we catch a glimpse of the rapid and almost marvelous economic development of the Ohio Valley.

The Indian canoe, though sometimes used by travelers, was entirely inadequate for the purpose of commerce, and was never used, in any regular branch of trade. The earliest improvement upon the canoe was the pirogue, an invention of the whites. Like the canoe this boat was hewn out of the solid log, the difference being that the pirogue had greater width and capacity, and was composed of several pieces—as if the canoe had been sawed into two equal sections, and a broad, flat piece of timber inserted in the middle, so as to give greater breadth of beam to the vessel. These boats were occasionally used by the immigrants for the transportation of their goods and furniture.

The canoe and pirogue were succeeded by the barge, the keel, and the flat-boat. Of the first two, the barge was the largest, had the greatest breadth, and the best accommodation for pas-

sengers; the keel was longer, had less depth, and was better fitted for the navigation of narrow and shallow channels. "They were navigated by a rude and lawless class of men, who became distin-
guished as well for their drolleries, as for their predatory and ferocious habits. In the thinly scattered state of the population, their numbers rendered them formidable, as there were few villages on the rivers, and still fewer settlements, which contained a sufficient number of able bodied men to cope with the crew of a barge, consisting usually of thirty or forty hands; while the arrival of several of these boats together made them completely masters of the place. The large rivers whose meanders they pursued formed the boundaries of States, so that living continually on the lines which divided different civil jurisdictions, they could pass with ease from one to the other, and never be made responsible to any. It is a singular fact, that lawless and wild as these men were, the valuable cargoes of merchandise committed to their care, and secured by no other bond than their integrity, were always carried safely to their destination, and the traveler, however weak, or however richly freighted, relied securely on their protection."  

Navigating long rivers, whose shores were still infested by hostile savages, the boatmen were armed, and depended for safety upon their caution and their manhood.  

The barges, but rarely using sails, and receiving only an occasional impulse from their oars, descended the stream with a speed but little superior to that of the current. About the year 1795, seventy or eighty days were consumed in making the long and

2.- Ibid., 10.
monotonous voyage from Pittsburg to New Orleans, while in 1802, Michaux says that "the barges, in the Spring, usually take forty or fifty days to make the passage, which two or three persons in a pirogue make in twenty-five days." The return voyage was not effected in less than four months. The heavily laden boats were propelled against the strong current by poles, or where the stream was too deep to admit the use of those, drawn by ropes. The former process required the exertion of great strength and activity, but the latter was even more difficult and discouraging. The first improvement in the navigation of the West, and in her commercial operations, was the introduction of barges moved by sails, when the wind permitted, and at other times, by oars, and setting poles, as the state of the water might require. These vessels were constructed to carry from fifty to one hundred tons. In wet seasons, if properly manned, they could make two trips, between Cincinnati and New Orleans in a year. The increased quantity of cargo they carried, reduced the price of freight, and enabled them to transport from New Orleans to Cincinnati at from five to six dollars per hundred, which was below the average charge of carriage across the mountains. From that time most of the groceries and other imported

1. Latrobe, C. J., Rambler in North America, I., 103.
4. Ibid., 113-114.
5. Burnet, J., Notes, 399-400.
6. Ibid., 400.

Collet, V., Journey, I., 39. "The carriage of an hundred weight from Philadelphia to Pittsburg is from $8 to $10, and from Baltimore $7 or $8.

Collet, V., Journey, II., 198. "The carriage from Philadelphia to the Illinois is 12 piastres the hundred weight—the expenses from Baltimore are the same. The expense from New Orleans to the Illinois, is 5 piastres the French hundred weight."

Schultz, C., II., 186-187. "Return cargo from New Orleans to St. Louis or Kaskaskia is $6 a hundred. Same to Falls of Ohio—for any greater distance an additional charge of nearly 50 cent
articles used in the Territory were brought up the river by those barges, and as the price of freight was reduced, the quantity of produce shipped was proportionately increased. The project was suggested and carried into operation, by two commercial houses in Cincinnati. The vessels continued in use until about the year 1817. Previous to this year, the whole commerce from New Orleans to the "upper country" was carried on in about twenty barges, averaging one hundred tons each, and making but one trip in the year. In 1811, the barge Cincinnati, arrived at Cincinnati. This was the first rigged vessel that ever arrived at this town from below. "She is 100 feet keel, 16 feet beam, rigged sloop fashion, and burthen 64 tons. She was warped over the falls by eighteen men in half a day." At this time, 50 days in ascending to the mouth of the Ohio was considered a good voyage.

The flat boat was introduced a little later than the others. It was a rough strong boat with a perfectly flat bottom, and perpendicular sides, and covered throughout the whole length. Being constructed to float with the current, they did not usually return after descending the river, though as early as the year 1789 they were in use for traveling up as well as down stream. Burnet describes the flat boat as being "made of green oak plank, fastened

(6. Cont.)
for every 100 miles."
Schultz, C., I., 125. "The price of carriage over this distance (from Philadelphia or Baltimore to Pittsburg) is $5 and $6 a hundred pounds weight."

1.- Burnet, J., Notes, 400.
3.- Niles, Weekly Register, I., 71.
4.- Brackenridge, H. M., Journey, 43-44.
5.- Hall, J., The West, 114.
6.- Hildreth, S. P., Memoirs, 274.
by wooden pins to a frame of timber, and caulked with tow, or any other pliant substance that could be procured. Boats similarly constructed on the northern waters were then called arks, but on the western waters, they were denominated Kentucky boats. The materials of which they were composed were found to be of great utility in the construction of temporary buildings for safety, and for protection from the inclemency of the weather, after they had arrived at their destination." These boats were much used by emigrating families to transport themselves down the Ohio.

In the year 1794, four keel boats, carrying probably not more than twenty tons each, were supposed to be sufficient for the trade between Cincinnati and Pittsburg. The boats were advertised as having "cover made proof against rifle or musket balls, and convenient port holes for firing out of. Each of the boats are armed with six pieces carrying a pound ball, also a number of good muskets, and amply supplied with plenty of ammunition." "Tables accurately calculated for the rates of freightage, for passengers, and carriage of letters to and from Cincinnati to Pittsburg may be seen on board each boat, and at the printing office in Cincinnati." Previous to the year 1817 the number of keel boats on the Ohio had increased to about one hundred and fifty, of about thirty tons each, which made the voyage from Pittsburg to Louisville and back in two months, or about three such trips in the year.

In addition to the keel, barge, and flat boat, which were in general use, many other strange craft floated on the Ohio, a few

1. - Burnet, J., Notes, 49.
3. - Ibid., 116.
4. - Ibid., 116-117.
5. - Ibid., 13.
of which I shall attempt to give some account of. The boat which carried the advance guard of the Ohio Company and their provisions to the mouth of the Muskingum in 1788, was built by Jonathan Devol at Simrel's Ferry on the Youghiogheny River, and is said to have been the first decked boat that ever floated on the Ohio. She was built with stout timbers and knees like a galley, with the bottom raking fore and aft, and decked over with planks. The deck was sufficiently high for a man to walk upright under the beams, and the sides so thick as to resist a rifle bullet. The steersman and rowers were thus safely sheltered from the attack of enemies on the banks. The boat was forty-five feet in length, and twelve in breadth. Subsequently gangboards were added on the outside, so that she could be pushed against the current, like a keel boat. It was at first supposed that she could be worked up stream with sail, but the variable nature and uncertainty of the winds on the Ohio River, frustrated their arrangements.

Emigrants were usually, at this early period, 1789, detained for several days for a boat to be made ready for their use. Such a boat, conveying settlers to Marietta, was built after the fashion of a large, oblong box, covered half its length with a roof to shelter the people and their goods from the weather, while the open space contained their teams and wagons. The waters of the Youghiogheny and the Monongahela were low, and the boat grounded on sand bars, requiring the voyagers to leap over the side into the cold water, and pry her off into the current. In 1790, John Pope

1.- Hildreth, S. P., Memoirs, 248.
2.- Ibid., 248-249.
3.- Ibid., 437.
describes the boat in which he left Pittsburg, as "a moveable fortification having about one hundred and fifty salt pans so arranged, as to render a few men within, capable of repulsing ten times their number without."

In the year 1803, family boats were continually passing down the Ohio. "These boats were of the largest size, and the floors were covered with rough sawed boards. In the rear a partition had been run across, in which they had stowed all their present useless furniture. Through the middle was a passage about five feet wide, on each side were small bed chambers of about twelve feet long and six wide, divided and surrounded by clean white curtains, while in front there was a large open space for the general use of the boat." Emigrant families frequently passed down the Ohio in barges, "carrying with them their horses, cows, poultry, wagons, ploughs, harness, beds, instruments of agriculture, in fine, everything necessary to cultivate the land, and also for domestic use."

Floating stores were also to be seen on the Ohio. Cuming says, "On returning to our boat we found a floating store at the landing. It was a large square flat-roofed, and fitted with shelves and counter, and containing a various assortment of merchandise. They were dropping down the river, stopping occasionally wherever they could find a market for their goods."

Schultz, in his account of his journey, devotes one entire letter to a very interesting account of the craft upon the

1.- Pope, J., Tour, 18.
2.- Harris, T. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 334, 335.
3.- Schultz, C., Travels, II., 100.
Ohio in 1807. The smallest were the canoes, then, the pirogues, sufficient to carry from twelve to fifteen barrels of salt. The skiffs varied from five hundred to twenty thousand pounds weight burthen, the larger ones being known as batteaux. Arks were not much in use on the Ohio, at that time. Kentucky boats were of oblong form, varying from ten to fourteen feet in breadth, and from twenty to fifty feet in length, and were sided and roofed in. The roof answered the purpose of a main and quarter deck, and the boat was steered by a long pole, the whole length of the boat. The boat usually carried from one to three hands, as it was necessary, when heavily loaded, to use the oars to keep the boat in the middle of the river. New Orleans boats were built upon the same model, but were generally much larger and stronger, and built with an arched roof fore and aft. The largest of these boats could carry four hundred and fifty barrels of flour. The timbers or knees were built upon a small keel, three inches deep, and four or five in width,—hence the name keel boat. The keel received the first shock of any obstruction in the navigation.

Schenectady boats were usually built from forty to eighty feet in length, and seven to nine in width—the largest kind requiring one hand to steer, and two to row in descending the Ohio. These boats carried as much as one hundred barrels of salt. In ascending the stream six or eight hands were needed to make any considerable progress. "The best kind of boats on the Ohio are called barges." These boats were steered by a rudder, and when descending with the current were not so easily twisted and turned.

2. Ibid., 129-130.
3. Ibid., 130.
4. Ibid., 131.
5. Ibid., 132.
as a keel boat. The barges carried from forty to sixty thousand weight, and required four hands besides the helmsman to descend the river; to return with a loading, from eight to twelve became necessary. "Barges as well as keel boats, generally carry a moveable mast a-mid-ships--whenever the wind will permit, set a square sail, and some few top sails."  

The prices of these boats were as follows: Canoes from $1 to $3; pirogues from $5 to $20; large skiffs or batteaux from $20 to $50; arks $1 a foot in length; Kentucky and New Orleans boats from $1 to $1.50 a foot; Keel boats from $2.50 to $3 a foot; and barges from $4 to $5 a foot.  

Most of the strange boats, to be seen upon the Ohio River, after 1794, were broken up and sold at the end of the voyage, the produce disposed of, and the settler returned to his farm, a thousand or fifteen hundred miles, as best he could. 

The building of larger craft, was undertaken at some of the river towns. In the year 1800, some of the enterprising men of Marietta, formed a company for building a small vessel, and actually built, rigged, and loaded with produce, a brig of 104 tons, named the St. Clair. She cleared from Marietta in 1801, went to New Orleans, from there to Havana, and then to Philadelphia where she was consigned and finally sold. The St. Clair was the first rigged vessel ever built on the Ohio River. From this time until 1808, not less than twenty ships, brigs, and schooners, from 150 to 450 tons burthen, were built at Marietta, besides some of Mr. Jefferson's gun boats, two or three of whose number were lost in

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2.- Ibid., 132-133.  
3.- Latrobe, C. J., Rambler in North America, I., 103-104.  
4.- Hildreth, S. P., Memoirs, 159.  
5.- Ibid., 160.
attempting to cross the Falls of the Ohio when the water was too low. In 1807 Schultz says that there were three ships of about 300 tons burthen each, and two large brigs, besides smaller craft, on the stocks at Marietta. The price of ship building in Marietta was fifty dollars a ton, rigged and equipped completely for sea. Ellicott in his Journal for the years 1796-1800, says that vessels have been built and sent to the West Indies. Large boats had been built at Elizabethtown on the Monongahela, before 1803, and sent to the West Indies. Previous to 1807, about twelve brigs and schooners had been launched at Pittsburg; and brigs had been built at Frankfort and sent down the Kentucky, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers.

The Falls of the Ohio were very dangerous to strangers unacquainted with the navigation. In 1807 pilots might be procured who would conduct travelers over in safety. Two dollars per boat was charged for this service.

2. - Schultz, C., Travels, I., 143.
4. - Harris, F. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 338.
5. - Schultz, C., Travels, I., 126.
7. - Schultz, C., Travels, I., 142.
8. - Ibid., I., 190.
CHAPTER II.

ARTICLES OF TRAFFIC AND PLACES WITH WHICH TRADE WAS CARRIED ON.

The peace of 1783 left the Ohio and Mississippi country free from all other conflicts, but the unremitting hostility of the Indians. The right to navigate the Mississippi the great western waterway of export and to some extent of import, was denied to the Western settlers by the Spanish government.

In the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increased. The arrival of a boat belonging to Governor Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, was announced in New Orleans, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. Governor Miro being informed that in Kentucky, there were two or three crops on hand for which an immediate market must be found, in order to keep the inhabitants in a state of peace, made Governor Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky, thinking to conciliate the people without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at any time. 1 Wilkinson appointed his friend, Daniel Clark, his agent at New Orleans, returned to Charleston in a vessel, and on his

1.- Peck, J. M., Annals, 331-333.
arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped to New Orleans. For some time all the trade on the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to insure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection. In January, 1789, Wilkinson fitted out twenty-five large boats, which were armed, and manned by one hundred and fifty men, and loaded with tobacco, flour, and provisions, with which he set sail for the south. His lead was soon followed by others. Among these adventurers was Colonel Armstrong of the Cumberland Settlements, who sent down six boats manned by thirty men; these were stopped at Natchez, and the goods being sold without permission, an officer and fifty soldiers were sent by the Spanish Commander to arrest the transgressors, who escaped over the line into the United States territory.

Forman in 1789-1790, made a journey down the Ohio, and mentions the arrival, at Louisville, of four tobacco boats, on their way to New Orleans. Furs were sent up the Ohio from Illinois to Pittsburg, as early as 1790, as is shown by the following from a letter written by St. Clair, "There is no doubt that the furs of that country might be brought up the Ohio River at as little or even less expense than attends the carriage of them to Canada. It has been tried by one person, a Mr. Vigo, and found to answer; although the goods he carried out were transported by land from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and loaded with an impost the competitors were free from, they came to market on better terms than those from

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2. Ibid., 335.
Canada. Could these also be subjected to it, a decided advantage would be given to the American trader." Pope who journeyed down the Mississippi in 1791, speaks of meeting several boats bound down the river, loaded with bacon, butter, flour, tobacco, and plank, and also two large Pittsburg boats loaded with flour. "The Walnut Hills about ten miles below the Yasous River" were fixed as the boundary line by the King of Spain, and United States citizens were not allowed to live in Spanish territory unless they put themselves under the laws, banners, and protection of Spain. Private adventurers from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, carried on a tolerable trade at New Orleans, and had an advance of cent per cent on their goods, which were nevertheless cheaper than Spanish importations.

October 27, 1795 a treaty was made with Spain containing the following provisions: "It is likewise agreed that the western boundary of the United States which separates them from the Spanish Colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the River Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the 31st degree of latitude north of the Equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects, and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention." "And in consequence of the stipulation contained in the fourth article, His

1.- St. Clair, A., Papers, (Smith's Edition), II., 175.
2.- Pope, J., Tour, 26.
3.- Ibid, 41.
4.- Treaties and Conventions, 777.
Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for
the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchan-
dise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them
from thence, without paying any other duty than a fair price for
the hire of the Stores, and his Majesty promises either to continue
this permission, if he finds, during that time that it is not
prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree
to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part
of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment."

Governor Carondelet, at New Orleans, received orders
from the home government to deliver the posts on the Mississippi,
but refused to do so, as he feared that the English were about to
move against New Orleans from the north. In the summer of 1796 he
finally received orders to hold the posts, but later was again
ordered by the home government to deliver them. Efforts were made
by agents of France and Spain to induce the people of the western
country to separate from the Union, and form, in conjunction with
Franch and Spain an independent government in the Mississippi Val-
ley. The inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, jealous of their
rights, not satisfied with the efforts of Congress to procure
them redress, seemed strongly disposed to take justice into their
own hands. There appear to have been no less than five parties
among them at this time. The discord between these parties was
fanned by the English, Spanish, and French, according to their res-
pective views. The Spanish Treaty went into quiet effect in 1798.

New Orleans was not then, a large commercial city, but

1.- Treaties and Conventions, 783.
2.- Allinson, M.
   Burnet, J., Notes, 445, 446.
4.- Flint, T., History and Geography. I., 170-171.
merely a small town without capital or enterprise, and reputed to be so fatally unhealthy, that its future growth was considered as entirely improbable. Ascent of the Mississippi, by means of the boats then in use was a slow and most laborious process. Illinois received her goods from Michilmaackinack; Kentucky, Tennessee, and the North West Territory, from Philadelphia or Baltimore, on account of the want of storehouses well and regularly furnished at New Orleans. Conveyance of goods from Philadelphia to Illinois required fifty-five to sixty days; from New Orleans seventy to seventy-five days; the expense of carriage being twelve piastres the hundred weight by way of Philadelphia or Baltimore, and five piastres by way of New Orleans. So long as the importation of goods was attended with so much difficulty and expense, and the western country was forced to depend upon the Atlantic States for their supply of European manufactures, the balance of trade was against them.

The country produced all the necessaries of life in abundance, and about 1800 the settlers were sending the residue, with many other articles, such as hemp, cordage, hardware, some glass, whiskey, apples, cider, and salted provisions down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. The St. Clair which cleared from Marietta in 1801, carried pork, and flour which was sold in Havana for forty dollars per barrel, but was subject to a duty of twenty dollars. With the proceeds of the cargo a load of sugar was purchased and disposed of at Philadelphia. The ships built at

   Collot, V., Journey, II., 95. "The population is composed of about ten thousand souls, including free mulattoes and slaves."
2. Collet, V., Journey, II., 197.
3. Ibid., II., 198-199.
Marietta, from this time until 1808, were exchanged for merchandise in the Atlantic cities, and were the most profitable returns which they could make. Although the country was thinly peopled, yet the vessels were always loaded with flour, pork, and other produce, in their downward voyage, thus yielding a double profit. The embargo of 1808 put a stop to this trade and ruined many of the merchants of Marietta, one of the merchants who had a ship in New Orleans at that time, losing over $10,000. Some of the vessels from Marietta, bound to foreign ports, took in cotton, for Liverpool, from the plantations on the Mississippi. The banks of the Ohio having been inhabited for a period of only a few years, the Americans shared but very feebly in the commerce of the Mississippi, which in 1802 consisted of such articles as hams, salted pork, brandies distilled from corn and peaches, butter, hemp, skins, and various sorts of flour. Cattle were sent to the Atlantic States.

Trades people supplied themselves at Pittsburg and Wheeling, and passed up and down the river, conveying to the settlers haberdashery goods, and more especially teas and coffee, taking some of their produce in return. In the beginning of spring and autumn merchandise was sent from Philadelphia and Baltimore to Pittsburg for supplying the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and the settlement of Natchez. Michaux says, "I have heard....that during the last war, corn being up to an exhorbitant rate, it was computed that the exportations from Kentucky had balanced the price of importations of English goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore,

1.- Hildreth, S. P., Memoirs, 309.
2.- Ibid.,
3.- Ibid., 161.
5.- Ibid., 191.
6.- Ibid., 157-158.
by way of the Ohio, but since the peace, the demand for flour and salt provisions having ceased in the Carribbees, corn has fallen considerable, so that the balance of trade is wholly unfavorable to the country."

Butter not consumed in Kentucky was put into barrels and exported by the Ohio to the Carribbees. Salt provisions formed another important article of Kentucky trade, 72,000 barrels of dried pork, and 2485 barrels of salt being exported in the first half of the year 1802.

In 1802 the freitage of a boat to convey flour to Lower Louisiana cost one hundred dollars. The boat carried 25 to 300 barrels, and was navigated by five men, the chief receiving one hundred dollars for the voyage, the others receiving fifty each. Most of the embarkations were made from Louisville, thirty or thirty-five days being required for the journey to New Orleans. The crew embarked at New Orleans for New York, or Philadelphia, and returned from thence by way of the Ohio to Kentucky.

The produce of the settlements upon the Monongahela and Allegheny found an easy conveyance down the Ohio. Corn, hams, and dried pork were the principal articles sent to New Orleans, whence they were reexported to the Carribbees. Bar iron, coarse linen, bottles manufactured at Pittsburg, whiskey, and salt butter were exported for the consumption of Louisiana. A great part of these provisions came from Redstone on the Monongahela. Knoxville exported flour, cotton, and lime to New Orleans by way of the Tennessee River, but this route was not much frequented by the trade, the navigation of the river being very much encumbered in different

1.- Michaux, F. A., Travels, Early W. Travels, III., 205.
2.- Ibid., 245.
3.- Ibid., 247.
4.- Ibid., 239-240.
5.- Ibid., 158.
places by Shallows interspersed with rocks. In Tennessee the major part of the cultivators sold their cotton to the trades people at Nashville who sent it by the river to New Orleans, from thence it was sent to New York or Philadelphia, or exported direct to Europe. Considerable quantities of corn were shipped from Illinois, in flat boats, to New Orleans, before the purchase of Louisiana. Cattle, and horses were raised for the market, some were shipped to New Orleans, and considerable live stock to the lead mines in Louisiana. Furs and peltries were articles in great demand, and were generally shipped to Michanaw, Philadelphia, and New Orleans.

During this early period in the settlement of the West, boats were employed in the trade up the Mississippi and Ohio, as well as in carrying articles of export down these rivers. Mr. Vigo, a trader of Illinois, exported furs to Pittsburg as early as 1790. Wagons from Pittsburg to Philadelphia and Baltimore in 1802 carried fur skins that came from the Illinois country. At Nashville in 1802 the first attempt was made to send cottons by the Ohio to Pittsburg in order to be thence conveyed to the remote parts of Pennsylvania. Michaux speaks of meeting several barges laden with cotton, near Marietta, "going up the river with a staff, and making about twenty miles a day." The merchants at this place received a considerable quantity of their goods from New Orleans by way of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Cumberland.

2. - Ibid., 252.
3. - Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 90.
4. - Ibid., 91.
5. - St. Clair, A., Papers, (Smith's Edition), II., 175.
7. - Ibid., III., 252.
8. - Ibid., III., 241. "It is now clearly demonstrated that the expense of conveying goods which go up the river again from New Orleans to Louisville, is not so great as that from Philadelphia to Limestone."
By April, 1802, the news of the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, according to the secret treaty of Ildefonso, October 1, 1803, reached the United States, and early in 1803 a treaty was negotiated giving the United States the possession of Louisiana. The purchase of Louisiana, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the increased importance of the New Orleans market may be set down as among the causes which led to the rapid growth of the western country. "Commerce came, bringing them a market for their products, offering rich rewards to industry, and stimulating labor to the highest point of exertion. She brought with her money, and the various representatives of money, established, credit, confidence, commercial intercourse, united action, and mutuality of interest. Through her influence the forests were penetrated by roads, bridges were thrown over rivers, and highways constructed through dreary morasses. Traveling was rendered easy, and transportation cheap. Through this influence the earth was made to yield its mineral treasures....agricultural products have increased.... manufactures....such have been the trophies of commerce."

In 1803 the Miami Exporting Company was created. Its object was to reduce the difficulty and expense of transportation by collecting the produce of the country and shipping it to New Orleans. At the time the association was formed, the agriculture and commerce of the West, were at the lowest point of depression. No artificial roads had been made; canals had not been thought of; the natural impediments in the rivers of the country rendered their

1.- Treaties and Conventions, 276.
2.- Ibid., 275-278.
4.- Burnet, J., Notes, 397-399.
navigation difficult and hazardous at all times, always tedious, and often impracticable; and when the water was at its most favorable stage, the distance of the principal port, the imperfect means of transportation, and the low price of produce were such, that a large portion of the avails of a cargo was consumed by the expense of taking it to market. The average time required to make a trip to New Orleans and back to Cincinnati was six months. The craft made use of were small, and the cargoes light, and when they arrived at New Orleans in flat boats, which could not be taken back, the boats were abandoned. The pirogues and keel boats returned with such articles as the market of New Orleans afforded. Under such disadvantages the commerce was nominal, and only necessity prompted the inhabitants to engage in it. For many years, the emigrants created the only demand for the surplus products of the interior settlements.

In the Spring and Fall of the year 1803, numerous trading boats destined for Kentucky, New Orleans, or the towns on the Spanish side of the Mississippi, were continually passing down the Ohio. They carried flour, whiskey, peach brandy, cider, bacon, iron, potter's ware, cabinet work, and other articles, all the produce or manufacture of the country. The boats used in this trade were called arks, were manned by four boatmen, carried no sail, and were capable of carrying from two to five hundred barrels of flour. Vessels were built at Elizabethtown, on the Monongahela, laden with the produce of the country, and sent to the West India Islands.

1. - Burnet, J., Notes, 396-397.
2. - Harris, T. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 334-335.
3. - Ibid., III., 334-335.
4. - Ibid., III., 338.
Harris speaks of meeting the ship "Pittsburg" of 275 tons burthen, from the same place, laden with 1700 barrels of flour. Articles of cabinet work, made at Pittsburg, supplied many of the settlements of the Ohio and Mississippi. The produce received by the merchants of this place, from the farmers, was sent to New Orleans, and the proceeds sent to the Atlantic States to meet their payments. The articles of merchandise brought over the mountains to Pittsburg were placed on trading boats, which floated down the river, stopping at the towns to sell their articles. These boats contributed much to the convenience of the settlers, by bringing to them the little necessaries which it would be very troublesome to go a great distance to procure.

Kentucky cordage and flour, and Monongahela flour were sent to New Orleans in 1804. During 1805, Monongahela flour, Kentucky tallow, and white baling rope were received at this port. Kentucky tobacco and Monongahela flour were advertised for sale at New Orleans in 1806.

During the dry season which usually prevailed during August and September, the Ohio was so low that a loaded boat could not descend from Pittsburg. Accordingly, when the boatmen found that they would not be able to reach Pittsburg in time, they ordered their goods sent to Wheeling, where the water was deep enough at all seasons. The merchants of Ohio at this time, 1807,

1.- Harris, T. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 353.
2.- Ibid., III., 343.
3.- Ibid.
4.- Ibid., 344.
5.- Louisiana Gasette, I., 15.
6.- Ibid., I., 29; I., 78.
7.- Ibid., I., 53.
8.- Ibid., II., 162; II., 171; I., 194; II., 169.
9.- Schultz, C., Travels, I., 125-126.
received their goods overland from Philadelphia and Baltimore, and some small supplies from Alexandria. Payments were made to them in the bulky produce of the country, which they sent to New Orleans. From the American Bottom in Illinois, great quantities of corn, pork, and other produce were sent to New Orleans. Schultz in his voyage down the Mississippi in 1808, met two boats from Green River loaded with tobacco; four with flour and whiskey from Cincinnati; two with horses from Limestone; two with cotton and tobacco from Cumberland; two with lime in bulk from Virginia; three from Pittsburgh with flour, whiskey and pork; five from Kentucky loaded with horses and tobacco; besides a great number of boats whose cargoes he does not mention. Floating stores with a various assortment of merchandise, among which were to be found copper stills, used for distilling peach and apple brandy, and rye whiskey, floated down the Ohio from Wheeling, stopping wherever they could find a market for their goods. Tobacco was exported down the Cumberland to Baltimore.

During the years 1807-10 we find advertised in the New Orleans papers, Monongahela and Kentucky flour, Kentucky beef and pork, Kentucky tobacco, Monongahela whiskey, Kentucky bogging, Kentucky cordage, Kentucky ham, and Kentucky packing.

1. - Schultz, C., Travels, II., 22.
2. - Ibid., II., 38.
3. - Ibid., II., 100.
4. - Ibid., II., 125.
5. - Ibid., II., 126.
6. - Ibid., II., 135-136.
8. - Ibid., IV., 279.
9. - Louisiana Gazette, VI., 648; III., 286.
10. - Louisiana Gazette, III., 286.
11. - Ibid., III., 298.
12. - Ibid., VI., 525.
13. - Ibid.
cloth. From the first of the year to May 16, 1808, 112 boats arrived in New Orleans by way of the Ohio. Schultz in 1808, says of New Orleans, "the levee in front is crowded with large vessels from every part of the world. They generally lie three deep, in a line extending from near the center of the town to 1/4 of a mile below. The same distance at the upper end is always lined with one or two hundred Kentucky boats and New Orleans boats, from the interior of the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee, as well as from the Territory of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Missouri. Two of those present along the levee I recognized as my own statesmen (New York). One of them was loaded with cherry plank from Chatoque Lake, and the other with ice, the latter of which they sold at 25 cents a pound."

Sugar was exported from New Orleans and sold along the river. West India goods were sent in barges by way of New Orleans to Louisville and Cincinnati. In the early part of the year 1811, sugar, hides, logwood crates, and other articles were shipped to Cincinnati from New Orleans. Nashville exported bales of cotton to Pittsburg in large keel boats requiring nine boatmen. Lead prepared at the mines was deposited at St. Genevieve, Louisiana, from whence it was sent up the Ohio as far as Pittsburg, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans, and distributed from these places through out the United States.

1.- Louisiana Moniteur, May 10, 1809.
2.- Louisiana Gazette, p 2, Col. 3. May 21, 1808.
3.- Schultz, C., Travels, II., 200.
4.- Cuming, F., Tour, Early W. Travels, IV., 264.
5.- Schultz, C., Travels, II., 126.
6.- Niles, Weekly Register, I., 71.
7.- Cuming, F., Tour, Early W. Travels, IV., 97.
8.- Schultz, C., Travels, II., 56.
CHAPTER III.

EMISSION. GROWTH OF THE RIVER TOWNS.

One of the greatest hindrances to the early settlement of the western territory was the continued hostility of the Indian tribes living in that portion of the country. The two leading causes of disquiet among the western people during the years 1787-1788 were due to this cause, and to the Spanish possession of the Mississippi. At Fort Harmar, January 9, 1789, one treaty was made with the Iroquois, confirming the previous one of October 22, 1784, at Fort Stanwix, and another with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, made in January 21, 1785.

These treaties were not respected, and the year 1790 saw the old frontier troubles renewed. The Wabash Indians, especially, who had not been bound by any treaty as yet, kept up incursions against the Kentucky settlers, and the emigrants down the Ohio. Three boats descending the Ohio River in March, 1790 were attacked by twenty-two Indians, above the Falls, and twenty-six horses, merchandise valued at from twelve to fifteen pounds, and several saddlebags containing cash were lost by being left in the two abandoned boats. "The pioneers who descended the Ohio on their

2.- American State Papers, V., Indian Affairs, I., 51.
3.- Ibid.
5.- St. Clair, A., Papers, (Smith's Edition), II., 135, 144.
way westward, will remember while they live, the lofty rock standing a short distance above the mouth of the Scioto, on the Virginia shore, which was occupied for years by the savages, as a favorite watch-tower, from which, ascending and descending, could be discovered at a great distance. The murders and depredations committed in that vicinity at all periods of the war were so shocking as to attract universal notice, and letters were written to General Harmar, from various quarters, calling his attention to the subject. They informed him that scarcely a boat passed the rocks without being attacked, and in most instances captured; and that unless something were done without delay, the navigation of the river would necessarily be abandoned. ¹ September 19, 1790 Governor St. Clair notified the War Department that the depredations continued on the Ohio and Wabash; that nearly every day brought an account of some new robbery or murder; and that shortly before this, a boat belonging to Colonel Vigo of Post Vincennes, was fired upon near the mouth of Blue River, and three men killed, and later, in attempting to ascend the Wabash, the boats were attacked and the crew's personal baggage and arms stolen. As the boat was navigated by Frenchmen, the Indians suffered them to depart with the peltries. ² Pope, in 1791, speaks of being frequently alarmed at the hostile appearance of Indians on both sides of the Ohio, who suspecting that the number of white men was greater than their own, were deterred from attacking them.

The savages who assailed the new settlements in the West, resided chiefly on the northwest side of the Ohio River. The

¹- Burnet, J., Notes, 94.
²- St. Clair, A., Papers, (Smith's Ed.), II., 184.
³- Pope, J., Tour, 22.
British government, alarmed at the advance of the United States westward, had established agencies among them for the sole purpose of keeping alive their hatred against the American people. The frequent, predatory movements of the savages, following in such rapid succession, produced universal alarm throughout the country, and the settlers began to think that they would be obliged to abandon it. The glorious campaign of General Wayne with his defeat of the western savages at the Battle of the Miami, 1794, put an end to this warfare. The Treaty of Greenville, signed by the various Indian nations, on August 3, 1795, and ratified by the Senate on December 22, closed the old Indian Wars of the West. In 1796, after some delay, the British government surrendered the northern posts, thus removing the danger from that quarter.

On July 13, 1787 the Ordinance of 1787 was passed; which because of its wise provisions and liberal terms, may be considered as one of the most important documents in our history. The whole territory lying north and west of the Ohio, extending to the Mississippi, and to the northern lakes, was comprehended within one district, for temporary government. The act contained a provision for the creation of not less than three, nor more than five States, each State to have at least 60,000 free population. The prohibition of slavery probably aided in attracting settlers to this region. The fourth article provided that "thenavigable waters leading into

1.- Burnet, J., Notes, 96.
2.- Ibid., 90.
3.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 166.
4.- Latrobe, C. J., Rambler in N. America, I., 103.
5.- American State Papers, V., Indian Affairs, I., 562.
6.- American State Papers, I., Foreign Relations, I., 40 or 30.
7.- Journals of Congress, XII., 58.
8.- Ibid., XII., 62.
the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territories, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of other States that may be admitted to the Confederacy without any tax, import, or duty therefor."

In the year 1787, the Ohio Company purchased 1,500,000 acres of land from Congress. The total price agreed upon was nearly three and a half million dollars, but the payment was made in public securities worth only about twelve cents on the dollar. Joel Barlow was sent to Europe to sell the lands, and a subordinate association, called the Scioto Company, was formed to aid him. Mr. Barlow made considerable sales to individuals and companies in France and many emigrants came to this country, who would have been ruined by the bad faith of the Company, had not the government generously interfered in their behalf. From 1790-1795 the Ohio Company expended more than $11,000 in defending their settlements, which was never repaid them by the United States. J. C. Symmes of New Jersey in 1787, entered into a contract with Congress for the purchase of a million acres between the two Miami Rivers. He finally paid for about one third of it, for which he received a patent.

The early adventurers to the Northwest Territory were men who had spent the prime of their lives in the War of Independence. Many of them had exhausted their fortunes in maintaining the desperate struggle, and retired to the wilderness to conceal their poverty.

Some of them were young men, descended from revolutionary patriots. Others were adventitious spirits to whom any change might be for the better.

The emigration westward, even in 1788, was very great, the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting forty-five hundred persons having passed that post between February and June of that year. Emigrants were constantly passing down the Ohio for Kentucky in 1789. Prior to the year 1795, the east side of the river, for about ten or twenty miles below Wheeling was generally well settled. There were few settlements on the opposite shore until the Muskingum River was reached, and from here to Limestone, "except at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway," the country on both sides of the river was a wilderness. "Till the years 1796-1797 the banks of the Ohio were so little populated that they scarcely consisted of thirty families in a space of four hundred miles."

From the time of the Treaty of Greenville the inhabitants in Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and the adjoining States, had gone on increasing with astonishing rapidity, and swarms were pressing forward from the new settlements even beyond the Mississippi. The emigrants from the Eastern States, established themselves in general on the Ohio. The emigrants from Jersey and Maryland spread themselves on both sides of the river, as they descended the Ohio, but during the years, 1793-1796, it was observed that they settled rather on the right than the left, particularly on both the Miamis.

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Winsor, J., Narrative and Critical History, VII., 535.

1. - Burnet, J., Notes, 42.
2. - Peck, J. M., Annals, 324.
4. - Imlay, G., Description of N. America, 28.
the Muskingum, the Great and Little Sciotos, and the Wabash.

During this time the population of Kentucky did not increase much, owing to the dearness of land, and the uncertainty of tenures, which led the emigrants to prefer the Northwest Territory, where the land was equally good, and the titles indisputable. Emigrants from Virginia and North Carolina went into Kentucky, and those from the Carolinas and Georgia settled in Tennessee. Before the close of the year 1796, the white population of the Northwest had increased to about five thousand, chiefly distributed in the lower valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami Rivers, and on their small tributaries, within fifty miles of the Ohio River.

By an act of May 7, 1800, the Northwest Territory was divided into two parts and placed under separate territorial governments; the western division was called Indiana. The population was divided into three settlements, which were widely separated. One of these was at the Falls of the Ohio opposite Louisville; another at Vincennes, and distant from the first more than one hundred miles; and the other comprised the French population in the tract extending from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, on the Mississippi, two hundred miles from Vincennes. Illinois from 1800 to 1809, made a part of the Indiana Territory, and was, during that period, under the laws and jurisdiction of that Territory. February 3, 1809, the Territory of Illinois was established by an Act of Congress. April 30, 1802, Congress passed the Enabling Act for the formation

2. - Ibid., I., 107.
4. - Poore, B. P., Charters and (Constitutions, II., 1453. Hins-
of the State of Ohio, and on February 19, 1803, passed an "act to provide for the execution of the laws of the United States within the State of Ohio."

Ohio is described by one traveler as being settled by "people from New England, the region of industry, economy, and steady habits." As early as 1800 a New England emigrant was not common, the settlers coming principally from Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, and some from Pennsylvania.

In 1800 there were about twelve hundred French Creoles and from eight hundred to one thousand Americans living in Illinois about nine-tenths of the State being occupied by the Indians. The first colony of Europeans who formed a settlement in Illinois were Irish, and located on the Ohio River in 1804 or 1805. From 1805-1809 the whole country on the margin of the Ohio, Wabash, and Mississippi Rivers, from where Alton now stands to Vincennes, commenced to improve.

The population of the States increased during this period as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1810</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>90,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>132,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>230,760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,282</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>73,677</td>
<td>220,959</td>
<td>406,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri (1799)</td>
<td>6,005</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,845</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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1. Poore, B. P., Charters and Constitutions, II., 1464.
4. Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 32,41.
5. Ibid., 286.
6. Ibid., 97.
In the early part of the great era of westward emigration the most important thoroughfare from the New England and Middle States to the Ohio Valley was the Pennsylvania Road, or "Pittsburg Pike" built in 1785-1787 by Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature. It extended 197 miles from Carlisle to Pittsburg. Even after the construction of the Cumberland 1806-1818, from Cumberland, Maryland to Wheeling, Virginia, (and subsequently as far west as Vandalia, Illinois), the majority of traders and travelers from Baltimore and Washington, as well as from more northern points, made use of this route, coming into it generally from McConnells-town, 130 miles from Pittsburg. The few roads that crossed the mountains, were so wretchedly bad that wagons toiled over them with great difficulty, and a large portion of the merchandise was carried on the backs of horses. The emigrants came out in wagons covered with tow cloth, and drawn by oxen, or by two and four horse teams. Upon reaching Pittsburg, the horses and wagons were sold at a great sacrifice, or were carried down the Ohio River to the new home of the emigrant.

Pittsburg, the great gateway of the West, stood at the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers joined to form the Ohio River, and was the usual point of embarkation for emigrants bound down the river. As early as the year 1784 Pittsburg was inhabited almost entirely by the Scotch and Irish who lived in

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1. Fordham, E. P., Travels, 59 (foot note.)
3. Forman, S. S., Journey, 120.
6. Ibid., 23.
paltry log houses. A good deal of trade was carried on, the goods being brought from Baltimore and Philadelphia at the expense of 45 shillings per hundred, and exchanged by the merchants in the shops, for money, wheat, flour and skins. Merchandise was sent from Pittsburg in Keels and flatboats down the Ohio to Limestone the town and Louisville. In the spring of the year 1784 was laid out and surveyed by Col. George Woods, by order of Teucle Francis, attorney for John Penn, and J. Penn, Junior. John Pope in 1790 gives most anything but a pleasing account of the town. He says, "The town at present, is inhabited with only some few exceptions, by mortals who act as if possessed of a charter of exclusive privilege to filch from, annoy, and harass her fellow creatures, particularly the incautious and necessitous; many who have emigrated from various parts of Kentucky can verify the charge. Goods of every description are dearer in Pittsburg than in Kentucky, which I attribute to a combination of pensioned scoundrels who infest the place." The increase of the town was not rapid until the year 1793, in consequence of the inroads of the savage tribes which impeded the growth of the neighboring settlements. The Western insurrection more generally known as the "Whiskey War," once more made this the scene of commotion, and is said to have given pittsburg a new and revising impulse, by throwing a considerable sum of money into circulation. From that time it increased rapidly, and on April 22, 1794 was incorporated as a borough. In 1795 Pittsburg contained about two hundred houses, fifty brick and frame, and the remainder log 6.
The surplus produce of the country about Pittsburg, was, during this time, consumed by the numerous emigrants who were continually passing down the Ohio. Goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore were sent to Pittsburg, stored there in warehouses, and later sent down the Ohio to Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Northwest Territory. The gain on these goods sent to Kentucky was about 33 per cent. Little effort had been made to establish manufactures, even for articles of the first necessity, these being obtained from Philadelphia and Baltimore at exorbitant prices. The carriage from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was from $8 to $10, and from Baltimore $7 to $8, two wagons, nevertheless, coming from Philadelphia against one from Baltimore.

Boat building was carried on in Pittsburg at this time, but Collot advised travelers to buy their boats on the Monongahela, where the greater number were built as they would in that way be able to save much time and about one-third of the expense. By the year 1802 the ship building industry had assumed importance in Pittsburg, one of the principal ship yards being upon the Monongahela. The lumber being near at hand rendered the expense of building less than that in the Atlantic States. The cordage was manufactured at Redstone and Lexington, and sent also to Marietta and Louisville where ships were built. In 1802 a three mast vessel of 150 tons and bin of 90 were launched at Pittsburg, and during the spring of 1803, three ships from 160 to 275 tons were launched.

6. (Cont.) Chapman, T., Journey, 359.
Collot, V., Journey, I., 137-138. (Says there were about 150 houses.
1. Imlay, G., Description of N. America, 24-25.
3. Ibid., II., 197.
4. Ibid., II., 198.
5. Ibid., I., 39.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 23-24; 33-34.
The merchants living in or near Pittsburg were either the partners, or else the factors, belonging to the houses of Philadelphia. Trading boats were sent out from Pittsburg to supply the settlements along the River.

Schultz, 1807, writes thus of Pittsburg, "There are probably between 60 and 70 stores, well stocked with every kind of goods. The price of wagon carriage from this distance, (Philadelphia and Baltimore), is $5 and $6 a hundred pounds weight. It contains between 400 and 500 houses. From the best information I could collect, it is supposed to contain at least 2500 inhabitants, the most of whom are German and Irish settlers from various parts of Pennsylvania and Maryland. This town has likewise a number of public buildings, principally built of brick. Ship building is carried on here with considerable spirit; they have already launched about one dozen brigs and schooners. Boat building, boat buying, and boat selling seem to be part of the business of at least half of the town. Pittsburg has likewise a considerable number of factories established already, among which may be enumerated distilleries, breweries, printing presses, an air furnace, a glass house and cotton factory; likewise, smaller establishments for the manufacture of nails, brushes, ropes, copperware, tinware, and earthenware, with many others too tedious to mention. Pittsburg appears to be in the "full tide of successful experiment."

Fort Washington was established on the present site of

2.- Harris, T. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 344.
3.- Schultz, C., Travels, I., 124-126.
Cincinnati in 1789, and at that time, the settlement numbered 20 log cabins. In 1792, fifty persons were added by emigration, and in 1802 the Territorial legislature incorporated the town of Cincinnati. The population of Cincinnati, 1792, consisted of about 250 inhabitants, living in 30 log cabins; within the next four years the population increased to 600, and the cabins to 100, besides which there were about 15 frame houses, with stone chimneys. Collot in 1796 says, "The town of Cincinnati contains already 300 families. The spot offers no advantage for commerce; and it is probable that when the army shall have left this place, whatever industry it possesses will be carried to the little town of Newport." Such was this traveler's opinion of the town which was later to become one of the greatest commercial centers of the Ohio country. By the year 1805 the population did not exceed 500; in 1807 Cincinnati contained about 300 houses, had a bank, market-house, printing office, and a number of stores well stocked with every kind of merchandise in demand in the country. About the year 1808 a disastrous period commenced which lasted until 1818, during which a short period of imprudent banking and wild speculation ensued, which proved disastrous to the city. In 1810 Cincinnati contained 2320 inhabitants.

1. Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 105-106.
   Howe, H., Historical Collections of Ohio, 206.
   Burnet, J., Notes, 46-47.
2. Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 106.
   Chapman, T., Journey, 360. (Says there were 260 houses in 1795)
   Niles, Weekly Register, XIX., 422.
   Hall, J., The West, 266.
Wheeling settled in 1770, contained in the year 1795 about 50 log and frame houses. Harris in 1803 says that "Wheeling is increasing very rapidly in population and in prosperous trade; and is, next to Pittsburg, the most considerable place of embarkation to traders and emigrants, anywhere in the western waters. During the dry season, great quantities of merchandise are brought hither, designed to supply the inhabitants on the Ohio River, and the waters that flow into it, as boats can go from hence, when they cannot from higher up the river. Boat building is carried on at this place to a great extent, and several large keel boats and some vessels have been built." At this point the great post roads from Philadelphia, Baltimore and Northern Virginia united, and crossed the river, on the route through the States of Ohio and Kentucky, to Tennessee, and New Orleans. In 1807 Wheeling contained about 200 houses, amongst which there was a considerable number of stores, well supplied with every kind of merchandise. It still continued to draw trade away from Pittsburg, many of the lower country merchants preferring to send their goods overland to this place, rather than risk a detention of 3 or 4 weeks at Pittsburg.

The settlement of the Ohio Company's purchase commenced in April 1788, when they planted the colony of Marietta at the junction of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. By the end of the year about 300 persons had settled in Marietta, and aside from these there was not a single white family within the present bounds of

1.- Collot, V., Journey, I., 132-133.
2.- Harris, T. M., Tour, Early W. Travels, III., 349.
3.- Cuming, F., Tour, Early W. Travels, IV., 112.
4.- Schultz, C., Travels, I., 136-137.
5.- Burnet, J., Notes, 56.
    Peck, J. M., Annals, 322.
Ohio. In 1795 the town contained about 200 wooden houses, and was protected from the attacks of the Indians by soldiers stationed there. From 1790-1795 the Indians were very troublesome and stole a great number of horses from the settlers. The population, at this time, was composed of five or six hundred families from New England and a few unfortunate French families, the victims of American land speculators, and of the ignorance of the chiefs of the Scioto Company.

As early as the year 1798 or 1799 Commodore Preble built a brig of 120 tons at this place, which probably was the first sea vessel launched in the western waters. "The inhabitants of Marietta were the first that had an idea of exporting directly to the Carribee Islands the produce of the country, in a vessel built in their own town, which they sent to Jamaica. The success which crowned this first attempt excited such emulation among the inhabitants of that part of the western country, that several new vessels were launched at Pittsburg and Louisville, and expedited to the Isles, or to New York and Philadelphia." The ship yard at Marietta was on the Muskingum, and there in 1803 was built the brig "Mary Avery" of 130 tons. The ship building industry increased; ships completely equipped for sea at $50 a ton, brigs, schooners, and busses were built at Marietta in 1807. Schultz says, "Ship building is carried on here with more spirit than any other town on the Ohio." From 1801-1808 ship building was carried on

3. - Collot, V., Journey, 71.
7. - Cuming, F., Tour, Early W. Travels, IV., 123.
8. - Schultz, C., Travels, I., 182.
9. - Ibid., I., 142.
with great spirit at Marietta, not less than 20 ships, brigs, and schooners, from 150 to 450 tons being built, besides some gunboats. The embargo of 1808 overwhelmed several of these merchants with ruin, especially such as had ships on hand unsold. One man who had a ship in New Orleans at the time lost $10,000 on her and the cargo. No town in the United States suffered so much as this, according to its capital. Three extensive rope walks, working up large quantities of hemp raised in the country, and furnishing rigging for the ships, were put out of employ, and in a few years fell into ruins. The business of the town did not revive for many years.

Limestone, Kentucky, in 1790 was a little town and the point where emigrants from Virginia disembarked. It later, 1796, became the depot for whatever goods passed from Baltimore and Philadelphia to Kentucky. The growth of the town was slow, and in 1807 they were only 80 houses. Schultz says, "from the great number of boats of every description lying along the shore, it must have a very considerable share of business. Ship building, I was informed, is likewise carried on with much spirit, but I saw nothing of the kind going on while I was there."

Louisville was, in 1796, a small settlement containing from 80 to 100 houses. This was one of the earliest settlements on the Ohio and was rendered the more important at that time, by

2. Ibid., 309.
3. Ogden, C. W., Early W. Travels, XIX., 34.
5. Imlay, G., Description of North America, 27.
8. Collot, V., Journey, I., 150.
its position at the Falls of the Ohio. All the boats which touched at Louisville to take pilots were obliged to ascend the river more than two miles above the town to gain the current on the opposite side, which led to considerable expense and loss of time. This disadvantage in the situation of the town probably prevented it from increasing. The Falls were occasioned by a bed of rocks extending from one side of the river to the other. There was a fall of 22 1/2 feet in two miles. In the year 1807 the legislature of Kentucky had incorporated a Company for the purpose of opening a canal around the Falls. At this time Louisville contained 120 houses. Ship and boat building was carried on with considerable spirit. Pilots were appointed to conduct boats over the falls, at the price of $2 per boat.

Steubenville, Ohio, laid out in 1798, and incorporated as a town in 1805, contained, in 1807, about 130 houses, a number of brick buildings, and several stores well stocked with every kind of merchandise. Chillicothe, was laid out on the Scioto by Nathaniel Massie in 1796. Galliopolis, settled in 1791, by a French colony, is a good example of the bad faith of the Scioto Company. This town rapidly declined.

Fort Vincents and Jeffersonville, Indiana, were in 1796, small villages, one of 50 houses, and the other 40 houses.

1.- Collot, V., Journey, I., 150.  
2.- Ibid., I., 192.  
3.- Ibid., I., 180-192.  
4.- Ibid., I., 190.  
5.- Ibid.  
6.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 413.  
7.- Howe, H., Historical Collections of Ohio, 271.  
8.- Ibid., I., 134.  
9.- Howe, H., Historical Collections of Ohio, 177.  
11.- Volney, C. F., View of Climate, etc., 368.  
12.- Schultz, C., Travels, I., 192.
In 1796 a large number of merchants had already established themselves at Frankfort on the Kentucky River, which was navigable for the largest boats ten months in the year. Henderson, Kentucky, carried on a considerable export trade 1807-1809.

Shawneetown, Illinois, made its first appearance in 1805 and 1806, and increased considerably for some time. Great fleets of Keel boats concentrated at this point, engaged in the salt, and other traffic, and diffused life and energy to the new colonies. Cuming says, 1807-1809, "there were several trading boats, and more appearance of business than I had seen on this side of Pittsburg."

Brownsville, on the Monongahela, and McKeesport on the Youghiogheny carried on an extensive boat-building business, in 1803, furnishing craft for the emigrants.

Such was the beginning of the early rivers towns of the West, many of which were destined, as agriculture, manufactures, and trade developed, to become great commercial centres.

3. Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 100.
CHAPTER I.

THE COMING OF THE STEAMBOAT.

The application of steam power to the purposes of navigation, forms the brightest era in the history of the West. It was that which contributed more than any other single cause to the advancement of Western prosperity. The amount of produce raised for consumption, and for export was very great, and the people were, therefore, liberally disposed to purchase foreign products. The amount of commercial capital employed, as compared with the population was great. The introduction of the steamboat extended the channels of intercourse, and brought the different parts of the country more closely together.

"The first fruits of the enterprise were far from encouraging; failure after failure attested the numerous and embarrassing difficulties by which it was surrounded. For although all the early boats were capable of being propelled through the water, and although the last was usually better than those which preceded it, it was long a doubtful question, whether the invention could be made practically useful upon our western rivers, and it was not until five years of experiment and the building of nine expensive steamboats, that the public mind was convinced by the brilliant exploit of the Washington, which made the trip from Louisville to New Orleans and back in 45 days."

The substitution of machinery for manual labor occasioned a vast diminution in the number of men required for the river

1.- Hall, J., The West, 10-11.
navigation. A steamboat with the same crew as a barge, was able to carry ten times the burden, and perform her voyage in a much shorter space of time.

The complete success attending the experiments in steam navigation made on the Hudson and the adjoining waters previous to 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western rivers; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston, and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. Mr. Roosevelt surveyed the rivers from Pittsburg to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former town. This was done under his direction, and in the course of 1811 the first boat was launched on the Ohio. It was called the New Orleans, and intended to ply between Natchez, Mississippi, and the city whose name it bore. In October it left Pittsburg for its experimental voyage. On this occasion no freight or passengers were taken. Mr. Roosevelt, his wife, and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics, formed her whole burden. There were no wood yards at that time and constant delays were unavoidable.

1.- Hall, J., Sketches, II., 72.
3.- Ibid.
   Peck, J. M., Annals, 592.
   Thomas, D., Travels, 272.
5.- Ibid.
Louisiana Gazette, October 9, 1811. "A steamboat was advertised to sail from Pittsburg for this place on the 20th Ult. She is intended, we are informed, to be a regular packet between New Orleans and Natchez."
Late at night on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburg, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been but 70 hours descending upwards of 700 miles. The small depth of waters in the Rapids prevented the boat from pursuing her voyage immediately, and during the consequent detention of 3 weeks, in the upper part of the Ohio, several trips were successfully made between Louisville and Cincinnati. Then the waters rose, and in the course of the last week in November the voyage was resumed, the depth of water barely admitting the passage of the boat. They reached their destination at Natchez, at the close of the first week in January, 1812, having passed through a severe earthquake on the way. The Louisiana Gazette notices her arrival at New Orleans on January 11th. This steamboat continued to run between New Orleans and Natchez, making her voyage average seventeen days. She was wrecked in 1813 or 1814.

From 1812-1817, the following steam boats were built and launched upon the Ohio River. The Comet, a boat of 25 tons was built at Pittsburg. She descended to Louisville in the summer of 1813; reached New Orleans in the spring of the year 1814; made two voyages from thence to Natchez, and was there sold.

The steamboat Vesuvius of 400 tons was launched at Pittsburg in December 1813, designed as a regular trader between the falls of Ohio and New Orleans. In April, 1814, she sailed from Pittsburg, having been successfully tested in several trial trips

3. Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 173. Says that the boat descended from Pittsburg to New Orleans in 259 hours.
4. Louisiana Gazette, January 11, 1812. p. 3. col. 3.
6. Ibid., 123.
7. Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 197.
of four and five miles up and down the Ohio and Monongahela. Her
voyage from Pittsburg to Shippingsport was made in 67 1/2 hours,
from Shippingsport to Natchez in 125 1/2 hours, from Natchez to
New Orleans in 33 hours, total 227 hours. She was employed for
some months between New Orleans and Natchez, and was finally de-
stroyed by fire.

The steamboat Enterprise, built on the Monongahela,
arrived at Pittsburg in July, 1814, designed as a packet between
that place and the Falls of the Ohio. She was tried against the
current of the Monongahela, unusually high and rapid for the season,
and made 3 1/2 miles an hour, and then returned with the stream in
ten minutes. Having reached New Orleans, the Enterprise made five
trips to the Balize, and one to the Rapids of Red River. One of
the trips to Natchez was made in four days, a distance of 313 miles,
against the strong current of the Mississippi River, without the
aid of sails. Another trip from New Orleans, to Beardstown, 1500
miles against the current was made in 25 days. In August, 1815,
this steamboat reached Brownsville, in ballast, having discharged
her cargo at Pittsburg. The Enterprise was the first steamboat
that ever made the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi and back.
The voyage up the rivers, about 2200 miles, was made in 54 days,
20 days being employed in loading and unloading freight at the
river towns.

Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 198.
2. - Ibid., VI., 320.
3.- Hall, J., The West, 124.
   Niles, Weekly Register, X., 400.
4.- Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 320.
5.- Ibid., VIII., 320.
6.- Ibid., VIII., 404.
The Buffalo, of 285 tons, was launched at Pittsburg in July 1814, designed to ply between that place and Louisville, once a month. The Despatch, owned as well as the Enterprise, by the Monongahela and Ohio steam-boat Company was built at Bridgeport in 1815, and was expected to pass through the water at the rate of nine miles an hour. The Etna, in 1816, performed a voyage from the Falls of Ohio to New Orleans in 15 days. The Oliver Evans, built at Pittsburg in 1816, was intended for the conveyance of passengers and goods on the Ohio and Mississippi. The Washington, built at Wheeling in 1816, was the boat which made the voyage from Louisville to New Orleans and returned in 45 days, convincing the public that steamboat navigation on the western waters would succeed. Her boilers were on the upper deck, and she was the first boat on that plan. The James Monroe, the Franklin and the Harriett, were also built at Pittsburg.

That the importance of the steamboat to the commerce of New Orleans was clearly recognized as early as 1815, is shown by the following newspaper article. "We have had undoubted proofs of the good effects of the steamboat navigation between this city (New Orleans) and Natchez, and why not extend its beneficial effects to the Ohio and to the different navigable streams emptying into that river. The want of public spirit, properly directed, has retarded the salutary object so long. If enterprising men would pro-

1.- Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 520.
"Louisiana Gazette, July 5, 1814. "She has two cabins, and four State rooms for private families, and will conveniently accommodate 100 persons with beds."

2.- Ibid., VIII., 404.
"Louisiana Gazette, July 26, 1814. "The steamboat Buffalo arrived at Maysville on Thursday in 48 hours from Pittsburg."

3.- Ibid., X., 96.
4.- Ibid., XI., 106.
5.- Ibid., X., 349.
6.- Hall, J., The West, 125-126.
7.- Ibid.
8.- Ibid.
pose and form associations and companies for building steamboats on the different navigable waters west of the Allegheny mountains. It is reasonable to suppose that few men of capital would withhold their support. Surely interest most clearly points out something like the foregoing plan to immediately operate in favor of the trade of the rivers Ohio and Mississippi. The steamboats now in use cannot carry one twentieth part of the goods that might be in demand from this city. Experience alone will establish what size of boats, or draught of water will be best for the navigation of both rivers. It appears very reasonable, however, to suppose that the boats of small draught of water would be best calculated for the Ohio, taking into consideration the different stages of the water and how subject that river is to fall very low. To the commercial interest of New Orleans the steam navigation is of immense consideration, the vast sums of money annually paid in Philadelphia and Baltimore for goods, and carried over the mountains in wagons, would concentrate here. View the course of trade. The merchants of Cincinnati, Lexington, Nashville, and the small towns in the western states, after the extreme labor, anxiety and expense of getting their goods carried from the seaboard by land, are obliged to receive produce in payment, which is floated down to this city, and converted into money for the coffers of the New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore importers—whereas, if the steamboats were in complete operation, the whole western states could be supplied with every kind of goods here, and on better terms than they now are from Philadelphia and Baltimore. But certainly it is not chimerical to say that if exertions are not made by individuals, or companies through views of gain or otherwise to bring more
steamboat tonnage into use for the western trade, it would have been better (as it relates to that trade) that the steam boats had never been in operation—then the old laborious, tedious barging would have continued in full vigor."

The steamboats, making occasional trips up and down the river, created great excitement along the banks, and at the towns and villages their arrival and landings were great occasions. These boats were a queer style of water craft, as they had not assumed the forms that were afterward found to be suited to the river navigation. Their builders copied the models of ships adapted to deep water, and the boats all drew too much water to be available in the dry season, so that they could not be used on the upper Ohio more than about three months in the year. They looked just like a small ship without masts. Some of them were of peculiar models, and all of them had very little power in comparison with boats built later. The first boats had no more decking than a common sailing vessel. Very few of them could make over 2 or 3 miles against the stream when it was strong.

When Fulton commenced steamboat building, he patented the side paddle wheels, and held a monopoly of that form of boat. Niles notes the following incidents arising from this monopoly. "Mr. Livingston of New Orleans under a patent of the State of Louisiana, as the assignee of Fulton and Livingston's exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi and its waters, by steam, so far as respects the navigation from New Orleans to and up the Red River, has

1. Louisiana Gazette, October 24, 1815.
2. Howells, W. C., Recollections, 73.
3. Ibid., 74.
prevented the steamboat Despatch, of Pittsburg, from taking a
return cargo at New Orleans, though it appears she is worked
by machinery quite distinct from that under the aforesaid patent.
He has, however, permitted her to go out of the limits of the State
without incurring a penalty. The procedure appears likely to
create much sensation in the "western world." "The Louisville
Correspondent" announces a second attempt of the Livingston steam-
boat company to interrupt the steam navigation of the Mississippi
by boats not under their charter. The procedure excites much sen-
sibility in the western world." "The question of Fulton and
Livingston's privilege is again agitated by a suit brought in the
federal court of New Orleans, against the steamboat Constitution.
We wait with anxiety the result of a question involving the most
prominent interests of W. America." The evasion in many of the
western boats consisted of placing a wheel on each side of the keel
at the stern of the vessel, so that the wheels were out of sight
from behind.

The General Pike, built at Cincinnati in 1818, and in-
tended to ply as a packet between Maysville, Cincinnati, and Louis-
ville, is said to have been the first steam boat constructed on the
western waters for the exclusive convenience of passengers. The
length of her cabin was 40 feet, the breadth 25 feet, in addition to
which there were fourteen state rooms.

The Post-Boy, built at New Albany, in 1819, was intended
for the conveyance of mail between Louisville and New Orleans, under

1.- Niles, Weekly Register, X., 231-232. June 1, 1816.
2.- Ibid., XI., 208. November 23, 1816.
3.- Ibid., XIV., 312. June 27, 1818.
4.- Howells, W. C., Recollections, 74.
an act of Congress, passed March, 1819. This was the first attempt on western waters to carry the mail in steam boats.

Steamboats now multiplied rapidly on the western rivers. In 1817, nine were building on the Ohio and Mississippi, sufficient to make the total number of twenty on those waters. In 1818 there were about twenty-five boats, and the Weekly Register of November 7, says, "Our Western papers inform us of the launching of several new steamboats, and they seem to be building by dozens." The trade between New Orleans and the upper and adjacent country was carried on in this year, by twenty steamboats carrying about 4000 tons, although about nine-tenths of the entire trade was still carried on in the usual craft. Nuttall in 1819, says that there were at that period, about seventy-five steamboats upon the Mississippi and its tributaries, but that owing to the general and unfavorable fluctuation in the commerce of the United States, the number had become greater than their actual employment would warrant. The boats ascending to a point below the Falls were from 300 to 500 tons burthen. Of the 40 boats, built since 1812, 7 had been wrecked, burned, or abandoned, 33 were still plying from place to place, and 28 new ones were building in 1819.

From this time on, the boats multiplied very rapidly; 72 were employed in 1821; in 1826 the navigation of the Mississippi

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1.- Hall, J., The West, 127-128.  
2.- Niles, Weekly Register, XIII., 112.  
3.- Birkbeck, M., Notes, 133. "from 50 to 400 tons burthen."  
4.- Niles, Weekly Register, XV., 175.  
5.- Ibid., XIV., 439.  
6.- Birkbeck, M., Notes, 135.  
7.- Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, XIII., 317.  
8.- Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, IX., 286. "Says that there were 60 boats."  
9.- Niles, Weekly Register, XVI., 144.  
10.- Ibid., XX., 416.
and Ohio was carried on in 95 boats; in 1827, 109 steamboats, averaging 170 tons were employed in the trade of these rivers; and in 1829, about 200 boats, whose tonnage may be stated at 35,000 tons, were plying on these rivers.

"The following is a list of the steamboats built on the western waters from 1811-1830."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Now Running</th>
<th>Lost or Worn Out</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1811</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1814</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Known</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

321 188 133

1.- Niles, Weekly Register, XXIX., 305.
2.- Ibid., XXXIII., 181.
3.- Hall, J., The West, 129.
"Add to this number 188, 15 boats finished this spring (1830) and now running, and 10 built in the last, and the whole number now running on the western waters will be 213. Of this number 86 were built at Cincinnati."

Of the 133 lost or worn out there were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worn out</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost by snags</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burned</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost by collision</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By other accidents</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the steamboats were perfected, their speed was greatly increased, rendering communication between the different ports easy and rapid. In 1817, a steamboat made the voyage from the Falls to New Orleans, with a full cargo, in seven days. The steamboat Vesuvius, in the following year, made the passage from Louisville to New Orleans, 1600 miles, in the same space of time. The average speed of a vessel heavily laden was about 60 miles a day. In 1819, the James Ross, coming from New Orleans to Louisville, made the voyage in 14 days. In 1824 the passage from New Orleans to Shipingsport was made in 11 days and 2 1/2 hours, said to be the shortest passage by 12 hours that was ever made up to that time.

1.- Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 97.
2.- Ibid., XII., 143.
3.- Ibid., XV., 267.
4.- Birkbeck, M., Notes, 133.
5.- Niles, Weekly Register, XVI., 319.
6.- Ibid., XXVI., 251.
In 1826 the passage down was made in 6 days, as against 12 to 14 days in 1817; and from 10 to 14 days were required to come up stream as against 22 days in 1817. The steamboat, Lady Washington performed a voyage, in 1827, from Pittsburg to Nashville and back, 2600 miles, in less than 17 days. In the same year, the Huntress made the voyage from New Orleans to Louisville, in 8 days and 11 hours, having lost 10 hours in a fog. The first boat ascending the Allegheny, 1827, proceeded up the river at four or five miles an hour, and returned at the rate of ten miles an hour. A shipment made in 1827, from the port of New York via New Orleans, by the ship Illinois, reached St. Louis in 29 1/2 days. The distance was 3300 miles, and there was a delay of probably two days at New Orleans while the goods were transferred from ship to steamboat.

In 1818, rates for passengers from New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio was $95; from New Orleans to Shawneetown $105; to Shippingsport $125; children from 2 to 10 years at half price; children under two at one fourth price; and servants at half price. The passage up the river to the Falls, in 1819, cost $100, including provisions; from Shippingsport to New Orleans the cost was $75. The passage up the river to Cincinnati from New Orleans in 1823 was $50; Cincinnati to New Orleans, $25; Cincinnati to Louisville, $4; Louisville to Cincinnati, $6; Cincinnati to Pittsburg, $15; Pittsburg to Cincinnati, $12; Cincinnati to Wheeling, $14; and from Wheeling to Cincinnati $10. In 1827 the passage up the river

1. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXIX., 305.
2. - Ibid., XXXII., 35.
3. - Ibid., XXXII., 229.
4. - Ibid., XXXII., 148.
5. - Ibid., XXXII., 224.
6. - Ibid., XV., 384.
7. - Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 197.
8. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXV., 95.
to Louisville was about eight pounds, which included every expense of living. Many of the vessels carried seven hundred passengers, besides merchandise. A year later, the regular charge for a cabin passenger was $35 from New Orleans to Louisville; for a deck passenger the rate was $10, $2 being struck off, if they were willing to assist in carrying wood. By 1830 passage from Louisville to New Orleans and back was reduced to $30 each way.

Steamboats with their safety barges in tow were to be seen on the Ohio. The Merchant from Pittsburg to Cincinnati, having in two her safety barge with 95 passengers, in 1826, was the first attempt of the kind. The barge had 52 berths and 3 cabins. The steamboat had 2 cabins.

Goods were carried, about the year 1818, at 6 1/4 cents per pound weight, by 1820 the increase of craft, together with the decreasing quantity of goods imported, had lowered the freight from New Orleans to the Falls of the Ohio to 2 cents per pound. In 1829-1830 goods were delivered at the wharf of Cincinnati for one dollar per hundred pounds, from Philadelphia by way of New Orleans.

The larger boats, on account of the shallowness of the water, usually ascended no farther than Shippingsport. The navigation of the Ohio was often obstructed part of the year by large masses of floating ice. From the middle of February or the first of March to the end of June, and in October or November were the best seasons for navigating the Ohio.

1. Bullock, W., Journey, Early W. Travels, XIX.
2. Hall, B., Travels, III., 368-369, 349, 128-129.
3. Flint, T., History and Geography. Appendix, 212.
6. Ibid., IX., 286.
7. Ibid., XIV., 92.
8. Ibid., XIV., 174.
9. Ibid., XIV., 76.
The steamboats were in constant danger from Planters, Sawyers, and Wooden Islands in the river. A Planter was a tree rooted fast to the bottom of the river and rotted off level with the water. Sawyers were less firmly rooted, and rose and fell with the water, being more dangerous when they pointed down stream. Wooden Islands were logs accumulated against planters. From 1822-1827, the loss of property on the Ohio and Mississippi by snags alone, including steam and flat boats, and their cargoes, amounted to $1,362,500. The losses on the same items, from 1827-1832, were reduced to $381,000 in consequence of the beneficial action of the snag boats. These boats, constructed under the direction of the government, were successful in removing these obstacles at small expense, and with great facility.

As the settlements and business of the valley of the Ohio increased, the danger, delay, and expense of passing the Falls of that river, became a subject of general solicitude. Men of intelligence and enterprise, who were engaged in the river trade at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and the intermediate towns, having been subjected to the inconvenience and expense caused by that obstruction, from the first settlement of the country, began to discuss the question, whether the difficulty could not be removed. William Noble, an enterprising merchant of Cincinnati, found that, at the time when the commerce of the West was in its infancy, the loss sustained by traders residing above the Falls, amounted in one year to $80,000, including storage, drayage, cooperage, commissions, and the wages of hands during the delay.

1. Fordham, E. P., Travels, 81-82.
4. Burnet, J., Notes, 491.
The Falls were impassable for steamboats, except during the high floods which usually occurred in the spring and continued for a few days only at a time. They were passed by means of a laborious and expensive portage, extending from Louisville to Shippingsport, a distance of two and a half miles. To remedy these inconveniences, the Louisville and Portland Canal was built round the Falls. The first steamboat that passed through the Canal was the Uncas, on December 21, 1829. This work, which was intended as a great benefit to the commerce of the West, seemed to have failed in accomplishing that purpose, for the following reasons: I. During the greater part of the year it afforded the only outlet for the productions of the larger portion of the Ohio Valley, and the only channel of ingress for the valuable imports of the same region. It was found that boats of great length were those of the greatest speed, and best suited to the navigation of the rivers, and the character of the trade. The length which was found most convenient was greater than the dimension of the locks of the Canal, and thus the boats best adapted to the trade between Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and other ports on the upper Ohio, and St. Louis or New Orleans, were excluded from that commerce, and a smaller class of boats, which were much less profitable, were exclusively employed.

II. The width of the Canal was such that steamboats could not pass each other within it, nor could a loaded boat work her way through, but by a great effort, which occasioned a great loss of time.

3. Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 355.
III. Excessive tolls were levied, thus imposing an unjust burden upon the owners of the boats navigating the Ohio. The government, as a stockholder, participated in these profits.

In spite of these various adverse conditions, steamboats on the Ohio and Mississippi rapidly increased, and gradually took the place of the slower and more clumsy draft which had formerly enjoyed a monopoly of the carrying trade on those rivers.

CHAPTER II.

OTHER CRAFT OF THE PERIOD.

The primitive forms of craft continued in use, upon the Ohio River, long after the introduction of the steamboat. The business of the country was small, and a few boats served the purpose. It was only after the steamboats had become very common, growing in numbers with the country, that they absorbed the great part of the carrying trade.

The lumber from the upper river was all rafted, and in the spring and early summer, when the water was high, the rafts were a leading feature of the river life. They were made up through the winter on the small branches of the Allegheny, and floated out on the first spring freshet. Sometimes several rafts would be joined together, till they would cover an acre of space, or even more. On these were built shanties for the men, and vast heaps of shingles, and lath in bundles occupied a part of the space. As the region of Pennsylvania and New York, drained by the Allegheny, was a pretty good place to emigrate from, families were constantly leaving for the countries down the river, and made these rafts available as the means of moving. Indeed, for the purpose, nothing could be more convenient, for the movers could build themselves a comfortable shanty of the loose lumber, a shed for their horses and cows, if they wished to take them along, and be quite at home during a journey, that would often occupy three or four weeks.

1. Hall, J., Notes, 142-143.
2. Howells, W. C., Recollections, 84-85.
Howell says, "Often I have seen the shanties of two or three families, with wagons, horses, cows, and even poultry, all snuggly situated, with room for the children to play outside. I have seen the women washing, and a clothes-line hung with the linen." Hall also gives us a pleasing account of this mode of travel. "Today we passed two large rafts lashed together, by which simple conveyance several families from New England were transporting themselves and their property to the land of promise in the western woods. Each raft was 80 or 90 feet long, with a small house erected on it, and on each was a stack of hay, round which several horses and cows were feeding, while the paraphernalia of a farm yard, the ploughs, wagons, pigs, children, and poultry, carelessly distributed, gave to the whole more the appearance of a permanent residence, than of a caravan of adventurers seeking a home. In this manner these people travel at slight expense."

The smaller forms of boats, the skiffs, and the pirogue, were still in use on the Ohio. The total expense of two people, for a voyage of seven hundred miles in a skiff, down the Ohio, was but seven dollars each. Birkbeck speaks of forming two pirogues, out of large poplars, lashing them together, and placing large planks across both, thus creating a roomy deck and good covered stowage, making it possible to take a bulky as well as a heavy cargo.

Arks, which Schultz says were not much used on the Ohio in 1807, were at this period often used by emigrating families to

1.- Howells, W. C., Recollections, 84-85.
2.- Hall, J., Letters, 87-88.
transport themselves down the river. They were long floating rooms, built on a flat bottom, with rough boards, and arranged within for sleeping. Boatmen were hired, provisions were laid in, and when the end of the voyage was reached the boat was sold. They were sometimes called flat bottoms, and described as being "planked up at the sides, and covered at the top." Emigrants generally procured them at Pittsburg and Wheeling, and after reaching their destination sold them to persons wishing to take produce to market. This was a pleasant and cheap method of traveling. About 1817-1818 hundreds of these boats were to be seen on the river, great numbers of them being built at Pittsburg. Tranchepain describes a boat which must have been a form of ark. He says, "During our voyage we passed a great many flat-bottomed boats. Some of them were small, and merely contained an emigrant's family and its furniture. Some of the emigrants who were better off, were going to the Missouri and the Illinois, and their boats, besides their family, contained also a small wagon, and two or three horses. These boats are built in the shape of a parallelogram, whose sides are in the ratio of three, four, or even five to one. They are planked up on each side and behind, and are protected by a slightly curved roof made of thin boards, their height being in the interior about that of a tall man. The upper part of the front, and a few feet on each side of the front are left open like a sort of balcony. From this opening project two long oars which serve to steer the boat, and, in case of necessity, to move it out of the way either of a sand bank, or of a mass of drift wood. Each boat is often

1. Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 171.
2. Birkbeck, M., Notes, 38.
5. Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Travels, IX., 86.
divided into two or more apartments, one of which has a fire-place and chimney; so that each of these strange habitations might not inappropriately be termed a floating cottage." Flint describes the flat boats used by emigrants as being from forty to one hundred feet in length, fifteen feet wide, and carrying from twenty to seventy tons. They were very large and roomy, and had separate apartments, fitted up with chairs, beds, tables, and stoves. He says, "It is no uncommon spectacle to see a large family, old and young, servants, cattle, hogs, horses, sheep, fowls, and animals of all kinds, bringing to recollection the cargo of the ancient ark, all embarked and floating down on the same bottom; and on the roof the looms, ploughs, spinning wheels, and domestic implements of the family." Family boats cost from $30 to $50 in Pittsburg. These boats were sometimes tied end to end, two boats carrying as many as forty people. In 1818-1820 "family boats are almost continually in sight," on the Ohio, near Louisville.

The larger sort, called Kentucky Arks, and of about 150 tons burthen, were used for purposes of trade. They contained a vast assortment of articles, such as horses, pigs, poultry, apples, flour, corn, peach brandy, cider, whiskey, bar iron and castings, tin, copper, wares, glass, cabinet work, chairs, millstones, grind-stones, and nails. These boats passed down the Ohio, selling what they could at the river towns. When the crew reached New Orleans they sold the boat, and returned overland or by steamboat.

1. - Tranchepain, Travels, 100-101.
2. - Flint, T., Recollections, 13-14.
4. - Ibid., IX., 147.
5. - Ibid., IX., 163.
Latrobe describes the ark as "a broad flat-boat with a deck of two or three feet elevation above the water. They have generally a small window fore and aft, and a door in the middle, a peep into which will show you a goodly store of pots, pans, or flour barrels. A narrow ledge runs round them for the convenience of poling. A small chimney rises above; racoon and deer skins, the produce of the hours spent ashore, are nailed on the sides to dry. The larger are propelled by four oars, and I have occasionally seen them sur-mounted by a crooked mast or top mast. Here you will meet one fitted up as a floating tinshop, gleaning many a bright dollar from the settlers. Others again are of a more simple construction, and have merely a temporary deck supported upon rails, through which the sheep and other live stock may be desried. Hay for their consumption will be piled above, and cabbages stowed away in a compart-ment behind."

The flat-boat belonged to the same class as the ark. Their construction was temporary and they were broken up at New Orleans as not being sufficiently strong to be freighted up the river. These flat boats or Orleans boats as they were sometimes called, were from twelve to twenty-five feet wide, and from thirty to ninety feet long, and carried about seven hundred barrels of flour. Farmers built these boats and sent their produce to New Orleans in them. Freight on board a flat boat in 1817 was 50 cents per cwt. In 1818, one traveler on a steamboat counted as many as

4. Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 140, 152.
61 flat boats descending the Ohio and Mississippi. In one month, in the early part of the year 1831, it was estimated that one thousand flat boats entered the Ohio from the Wabash, with cargoes estimated at $2000 each. Five hundred of these boats passed Vincennes. In 1827, Bullock says that there were from 1200 to 1500 flat boats, averaging from 40 to 60 tons, at New Orleans. Basil Hall in 1827-1828 counted about 100 arks at New Orleans. The margin of the shore at New Orleans was lined in the early part of the year 1831, with these flat boats from all parts of the upper country. The descent of a flat boat to New Orleans, if in autumn, usually occupied fifty days.

Retail trading boats continued in use on the Ohio. Every considerable landing place on the Ohio and Mississippi, had in the spring, a number of stationary and inhabited boats, lying by at the shore. They were often dram shops. Flint says, "While I was at New Madrid, a large tinner's establishment floated there in a boat. In it all the different articles of tinware were manufactured, and sold by wholesale and retail. A still more extraordinary manufactory, we were told, was floating down the Ohio, and shortly expected at New Madrid. Aboard this were manufactured axes, scythes, and all other iron tools of this description, and in it horses were shod. In short it was a complete blacksmith's shop of a higher order. I have frequently seen in this region, a dry goods shop in a boat, with its articles very handsomely arranged on shelves."

1. - Milledge, Weekly Register, XIV., 344.
2. - Ibid., XL., 183.
7. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 140.
8. - Ibid., I., 156.
Keel boats were still used on the Mississippi and Ohio in low stages of water, and on the boatable streams where steamboats did not run. Before the introduction of the steamboat, there were six times as many of these boats used as afterward. These boats were used to carry merchandise down the river, eight or ten boatmen being required for a journey down stream, and from twelve to twenty-four to pole the boat up stream. Emigrants sometimes took passage down the Ohio in keel boats. As early as 1817 the steamboats were beginning to supersede them.

Barges, varying from 40 to 170 tons burthen, were used in the transportation of merchandise. About twenty or twenty-five hands were required to work an ordinary barge upstream, the boatmen being able to make about six or seven miles per day against the current. During the years 1812-1818 these barges were used to carry large cargoes both to and from New Orleans. These boats

1. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 151.
2. - Hall, J., Letters, 47.
4. - Howells, W. C., Recollections, 12.
5. - Fordham, E. P., Travels, 106.
6. - Niles, Weekly Register, IX., 420.
7. - Ibid., VIII., 119-120.
11. - Niles, Weekly Register, VIII., 119-120.
   Ibid., IX., 420.
   Ibid., XII., 70.
   Ibid., XIII., 377.
   Ibid., VI., 360.
   Ibid., VII., 152.
   Ibid., X., 372.
Louisiana Gazette, April 17, 1812.
Ibid., April 11, 1812.
Ibid., March 25, 1813.
Ibid., August 11, 1814, p 3, col 1.
Fordham, E. P., Travels, 192.
often were equipped with sails, masts, and rigging. From ninety to one hundred days was a tolerable passage from New Orleans to Cincinnati. In this way the intercourse between Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Louisville, Nashville, and St. Louis, for the more important purposes of commerce, was kept up with New Orleans. A rather interesting article appeared in the Louisiana Gasette of October 24, 1815, which was as follows: "The steamboats now in use cannot carry one twentieth part of the goods that might be in demand from this city (N. O.)—the common barges, always slow and expensive in their operations are in a great measure paralyzed by the few steamboats in use, the bargemen know that steamboats will always have the preference, hence they are prevented from preparing barges, the expense being great, and the barge owners generally men of very limited means, so that the public will be worse served than if steam were not in operation unless a spirit is immediately diffused that will bring the steam navigation into use commensurate to the demand of transportation." As time went on the barges fell into disuse, and about the year 1830, few were to be seen.

In 1818, two thousand people were regularly employed as boatmen on the Ohio, and they were proverbially ferocious and abandoned in their habits, though possibly with many exceptions. The shores of the Monongahela in 1819, were lined with barges, keels, and arks or flats, waiting for the rise of the Ohio. During 1821-1823 flat bottoms, keels, and barges found constant employment in the

1. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 151.
2. - Louisiana Gasette, October 24, 1815.
5. - Birkbeck, M., Notes, 77.
6. - Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, XIII., 45.
7. - Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 41.
carrying trade to and from New Orleans. As late as 1828 or 1830, flats, arks, and barges were to be seen at New Orleans. The flats seem to have continued in the greatest numbers after the introduction of the steamboat.

There were on the Ohio many other forms of craft which I shall briefly mention. The Allegheny or Mackinaw skiff was a covered boat carrying from six to ten tons. "Dugouts," named from the manner of making them, and canoes hollowed from trees were to be seen in great numbers. These boats and skiffs were used to cross the rivers, and a select company of travelers often descended the river in them to New Orleans. Flat boats, worked by a wheel, driven by the cattle that they were conveying to New Orleans, were to be seen; also horse boats of various construction, used for the most part as ferry boats, but sometimes as boats of ascent. Boats moved rapidly up stream by wheels, after the steam construction, propelled by a man turning a crank. Flint says, "in this land of freedom and invention, with a little aid perhaps, from the influence of the moon, there are monstrous anomalies, reducible to no specific class of boats, and only illustrating the whimsical archetypes of things that have previously existed in the brain of inventive men, who reject the slavery of being obliged to build in any received form. You can scarcely imagine an abstract form in which a boat can be built, that in some part of the Ohio or Mississippi, you will not see, actually in motion."

1.- Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 41.
3.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 151-152.
4.- Ibid.
5.- Ibid., I., 152.
6.- Ibid.
7.- Flint, T., Recollections, 14.
As the steamboat was perfected, and increased in numbers and importance, many of these strange craft were destined to disappear, and prior even to the year 1830, many of them began to be superseded by the larger and more swiftly moved steamboats.
CHAPTER III.

ARTICLES OF TRAFFIC, AND PLACES WITH WHICH TRADE WAS CARRIED ON.

As the population of the country rapidly increased, and the means of communication by water were improved, the resources of the country were developed, manufactures sprang up, and the commerce of the Ohio Valley experienced a remarkable growth. Many of the small river villages became large and thriving cities, and many parts of the country which had worn the face of a wilderness now became the center of a vast and increasing trade.

During the year 1811, merchants of New Orleans advertised for sale the following articles: Kentucky, flour, horses, pork, whiskey, lard, oats, Monongahela and Kentucky flour, tobacco, hemp, hempen yarn, and packing cloth. From October 5, 1810 to May 5, 1811 there passed the Falls of the Ohio the following number of boats and articles:

1.- Louisiana Gazette, VII., 815. January 23, 1811.
   Ibid., April 6, 1811.
2.- Ibid., April 6, 1811.
3.- Ibid.
   Ibid., July 26, 1811.
4.- Ibid., April 6, 1811.
5.- Ibid.
6.- Ibid., July 26, 1811.
7.- Ibid.
   Ibid., July 13, 1811.
8.- Ibid., July 26, 1811.
9.- Ibid.
10.- Louisiana Moniteur, June 27, 1811.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boats—Number</td>
<td>743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour - bbls.</td>
<td>129,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon - lbs.</td>
<td>604,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiskey - bbls.</td>
<td>9,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cider - bbls.</td>
<td>2,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork - bbls.</td>
<td>13,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apples - bbls.</td>
<td>2,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats - bu.</td>
<td>4,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn - bu.</td>
<td>47,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchandise</td>
<td>$355,624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese - bbls.</td>
<td>5,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans - bbls.</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plank - feet</td>
<td>1,483,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter - lbs.</td>
<td>24,691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live hogs</td>
<td>708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cider, Royal - bbls.</td>
<td>1,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lard - lbs.</td>
<td>465,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions - bbls.</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes - bu.</td>
<td>1,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp - cwt.</td>
<td>630,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry fruit - bbls.</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarn - lbs.</td>
<td>113,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordage - lbs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowls - number</td>
<td>1,207,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe thread - lbs</td>
<td>2,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country linen - yds</td>
<td>8,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses - number</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer - bbls.</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco - hhds.</td>
<td>2,311</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"and a number of articles too tedious to be calculated. A Mr. Bowman, a pilot at Jeffersonville, took 106 boats over the Falls of the Ohio, during the aforesaid period of whose cargoes no notice is taken in the above. The foregoing is a return made by the regular pilots, who all agree in stating that during the high water at least one-third as many more passed without their assistance. This estimate, therefore gives the whole probable number of boats, that passed the Falls, at nearly 1200, wafting the rich produce of the western parts of Pennsylvania, and Virginia, with those of the State of Ohio, and a part of Kentucky, to the markets on the sea board."

In 1812 New Orleans received from the "upper country",

cider royal of Kentucky, Monongahela flour, Kentucky flour, tobacco, hemp, whiskey, hempen yarn, flour from Pittsburg, Kentucky bagging, and white rope. The flour received at New Orleans for a time must not have been sufficient to supply the demand as is shown by the following article, "We are happy to state that several boats with fresh flour have arrived—that from the enormously high price of $20 per bbl. it has been offered at $16—much more is expected very soon—So that we may fairly calculate in a few days or weeks to have our loaves increasing to their usual size."

1.- Niles, Weekly Register, I., 10/
2.- Louisiana Moniteur, April 2, 1812.
3.- Ibid.
4.- Louisiana Gazette, May 27, 1812.
5.- Ibid.
6.- Ibid.
7.- Ibid.
8.- Ibid.
9.- Ibid., July 7, 1812.
10.- Louisiana Courier, July 31, 1812.
11.- Ibid.
Goods were occasionally sent from eastern ports by way of Pittsburg to New Orleans and from thence to Mexico, as shown by the following article. "During the week ending the last year (1812) a Mr. Wells of this town (Boston), has received at the custom house certificates of the legal importation of goods to the amount of $30,000 which have been sent to Mexico by the following route: from Baltimore to Providence in wagons, thence by water through the Sound to Amboy, thence in wagons and by water to Philadelphia, thence by wagons to Pittsburg, thence down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans, and from thence by land and in boats to Mexico. But what is most astonishing, the expense from this to New Orleans is only 4 1/2 per cent on the cost of goods at Boston, while the insurance alone on such as are sent by the way of the ocean is 30, and not less than 25 per cent."

During the year 1812, 100 loaded boats left Chilicothe for Natchez, New Orleans, and other ports. In the same year a vessel of 400 tons was built at the mouth of the Scioto (owned in Chilicothe) and sent off loaded for a foreign port. The flour, whiskey, tobacco, bacon, hemp, and coarse linens that Kentucky was capable of exporting in 1814 was immense. Much coarse linen and yarn was exported from Ohio at this time.

From New Orleans barges were sent to Louisville with freight in the years 1812-1814, the Louisville 'Western Courier' in the latter year noticing the arrival, in three months, of twelve barges, and seven keel boats. Illinois, in 1812 received her

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1. - Niles, Weekly Register, III., 346.
2. - Ibid., VI., 209.
3. - Ibid., VI., 249.
4. - Ibid., VI., 360.
5. - Louisiana Gazette, August 11, 1814. p. 3. col. 1.
freight from New Orleans in barges. In 1814, sugar and coffee were shipped to Cincinnati; cotton and sugar to Louisville; and sugar, cotton, and indigo to Pittsburg. In September or October of the preceding year a Pittsburg merchant advertised 99,385 lbs. of New Orleans sugar for sale; and considerable quantities were received by others, with supplies of cotton, and other articles. Many tons of red lead were received during the year from St. Louis.

In 1813, 350 boat loads containing 3750 tons of salt petre, salt, lead, peltry, sugar and other articles, 1250 tons of hemp, and 3750 tons of hempen yarn were received at Pittsburg.

New Orleans, in 1815, received shipments of Kentucky and Tennessee flour. Cincinnati also carried on quite an extensive trade with this city, having sent to New Orleans, in this year, one large barge of 170 tons carrying 1600 barrels of flour, weighing 342,400 pounds, besides sundry other articles; and receiving in return, sugar, cotton, and coffee. New Orleans, in 1816, exported to Cincinnati, sugar, molasses, copperas, shad, mackerel, codfish, queensware, logwood, and Swedish iron; receiving flour and pork from Cincinnati. New Orleans cotton was selling in Pittsburg from 33 to 34 cents, and sugar at 25 cents, wholesale prices.

A writer in the "Register" says, "I venture to say, that when the official papers shall be published, the fact will appear, that a

1.- Louisiana Gasette, April 12, 1812.
2.- Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 360.
3.- Louisiana Gasette, August 11, 1814. p. 3. col. 1.
4.- Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 320.
5.- Ibid., 207.
6/- Ibid.
7.- Ibid., VIII., 119-120.
8.- Ibid., 152.
9.- Ibid., X., 372.
10.- Ibid., IX., 420.
11.- Ibid., 420.
much greater value of goods will be exported from New Orleans in the first year after the proclamation of peace, than from all the "Nation of New England..." meaning of native products. 112 vessels were at one time working up the river."

The following is an estimate of the products received at New Orleans, independent of what was furnished by Louisiana. The amount given was carried in 594 flat bottomed boats and 300 barges from the Western States and Territories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>4,253 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacon and hams</td>
<td>13,000 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagging</td>
<td>2,579 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beef</td>
<td>2,459 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer</td>
<td>439 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>509 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candles</td>
<td>358 boxes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheese</td>
<td>30 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginseng</td>
<td>957 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hay</td>
<td>356 bundles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemp yarn</td>
<td>1,095 reels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hides</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hogs</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>3,500 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White lead</td>
<td>188 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linens, coarse</td>
<td>2,500 pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lard</td>
<td>2,458 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oats</td>
<td>4,065 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>750 reams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tallow</td>
<td>160 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>7,282 hhds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltpetre</td>
<td>175 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>1,538 boxes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turpentine</td>
<td>1,538 boxes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peltries</td>
<td>2,450 packs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfgd.</td>
<td>711 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxseed Oil</td>
<td>85 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>97,419 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Meal</td>
<td>1,075 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>37,371 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>13,775 bu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn Meal</td>
<td>1,075 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton</td>
<td>37,371 bales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cider</td>
<td>646 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordage</td>
<td>400 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordage baling</td>
<td>4,798 coils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxseed Oil</td>
<td>85 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaxseed Oil</td>
<td>85 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour</td>
<td>97,419 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powder, gun</td>
<td>294 bbls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saltpetre</td>
<td>175 cwt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap</td>
<td>1,538 boxes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>7,282 hhds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfgd.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>750 reams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peltries</td>
<td>2,450 packs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For estimate of produce received annually at New Orleans this period, see, Ibid, X., 348.
"Besides a quantity of horned cattle, castings, grind stones, indigo, muskets, merchandise, paoan nuts, peas, beans, etc." Beer, porter, and ale were made in Cincinnati, in great quantities, as well for exportation, as for home consumption. The exports of the city consisted of flour, corn, beef, pork, butter, lard, bacon, whiskey, peach brandy, beer, porter, pot and pearl ashes, cheese, soap, candles, hats, hemp, spun yarn, saddles, rifles, cherry and black ash boards, staves and scantling, cabinet furniture and chairs. Boats were, in 1817, sent from Cincinnati to Boston with cargoes.

East Indian and European goods were imported from Baltimore and Philadelphia by way of Pittsburg. A journey, undertaken for the purpose of purchasing goods at Philadelphia, occupied about three months. A house at Pittsburg advanced money in payment of the carriage, and attended to the receipt of the goods by wagon, and their shipment by boats, receiving 5 per cent commission in payment. Coal, of which vast quantities were consumed at Cincinnati, was brought down the Ohio from Pittsburg and Wheeling in flat bottomed boats. White pine boards, and shingles were brought in rafts from Hamilton on the Allegheny. Lead was procured from St. Louis; and rum, sugar, molasses, and some dry goods were received

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3. Niles, Weekly Register, XII., 70. March 29, 1817. "The schedule of what is called Lower Louisiana, consisting of cotton, corn, indigo, molasses, masts and spars, planks, gunpowder, rice, sugar, shingles, soap, taffia, tallow, timber, beeswax, etc...." of the above produce is in-
4. Niles, Weekly Register, XII., 70. *(dependent on)*
6. Pearson, H. P., Journey, 232. "The imports of Cincinnati at this time consisted of nearly every description of English goods, and some French and India; these were received by way of New Orleans, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, chiefly the two latter cities. Some of their goods they imported direct from England, but more commonly they purchased them at Philadelphia...."
from New Orleans in keels and steamboats. Salt was easily obtained from the Kenhaway salt works. Thus the town of Cincinnati, which was, before 1811, but a small and unimportant village, was destined to become a greater commercial center than Pittsburg.

Three fourths of the surplus produce of Kentucky found their way to New Orleans, the farmers usually being able to command a ready cash sale for their produce. Fearon says, "Indian corn is raised here in vast abundance, and also stock of various kinds for the New Orleans, Southern and Atlantic markets, 30,000 hogsheads of tobacco were shipped from this State last season, and 8,000 barrels of flour, the price of which latter experienced great fluctuations, varying from 4 to 8 dollars per barrel, at present it is 6 to 7. Pork....the present price is 3 to 4 dollars per cwt. Beef is also of good quality. Whiskey....the export of last season was one million gallons. Cordage, yarn, and bagging have been important businesses, but European competition has materially decreased their consumption. The exports for one season were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>Dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flour and Wheat</td>
<td>$1,000,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pork, bacon, lard</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiskey</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>1,900,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Cont.) 5.- Fearon, H. E., Journey, 231.
6.- Ibid.
1.- Brown, S. R., Western Gazetteer, 280.
2.- Ibid.
3.- Ibid., 73.
4.- Fearon, H. E., Journey, 236.
5.- Ibid., 237-238.
Wool, and fabrics of wool, and cotton 100,000
Cordage, hemp, and fabrics of hemp 500,000
Cattle 200,000
Horses, and mules 100,000
Saltpetre, and gunpowder 60,000
White, and Red Lead 45,000
Soap, and Candles 27,000

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{4,782,000} \\
\end{array}
\]

In 1817-1818 the wealthy farmers of Ohio raised live stock for the home, and Atlantic city markets, and sent beef, pork, cheese, lard, and butter to New Orleans. Pork was exported from Illinois.

Fearon says, "there is a class of men throughout the western country called 'merchants', who, in the summer and autumn months, collect flour, butter, cheese, pork, beef, whiskey, and every species of farming produce which they send in flats and keel boats to the New Orleans market. The demand created by this trade, added to a large domestic consumption, insures the most remote farmer a certain market. Some of these speculators have made large fortunes."

It may be interesting to note the estimates, on the prices of freight, given by Fearon and Fordham who traveled through the West in the years 1817-1818. Fearon says, "The price of boating goods from New Orleans to Louisville (1412 miles) is from 18 s. to 22 s. 6 d. per hundred. The freight to New Orleans from

1.- Fearon, H. B., Journey, 238.
2.- Ibid., 221-222.
3.- Fordham, E. P., Travels, 132.
   - Fearon, H. B., Journey, 260.
4.- Ibid., 199.
hence is 3 s. 4 1/2 d. to 4 s. 6 d. per hundred. The average period of time which boats take to go to New Orleans is about 28 days; that from New Orleans 90 days. Steam vessels effect the same route in an average of 12 days down, and 36 days up. "Freight from this place (Illinois) to Louisville (307 miles) is 5 s. per cwt.; from Louisville is 1 s. 8 d.; from hence to New Orleans (1130 miles) 4 s. 6 d.; from New Orleans, 20 s. 3 d.; hence to Pittsburg (1013 miles) 15 s. 9 d.; from Pittsburg, 4 s. 6 d. This vast disproportion in the charge of freight is produced by the difference in time in navigating up and down the streams of the Ohio and Mississippi."

Fordham's figures are as follows: "From Shawnee, Illinois, to New Orleans, $1 per hundred pounds, back $4 1/2; to Pittsburg $3.50, from Pittsburg, $1; from Louisville 37 1/2 cents; from Shawnee, or the mouth of the Wabash to Carmi, on the Little Wabash, 20 miles below us, 37 1/2 cents..., to the nearest point of the Wabash to our settlement, 50 cents; down the stream to Shawnee, 5 cents per hundred pounds." "Freighting down to New Orleans will pay the expense of going, and leave one or two hundred dollars surplus. But if, besides $700, the price of a new boat completely rigged, the owner has a capital of $1500 or $2000, he may make the voyage pay him from $500 to $1500. The whole trip is completed in two or three months." "Trade from the general want of capital, and other causes with which I am unacquainted, is exceedingly profitable. 75 to 100 per cent is reckoned a good profit; 50 per cent is a living profit; 25 per cent will not keep a man to his business, he will look out for something else. I had the following

1.- Fearon, H. E., Journey, 260.
2.- Fordham, E. P., Travels, 117-118.
3.- Ibid., 122.
account from a River Trader"

A boat of 30 tons burden from Orleans to Louisville.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Dr.} & \\
14 \text{ men at } \$75 & = \$1,050. \\
\text{Board for 75 days} & = 525. \\
\text{Extra pay to steersman} & = 75. \\
\text{Wear of boat} & = 100.
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{Total Dr. } = 1,750. \]

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Cr.} & \\
\text{Freight of 36 tons at } \$90 & = 3,240. \\
\text{Deduct expenses} & = 1,750. \\
\text{Clear profit} & = 1,490.
\end{align*} \]

Groceries for Illinois had been received from Philadelphia or Baltimore, but in 1818 they came from New Orleans: coffee at 40 cents a pound; sugar from 22 to 50 cents; and tea at $2.50. The steamboats coming up stream carried dry goods, pottery, cotton, sugar, wines, liquors, salted fish, and other articles; downwards their loading consisted of grain, flour, tobacco, bacon, etc. At Harmony, Indiana, in 1818, a boat was being built, as a regular trader, to carry off the surplus produce, and bring back coffee, sugar, and groceries, as well as European manufactures. Lead was received from Louisiana, and copper from South America.

Horses, hogs, and cattle were raised, in Illinois, for exportation. Flour, and fish were exported from Cincinnati to New Orleans, in the year 1818. Birckbeck, in 1818, writes as

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1. Fordham, E. P., Travels, 121.
3. Ibid., Notes, 133.
4. Ibid., Letters, 55-56.
follows, "The demand for grain will probably equal the produce for some years, owing to the influx of new settlers; and the Southern States, down the Mississippi to New Orleans, will be an increasing and sure market for our surplus of every kind; vast quantities of pork, and beef are shipped for New Orleans from Kentucky and Indiana." 500 persons every summer pass down the Ohio from Cincinnati to New Orleans as traders or boatmen, and return on foot. By water, the distance is 1700 miles, and the walk back 1000. Many go down to New Orleans from Pittsburg, which adds 500 miles to the distance by water, and 300 by land. The storekeepers of these western towns, visit the eastern ports of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, once a year, to lay in their stock of goods. The great variety of articles, and the risk attending their carriage to so great a distance, by land and water, renders it necessary that the storekeepers should attend both to their purchase and conveyance. I think the time is at hand when these periodical transmontane journeys are to give place to expeditions down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. The vast and increasing produce of these states, in grain, flour, cotton, sugar, tobacco, peltry, timber, etc., which finds a ready vent at New Orleans, will be returned through the same channel in the manufactures of Europe, and the luxuries of the East to supply the growing demands of this western world."

Faux, while traveling in America, was told by Eastern farmers that transportation per barrel for 80 miles cost half a dollar, while the farmers of the West could send it 2000 miles

2. Ibid., Notes, 89-90.
for $6; and that the western people could afford to sell at half price, better than the eastern could at whole price, because they grew double the quantity per acre, and because the population was rapidly increasing.

Great supplies of lumber from the extensive pine forests about the sources of the Allegheny, supplied the country below as far as New Orleans. A Yankee speculation to New Orleans sometimes consisted "of iron coffins, or nests of coffins filled with shoes, so accommodating both the living and the dead."

Wheat in Ohio, in 1819-1820, even at 50 cents, found no market, as New Orleans was then supplied by countries more conveniently situated. Boats carrying from 100 to 500 barrels, sold for only $16. Cincinnati continued to send flour and pork to New Orleans. Flint says, "On shore the utmost bustle prevails, with drays carrying imported goods, salt, iron, and timber, up to the town, and in bringing down pork, flour, etc., to be put aboard boats for New Orleans."

Produce was floated down the Wabash, and the boats returned laden with goods for their market at an enormous profit. Indian corn was purchased of the farmer on the Wabash at 25 cents per bushel, soon after harvest; in the spring it was sent to New Orleans under a freight of 25 cents per bushel, and sold at 75 cents.

1. - Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 147.
2. - Ibid., XI., 143-144.
3. - James, E., Account, Early W. Travels, XIV., 56.
4. - Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 143-144.
5. - Ibid., XII., 18.
6. - Ibid.
7. - Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Travels, IX., 156.
8. - Ibid., 149-151.
to one dollar a bushel; wheat was bought at six pence or seven pence the bushel dearer than corn, and sold proportionally higher. Produce from the English settlement in Illinois, (corn, etc.), was hauled to Bon Pas, which was on a tributary of the Wabash, and sent from thence to New Orleans, there to be shipped either for Europe or the eastern ports of America.

For a return lading salt was purchased at half a dollar per bushel, and sold at Vincennes from $2 to $2 1/4 per bushel. Loaf sugar sold at 50 cents per pound; brown sugar at 37 1/2 cents per pound; coffee at 75 cents per pound; tea from $2 1/2 to $3 1/2; and many other groceries, which like the above were bought for considerably less than one half their selling price. Welby says, "...of iron and drugs I could not obtain the price at New Orleans; but of the profit on the iron the reader may judge by the price I paid to a blacksmith for eight new horse shoes, steel tacs, and eight removes, the bill for which was about $10." Faux, speaking of a man who had come to Princeton, says, "If he had money he could buy bacon at $4 and sell it at $16; and sugar from New Orleans would pay 50 per cent; costing 10 cents, and selling at 25 cents, 2 1/2 cents being deducted per pound for carriage. Store goods, bought at Washington, which he is selling cheaper than his neighbors, pay 25 per cent profit." Cincinnati received cotton from northern Alabama.

The 'Register' of June 9, 1821, says, "The whole number of boats which passed the Falls of Ohio last year, is estimated

1. - Welby, A., Visit, Early W. Travels, XII., 236.
2. - Ibid., XII., 257.
3. - Ibid., 238.
4. - Ibid.
5. - Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 301.
6. - Niles, Weekly Register, XVII., 376.
to be 2400, wafting the rich produce of the western world to the markets on the seacoast, the principal part of which consisted of 1,804,810 pounds of bacon, 200,000 barrels of flour, 20,000 barrels of pork, 62,000 bushels of oats, 100,000 bushels of corn, 10,000 barrels of cheese, 160,000 pounds of butter, 11,207,333 fowls, and 466,412 pounds of lard."

Stove coal was carried in boats down the river in 1821-1823 to supply the great number of steam mills in making flour. These boats were also engaged in freighting salt to the various parts of the country. The following is an "estimate of the amount of products which descended the Falls of Ohio at Louisville, the growth of the year 1822...the produce of the whole of the State of Ohio, (except the part bordering on the lake), two-thirds of Kentucky, one half of the State of Indiana, and a small part of the States of Pennsylvania and Virginia."

Notice the vast increase since 1820.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12000 hhds. Tobacco.</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>$ 500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000 hhds. hams and shoulders, green</td>
<td>4,464</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12000 hhds. and boxes bacon</td>
<td>2,700</td>
<td>210,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000 hhds. corn meal, kiln dried</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50000 bbls. pork.</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>350,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4000 bbls. beef.</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>24,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300,000 bbls. flour</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>900,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75,000 bbls. Whiskey</td>
<td>10,800</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5000 bbls. Beans</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 bbls. Cider</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. - Niles, Weekly Register, XX., 239.
2. - Tranchepain, Travels, 100.
4. (Cont. on next page.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Est. Tons</th>
<th>Est. Cost.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100,000 kgs of lard</td>
<td>2,250</td>
<td>250,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 firkins butter</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 bales hay</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 casks flax seed, 7 bu. to Cask.</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 bbls. linseed oil</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,000 boxes window glass</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 boxes soap</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>75,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 boxes candles</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000 bbls. porter</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,000 bbls. ginseng</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 bbls. beeswax</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000 kgs tobacco</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65,000 lbs. feathers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$ 68,932 $ 3,590,000

"There are many articles of export not included in the above schedule, such as iron, iron castings, salt, gunpowder, white lead, and other manufactured articles, of various descriptions, the amount of which could not be correctly estimated, for want of adequate data. It is estimated, that produce and manufactured articles, to the amount of upwards of one million of dollars, have been shipped from Cincinnati and its immediate vicinity, during the year ending in April, 1823—principally the production of what is termed the "Miami Country". Among the articles from

(Cont.)

3.- Tranchepain, Travels, 99.
Ogden, C. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 41.
4.- Miles, Weekly Register, XXI., 95.
Tranchepain, Travels, 119.
Cincinnati are "types and printing materials $10,000, paper $15,000, cabinet furniture $20,000, chairs $6,000, hats $6,500. " Within the last year every store and warehouse has become reoccupied by business men—generally by those who were unconnected with the late embarrassments. All purchases are now made for cash, and at no period, within the last ten years, have we witnessed so numerous and active a population, or so great a number of new buildings in a state of progress."

Corn and wheat were sent to New Orleans from Illinois in 1823. Albion, Illinois, exported produce, for the first time, in this year. They loaded the flat boats with corn, flour, pork, beef, sausages, and other articles, and floated them down the Wabash into the Ohio, and from thence to New Orleans. Harmony was, annually, sending boats laden with produce to New Orleans. Tranchepain journeyed part of the way down the Ohio in a boat loaded with horses, fowls, iron castings, apples, and whiskey for New Orleans.

From St. Louis, a central point on the Mississippi, to New York by way of New Orleans, the price of transportation was about $45 per ton, for a return cargo not less than $80. Beck says, "The export trade must then be divided between New Orleans and New York. She (New Orleans) commands the greatest interior; she is the key to the richest and most extensive inland region of any mercantile capital in the world. Besides the produce required

1. Beck, L. M., Gazetteer, 64.
2. Tranchepain, Travels, 159.
3. Ibid., 249.
4. Ibid., 135-136.
Niles, Weekly Register, XVIII., 112. Shawneetown, in 1820, received goods from New York by steamboat at $3 per cwt.
for her own consumption, and that of Louisiana and Mississippi, she will be the entrepot of the produce destined for the West Indies and the provinces of South America. The capital of New Orleans is proportionate to the quantity of produce landed there. The warmth and unhealthiness of the climate prevents the farmer from sending his produce to that place a time when he may be most in need of the articles for which he would barter. During this time, he is at present completely deprived of a market for his produce, and is moreover obliged to pay the merchant an exorbitant price for his necessaries. It frequently happens, that in the Western States during the summer and fall, the price of those articles for which they depend upon New Orleans is raised 50 and sometimes 100%. But New Orleans is at all times a very uncertain market. It not unfrequently happens that a few boat loads of produce completely supply the demand. If another cargo then arrives the owner is obliged either to sacrifice it, or leave it in store; in the latter case, if it consists of flour of bacon, it suffers much from the heat and humidity of the climate, and its value is not unfrequently diminished one half or three fourths. This is also the case with furs and several other articles which cannot be transported by New Orleans to a foreign market, without a considerable depreciation in their value. These considerations clearly prove the importance of opening a communication with New York, by which means the States bordering on the Mississippi will be enabled to find a market for their produce during those seasons when they are completely excluded from New Orleans. Even at this time merchants at St. Louis, and in different parts of Illinois and Missouri

1. - Flint, T., Recollections, 247. Speaks of these conditions.
purchase their goods in the eastern cities, and transport them across the mountains in preference to sending them by New Orleans." For several years all articles of life in Illinois and Missouri, were below what the planters could afford to raise them for, with any view beyond domestic consumption. Grain boats from Missouri scarcely paid the expense of their building and transport to New Orleans.

In 1825 extensive arrivals of cotton came into New Orleans from the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. It was estimated that the goods sent to New Orleans from Louisville during this year weighed 27 or 28,000 tons;—42 steamboats made 140 trips during the same period. The southern interior counties of Illinois began in 1824-1825 to cultivate tobacco and the castor bean, and to make these articles of considerable exportation. Tobacco was raised, with great success, in Ohio, at the rate of 700 lbs. to the acre, and of a quality to bring $12 to $15 per hundred in the Baltimore market. From the extensive glass works of Pittsburg about $100,000 worth was exported yearly.

Niles Register, July 8, 1826, says, "152 boats descending the Wabash passed Vincennes during the late freshets. They were all well laden. The following is an estimate of some of the chief items of their cargoes.

1.- Beck, L. M., Gazetteer, 33-34.
2.- Flint, T., Recollections, 247-248.
3.- Niles, Weekly Register, XXVIII., 3.
4.- Ibid., XXIX., 55.
5.- Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 238.
6.- Niles, Weekly Register, XXIX., 215.
7.- Ibid., XXIX., 180.
8.- Ibid., XXX., 338.
250,000 bu. corn. 2,000 live cattle.
100,000 lbs. pork. 250 live hogs.
10,000 hams 10,000 lbs. beeswax.
4,000 bbls. pork. 3,600 venison hams and 1
800 bbls. corn meal. many small articles.

Salt from the Kenawha works was sent up the highest boatable waters of the Allegheny to regions formerly supplied from the Salines of New York. Flint describes the boats stopping at New Madrid on the Mississippi, as follows. "You can name no point from the numerous rivers of the Ohio and Mississippi from which some of these boats have not come. In one place there are boats loaded with planks, from the pine forests of the Southwest of New York. In another quarter there are the Yankee nations of Ohio. From Kentucky, pork, flour, whiskey, hemp, tobacco, bagging, and bale rope, from Tennessee there are the same articles, together with great quantities of cotton. From Missouri and Illinois, cattle and horses, the same articles generally as from Ohio, together with peltry and lead from Missouri. Some boats are loaded with corn in the ear and in bulk; others with barrels of apples and potatoes. Some have loads of cider, and what they call "cider royal," or cider that has been strengthened by boiling or freezing. There are dried fruits, every kind of spirits manufactured in these regions, and in short, the products of the ingenuity and agriculture of the whole upper country of the West. The fleet unites once more at Natchez or New Orleans."

The "Fame" from Pittsburg, arrived in Cincinnati, in 1827 with a cargo, part of which consisted of 102 pieces of cannon, and
1. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXX., 338.
2. - Flint, T., Recollections, 24.
3. - Ibid., 102-104.
and about 80 tons of grape shot, for the United States Navy. Her deck was entirely filled with empty hogsheads and casks, belonging to a house in Pittsburg, sent to New Orleans to be filled with a return cargo of Molasses, as it was found to be much cheaper to have the casks made at Pittsburg and pay their freight to New Orleans, than to purchase them at the latter place. In 1828, 5504 bales of Kentucky cotton bagging, 15,526 coils of bale rope, and 4,918,494 lbs. of lard, were received in New Orleans, as against 2,308 bales, 1,045 coils, and 2,426,299 lbs. of the preceding year.

New Orleans had drawn away considerable of the trade of the western country with Philadelphia and Baltimore. Basil Hall says, "There are projects afloat, however, for restoring this lost balance to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and of regaining some portion of the profits derived from supplying the western country with goods, and of drawing off its produce. If the mouth of the Mississippi could be damned up, or the harbor of New York demolished, there might be some chance for the resuscitation of the intermediate seaports." Grain, salted meats, spirits, tobacco, hemp, skins, and the fruits of the regions bordering on the Missouri, Ohio, and Mississippi were sent to New Orleans; return cargoes of manufactured goods from foreign countries, together with fish, salt, sugar, steel, iron, and other articles were sent back by steamboat. Slaves were sent from Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky to the southern states bordering on the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Basil Hall says, "During certain seasons of the

1. Niles, Weekly Register, XXXII., 36-37.
2. Ibid., XXXV., 68.
4. Ibid., III., 322.
5. Ibid., III., 323.
year, I am informed, all the roads, steamboats, and packets are crowded with negroes on their way to the great slave markets of the South."

During the year 1828, 4100 hogsheads of sugar, and 3500 barrels or bags of coffee were received at Louisville, worth together about $600,000. In 1825-1826, 2050 hogsheads of tobacco were deposited at Louisville; 4354 in 1826-1827; and 4075 in 1827-1828. Freight was so reduced by competition, that sugar, coffee, tea, and groceries in general, had only a small advance over their prices in New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Good sugar of the new crop sold in Louisville at 7 1/4 to 7 1/2 cents per pound, by the single barrel.

The 'Register' quotes from the 'Commercial Daily Advertiser' 1830, as follows: "The manufacture of chair and cabinet wares at Cincinnati, for articles sent out of the city, had a value last year, in the great sum of $150,000. The chief part of this value was in the labor bestowed by inhabitants of the city. There was a creation of not less than $125,000. The canal is also doing great things for this city. We see by the 'Gazette' that in the first ten days of March, there arrived 8,105 barrels of flour, 2116 of whiskey, 2,823 of pork, and 4,167 of lard, bulk pork and bacon, 100 tons, with a great variety and quantity of other articles such as corn, corn meal, butter, eggs, etc. This canal extends only 60 miles into the interior. The total received in these ten days, amounted to $2,028.22."

2. Niles, Weekly Register, XXXV., 387.
3. Niles, Weekly Register, XXXIV., 122. The Miami Canal was filled with water in April 1828, and "a fleet of canal boats" arrived at Cincinnati on the sixteenth.
4. Ibid., XXXVIII., 86-87.
Kentucky exported all the grains, pulses, fruits, wheat, and corn. Hemp and tobacco were the staples of the State. In addition to these articles Kentucky exported immense quantities of flour, lard, butter, cheese, pork, beef, Indian corn and meal, whiskey, cider, cider royal, fruit, fresh and dried, horses, and manufactures. Exports were chiefly to New Orleans, but a considerable amount ascended the Ohio to Pittsburg. The growers of this State often shipped from New Orleans, on their own account, to the Atlantic States, Vera Cruz, or the West Indies. The exports for the greater part of the state, amounted in 1829, to $2,780,000.

In western Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Missouri, and a part of Tennessee, flour, corn, small grains, pulse potatoes, and other vegetables; fruit, as apples, fresh and dried, dried peaches, and other preserved fruits, beef, pork, cheese butter, poultry, venison hams, live cattle, hogs, and horses were exported. The greater part of the flour was sent from Ohio and Kentucky; wheat was grown with more ease in Illinois and Missouri, and Ohio engaged in the culture of yellow tobacco. Large quantities of flour were shipped from Wellsburg, West Virginia to New Orleans, Cotton, and the Castor bean, and the oil made from it were exported from Illinois for several years prior to 1830.

There were often as many as five or six thousand boatmen in New Orleans from the 'upper country' at this period. The canals, the rapid influx of immigration, and the levelling tendency

1.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 351-352.
2.- Ibid., I., 352.
3.- Ibid., I., 148-149.
4.- Ibid., I., 431.
6.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 263.

Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 292. Gunpowder was exported from New Orleans to Louisville in 1830, the steamboat Tigress being blown up with 300 kegs on board.
of the increased facilities of transport, caused western products to rapidly approximate the Atlantic value. Flint says, "The natural result of this order of things will be, that the west will soon export four times its former amount of flour and other produce."

I have endeavored in this chapter to show how rapidly the resources, and the commerce of the country were developed, bringing great prosperity to the West.

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1. (Peck, J. M., Guide, 324. Niles, Weekly Register, XL., 183, 194. Flint, T., History and Geography, Appendix, 211. See these for reference to the vast increase in trade in 1831. (Ibid., I., 149.)
CHAPTER IV.

EMIGRATION. GROWTH OF THE RIVER TOWNS.

During the War of 1812, the tide of immigration westward was almost completely arrested, and many of the settlements already established were broken up by the savages. The war being over, and the Indians being deprived of their distinguished British ally, profound peace was soon restored to all our borders, from the northeast to the southwest. Immigration now set more strongly toward the West, for having been so long kept back, and the country was peopled with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of any other nation. "Shoals of immigrants were seen on all the great roads leading in that direction. Oleanne, Pittsburg, Brownsville, Nashville, Cincinnati, and St. Louis overflowed with them. Ohio and Indiana beheld thousands of new cabins spring up in their forests. The settlements which had been broken up during the war, were repeopled, and many immigrants returned again to the very cabins which they had occupied before the war. Boon's Lick, and Salt River, in Missouri, were the grand points of immigration, as were the Sangama and the upper courses of the Kaskaskia's in Illinois. In the south, Alabama filled with new habitations, and the current, not arrested by the Mississippi, set over its banks, to White River, Arkansas, and Louisiana, west of that river. The

1.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 387.
2.- Ibid., I., 178.
3.- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 178.
4/- Ibid., I., 172.
wandering propensity of the American people carried hundreds even beyond our territorial limits into the Spanish country."

"This flood of immigrants of course increased the amount of transport, and gave new impulse to building,—in short, every species of speculation was carried to a ruinous excess. Mercantile importations filled the country with foreign goods. In three years from the close of the War, things had received a new face along the great water courses, and in all the favorable points of the interior. The tide began to ebb, and things to settle to their natural level. Between the general failure of the western banks, and the operation of this system, (branches of Bank of the United States, and Post-Office System,—medium of sure and prompt remittance of a circulation everywhere uniform), western dealers were driven to the extremely burdensome and precarious resource of specie in their foreign transactions. Business and trade were brought to a dead pause. The evils were spread along a course of two thousand miles, and were experienced in the remote cabins, as well as the towns, and villages on the rivers. The result of a sound and uniform currency was seen in the restoration of business and credit; and commerce sprung up, like a Phoenix, from its ashes. Shapeless and meanlooking villages became towns, and the towns in neatness and beauty began to compare with those in the Atlantic country. The best evidence of the change, wrought by this order of things is, that produce and every species of vendible property rose to double and triple its value, during the season of general embarrassment."

As early as 1813, the roads over the Alleghanies were in a very rough condition, though the Cumberland Road was partly made,

1- Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 178.
2- Ibid., 180-182.
and in the spring of this year there were considerable stretches of it used by the wagoners. For emigrants and the transportation of freight, there was no mode of conveyance but the large "road wagons", as they were called, usually drawn by five or six horses, and carrying sixty to seventy hundred weight. There were several routes by which these wagons approached the mountains, but after passing Cumberland they followed the one road, known as Braddock's Trail, which struck the Monongahela River at Brownsville, or Red Stone Fort, passing down the Laurel Hill, near Uniontown, then called Beesonstown. The wagoners usually traveled in groups for company and to assist one another by doubling teams, on the steep hills, and to help in case of accidents. Howells says that it is his impression that his father paid between $3 and $4 a hundred weight (112 pounds) for the carriage of his goods to Brownsville.

A mighty population was pouring into Ohio in 1813, a great number of the people coming from Lower Canada. A "New England Emigration Society" was established in Boston, in 1815, for the purpose of promoting emigration to the western country. The association was composed of a considerable number of persons of all parties, who were determined to establish a colony of their own. The Buffalo Gazette says, that during the spring of this year scarcely a day passed without the editor's noticing the passage of several families from New England through that village for the State of Ohio. The monthly returns from the several land

1. - Howells, W. C., Recollections, 9.
2. - Ibid., 10.
3. - Niles, Weekly Register, V., 263.
4. - Ibid., 39, VIII.
5. - Ibid., VIII., 420.
offices in Ohio and Indiana Territory exhibited an unparalleled sale of public land, and in some districts the sales had been doubled in the six months prior to February, 1815. The emigration to the State in the summer of 1814 was very great, the main road through the State being literally covered with wagons moving out families.

The Register, of November 30, 1816, says, "Missouri and Illinois exhibit an interesting spectacle at this time. A stranger to witness the scene would imagine that Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas had made an agreement to introduce them soon as possible to the bosom of the American family. Every ferry on the river is daily occupied in passing families, carriages, wagons, negroes, carts, etc." Much of the surplus produce of the State of Ohio was consumed by the numerous emigrants, who came from New York, and the eastern States, but more especially from Pennsylvania. Many of these travelers followed the route through New York and down the Allegheny River, "260 wagons have passed a certain house on this route in nine days, besides many persons on horseback and on foot. The editor of the Gennessee Farmer observes, that he himself met on the road to Hamilton, a cavalcade of upwards of 20 wagons, containing one company of 116 persons on their way to Indiana, and all from one town in the district of Maine. So great is the emigration to Illinois and Missouri, also, that it is apprehended that they must suffer for want of provisions the ensuing winter." Alabama was also receiving vast

1. - Niles, Weekly Register, VII., 350.
2. - Ibid., XI., 223.
   Ibid., XI., 127. "We observe the current of emigration directed strongly toward the Territory of Missouri."
   Ibid., XI., 208. "Emigration powerfully sets westward. 50 wagons are said to have passed the Muskingum at Zanesville, in a day, going west."
numbers of emigrants, one traveler having met about 3800 persons in nine days.

Birkbeck, writing in 1818, says, "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward. We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track; towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us, some with a view to a particular spot. A small wagon with two small horses; sometime a cow or two, compromises their all; excepting a little store of hard earned cash for the land office of the district; where they may obtain a title for as many acres, as they possess half dollars, being one fourth of the purchase money. The wagon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle according to the road or the weather, or the spirits of the party." "Such is the influx of strangers into this State (Indiana), that the industry of the Settlers is severely taxed to provide food for themselves, and a superfluity for newcomers." Birkbeck advised the emigrants coming from England to the West, to land at an eastern part, proceed from thence to Pittsburg, and then down the Ohio, disembarking at Shawneetown if bound to Illinois. Emigrants are advised to bring with them, clothing, bedding, household linen, simple medicines of the best quality, and sundry small articles of cuttley, and light tools. The expense of the journey from an eastern part to Birkbeck's

3. - Ibid., 79.
4. - Birkbeck, M., Letters, 33. "Horseback is the most pleasant and expeditious; on foot the cheapest; a light wagon is eligible in some cases; in others the stage is a necessary evil."
settlement was estimated at £5 sterling per head. Travelers coming overland, on horseback, were advised to go by way of Wheeling, Chillicothe, and Cincinnati, from thence through Indiana to Vincennes. Traveling, across the mountains to Pittsburg, was entirely disproportionate to the price of provisions, and very expensive considering the accommodations afforded; storekeepers laying on a profit of at least 50 per cent. Fordham says that the passage by stage and the expense of a journey from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was $50; the journey down the Ohio 900 miles from $10 to $15; to St. Louis by steamboat $20, on horseback $8.

The route to the western country, by way of New Orleans, was attended with many disadvantages, being much longer and more dangerous, in consequence of a good deal of coasting, and the difficulties of the Gulf of Florida. The voyage from the Balize to New Orleans, a distance of 100 miles, was always tedious and vessels sometimes consumed three weeks in covering this distance. The steamboats, from New Orleans, did not proceed at stated periods, and travelers were sometimes obliged to take up a long and expensive residence in that city. To attempt to engage a passage in a keel boat up the stream was an almost endless under-

2. Ibid., 110-111.
3. Ibid., Notes, 36.
4. Fearon, H. B., Journey, 192. "All the emigrants with whom I conversed complained of the enormous charges at taverns."
5. Welby, A., Visit, Early W. Travels, XII., 195-196. Says that the charges at a good English Inn would be double the amount charged in America.
7. Fordham, E. P., Travels, 59. The wagons from Baltimore to Pittsburg, made the journey of 240 miles in 16 days.
taking. For these reasons, emigrants were advised to come overland to Pittsburg, and to float from there down the Ohio River to their destination.

Fearon during his journey from Chambersburg to Pittsburg passed 63 wagons, with families from the several places following: 20 from Massachusetts, 10 from the district of Maine, 14 from Jersey, 13 from Connecticut, 2 from Maryland, 1 from Pennsylvania, 1 from England, one from Holland, 1 from Ireland; and about 200 persons on horseback and 20 on foot. Fearon says that every emigrant whom he met on the Alleghanies, told him that he intended to settle in Ohio. The population in Illinois, at this period, was to be found chiefly on the Wabash, below Vincennes, and on the banks of the Kaskaskia, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers.

In the latter part of the year 1818 Flint writes as follows: "....the current of emigration, being here (Chambersburg) united, strangers from the eastern country, and from Europe, are passing in an unceasing train. An intelligent gentleman at this place informed me, that this stream of emigration has flowed more copiously this year, than at any former period, and that the people now moving westward are ten times more numerous than they were ten years ago. His computation is founded on the comparative amount of the stage coach business and on careful observation." Fearon, H. B., Journey, 452-453.

2.- Faux, W., Memorable Days, Early W. Travels, XI., 198. Passage in steamboat from an eastern port to New Orleans was $200.
3.- Fearon, H. B., Journey, 196. Ibid., 188. He speaks of meeting 20 wagons containing families from Massachusetts, Jersey, and Connecticut.
5.- Ibid., 255. Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 176.
6.- Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Travels, IX., 67-68. (emigrants Ibid., IX., 65,72,77,87. For reference to the vast numbers of
Flint advises emigrants to go from Baltimore to Wheeling as that route is cheaper than the one from Philadelphia to Pittsburg. In 1819 travelers were not so numerous as in 1818, owing to the decline in trade, and depression in the price of land. Flint says, "travelers however are still so numerous that a stranger not fully aware of the rapidity with which new settlements are forming, and of the great populace of the eastern States, might be apt to imagine that the Americans are a singularly volatile people." Nuttall remarks that "A stranger who descends the Ohio at this season of emigration cannot but be struck with the jarring vortex of heterogenous population amidst which he is embarked, all searching for some better country, which ever lies to the west."

The prohibition of slavery contributed greatly to the population of Ohio, and turned the current of European emigration from Kentucky and Tennessee, and spread it widely not only over this State, but also over Indiana and Illinois. The fertility of the soil, the low price of lands, the security of titles, and the high price of labor also served to attract emigrants to this State.

1 - Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Travels, IX., 105-115.
2 - Ibid., IX., 288.
   Niles, Weekly Register, XVII., 286.
4 - Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 80.
5 - Ibid., XIX., 82. Mentions other inducements to emigration
   Reynolds, J., My Own Times, In 1820 the price of land was reduced from $2 to $1.25 per acre.
   James, E., Account, Early W. Travels, XIV., 63. In 1819-1820, James says, "The difficulty of establishing an indisputable title to lands has been a cause operating hitherto to retard the progress of settlement in some of the most fertile parts of the country of Ohio, and the inconveniences resulting from this source still continue to be felt."
The 'Register' of May 14, 1825 says, "Emigration is powerful to the West." Kentucky was at this time losing her citizens by hundreds and thousands, by removal to the west faster than she had acquired them from the east for some years. The progress of population in Illinois had been greatly retarded by the violent and illegal efforts that were made to cause the introduction of slavery, year after year, and while the question was agitated, persons hesitated about locating themselves in Illinois, preferring to stop in Ohio or Indiana, or even to proceed to Missouri. When the matter was finally put at rest, the emigration to the State rapidly increased. The annual increase of the population of Illinois from 1825-1829 was estimated at 12,000 persons. Of Ohio, the 'Register' says, "the rapid and powerful population of this State would remind us of the days of Cadmus, except that men do not spring up armed to destroy one another."

Travelers coming from the Atlantic States, with the intention of descending the Ohio and going into the western states, preferred the National Road to the one which came from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and was made by the State of Pennsylvania. The

1. Niles, Weekly Register, XXVIII., 161-162.
2. Ibid., XXIX., 147.
   Ibid., XXXVII., 165.
3. Ibid., XXIX., 422. February 25, 1826.
4. Ibid., XXXVI., 271.
   Ibid., XXXVI., 304. "Owing to the great influx of emigration, provisions of all kinds are very scarce."
   Latrobe, C. J., The Rambler, II., 221-222. Speaks of Illinois as "a country rapidly filling with settlers."
5. Niles, Weekly Register, XL., 141.
   Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 130.

(4.- Cont.)
   Reynolds, J., My Own Times, 304. 1830 "For several years past, a strong tide of emigration has flowed in upon us. Its wilderness has been subdued; and thriving villages and cultivated farms are now scattered over its whole extent."
traffic of the Pennsylvania "turnpike" was therefore much diminished, and the people of that State, as well as many of the other states, who derived no immediate benefit from this road, were opposed to any grants being made by Congress for keeping it in order.

The conveyance of goods from the eastern ports to Pittsburgh, to be sent from that place to the western country, created much business and contributed to the rapid growth of the city. In the year 1813, no less than 4055 wagons engaged in this trade, were calculated to have reached Pittsburgh. During the eight months from April to December, 1815, no less than $356,000 were paid at Pittsburgh alone for the carriage of goods brought to and unladen at that town, by wagons, from the seaports of the Atlantic. The value of the goods so brought was supposed to be three and a half to four million dollars. During the year 1817, about 12,000 wagons passed between Baltimore and Philadelphia, carrying from 35 to 40 cwt. The cost of carriage was about $7 from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and the money paid for the conveyance of goods on this road, exceeded 300,000 pounds sterling. Fearon says, "The articles sent from Philadelphia are hardware, and what are denominated "dry goods" This term includes all articles of woolen, linen, cotton, and silk.

1.- Franchepain, Travels, 90-91.
2.- Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Travels, IX., 86.
   Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 207. Says that 4,000 wagon loads of dry goods, groceries, etc., and 1,000 wagon loads of iron were received at Pittsburgh in 1813.
3.- Niles, Weekly Register, X., 371.
   Ibid., X., 231. Wagons with upwards of 3,500 pounds have reached Pittsburgh in 13 days from Philadelphia.
4.- Birkbeck, M., Notes, 29.
   Ibid., 128. The land carriage from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh is from $7 to $10 per cwt.
   Fearon, H. B., Journey, 186, 196.

references to this trade.
Those returned from Pittsburg are farming produce, chiefly flour."

For the next few years the trade of Pittsburg failed to increase so rapidly as formerly. The tradesmen, though living well and saving money, complained of hard times, saying that peace had thrown the ocean trade into New Orleans, which they in time of war monopolized. Pittsburg also suffered on account of the enormous influx of British goods, which were imported for the purpose of breaking down the new manufacturing establishments. Wheeling, being better situated for ready communication with the western country, at all seasons began to draw away some of the trade of Pittsburg.

About the year 1818 the States of New York and Virginia began to show themselves as the rivals of Pennsylvania, which till that time, with the exception of New Orleans had enjoyed the most considerable portion of the commerce of the west.

1. Pearson, H. B., Journey, 186. Niles, Weekly Register, XIII., 116-117. "A merchant from Marietta, Ohio, has just left this city (New York) with several tons of goods (it being his second trip,) who takes them from Albany by way of Geneva and Hamilton on the Alleghany River, to his place in the State of Ohio. This gentleman is of opinion that goods can be transported from this place to Pittsburg for considerably less than they can be taken from Philadelphia over the mountains to Pittsburg."

2. Pearson, H. B., Journey, 205. "The state of trade is at present dull, but that there is a great deal of business done must be evident from the quantity of "dry goods" and "grocery stores", many of the proprietors of which have stocks as large as the majority of London retail dealers."

Fordham, E. P., Travels, 75.

3. Niles, Weekly Register, XXVIII., 82. Birkbeck, M., Notes, 34. Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, XIII., 41. "To judge of the inland commerce carried on betwixt Philadelphia and Pittsburg, a stranger has but to view this road at the present season All day I have been brushing past wagons heavily loaded with merchandise, each drawn by five and six horses.

4. Welby, A., Visit, Early W. Travels, XII., 197. Niles, Weekly Register, XV., 267. "It has been estimated that three millions of dollars worth of goods were at Pittsburg on
Pittsburg in 1821, was carrying on a considerable trade with Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, and likewise some little with New York, by way of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, and the lakes. The price of carriage from Philadelphia and Baltimore had now been reduced to $4 to $6 for one hundred weight.

Flint writing a few years later, says, "But the wealth, business, and glory of this place are fast passing away, transferred to Cincinnati, to Louisville, and other places on the Ohio. Various causes have concurred to this result, but especially the multiplication of steamboats, and the consequent facility of communication with the Atlantic ports by the Mississippi. There is little prospect of the reverse of this order of things. The National Road, terminating at Wheeling, contributes to this decay of Pittsburg. Her decline is not much regretted, for she used to fatten on the spoils of the poor emigrants that swarmed to this place."

The trade of Pittsburg may have been on the decline, but scarcely so bad as Flint paints it. One traveler, on the road between Baltimore and Frederick, on March 3, 1827, passed 235 wagons in a distance of 35 miles.

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the 7th ult. (December, 1818) waiting for a rise of the waters, to descend the river, as well as a multitude of travelers and emigrants."

5.- Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, XIII., 38.

1.- Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 25.

2.- Ibid., XIX., 27.

Niles, Weekly Register, XXVII., 149. "The number of wagons loaded for Pittsburg, by a single house last year was upwards of 200; and the freight alone, at the present reduced rate, amounted to $24,000. (from Philadelphia).

3.- Flint, T., Recollections, 17.

Hall, J., Letters, 34. Agrees with Flint's statement of the causes of the decline.

4.- Niles, Weekly Register, XXXII., 34.

Ibid., XXXI., 165. "The river remains low. But the number of heavily laden keels which arrive and depart daily, show that
Another element contributing largely to the growth and prosperity of Pittsburg was her manufacturing establishments. In 1810 the manufactures of this city amounted to $1,000,000, and in 1814 it was estimated that their value would be doubled. The 'Register' of April 9, 1825 says that Pittsburg is "the greatest manufacturing town in the United states." The articles manufactured at Pittsburg were sent to the western country, New Orleans, and the West Indies. During this period the population of Pittsburg increased from 4740 inhabitants in 1810 to 22,433 in the city and its suburbs in 1830.

Cincinnati, but a small and unimportant village before 1811, suddenly sprang into prominence during this period and even

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the improvements in the channel have been such as to secure us an uninterrupted navigation from Pittsburg westward, at the very lowest stages of the water."
Ibid., XXXIV., 411. "Pittsburg goes on prosperously. The happy union of the two arms of the American system will make her great, her manufactures and the location of the Pennsylvania Canal

1. - Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 208.
2. - Ibid., XXVIII., 82.
4. - Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 208.
5. - Ibid., XXIX., 219.

For references to manufactures see
Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 208.
Ibid., XVII., 341.
Ibid., VIII., 141.
Thomas, D., Travels, 52.
Fordham, E. P., Travels, 75-76, 71-72.
Fearon, H. B., Journey, 203.
Rirkbeck, M., Notes, 33-34.
Nuttall, T., Travels, Early W. Travels, XIII., 45.
Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 25.
Niles, Weekly Register, XXIX., 180.
Ibid., XXXV., 102.
Hall, J., Letters, 34.
Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 132, 147, 426-427.
Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVI., 66.
Ibid., XXXVII., 178.
Ibid., XXXIV., 346.
threatened to become the serious rival of Pittsburg. The manufacturing industry contributed largely to the growth of this town. In 1814 the 'Register' speaks of Cincinnati as being "the busiest town in Ohio, and except Pittsburg, and Lexington, the greatest place of manufacturing in the western country." In 1825 the manufacturing industry of this city amounted to $1,800,000, not more than fifteen steam engines being employed in manufactures.

In 1830 the 'Register' speaks of this city as follows: "Cincinnati, 'the queen of the West' goes on rapidly to increase in population and wealth. Her happy location is made the most of by industrious and enterprising freemen. Manufactures abound, and a spirit of improvement prevails. Labor is honored, and profits are constantly added to capital. This city seems long since to have recovered from the effects of certain speculations which, for a considerable time, checked its advancement." Iron articles and cabinet furniture were the chief articles of manufacture exported from the city.

The making of sugar mills for Louisiana and the West Indies formed a large business at Cincinnati, and also at Pittsburg and Wheeling.

1. - Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 209.
3. - Hall, J., Notes, 270.
4. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 86.
5. - Hall, J., Notes, 174. A period of distress in the western country which reached its height about 1819.
6. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 180.
7. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 410.
8. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 86. Speaks of the exportation of chair and cabinet wares.
9. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 293.
The trade, especially the exports, formed a very large element of the business of Cincinnati. Birkbeck, writing in 1818, says, "Cincinnati is, however, a most thriving place, and backed as it is already by a great population and a most fruitful country, bids fair to be one of the first cities of the West. We are told, and we cannot doubt the fact, that the chief of what we see is the work of four years. The hundreds of commodious, well furnished brick houses; the spacious and busy markets; the substantial public buildings; the thousands of prosperous well-dressed, industrious inhabitants; the numerous wagons and drays; the gay carriages; the shoals of craft; the busy stir prevailing everywhere, all testify to the prosperity of the city. Pork formed the chief article of export. The 'Register' in 1827, says, "The pork business of this city is equal if not of greater magnitude, than that of Baltimore, and is, perhaps, not exceeded by that of any place in the world. The exports of Cincinnati in 1820 were worth about $1,000,000, including both manufactures and other articles. The opening of the Miami Canal increased the trade of Cincinnati, by making it the place of deposit for the produce exported from the surrounding country. In 1812 the sale of imported articles amounted to $250,000 per year; about 1830 the imports, of which dry goods formed the principal item, were estimated to be worth five million dollars.

1.-Birkbeck, M., Notes, 70.
2.-Niles, Weekly Register, XXIV., 176.
3.-Ibid., XXXII., 35. In three months, 40,000 hogs were packed in Cincinnati. See also, Niles, Weekly Register, XL., 142.
4.-Hall, J., Notes, 270.
Flint, T., History and Geography, Appendix, 211. From Cincinnati in 1831 the exports were over $1,000,000.
5.-Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVIII., 86-87. Ibid., XL., 52.
6.-Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 209.
7.-Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 410.
Fearon, H. B., Journey, 231. Flint, J., Letters, Early W. Trav-
The population of Cincinnati in 1815 was 6,498; in 1826, 16,230; and in 1830, 25,279.

Louisville derived her greatest advantage from the river trade. Before the building of the canal, goods brought down the river, had to be unloaded here and carried around the Falls. The steam boat commerce of this city amounted in 1820 to 29,014 tons. The wealth of Louisville was employed chiefly in the importation of merchandise from New Orleans, and the eastern cities, and the shipment of western produce to the Southern and Atlantic markets. Manufactures were developed to some extent. The population increased from 1350 in 1810, to 10,336 in 1830.

Marietta had, in the early period, engaged quite extensively in the ship building industry, which declined from about 1807 to 1816, when it was revived again. In 1814 this town was engaged in manufacturing and carried on quite a brisk trade, but Ogden, in 1821, says that it was rapidly declining.

Wheeling derived much advantage from her location, being situated at a point where the Ohio was navigable at all seasons. It was the principal depot for the supply and commerce of that part.

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1. Niles, Weekly Register, X., 16.
2. Ibid., XXXII., 35.
3. Ibid., XXXIX., 5.
5. Niles, Weekly Register, XXXII., 89.
7. Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 250.
10. Flint, History and Geography, I., 355.
of Virginia in 1819, and in 1823 enjoyed considerable importance on account of the great quantity of merchandise brought to and from the Ohio along the National Road. Boat building was carried on to some extent in Wheeling. By 1829 this town had engaged quite extensively in manufactures.

Steubenville, Ohio, was the market for the produce of the surrounding country, which it supplied with English and West India goods. As early as 1815 this town began to establish manu- factories, and in 1825 was exporting many thousand dollars worth of cloth to the Atlantic States. In 1817 the city contained 2032 inhabitants, and in 1830, 3153.

Maysville, Kentucky, was the principal river port for the northeastern part of the State. The greater part of the goods from Philadelphia and the eastern cities were landed here, and dis- tributed over the state.

Vincennes, Indiana, served as a place of extensive supply of merchandise to the interior of that state. Vevay, Indiana, was also quite a commercial town. Zanesville, Ohio, became a thriving town, engaged in manufactures and trade.

Shawneetown, Illinois, enjoyed a share in the trade on the river.

2. - Tranchepain, Travels, 91.
3. - Niles, Weekly Register, XXXVI., 298.
4. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 431-432.
5. - Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 34.
6. - Niles, Weekly Register, VIII., 452.
7. - Ibid., XXVIII., 82.
8. - Ibid., XII., 144.
9. - Ibid., XXXVIII., 339.
11. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 356-357.
12. - Ibid., I., 378.
13. - Ogden, G. W., Letters, Early W. Travels, XIX., 42.
14. - Flint, T., History and Geography, I., 414.
15. - Niles, Weekly Register, VI., 209.
These river towns developed and increased in importance as the river trade became an ever increasing object of importance. Pittsburg and Cincinnati were by far the two greatest commercial and manufacturing centers of this western country during the years 1811-1830. As this great stream of emigrants poured into the West, the soil was brought into cultivation, and its surplus produce exchanged for articles of home and foreign manufacture.
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