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PORT WASHINGTON at  
Cincinnati, Ohio. A brief  
Account now for the first  
time given by *Robt. Ralston  
Jones.*



Class 7471

Book 155













ALTO-RELIEVO OF WASHINGTON,  
IN THE DRAKE HOUSE, ON THE SITE OF FORT WASHINGTON,  
CINCINNATI, OHIO.



# FORT WASHINGTON

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO.

ROBT. RALSTON JONES.

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*Published by the Society of Colonial Wars*

*in the State of Ohio.*

1902.

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**TO MR. HERBERT JENNEY,**

**GOVERNOR OF THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS  
IN THE STATE OF OHIO.**

Through whose personal efforts the plan for marking the site of Fort Washington, at Cincinnati, was successfully carried out, this paper is respectfully dedicated.

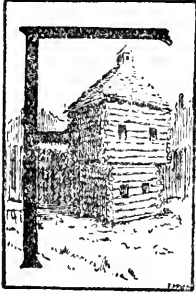
**ROBT. RALSTON JONES.**

CINCINNATI, OHIO,  
JUNE 1ST, 1902.



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**F**ORT WASHINGTON at Cincinnati was designed primarily for the protection of the settlers in the Miami Country, that is, the region in southwestern Ohio, lying between the Little Miami and Great Miami rivers, distant from each other, as measured along the meanders of the Ohio, about twenty-seven miles.

Two years had not elapsed after the close of the Revolution, before the Ohio valley witnessed a most remarkable immigration. Through the shadows of the tangled forest, over the dangerous mountain trail, and down past the rocks and shallows of an unknown river, by wagon and on foot, in rude flatboat and frail canoe, these pioneers came into the valley of the "Beautiful River." The true story of their sufferings has been but imperfectly recorded; their achievements, however, speak for themselves. They vanquished the wilderness, they built up a free state, they founded homes, not for their children alone, but for all the oppressed peoples of the earth. The chief actors in this drama could not grasp the magnificence of the scheme which they unfolded; but, with rare faith and courage, these simple-hearted men and women performed the homely duties nearest at hand; they took the rifle and the axe, the plowshare and the sword, and made the wilderness to blossom like a rose. Settlements sprang up like the magic plants which grow at the bidding of an eastern juggler; but, where these

pioneers of the valley came, there also followed the schoolhouse and the church, fit emblems of time and immortality.

A special impetus was given immigration to the region north of the river Ohio by the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, which provided for the erection of the North-west Territory.

The exodus to Ohio from the eastern states then attained such large proportions, that means were employed to arrest it.

In Massachusetts, penny pamphlets were issued, filled with cartoons intended to ridicule the western movement.

One such cartoon gave the meeting of two men on horseback; the one "stout, ruddy, well dressed, on a sleek fat horse," and labeled "I am going to Ohio." The other man was thin, scantily dressed, and bestrode a perfect "crowbait" of a horse. This was marked "I have been to Ohio" (1). Ridicule is a sharp weapon, but in this case it did not suffice to check the onward march of emigration.

The year 1788 witnessed the founding by New Englanders of a settlement at the mouth of the Muskingum River, April 7, which was named Marietta, in honor of the unhappy Queen of France. This settlement, filled with a spirit of enlightened freedom, recognizing as did the early colonies in New England, the benefits which come from educational and religious advancement, flourished and grew to exert a tremendous power for good in all that later transpired in the Territory North-west of the river Ohio.

In July of the same year a colony which had been

(1.) Discourse of Mr. Timothy Walker, Ohio Histl. & Philos. Soc. Trans. Part II, vol. 1, p. 135.



**JUDGE JOHN CLEVES SYMMES,**

**PROPRIETOR OF THE LANDS ABOUT FORT WASHINGTON.**

From engraving in possession of his great granddaughter,  
Mrs. Betty Harrison Eaton, of North Bend, Ohio.

John Cleves Symmes, born was on Long Island, N. Y., July 21, 1742; but removed to New Jersey, from which state he entered the Revolutionary Army as Colonel of the 3d. Battalion Sussex County New Jersey Militia. Resigned from army to accept the appointment of Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. While still holding position on Supreme Bench he was delegate to Continental Congress 1784-5. He had also served as Lieutenant-Governor and member of the Council. He married a daughter of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, and resided at Newton, N. J. While on the bench he presided (1782) at the famous trial of James Morgan the murderer of the patriot, Reverend James Caldwell. Judge Symmes obtained in August 1787, a grant from Congress for the purchase of one million acres of land, lying between the Miamis and bordered on the south by the Ohio River. After many complications and difficulties, this amount was reduced to between three and four hundred thousand acres. Judge Symmes removed with his family to the Northwest Territory, of which he was appointed one of the judges in 1788. He died in Cincinnati, February 26, 1814.



organized by John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey, for settlement in the Miami Country, set out from Elizabethtown, and proceeded overland to what was then called "Redstone Old Fort," now Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on the Monongahela River. When the expedition departed by river from Redstone, it numbered about thirty persons, prominent among them being Captain Benjamin Stites, to whom belongs the honor of having personally explored the valleys of the Little and Great Miami rivers, two years before.

It was eminently fitting that Captain Stites, having been the explorer of the Miami Country, and having first urged upon Judge Symmes the natural advantages of the two valleys, should receive warrant No. 1 of the Miami Purchase. This warrant, which bore date of December 7, 1787, called for 640 acres of land "at the point betwixt the mouth of the Little Miami and the Ohio in the pint."

The little colony of Judge Symmes sailed down the Monongahela and Ohio rivers, landing about August 24 at Fort Harmar. At this point their movements are noted in the journal of a gallant young officer of the garrison, who remarks as follows: "Judge Symmes, with several boats and families, arrived on their way to his new purchase on the Miami. Has a daughter (Polly) along. They lodge with General and Mrs. Harmar. Stay three days and depart. If not mistaken, Miss Symmes will make a fine woman. An amiable disposition and highly cultivated mind about to be buried in the wilderness" (2). The writer of this journal, having spent the winter of 1785-86 in Fort Finney, at the lower end of the Symmes purchase, was well qualified to give an

(2.) Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny.

opinion on the character of the surroundings in which Miss Symmes would soon be placed.

The little party of colonists, after a rest of several days, left Marietta about August 27, and proceeded to Limestone (now Maysville, Ky.), where a block-house had been built, and a brisk little settlement had sprung up four years previously. Limestone at this time, and for some years afterwards, was the port of entry for the country about Lexington, in the blue grass region. Lexington had acquired some note as early as 1779, and the road which led out to it from Limestone went over an ancient "Buffalo trace," remains of which can still be seen.

Judge Symmes after a short stop at Limestone, where he left his family, pushed on to the present site of Cincinnati, arriving there on the 22nd of September (3). He at once began the exploration of the back country, so far as the northern line of the fifth range of townships, and extending westward to the Great Miami. He even started on the descent of that stream, but having been deserted by his escort, was forced to return to the place of his original disembarkation opposite the mouth of the Licking River. He soon after returned to Limestone, where he remained for several months.

Captain Stites, after spending more than two months in preparation for building, by sawing out lumber for the cabins, set out from Limestone on November 16, and reached the locality mentioned in his land warrant on November 18, landing at a point a little below the mouth of the Little Miami River. On the next day the colonists set to work with great activity, building cabins and several blockhouses. The

(3.) Letter from John Cleves Symmes to Jonathan Dayton, October 22, 1788.



location of the first blockhouse erected by Captain Stites's party has been fully identified by the writer as being on Sec. 29, Tp. 5. It stood on the bank of the Ohio River, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami. The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long, built of large round logs. It survived the ravages of time until April 25, 1838, when it was undermined during a time of flood, by the swells from passing steamers (4).

The low-lying plain on which the Columbia colonists first established themselves was exceedingly fertile, a portion of it known as Turkey Bottom having been cultivated for years by the Indians. The ground was, however, not well chosen for a town site, as it was overflowed in the spring following the coming of the colonists; and in later years the freshets of winter and spring have covered a large portion of the plain.

With the exception of a few scattered houses, this early settlement has been crowded back upon the higher ground to the northwest of the site originally selected.

In a little more than a month after Captain Stites and his party disembarked near the Little Miami, a small party landed in Yeatman's Cove, at what would now be the foot of Sycamore Street in Cincinnati. This settlement, which took place on the 28th of December, 1788, was made upon land which Matthias Denman of New Jersey, one of the associates of Judge Symmes, had contracted for as his portion of the Miami Purchase.

The site was well chosen, the higher banks rising above the reach of floods while a range of lofty hills

(4.) See Appendix I for original narrative of Mr. Thomas Gregory.

enclosed a large amphitheater of comparatively level ground, then covered by a dense growth of timber. The clear waters of Deer Creek on the east, and Mill Creek on the west, flowed down to the Ohio through beautiful little valleys bordering the site of the town.

The country was dry, healthful, and well watered, while the virgin forest on every side furnished a more than sufficient supply of building material. Nearly opposite the landing place lay the mouth of a rapid little stream (the Licking), navigable, however, in high water, which rose amid the distant hills of central Kentucky then the nearest settled country to the southward.

Judge Symmes was obliged to remain at Limestone far longer than he desired. Christmas and New Year had both passed and still he prolonged his stay, the weather meanwhile growing more and more inclement, and the dangers of navigation becoming intensified by reason of the ice with which the Ohio River was filled.

This delay appears to have been made in order to give time for the conclusion of treaties with the Indians, then in progress at Fort Harmar; or, if the treaties should fail of successful termination, then to secure military protection for the settlers on the Miami. On the 22nd of September, Lieutenant Kersey arrived at Fort Harmar with forty-eight recruits from New Jersey. Early in December the greater portion of this force was dispatched to Limestone, where they arrived December 12, and where at Judge Symmes's request, a sergeant with eighteen privates was detached and sent down to protect the settlement which had been made by Captain Stites at Columbia. In the latter part of the same month, a company of settlers from the upper portion of the Ohio River started from Limestone, intending to occupy the buildings at Fort Finney near

the Great Miami River, This was a work which had been erected by the troops in 1785, and later evacuated when the fort near Jeffersonville was erected. The company, however, after great peril from the ice, managed to land at the Columbia settlement and abandoned their original plans.

The treaty at Fort Harmar was signed on the 9th of January, 1789, and on the 29th of the same month Judge Symmes with his own family and those who remained of the families of other settlers who had already gone forward, set out with Lieutenant Kersey's (5) command for the mouth of the Great Miami.

After a long voyage, rendered somewhat dangerous by the ice in the river, the party was forced to disembark on the 2nd of February, at North Bend, about six miles above the spot originally chosen for settlement. At this time the land immediately about the mouth of the Great Miami River was covered by the waters of a winter freshet.

Judge Symmes who was the original promoter of the scheme for settling the Miami Country had projected his city upon a peninsula lying between the Ohio and Great Miami rivers. It was thus located that it might control the commerce of the latter stream, for Judge Symmes mistrusted that the trade of the Ohio might pass without halting at his settlement. The first site proposed for this city on the Miami was directly at the junction of the two rivers, upon land as low and probably as fertile as that on which Columbia was first built. When Judge Symmes, soon after

(5.) Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny.

Lieutenant (later Major) William Kersey was from New Jersey, which in the first regiment organized for the defense of the western frontier, had contributed one company. In this company, Kersey was an ensign. He had served more than seven years in the Continental Army, rising from his position as private in the ranks in 1778 to be captain at the close of the war. In the Army of the United States he rose from an ensigncy in 1784, to be lieutenant, captain, and major. Major Kersey died in the service March 21, 1800.

his arrival at North Bend, visited in a boat the mouth of the Miami, he found to his chagrin, that although the flood had subsided some fifteen feet from its highest level, it still covered the site he so much coveted.

It was evident, therefore, that a new site must be selected, and accordingly a plan was laid out which stretched across the neck of land, northwestward from North Bend to the Great Miami. The general surface of this region was somewhat irregular and cut up by ravines and small water courses, while the portion nearest North Bend and bordering the Ohio was hemmed in by high hills which left but a scanty foothold at their base.

When spring opened in the year 1789, there were, as has been shown, three small settlements stretched for about twenty-one miles along that portion of the Miami Country which fronts the Ohio River (6).

The settlement at Columbia, the earliest of the three, enjoyed the protection of several blockhouses; but the settlers were obliged to depend entirely upon their own efforts for defense as the small detachment of Lieutenant Kersey's command, which had for a time remained with them, was withdrawn when Judge Symmes arrived from Limestone early in February.

North Bend, as shown by the correspondence between John Cleves Symmes and Jonathan Dayton (7), also had a blockhouse at this time, with a guard of twelve effective men, under command of Ensign Luce (8). This detachment included nominally eighteen privates, but some were disabled by sickness, besides which there were one or two desertions and some deaths at the hands of the Indians.

(6.) See Appendix II.

(7.) Letter of John Cleves Symmes to Jonathan Dayton, July 17, 1789.

(8.) The name of Francis Luce (Luce) ensign, is appended to the treaty with the Wyandots at Fort Harmar, January 9, 1790, as a witness to that document. He resigned from the service in March, 1790.



**BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSIAH HARMAR**  
UNDER WHOSE COMMAND FORT WASHINGTON WAS BUILT.

From portrait by Peale.  
Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Josiah Harmar, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1753, and educated at the famous Quaker School of one Robert Proud. Served in Revolutionary Army from October 27, 1775 to November 3, 1783, retiring with rank of brevet Colonel. In following year conveyed dispatches from Congress to Paris announcing formal ratification of peace. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of United States Infantry Regiment, August 12, 1784, and remained at the head of the Army until superseded by General St. Clair in 1791. Under his command Fort Washington was built. He conducted the campaign which bears his name, in September and October 1790; and owing to adverse criticism resigned from the service January 1, 1792. Returned to Pennsylvania and there served six years as Adjutant-General. He died in Philadelphia, August 20, 1813, and was buried with military honors.



The blockhouse at North Bend was probably a small and perhaps a rude structure, as Ensign Luce was illy supplied with even the simplest tools like axes and shovels. Indeed, Judge Symmes was obliged to lend him such articles. It is said that Lieutenant Kersey originally desired to locate his command in the old buildings which still remained at Fort Finney, but for some reason this was not done (9). There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a blockhouse was erected at North Bend early in the year 1789, and that Ensign Luce remained at his post, affording to the settlers the best protection possible with his small force, instead of slipping off to Cincinnati after a black-eyed beauty, as one respected historian has supposed (10).

There is no authentic record of the existence of a blockhouse at the Cincinnati settlement in the spring of 1789; although one had been built here when the expedition against the Shawanees was undertaken by George Rogers Clark, nine years before (11).

When the army of the western frontier first took station on the Ohio River, it was at Fort McIntosh; but, as new outposts were from time to time erected further to the westward, the commander of the army found it necessary to move his headquarters to some more central point. Accordingly General Harmar proceeded with his family to the fort which bore his name, at the mouth of the Muskingum. He arrived about the middle of July, 1786, and still retained his headquarters at Fort Harmar when the building of Fort Washington was begun.

(9.) Letter from John Cleves Symmes to "Hon. Captain Dayton," May 18-20, 1789.

(10.) Burnet's Notes, Ed. 1847, pp. 51-57. N. B. Judge Burnet was not living in Cincinnati at the time in question and wrote of the incident only as he had been told.

(11.) Letter of John McCadden, May 16, 1842, American Pioneer, vol. I, p. 377.

The question of establishing a post in the Miami Country, had evidently been discussed between General Harmar and the War Department, before even the conclusion of the treaty at Fort Harmar. Under date of January 22, 1789, General Harmar wrote to Major Wyllys as follows: "It is not improbable but that two companies will be ordered to be stationed at the mouth of the Great Miami, not only as a better cover for Kentucky, but also to afford protection to Judge Symmes in his intended settlement there \*

\* \* \* . If the two companies should be ordered to take post at or near the mouth of the Great Miami, provision can be conveniently laid in and forwarded from Limestone by Lieutenant Schuyler." Although the claims of the Miami settlements for protection against the Indians had been strongly urged by Judge Symmes and his friends in Congress for sometime before, it was not until the last of the summer of 1789, that the construction of an effective, and for the times, an imposing fortress was begun at the Cincinnati settlement.







**LIEUTENANT EBENEZER DENNY,**  
ADJUTANT AT FORT WASHINGTON, 1760-61.

Courtesy Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Ebenezer Denny was born in Carlisle, Pa., March 11, 1761, being the eldest child of William Denny and Agnes Parker. His mother was the sister of Mr. Alexander Parker, the original proprietor of the land on which the city of Parkersburg, W. Va., now stands. The life of Ebenezer Denny was full of adventure and romance. When a mere lad of thirteen years, he was the trusted dispatch bearer to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt. During the early part of the Revolution he served on an American Privateer, and later entering the Continental Army as ensign, served to the close of the war, having then the rank of lieutenant. He was appointed ensign in the Army of the United States in 1781, and served up to the time of his resignation in the spring of 1791, leaving the army with the rank of captain. Two years later he was commissioned by the Governor of Pennsylvania to protect the frontier at Venango and Presque Isle. At the former place he built a new work near the site of the old French and English forts. Lieutenant Denny served through the campaigns of Harmar and St. Clair and was the trusted aide to both these officers. He was several times the bearer of important dispatches from Harmar and St. Clair to the War Department, traveling through the well-nigh unbroken wilderness in the performance of such duties. His journal published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society is the most valuable record of this period. Major Denny died on his place near Pittsburg, Pa., July 21, 1822.





IN THE EARLY part of August, 1789, Captain David Strong (12) received orders to proceed to the Miami Country. Accordingly, with a full company of seventy men, and his two subalterns, Lieutenant Jacob Kingsbury (13) and Ensign Hartshorn, (14) Captain Strong set out from Fort Harmar on the 9th of August (15). Two days later Major John Doughty, an artillery officer of great ability, and second in command to General Harmar, set out for the same region, "for the purpose of selecting the site of a fort intended to protect the settlers on the Symmes Purchase" (16).

In the early days of the Army of the United States, it was not uncommon for officers in the Artillery

(12.) Captain (later Lieutenant Colonel) David Strong, a native of Connecticut, who after faithful service in the Continental Army, from which he retired with rank of captain, entered the Army of the United States in which he served up to his death at Fort Wilkinson, Ill., August 19, 1801. Captain Strong took part in at least the preliminary work involved in the building of Fort Washington. He subsequently constructed Fort Wilkinson, twelve miles below Metropolis, Ill., and was in command at Fort Jefferson in 1792, and Detroit 1799.

(13.) Lieutenant (later Colonel) Jacob Kingsbury, a native of Connecticut, who had served throughout the entire Revolution and was commissioned Lieutenant in the First Regiment of United States Infantry, October 15, 1787. After serving under successive commanders in the various reorganizations of the Army, he was honorably discharged June 15, 1815, forty years after his first enlistment as a private in the Continental Army. At the time of his retirement he held the rank of colonel. A year before his retirement he had been Inspector-General. Colonel Kingsbury died July 1, 1837. While Kingsbury took part in all the various campaigns against the Indians, he is particularly associated with the defense of Dunlaps Station on the Great Miami River in January, 1791. At this time his cheery courage animated the little garrison to hold out against great odds, until help was procured from Fort Washington.

(14.) Ensign (later Captain) Asa Hartshorn, of Connecticut, entered the United States Army in 1787. After performing much useful duty on details to protect surveyors and the government geographer, he served against the Indians and was killed during the Wayne campaign June 30, 1794, under the walls of Fort Recovery. This action was between an escort of 150 United States troops and a body of Indians probably assisted by British agents and French volunteers.

(15.) Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny.

(16.) Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny.

branch of the service to perform duties more strictly pertaining to the Engineers, in fact the two corps were at one time combined as the "Artillerists and Engineers." Major Doughty had, moreover, established a fine record during the war of the Revolution, and subsequent thereto was intrusted with various important missions on the western frontier. He was not only held in high esteem by his commanding officer, but by others qualified to form an opinion. Major Doughty(17) too had the advantage of experience in this line, having constructed Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, in 1785—6. For all these reasons he was chosen by General Harmar as a trusted and efficient officer to select the site and design the plan of the proposed fortress.

Major Doughty after a passage down the Ohio, which consumed a week's time, arrived in the Miami Country on the 16th of August; and five days later he sent a letter to General Harmar, which embodied a report on his expedition. The Major had spent three days in making a reconnoissance of the region between the Miamis, during which time, he carefully weighed the advantages offered by various localities.

He considered the matter of safety from floods, the surroundings of the proposed site as affecting the health

(17.) Major John Doughty was a native of New Jersey, the eldest son of Joseph Doughty and Siche Wiltsie, and was born "the 8th day of ye 6th month 1757." He served in the Continental Army, in the Artillery, except for a short time (in 1777) when he was aide to General Schuyler, and retired at the close of September 1783 with the rank of brevet major. He was appointed Major of the Artillery Battalion, United States Army in 1784, resigned from the service in 1791, but in 1798 reentered it as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Regiment of Artillerists and Engineers. Two years later he permanently retired from the service, and died September 16, 1826. Major Doughty was the designer and constructor of Fort Harmar on the Muskingum in 1785 and the designer of Fort Washington in 1789. He held command at Fort McIntosh, Fort Harmar and Fort Washington, and in 1791 executed a hazardous mission to the Indians of the Tennessee from which he narrowly escaped with his life. Major Doughty was an enthusiastic horticulturist and it is said originated the famous Doughty peach which for many years flourished about the Muskingum River.

of a garrison, and also looked into the question of water supply for the fort.

Of all the places examined, he considered that the best selection he could possibly make was "opposite Licking River, high and healthy, abounding in never failing springs" (18).

Major Doughty's report was accepted as satisfactory, and General Knox, Secretary of War, was duly informed thereof by General Harmar.

The situation of the fort having thus been determined, it only remained to carry out the plan which had been prepared by Major Doughty. To this end about the 4th of September, Captain William Ferguson (19) was ordered with his company "to join Captain Strong in erecting a fort near the Miami"; and Lieutenant Pratt, who was then acting as post Quartermaster, was ordered to proceed to the same point (20).

The work of actual construction thus began very promptly, and was carried on under the personal supervision of Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt, (21) who performed their duties in such satisfactory man-

(18.) Report of General Harmar to General Knox, Secretary of War, September 12, 1789.

(19.) Captain (later Major) William Ferguson was from Pennsylvania and had served in the Corps of Artillery during the Revolution. He was appointed Captain in the United States Army in 1785. He appears to have been the principal constructor of Fort Washington at Cincinnati in 1789, and during the preparations for the campaign two years later, he was very actively engaged in the repair and manufacture of arms, gun carriages, etc. He was killed during the St. Clair campaign, November 4, 1791. Major Ferguson had married Susanna, daughter of Maskell Ewing, Secretary of the Grand Lodge (Masonic) of New Jersey. Maskell Ewing's name appears as Secretary on the original charter granted to the Nova Caesarea (Harmony) Lodge of Cincinnati, dated September 8, 1791. Major Ferguson shortly before he set out on campaigns of 1791, purchased the lot on S. W. corner of Broadway and Fourth Street, opposite the upper end of the military reservation on which Fort Washington stood.

(20.) Lieutenant (later Captain) John Pratt was a native of Connecticut, who had served in the Continental Army from which he retired with the rank of lieutenant. He was appointed to the same rank in the Army of the United States in 1785, and resigned in December 1793. He was regimental quartermaster in 1789, when Fort Washington was under construction, and in fact the army lists show him carried as Acting Quartermaster-General at this time.

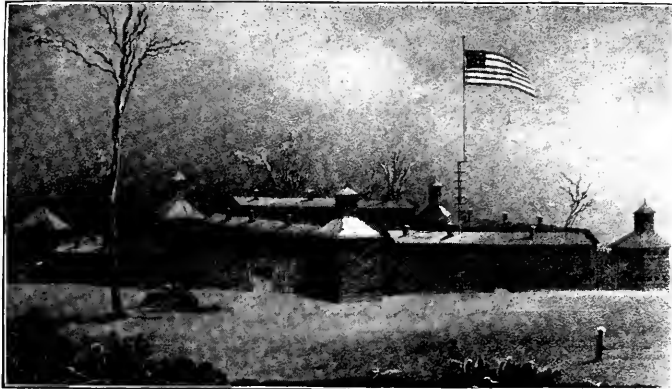
(21.) Report of General Harmar to General Knox, Secretary of War, January 14, 1790. See Appendix II.

ner that they were mentioned in a special report to the Secretary of War.

The various forts on the western frontier were very similar in outline and the methods employed in their construction were almost identical. There were of course slight variations in the disposition of the blockhouses, and the height of palisade work; but as a rule, the outline of each fort was rectangular, with blockhouses, or in military parlance, bastions, located at the angles. The first step taken in the building of a fort was the clearing of the ground of all underbrush and the cutting down of the trees, close to the ground, for a distance of several hundred yards all about the proposed site.

The blockhouses were next constructed, being sometimes, as in the case of Fort Steuben and Fort Harmor, set obliquely to the faces of the curtains, or side walls, of the fort. Generally, however, the faces of the blockhouses were parallel to the curtains, but projected about half their width beyond them. This arrangement permitted of a raking fire from the blockhouses, along the face of each curtain, and so made the scaling of the palisades by an enemy almost an impossibility. The blockhouses were usually two stories in height, with the upper story projecting beyond the lower, and pierced with loop holes for muskets. The blockhouses which were commonly about twenty feet square, were built of heavy logs hewed, at least on the upper and lower edges, in order to bring them, when laid, into close contact. The logs were built up in horizontal courses and notched together at the corner of the blockhouse.

In the middle of each curtain, the walls of the fort were formed by the barrack buildings or storehouses built also of logs but without projection of upper stories.



**FORT WASHINGTON AT CINCINNATI, OHIO.**

BUILT 1780. DEMOLISHED 1808.

From a sketch by Major Jonathan Heart, U. S. A., in 1791.

Jonathan Heart was born in Kensington (now Berlin), Connecticut, in the year 1744, his father, Deacon Ebenezer Hart, being a descendant of one of the early settlers in the Colony. Jonathan Heart was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1768. After the completion of his collegiate studies, Heart taught school in New Jersey, but returned to his native state prior to the Revolution. He started with the volunteers of the "Lexington Alarm," was a private at Bunker Hill, and an ensign at the siege of Boston. After a service of eight and one-half years in the Continental Army, Heart retired at the time of its final disbandment, November 3, 1783, with the rank of brigade-major. In 1775 Heart was appointed captain of one of the two companies which Connecticut furnished as her quota to the Army of the United States, and he then conducted his company across the country from Connecticut by way of West Point to Fort Pitt and thence down to Fort McIntosh, where the company went into garrison. During Heart's service in the army of the frontier he performed much useful work. He was the designer and constructor of Fort Franklin at French Creek, Penna. Heart was promoted to be Major of the Second Regiment of Infantry in 1791, and arrived at Fort Washington on the 20th of April. Between this time and the departure of the troops on the St. Clair Campaign in the following autumn, Major Heart made the sketch which is given above. In the engagement of November 4, 1791, Heart (with many of the officers and men of his regiment) was killed.





The spaces along the curtains which intervened between the blockhouses and barracks, were filled with palisades. These palisades were formed by tree trunks cut into such lengths that after being placed upright in a trench about four feet deep, they would rise from ten to sixteen feet above the surface of the ground. The lower end of the logs composing the palisade, were carefully squared off, and the upper ends usually pointed.

The edges of the palisades where they came in contact with each other, were slightly hewed to remove any great irregularities, and the tightness of the wall was further insured by a second row, the logs of which were placed behind the joints of those in the outer row. Horizontal string pieces were secured by wooden pins to the upper ends of the palisades to bind them all firmly together.

The roofs of all buildings and the floors were usually constructed of the rough plank riven or sawed from logs, unless, as in the case of Fort Washington, other more suitable lumber was obtainable. Chimneys were constructed of stone, or of small sticks laid up "cob house" fashion, chinked and lined with clay.

The earth from the trench in which the palisades were erected, was replaced and carefully rammed about them; while outside of the fort, ditches were dug, usually quite shallow, which provided for the surface drainage,

Ordinarily the frontier forts, as already observed, were constructed wholly of the material nearest at hand; they were literally hewed out of the forest; but in the case of the fort which Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt were building, there was a cheap supply of lighter and better lumber for certain portions of the structure.

Contemporary accounts of Fort Washington state that its walls were built from trees cut from the forest which then thickly covered the plateau round about. The more exposed portions, the blockhouses, barracks, and palisades, were doubtless constructed of logs, as the heaviest material obtainable from the small flatboats then plying upon the Ohio, would hardly prove bullet-proof. In fact, General Harmar in his report does not state that flatboat timbers alone entered into the Fort's construction, and we may infer that of the purchased material, this was the only lumber used, for he ends his remarks with the expression, "thus much for the plank work." The log work costing nothing beyond the labor of the soldiers, which was free, he did not consider.

A sojourn in the wilderness had taught the soldiers self-reliance and ingenuity. Of all the material used in the construction of the fort, the Government was put to expense only for glass, nails, wagon hire, and such lumber as was taken from the flatboats. Stone for the mason work in foundations and lime, was near at hand in abundance. The soldiers burned the lime themselves and performed all other necessary labor. The virgin forest all about the fort, contained material for the heavier portions of the structure; while the lumber from flatboats furnished floors, roofing material, doors, sentry boxes, etc. These flatboats were purchased at Limestone, some 40 or 50 in all, at a cost of from one to two dollars each. They were so called Kentucky flatboats, which had come down the river laden with emigrants or supplies; and having fulfilled their purpose were now of little or no value and could be purchased very cheaply. Indeed such boats after having been unladen were often cut adrift and allowed to float down the river in order that room might be made for fresh arrivals.

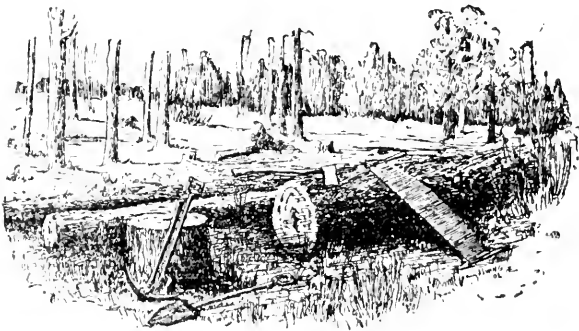
As to the size of the fort, the best authorities including depositions and maps presented as evidence in court, justify the statement that the blockhouses were each about twenty feet square; and that about one hundred and eighty feet intervened on each side, between the four blockhouses situated at the angles of the fort. A deposition made in the United States Court many years later by one who had been a soldier at the fort, establishes the fact that the buildings used as barracks were located, one in the middle of each of the four sides, and that the one on the side facing the Ohio River was divided into six rooms of twenty feet each. These rooms were arranged three on each side of the principal gateway. As this gateway was about twelve feet wide, the entire length of the south, or river side, barracks, making allowance for the necessary partitions between the rooms and the end walls, was about one hundred and thirty-five feet. To fill in the space between the ends of the barracks and the blockhouses at the angles of the fort, would require about twenty-two and one-half feet of palisade work at each end of the barrack buildings. According to the deposition already alluded to, there was a sort of triangular extension on the west side of the fort, terminated by a fifth blockhouse which must have stood near the present east line of Broadway. This extension is not alluded to by other deponents, nor was it shown on the map presented in Court, nor does General Harmar mention it in his report to the Secretary of War; and it may have been added subsequently to that time. Captain Heart, however, shows such an extension in the sketch which he made in 1791.

The southeast blockhouse of Fort Washington was used for the transaction of official business.

In the center of the quadrangle stood a flag-

staff. As regards the water supply for the garrison, there was at least one well within the walls of the fort, this one having been dug during the summer of 1791, by one John Robert Shaw, then an enlisted soldier at the fort (22).

(22.) "Life & Travels of John Robert Shaw, the Well Digger."  
Pub. Lexington, Ky., 1807.



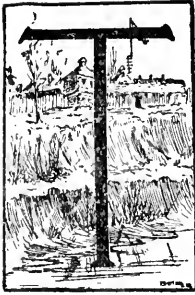


**MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR,**  
GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

From pencil sketch by Trumbull, Irving's *Life of Washington*,  
Edition, 1859.  
Courtesy G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Arthur St. Clair was born in the town of Thurso, Scotland, in the year 1734. He entered the University of Edinburgh and for a short time studied medicine with Dr. William Hunter, of London; but after his mother's death in the winter of 1756-7 he purchased a release from this engagement and procured a commission as Ensign in the Royal American (Sixtieth) Regiment of Foot. In the following year (1758) St. Clair sailed with General Amherst in the fleet of Admiral Boscawen, arriving before Louisburg May 28. For gallantry in the siege which ensued, St. Clair was promoted to a lieutenancy in 1759, following which he served under Wolf at the taking of Quebec. In 1760 he married a Miss Phoebe Bayard, niece of Governor James Bowden, resigned his commission two years later, and resided in Boston until 1764, when he removed with his accomplished wife to the wilds of Western Pennsylvania. The marriage portion of his wife together with his own fortune now made St. Clair a rich man, and he later became the holder of but little less than eleven thousand acres of land. St. Clair served throughout the Revolution, leaving the army at its close with the rank of major-general. The war had, however, left him a man of broken fortune. In 1786 General St. Clair was a delegate to Congress and the next year was chosen President of Congress. Shortly after the passage of the ordinance which created the North-west Territory, St. Clair who had been its friend, was chosen the first Governor. On the 9th of July, 1788, the Governor's party arrived at Marietta under the escort of a body of troops commanded by Major Doughty, and was received with military honors including a salute of fourteen guns from Fort Harmar. From this time until 1802, St. Clair governed a territory whose area was greater than that of the British Isles and France.





THE SHORES OF the Ohio River in front of Fort Washington, rose rather steeply to a terrace about 55 feet above low water, which extended for some distance east and west. This terrace was the land first built upon when Cincinnati was settled, but the ground was not sufficiently elevated to insure it against overflow

by the freshets of winter and spring. This lower terrace extended back from the top of the river bank about four hundred and fifty feet, being terminated on the north by a second bank which rose precipitously some thirty feet higher. Fort Washington stood upon the second terrace, which extended back from the upper edge of the second bank, at an elevation of between eighty and ninety feet above low water in the Ohio River. The lower terrace was originally covered by a growth of white walnut, water maples, hickory, and ash trees; with a few very large sycamores. One of these sycamores, situated near Deer Creek a little above its mouth, was hollow and of such a great size, that a woman who acted as laundress (about 1796), for the garrison at Fort Washington, occupied it as a dwelling; the broken end of a hollow limb which projected from the trunk being utilized as a chimney (23).

The second terrace was also heavily wooded, back to the hillsides which on three sides hemmed it in. There were a few white oak and poplar trees, but the

(23.) Recollections of Samuel Stitt, Cincinnati in 1859, by Charles Cist, p. 146.

forest growth consisted mostly of black and red oaks, hickory, beech, ash, and black walnut (24).

Fort Washington standing there upon the second terrace, quite above the reach of the highest floods in the Ohio River, looked down upon the little hamlet which had already begun to spread out upon the lower plane. The fort was sufficiently removed from the edge of the upper bank to leave an esplanade from sixty to eighty feet in width, extending along its entire front. The great gateway of the fort opened upon this esplanade which may have been used as a drilling ground for small bodies of troops. At the edge of bank a picket fence extended along the esplanade.

The ground surface of the lower terrace sloped back from the edge of the outer or river bank to the foot of the second bank so that the water collected here in the winter, forming a skating pond which extended across Eastern Row (Broadway), and for a little distance north of Pearl Street.

The picture presented by the fort from the river side must have been quite imposing, rising high above the river, with its blockhouses and barrack buildings two stories in height, connected by lines of high pickets; the whole white and glistening in the open sunlight, for the forest trees had been cleared away from about the fort.

Fort Washington was a sight to gladden the heart of a weary voyager descending the Ohio, standing as it did, an emblem of the growing power of a young Republic, and an earnest of that marvelous expansion through which the country has since passed.

High above all else, from the mast within the quadrangle of the fort, floated a flag, then but little

(24.) Judge Matson to Charles Cist, 1845.



known or honored among nations; but now recognized and respected throughout the world.

The construction of the fort at Cincinnati made such progress that General Harmar, even before the close of September, began to plan the removal of headquarters to the new station. To an old friend, Colonel Francis Johnson, he wrote: "I am shortly going to make my headquarters down opposite Licking River." A few days later in another letter, he says: "Your humble servant is a bird of passage. Sometime the latter end of next month, or beginning of November, I shall move down the river, bag and baggage (leaving Ziegler's (25) and Heart's companies at this post for the protection of our New England brethren), and shall fix up my headquarters opposite Licking River. I am in hourly expectation of the Governor" [General St. Clair] (26). General Harmar was, however, delayed at the Muskingum longer than he anticipated, for in November he wrote to General Mifflin, as follows: "It will afford me great happiness if you could steal three or four months from the Atlantic, and spend them with me. I am now on the wing, expecting to move down the Ohio in a few days, and to fix headquarters opposite the mouth of Licking River about three hundred miles below this garrison, where I

(25.) Captain (later Major) David Ziegler was born in Heidelberg about 1748. He had probably seen more extended military service than any officer in the army of the frontier, having been in the Saxon Army, as well as the armies of Frederick the Great, and Russia. He served in the Continental Army from 1775 and was once captured by the British. In the year 1784, Ziegler was appointed Captain in the Army of the United States and was promoted Major in 1790, but resigned March 5, 1792. While stationed at Fort Harmar in 1789 he married Miss Sheffield of Marietta, his friend, Lieutenant Denny, acting as best man at the wedding. After his retirement from the Army, Major Ziegler engaged in business in Cincinnati, where he died September 21, 1811. He was the first President of the City Council after Cincinnati had become incorporated in 1802. In 1804 he was the first United States Marshal for the District of Ohio and in 1809 the Surveyor of the Port of Cincinnati. Major Ziegler was in command of Fort Harmar in the latter part of 1789, and after the St. Clair defeat was in command of Fort Washington during the latter part of December 1791, also January and part of February, 1792.

(26.) Letter of General Harmar to General Richard Butler, September 28, 1789.

should be proud of being honored with your company. Venison, two or three inches deep cut of fat, turkeys at one pence per pound, buffalo in abundance, and cat fish of one hundred pounds weight, are stories that are by no means exaggerated. I am going to a country where there is a much greater plenty of game than is here at present" (27).

General Harmar left the Muskingum on the 24th of December and after a passage of four days arrived at the new fort opposite the mouth of Licking River with a command embracing about three hundred men.

Now for the first time the fort received a name in the official reports. General Harmar writing to the Secretary of War says: "On account of its superior excellence, I have thought proper to honor it with the name of Fort Washington" (28).

General Harmar and his command carried with them the sincere regrets of the Marietta Colony. An address of thanks for the zeal he had shown in protecting the settlement, and wishes for the General's continued welfare, was forwarded to him at Fort Washington early in January, 1790. This address was signed on behalf of the people of Marietta by a committee of prominent citizens.

General Harmar was evidently pleased with the situation of his new post, and took measures to make his surroundings still more pleasant by the laying out of gardens for his own use, beyond the military reservation. He wrote to Judge Symmes early in March stating that he wished to secure an acre or so "near the garrison, on the east side of it, for the purpose of making a garden. I suppose, by applying to Mr. Ludlow, he will be able to stake off three or four lots ac-

(27.) Letter of General Harmar to General Mifflin, November 9, 1789.

(28.) See letter of General Harmar to General Knox, January 14, 1790.

Appendix II.



LIEUTENANT (LATER MAJOR) ERKURIES BEATTY,  
PAYMASTER AT FORT WASHINGTON.

Erkuries Beatty, of Pennsylvania, was born October 9, 1759. During the Revolution he served as lieutenant, from 1777 to the close of the war; and after this he was clerk in the War Department until commissioned a lieutenant in the United States Infantry Regiment in 1784. After having been promoted captain and major, he resigned from the army in the fall of 1792. For several years he was Paymaster of the Army, and to reach the various posts, traveled through the settlements of Virginia and Kentucky bordering the Ohio River. His journal of this period is valuable and interesting. Major Beatty died at Princeton, New Jersey, February 23, 1823.



cordingly. I wish you to give him the necessary directions" (29).

This garden was located south of Third Street and east of Ludlow, and the location of a certain summer house thereon became an important point for determination, some years later, when the situation of lots adjoining the garrison became a matter of litigation (30).

On the 2nd of January, 1790, General Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed Governor of the North-West Territory, arrived at Fort Washington and after a brief stay, during which he organized the county of Hamilton and appointed judges, set out again for the Illinois country with an escort of fifty men under command of Lieutenant Doyle (31). In a letter to Mr. Jonathan Williams of Philadelphia General Harmar recalls the pleasant hours spent with the former in Paris, whither the General had gone in 1784 as the official messenger of Congress to convey the news of the peace with Great Britain. He says: "Here we are delightfully situated on the most beautiful river in the world, LaBelle Riviere, opposite the Licking in Kentucky. You'll wonder at this when you call to mind the handsome meanders of the Seine at the foot of your old quarters. Society, unless what the military

(29.) General Harmar to John Cleves Symmes, March 7, 1790.

(30.) A case in the United States Courts, later described herein.

(31.) General Harmar's letter of January 14, 1790. See Appendix II. Also Memorandum of Benjamin Van Cleve. See Appendix XVI.

Lieutenant (later Major) Thomas Doyle was from Pennsylvania, and had served more than four years during the Revolutionary War, leaving the Continental Army at its final disbandment, November 3, 1783. Having been appointed a lieutenant in the First United States Infantry Regiment in 1781, he was promoted successively to be captain and major. He took part in various engagements and was honorably discharged, November 1, 1796. He died February 13, 1805. Major Doyle was a perfectly fearless man as was shown on more than one occasion. He once traveled for miles in the Indian country accompanied only by a guide, visiting the Indian villages and urging the chiefs to attend the treaty making at Fort Finney in 1788. At the time of St. Clair's campaign, having been temporarily deserted by his command, Doyle served as a volunteer with the Artillery. Major Doyle in 1794 rebuilt the old French Fort Massac, near Metropolis, Ill.

affords, is entirely out of the question. Buffalo, venison, turkeys, and fish of an enormous size (when the season arrives), we have in great abundance. If ever Miss Fortune, the slippery jade, should direct your course to the westward, it will give me great pleasure to regale you with some of our dainties. You shall have a hearty soldierly welcome" (32).

It is pleasant to note the part taken in scientific research by the officers of this frontier army.

General Harmar himself took a broad interest in such matters, and closely occupied as he was in perfecting plans for the protection of the frontier, he yet found time to secure and send eastward, fragments of the mastodons which had been discovered at "Big Bone" Creek in Kentucky, forty-four miles below Fort Washington. Later the General arranged to send down Doctor Allison, (33) the surgeon of the post, for a week's work among the giant remains of these animals, and writes to a friend: "Upon his return I am in hopes to be able to send you a proper collection of the bones, and worthy of your acceptance, as the Doctor is curious in these matters" (34).

Early in the year, 1790, the Indians became troublesome upon the Ohio River above Fort Washington, attacking the stations of the settlers and even fleets of descending boats.

General Harmar reported to the Secretary of War, the destruction of Kentons Station, situated about fifty

(32.) Letter dated from Fort Washington, February 25, 1790.

(33.) Dr. Richard Allison was a native of Pennsylvania, who after serving more than five years during the Revolution, had been appointed Surgeon's Mate in the United States Infantry Regiment in 1784 and was promoted Surgeon in 1788. He continued in the Army until the time of his honorable discharge in 1796. Dr. Allison lived on the east side of Lawrence Street near its intersection with Third Street in Cincinnati, that is a little east of Fort Washington. His fruit trees were so famous that his place was sometimes called "Peach Grove." The house of General Lytle, which in 1902 is still standing, was built upon the Allison place.

(34.) General Harmar to Dr. Caspar Wistar, of Philadelphia, April 5, 1790. N. B. This promise was fulfilled by sending the bones of mastodons sometime prior to August 17, through Lieutenant Ernest, at Fort Pitt.

miles above Limestone, and the death or capture of all the people in the station, supposed to be ten or twelve. About the same time a body of Indians supposed to be Shawanees attacked a fleet of descending boats near the mouth of Scioto River, and secured plunder whose value was estimated at £4,000. A member of the Virginia Legislature, Mr. Buckner Thruston, being upon one of the boats thus attacked, made a formal statement and complaint which was forwarded to the War Department (35).

It finally became necessary to place small squads of soldiers on the boats of the army contractors, in order to insure their safe passage down the river. The character of the cargoes brought down in this way was extremely heterogeneous, one such boat containing clothing for the soldiers, sheet-iron, cartridges, and flints for the muskets (36).

(35.) General Harmar to General Knox, Secy. of War, March 24, 1790. See also Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny under head of April 17 1790.

(36.) General Harmar to Capt. Ziegler, April 5, 1790.





**D**URING THE five years which immediately followed the building of Fort Washington, that post was an important base of operations against the Indians. After the Treaty of Greenville August 3, 1795, the importance of the fort in this respect, declined, and before the beginning of the War of 1812, the fort had passed out of existence.

The first of the retaliatory campaigns against the Indians subsequent to the Fort Harmar Treaty in 1789, was sent out from Fort Washington about April 20, 1790. This expedition, which included about 300 men, was directed against the Shawanee villages on Paint Creek, whose warriors had committed many bold depredations on the boats of settlers passing the mouth of the Scioto, in which they had secured much valuable plunder.

The Indians, however, kept posted regarding the movements of the army, and the inhabitants of the villages deserted them before the arrival of the troops. The command, therefore, after passing down to the mouth of the Scioto about May 2, returned to Fort Washington, without the accomplishment of any definite purpose.

Soon after the time that Governor St. Clair returned to Cincinnati from the Illinois country, where several months had been spent in organizing Territorial Government (37), he held a consultation with General Harmar with reference to a fresh campaign.

(37.) Governor St. Clair set out from Fort Washington for the Illinois country about January 5, 1790, and returned July 11. He had suffered a long delay at the "Falls" (Louisville), from the failure of the army contractor to furnish provisions.





**WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,**  
ENSIGN AT FORT WASHINGTON, 1791.

Born in Berkley, Virginia, February 9, 1773. Died in  
Washington, D. C., April 4, 1841.

DELEGATE TO CONGRESS.  
GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.  
MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. A.  
NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The original portrait hung on the walls of the famous "Old Log Cabin" at North Bend, Ohio, which was destroyed by fire in 1858. A copy of that portrait of General Harrison has been procured through the kindness of his granddaughter, Mrs. Betty Harrison Eaton.



This was to be sent against the Maumee towns near the St. Mary River, where, according to advices received by General Harmar, the Indians had determined to assemble, for the purpose of making a descent upon his troops (38).

#### HARMAR CAMPAIGN.

Preparations for the campaign were pushed, so far as laid in the power of General Harmar and his officers, in the most energetic manner. Requisitions for pack horses, ammunition, and supplies of all kinds were sent in, and Captain Ferguson, the artillery officer, was soon busily engaged with his men in overhauling the artillery, arms, and stores. To quote the adjutant of the regiment: "Indeed every officer was busily employed in something or other necessary for the expedition, but particularly the Quartermaster Pratt (39). No time was lost."

A call for levees of militia had been made by Governor St. Clair, and those from Kentucky began to assemble at the fort on the 18th of September, followed soon after by the detachment from Pennsylvania. The militia as a body were not of the best type, they were not the genuine frontiersmen who had figured in the border wars of the Revolution. Some had little knowledge of woodcraft or the use of fire arms, and were in many cases the substitutes for better men who could not leave their improvements. The arms brought in by the militia were old and dilapidated to such an extent that the artificers at the fort soon had their hands full in making needed repairs. Disputes among the various officers of the levees, were quieted by the ap-

(38.) General Harmar received advices to this effect from Major Hamtramck then at Fort Knox (Vincennes, Ind.).

(39.) Captain John Pratt, regimental quartermaster. Major John Belli was also acting quartermaster in this campaign.

pointment of Colonel Hardin (40) to command all the militia. The force of regular troops was swelled by two companies commanded respectively by Captains Ziegler and Heart, which had been in garrison at Fort Harmar. These companies arrived September 25, and the next day Colonel Hardin with his command set out, followed on September 30 by the regular troops, with General Harmar as Commander in Chief of the expedition.

The route taken by General Harmar, on his march to the Maumee towns came to be called "Harmar Trace" by the early settlers, and for much of its course can be located with some definiteness. Attention has been directed in the opening portion of this article to the fact that the Indian war parties were accustomed to cross the Ohio River into Kentucky at a point nearly opposite the mouth of the Licking River. Stealthy as was the tread of the redman, long continued use of any given trail wore down at last a narrow pathway, easily recognizable by the woodcraft of the frontiersman.

Three such principal trails or traces led down to the Ohio at the point where Cincinnati now stands, and when the early settlers of Kentucky began to execute retaliatory measures upon the Indians who made

(40.) Colonel John Hardin was born in Farquar County, Va., October 1, 1753; but about twelve years later his father removed from his old home to the wilderness which then stretched along the northern border of Virginia. John Hardin became such a skillful marksman that he commanded both the fear and hatred of the Indians, so that his death, many years later, has been attributed to the feeling against him thus engendered. Hardin was an ensign in Lord Dunmore's War in 1774, and during the Revolution was much of the time attached to the Rifle Corps commanded by General Daniel Morgan. It was to a daring reconnaissance within the enemy's lines, made by Hardin, that Gen. Gates owed one of his successes in the Northern Campaign; but Wilkinson then assumed the credit for the undertaking. In the year 1786, Hardin removed to Kentucky and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia; Kentucky then forming part of Augusta County, Virginia. He served in Clark's expedition against the Wabash Indians and in fact all the Indian campaigns except that of St. Clair. In 1792, Colonel Hardin was selected to bear a letter from Washington to the Indians. While performing this mission under flag of truce, Hardin was treacherously killed and scalped by the Indians, on the site of the town which bears his name in Shelby County, Ohio, a little prior to May 10.

raids upon their infant settlements, what was more natural, than that the white man should follow back to the Shawanee towns in the path made by the Indian himself. In this way the expeditions under Colonel Bowman in 1779 and General Clark in 1780-2 came to follow these ancient roads of the redman, and so clear and widen them, that they became sufficiently well marked to be recognized for many years thereafter. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Greenville the condition of the country became settled and the pioneers felt the necessity for better roads than those offered by these primitive trails, which were fit only for pack animals. They accordingly set themselves to work widening still further these old Indian-military traces, and making them fit for rude vehicles; so that they became the first highways in the Miami Country, many of them remaining in use to this day. The older roadways in this country between the Miamis were therefore developed according to the principles of evolution. First perhaps a deer path or buffalo trace, then an Indian trail, then the Indian trail widened a little by Kentucky frontiersmen to allow the passage of light artillery; later these trails widened still further by the campaigns of 1790-1791 and 1795; until at last the Ohio settlers seized upon them and made them highways, so preserving to this day the trail of the primitive savage.

It was over the most easterly of the three principal trails, that General Harmar set out from Fort Washington, about the middle of the forenoon, on September 30, 1790.

This course led, probably by way of Main and Sycamore streets, up over the hill now known as Mount Auburn, (41) and thence by way of Auburn and

(41.) It was while being borne down this steep hill, wounded and lying upon a litter, that Colonel McCracken died, November 4, 1782, as the second expedition of General Clark was returning to the settlements of Kentucky.

East Auburn avenues, trending to the northeast, north, and east along the ridge leading down to the old Lebanon Road near Oak Street in Avondale. The trace then followed the direction afterwards covered by the old Lebanon Road, dipping down into the little cross valley leading from Mill Creek to the Little Miami, until at nightfall a camp was formed near where Ross Run now crosses the public highway.

Lieutenant Armstrong (42) who has left a journal of this expedition, describes the first day's march as covering "about seven miles N. E. course—hilly rich land," and the second day's march, which terminated on the banks of a small branch of Mill Creek near the present town of Sharonville, as leading "through a level rich country, watered by many small branches, waters of Mill Creek \* \* \* about eight miles." This was through Mill Creek Valley. Continuing along the general course of the present Lebanon Road and passing a little south and east of where the town of Lebanon now stands, the trace turned over to the Little Miami River and crossed it at a point about one mile below a branch called Sugar or Caesar's Creek. From here the trace led along the east side of the Little Miami, generally in sight of this river, as far as Old Chillicothe, an Indian village (now Oldtown), and there recrossing the Miami, struck over to the Mad and Big Miami rivers. On October 11, they came to the

(42). Lieutenant (later Colonel) John Armstrong was a native of Pennsylvania, from which state he entered the Continental Army in 1776 as a non-commissioned officer; but he was promoted through successive grades to the rank of captain at the close of the war. He was appointed to an Ensigny in the Army of the United States, and retired in 1793 with the rank of major. His conduct in the Harmor campaign was illustrative of his great tenacity of purpose, when out of a command numbering thirty men, he lost twenty-two before reluctantly falling back from the position to which he had been assigned. He had held command of Fort Pitt, Fort Finney (or Steuben) at Jeffersonville, Ind., and Fort Hamilton. After his retirement from the United States Army, he served as Colonel in the Militia of the Northwest Territory, Treasurer of the Territory and Judge in the courts of Hamilton County. He had received the confidence of Harmor, St. Clair, Wilkinson, and Wayne to a remarkable degree. His death occurred in 1816, on his farm in Clark County, Indiana.

old "French Store," which Lieutenant Denny estimated to be distant from Fort Washington about one hundred and seven miles. The march continued, some of the time through very swampy land, to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers, where they unite to form the Maumee. On the 19th of October a severe engagement took place at a point about eight miles beyond the principal Miami town, which was located immediately east of the St. Joseph River. This battle ground was about eleven miles distant from the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The result of this fight, which involved the advance guard of about three hundred men under Colonel John Hardin, was an entire defeat for the troops. Two miles east of the Miami town just described, and removed a little to the north of the Maumee River, was a village of the Shawanees, which has been called Chillicothe. The name is one frequently applied to the Indian villages and has no special significance. It does not mean the Chillicothe (or village) upon the Scioto River, nor that upon the Little Miami (now Oldtown) four miles north of Xenia. While Colonel Hardin and his advance guard was giving battle to the Indians, General Harmar with the main army marched to this Shawanee Chillicothe, or village, two miles from the Miami town, and destroyed the Indian huts and their corn. General Harmar had found it necessary to reprove the troops (more particularly the militia), in general orders on the 18th and 20th. About the middle of the forenoon on October 21, the army turned back towards Fort Washington and camped for the night about eight or nine miles from the confluence of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers. Up to this time the troops had destroyed the principal Miami town, and five

scattering villages belonging to the Shawanees, Miamis and Delawares. Colonel Harmar was now strongly urged to permit a return to the Indian towns, and take by surprise the inhabitants, who had supposedly returned to their ruined habitations. Accordingly a picked force of four hundred men, made up of both regulars and militia, set out at midnight, under command of Major Wyllys, (43) the intention being to reach the ruined villages about daybreak on October 22. The Indians were, however, upon the alert and succeeded in drawing the main body of the troops on a futile pursuit which led up the St. Joseph River, leaving the rest of force to bear the brunt of the battle. This engagement resulted in great loss of life among the troops (44).

An extract from a letter written by Captain (afterwards Major) Jonathan Heart from Fort Harmar, December 3, 1790, shows how stubborn was the fighting in this engagement of October 22. He says: "A regular soldier on the retreat near the St. Joseph River, being surrounded and in the midst of the Indians, put his bayonet through six Indians, knocked down the

(43.) Major John Palsgrave Wyllys was born in 1754, being the son of George Wyllys of Hartford, Conn., and a direct descendant of that George Wyllys who was governor of the colony in 1641-2. He was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1773, and three years later entered the Continental Army, where his military experience included the siege of Boston, the campaign about New York and the Hudson, the dreary winter at Valley Forge, and the campaigns in Virginia and about Yorktown. He was appointed Major in the First Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, in 1785, and in the following year for a time was in command of Fort Finney near the mouth of the Great Miami River. In the campaign above noted, Major Wyllys commanded a detachment of regulars. According to Mr. Brice, the local historian of Fort Wayne, Ind., Major Wyllys with other officers and men, was buried not far from the Maumee River near a ford in the vicinity of the residence of a Mr. Compere. In his report to the Secretary of War, General Harmar speaks of Major Wyllys as one who "united the talents of a cultivated mind with the best virtues of the heart."

(44.) The regular troops lost two officers, Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham; and forty-eight men. The total killed and missing of the army was 183; but it was believed that among the missing were many deserters. Major Fontaine who led the cavalry, charged gallantly against the enemy; but was deserted by his men and killed. Captains Thorp, McMurtry, and Scott; Lieutenants Clark and Rogers; together with Phisigns Bridges, Sweet, Higgins, and Thielkield, all officers of the militia levies, were among the slain. (Journals of Lieutenants Denny and Armstrong.)



seventh, and the soldier himself made the eighth dead man in the heap."

An early writer who secured his information from those who actually took part in the Harmar campaign, says in regard to the second engagement: "Nothing could exceed the intrepidity of the savages on this occasion; the militia they appeared to despise, and with all the undauntedness conceivable, threw down their guns, and rushed upon the bayonets of the regular soldiers; a number of them fell, but being so far superior in numbers, the regulars were soon overpowered, for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head." (Samuel L. Metcalf, Lexington, Ky., 1829.)

The remainder of this day was spent in reorganizing the troops and making litters for the wounded. On October 23 the return march was begun, and Fort Washington was reached November 3. At no time on this expedition did the Army march over to the Scioto River which was many miles from the scene of conflict; yet certain writers, failing to follow the narratives of those who were actually present at the fight, have taken it for granted that the name of Chillicothe applied to the town of that name on the Scioto. It is possible that the confusion has been heightened by the fact that an expedition was led out against the Shawnee towns on Paint Creek, not far from Chillicothe on the Scioto, some five months prior to the Harmar expedition, as has already been described in these pages.

The campaign was a disastrous one, although at first it was believed by Governor St. Clair to have been a success and was so reported by him to the Secretary of War (45). General Harmar was severely

(45.) This was directly after the arrival at Fort Washington, of runners, bearing the news of the destruction of the Maumee village.

and probably unjustly criticised for the maneuver begun on the night of October 21, when Major Wyllys was sent back to the Indian towns to surprise such of the enemy as might have returned to their habitation, then destroyed. In regard to this matter, Lieutenant Denny, the Regimental Adjutant, then also Acting Adjutant General, and Brigade-Major, says: "The design of sending back Major Wyllys with his command, was evident to all the army, and would have answered the fullest expectation, provided due obedience had been observed on the part of the militia, but owing to their ungovernable disposition, an excellent laid plan has in some measure been defeated."

On returning to Fort Washington, the militia crossed the Ohio to the present site of Covington, where they formed camp and were promptly mustered out.

Lieutenant Denny, carrying dispatches from General Harmar to the War Department, set out from Fort Washington, November 7th, and pursuing his journey on horseback by way of Lexington, Crab Orchard, and the Wilderness Road, arrived at Philadelphia, December 12, having been thirty-five days on the way. General Harmar keenly sensitive to adverse criticism, requested a Court of Enquiry, to pass upon his conduct in the campaign. This Court of Enquiry was convened in the southeast blockhouse of Fort Washington on the 15th day of September, 1791, by Major General Butler, (46) its President; the other members of the

(46.) Major-General Richard Butler was one of five brothers, all of whom performed service in the war of the Revolution. Richard, the eldest, was born in Ireland, from whence his parents removed prior to 1760, settling in Pennsylvania. He was present at the surrender of both Burgoyne and Cornwallis. Subsequent to the war, General Butler was Indian Commissioner, and with Generals Clarke and Parsons concluded the treaty at Fort Finney—near the Great Miami River—January 31, 1786. In the campaign under St. Clair, General Butler commanded the right wing of the army with the rank of Major-General.



**THE LOCK OF THE GREAT GATE OF  
FORT WASHINGTON.**

This lock is constructed of wrought iron and wood. It is about fourteen inches long and seven and one-quarter inches wide. The key is six and one-half inches long.

When Fort Washington was demolished, Mr. Joseph Coppin, one of the pioneers of Cincinnati, secured the lock, and it has been in the possession of his family ever since.



court being, Lieutenant Colonels Gibson (47) and Darke (48). The finding of this court was highly favorable to General Harmar, but he resigned January 1, 1792, and returned to private life.

In passing judgment upon the success or failure of the campaign projected by General Harmar, many things which seriously affected his plans must be taken into account. It is not the purpose of this article to examine these matters in minute detail, but simply to call attention to the fact that over the two elements which appear to have been most prominent in defeating the plans of the campaign; viz., the undisciplined condition of the auxiliary troops, and the wholly inadequate nature of the commissary department, General Harmar could exercise little control. It is true he might have delayed his campaign until the troops could be brought into proper form, as did General Wayne, several years later; but, on the other hand, these auxiliary forces were restive from the first and began to desert before the march was fairly under way. A strong pressure was also brought to bear upon the General to begin his campaign without the delay necessary for proper disciplinary formation. The history of all the wars in

(47.) Lieutenant-Colonel George Gibson was born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1747. He received an excellent education, and just prior to the American Revolution was employed as super-cargo on vessels engaged in trade with the West Indies. He served in the Continental Army from 1776 to 1782 and after the close of the war was County Lieutenant for the County of Cumberland, Penna. He joined the frontier army in 1791, and in the engagement of November 4, 1791, commanded the Second Regiment of Levies. He fell mortally wounded, and was removed to Fort Jefferson, where he died on the 11th of the following December.

(48.) Lieutenant-Colonel William Darke was born in Shepherdstown in Jefferson County, Virginia. Darke served in the French-Indian war and was present at Braddock's defeat. He joined the Continental Army at the outbreak of the Revolution, and was captured at Germantown; but on his release he rejoined the Army and took part in the siege of Yorktown. In the Constitutional Convention of 1788, Colonel Darke representing the County of Berkeley, voted to adopt the Federal Constitution. In the St. Clair campaign, Colonel Darke commanded the left wing of the army, and in the engagement of November 4, he twice drove back the Indians in a gallant bayonet charge. His only son, Captain Joseph Darke, fell mortally wounded in this engagement. Colonel Darke was a man of huge size, and was frank and perfectly fearless in his bearing. He died November 20, 1801.

which this country has been engaged, has shown the absolute necessity for a careful and strict disciplinary probation, before troops could be used for arduous and long continued service. The brilliant but spasmodic exceptions to this rule, which have sometimes marked the history of this nation's wars, do not affect the general truth.

#### RAIDS AGAINST THE WABASH INDIANS.

The campaign of General Harmar had been so indecisive in its results, that serious alarm was felt by the settlers in the Ohio Valley lest the Indians combine for a general attack upon the whites. The Legislature of Virginia was asked to furnish temporary assistance until another campaign could be set in motion (49), and Washington was also appealed to for aid (50). At this juncture a plan was devised which it was hoped might afford at least temporary protection, and at the same time leave the regular troops in garrison until their ranks could be refilled by recruiting in the East. A local Board of War was appointed by the general government, which, acting under the advice of General St. Clair and the Secretary of War (51), provided bodies of volunteer troops for the purpose of making raids into the enemy's own country, and so avert an attack upon the settlements.

(49.) The Legislature of Virginia was memorialized for temporary aid in December, 1790, and Governor Randolph in the following month notified President Washington regarding certain protective measures which had been taken by the state.

(50.) Rufus Putnam, who had been intimately associated with Washington as his military engineer in the campaigns about New York in 1776, made an appeal by letter to the President, January 8, 1791, setting forth the defenseless condition of the settlements on the Muskingum River.

(51.) Shown by a letter of General St. Clair to Brig. Gen. Scott, dated from Fort Washington May 18, 1791; also letter from Gen. Knox to Brig. Gen. Scott, March 9, 1791. Gen. Scott led the first expedition consisting of about eight hundred men, who crossed the Ohio River near the mouth of the Kentucky, May 23. After inflicting severe blows upon the Indians whose towns were situated near where Lafayette, Ind., now stands, the command returned to the Kentucky settlements by way of the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), June 14, without the loss of a single man. (Report of Gen. Scott to Secretary of War, June 28, 1791.)

During the spring and summer of 1791, two such expeditions were sent out, both composed of mounted volunteers.

The second expedition made its rendezvous at Fort Washington, from which point it set out on the 1st of August, numbering about five hundred and twenty-five men, under command of James Wilkinson holding the rank of Brigadier General. He first made as if to strike the Miami villages, but changing his course more to the westward, pushed over to the Indian towns lying about the confluence of the Eel and Wabash rivers, near the present site of Logansport, Ind. Besides destroying several towns, and killing or taking prisoners, many Indians, the growing corn was cut down for a second time that season. But for the laming of a great number of horses, the raid might have accomplished even more than it did. As it was, General Wilkinson felt obliged to turn back sooner than he desired. This expedition was remarkable for the celerity of its movements, (52) so that when it returned to the settlements by way of the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), August 21, a march of about four hundred and fifty miles from Fort Washington had been made in the space of twenty-one days (53).

#### ST. CLAIR CAMPAIGN.

In the year following the unfortunate campaign of General Harmar, Fort Washington was the scene of active preparations for a second expedition into the Indian country.

General Arthur St. Clair, the Governor of the North-west Territory, had made a brief visit to Fort

(52.) The average progress each day of march was a little more than twenty-one miles. This is in marked contrast to later marches made by foot soldiers where the average progress each day was less than four miles. The superiority of mounted troops in a campaign requiring rapid movements, was very clearly demonstrated at this time; but the lesson was not applied in the subsequent campaign.

(53.) Report of Gen. Wilkinson to Governor St. Clair, August 24, 1791.

Washington in January 1790, stopping for three days only, while on his way to the Kaskaskia country in Illinois. The Governor was absent until about mid-summer, but after that time, much of his correspondence is dated from the fort. He lived at one time in a house on Front Street about 50 yards west of Lawrence Street. The nearest way from this house to the fort, was by way of the "trace," as one witness (in a lawsuit many years later), called the shallow ravine which occupied the present line of Ludlow Street, on the east side of the reservation. One can picture the stately old Governor, now also Commanding General of the Army, who as was testified before the Congressional Committee in 1792, was "the first up in the morning, going from shop to shop to inspect the preparations" (54).

The powder was tested here by Major Ferguson, and the various supplies inspected. The shells used in the expedition "were fixed at the fort, also wheels for the carriages and the carriages themselves and many other things." Some of this work was done in the "Artificers' Yard" adjoining the fort on the west; and other things, perhaps the heavier articles of wood and iron were made in the lower yard, on the river bank directly in front of the fort. The quality of the clothing, pack saddles, powder, axes, and other articles supplied for the campaign, was complained of in the course of the testimony taken by the congressional committee already alluded to (55).

For safety against the Indians, who had become very bold in their depredations and at times stole horses which had been tethered under the very walls

(54.) Testimony of Major Ziegler before a special committee of Congress, which was appointed March 27, 1792, to examine into the failure of the St. Clair expedition.

(55.) General Harmar and Major Ziegler both testified in regard to these matters.





**MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON, U. S. A.,**  
IN COMMAND OF FORT WASHINGTON 1792.

From crayon portrait in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.  
Courtesy McClure's Magazine, Copyright, 1902, S. S. McClure.

James Wilkinson was born in Benedict, Charles County, Maryland, in the year 1757. He had just completed his studies in the medical profession when the Revolution began, and he at once joined the army at the siege of Boston. He served under Gates in the Northern campaign and was promoted first to a lieutenant-colonelcy and then to brevet rank of brigadier-general, but resigned the latter on account of active opposition from his fellow officers. He later served as Secretary of the Board of War and Clothier-General of the Army. After the close of the war, General Wilkinson removed to Lexington, Ky., and in 1787 engaged in trade with the Spanish Province of Louisiana. It was charged that the General then began a series of intrigues with the Spanish Government which continued for many years. He reentered the army as lieutenant-colonel in 1791, was promoted to be brigadier-general in 1792 and on the death of General Wayne was made commander-in-chief. In 1805 he was Governor of Louisiana, and in 1811 was court-martialed for complicity in the Burr conspiracy; but he was acquitted. He was made major-general in 1813, but after the failure of the Northern campaign was the subject of a Court of Enquiry which exonerated him. At the close of the war, General Wilkinson received an honorable discharge (1815) and retired to Mexico where he died December 28, 1825.



of Fort Washington, a small island in the Ohio River was used as a corral for the cattle destined to furnish the troops with a supply of fresh beef, while on the march. This island is now obliterated, but it formerly occupied the site of what is now the Dayton, Ky. Bar (56).

The army set out early in September, 1791, and followed a course which led to the fording place of the Great Miami River at Fort Hamilton. From Fort Hamilton the line of march led up to Fort Jefferson, then in process of building in what is now Darke County. On the 4th of November, the army lay encamped on a branch of the Wabash River, distant from Fort Washington as estimated by Captain Denny, about ninety-eight miles. Desertions from the force of militia levies had been frequent, on one occasion a sergeant and twenty-five men deserting in a single night. The march too had been slow and tedious, averaging since the army left Fort Washington less than four miles each day.

On the 4th of November, early in the morning the Indians attacked in force and with great persistence. Owing to the conduct of the auxiliary levies, the brunt of the battle fell upon the regular troops (57) and more especially upon the artillery and the Second Regiment, for the First Regiment had been sent back a little way to check desertions.

Major General Butler, a soldier of three wars, here

(56.) This island figured in the engagement which took place between Colonel David Rodgers and a large body of Indians. Colonel Rodgers returning from New Orleans with munitions of war purchased from the Spanish, here attempted to surprise the Indians, but was himself led into ambush and his command well-nigh annihilated. This was in 1779.

(57.) The artillery lost Major Ferguson, Captain Bradford, and Lieutenant Spear, killed; and Captain Ford, wounded. In the cavalry, or mounted infantry, Captain Freeman, Lieutenant De Butts, and Cornet Bhines were wounded. The First Regiment had Captain Doyle wounded; while the Second Regiment lost Major Heart, Captains Phelon, Newman, and Kirkwood, Lieutenant Warren, and Ensigns Balsh and Cobb killed, while Lieutenant Gratton was wounded. The total loss was thirty-seven officers, and five hundred and ninety-three privates killed and missing; also fifty privates wounded. (From records of Captain Denny.)

met his death. He had been wounded in the leg at the beginning of the battle, and as he could not then be moved, was made as comfortable as possible leaning against a tree. He was cheerful and had no fear. The battle which for a time had fallen away from General Butler's resting place, now surged back thither and he was killed and scalped by the enemy. Colonel Sargent and Viscount Malartie, a volunteer aide-de-camp from the French Settlements at Gallipolis, were both wounded. The army was beaten back, and was only saved from complete rout by the promptitude of Major Hamtramck (58) commanding the First Regiment, who first occupied Fort Jefferson and then sent out all the force he could spare to check desertions and rally the fugitives.

During the fight, General St. Clair had four horses killed under him and was much of the time on foot. Eight bullets passed through his clothes and one grazed his head, cutting off a lock of hair. He wore "a coarse cappo coat and a three-cornered hat. He had a very long cue and large locks, very gray, flowing beneath his beaver" (59).

The most harrowing feature of the battle of November 4, 1791, was the sufferings of the women who had accompanied the army to the number of between one and two hundred. Most of these were slain with horribly contrived tortures, and their bodies treated with the greatest indignities.

Captain Denny was selected by General St. Clair to convey dispatches containing the news of defeat to

(58.) Major John Francis Hamtramck was a native of Canada but entered the Continental Army from New York. He was a captain in 1779 and served to June 3, 1783. He was appointed Captain in the First United States Infantry in 1785, and serving through the various Indian campaigns, was promoted successively major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel. He was a most efficient officer and commanded the respect and trust of the various commanders of the Army. He died April 11, 1803, and was buried in the grounds of St. Annes Orphan Asylum, Detroit.

(59.) Narrative of St. Clair campaign. St. Clair Papers Vol. I, p. 176.

the War Department at Philadelphia. The journey was begun November 19. After consuming twenty days in passage by river to Wheeling, and eleven days more in the saddle between Wheeling and Philadelphia, Captain Denny arrived at the latter place on the 19th of December.

The awful scene of conflict with the Indians had made such an impression on the mind of Captain Denny, that he said but little on the subject. "To talk at all," he says, "is an unpleasant task to me." His account of his interview with General Knox is very brief, and he wrote that on the day following his arrival in Philadelphia, he was taken by the Secretary of War to breakfast with the President, who discussed the campaign very fully, asking many questions.

General St. Clair had proposed the erection of one or more military stations in the Indian country as early as the campaign of General Harmar, but the Secretary of War did not then favor their establishment. When, however, preparations for the campaign of 1791 were begun, a reluctant assent was given to a scheme, which the year before might have changed the entire result. Now it was too late to bring about the advantages promised in 1790, for the Indians had been encouraged by their successes and could no longer be easily overawed by the presence of a military establishment in their midst.

By the construction of Fort Hamilton, at the crossing of the Miami River, Fort Jefferson in Darke County, and Fort St. Clair, near the town of Eaton, in Preble County and between forts Hamilton and Jefferson, a line of communication had been advanced between sixty and seventy miles from Fort Washington, towards the scene of active operations in the Indian country. While this chain of forts did not insure the

success of the campaign; for nothing could compensate for the rawness and general unpreparedness of the soldiery, it did greatly mitigate the final disaster, by converting a disorderly rout into a retreat somewhat held in check. What the result might have been without these fortified halting places for the calming and reassurance of the panic-stricken militia levies, it is hard to conjecture.

To General St. Clair, the commander in chief, a brave soldier of three wars, an incorruptible official, and one who was a long neglected creditor of the nation, is due proper recognition for his valuable services in both military and civil life. The passions of political strife and intrigue, helped to obscure for many years the true conditions which prevailed during the campaign of 1791. Happily since then, time and the moderating influence of calm investigation, have cleared the atmosphere and enabled later writers (60) to present the facts as they really were, not as partisan friends or enemies have desired.

#### EXPEDITION UNDER GENERAL WILKINSON.

Setting out from Fort Washington on January 24, 1792, General Wilkinson conducted a small command, made up of regulars from the fort and mounted militia from Kentucky, to the battle ground of the St. Clair campaign.

The object of this expedition was to give decent burial to the bodies of the slain and to recover if possible the artillery which had been abandoned in the hurried retreat of the army.

When the troops marched from Fort Washington, a deep snow covered the ground, so that the supplies

(60.) Mr. William Henry Smith, the able editor of the St. Clair Papers, has presented calmly and dispassionately all the facts connected with General St. Clair's long and useful life.



**MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.**

From portrait by Trumbull, Irving's *Life of Washington*,  
Edition, 1859.

Courtesy G. P. Putnam's Sons.





were drawn on sledges. The weather was excessively inclement and for part of the time snow, hail, and rain obstructed the march. The crust of frozen snow so cut the legs of the horses that the trail was marked for miles with the blood of these faithful animals. The scene of battle was reached on February 1 and a graphic picture of the horrors there presented has been given by Captain Robert Buntin who accompanied the expedition (61).

When the soldiers pitched their tents, they were obliged to scrape up the bones of the dead and remove them, in order that their blankets might be spread upon the ground.

The troops under General Wilkinson buried the dead in great pits and returned to Fort Washington in safety bringing with them several of the gun carriages, some of the guns themselves being recovered at a subsequent period.

#### THE WAYNE CAMPAIGN.

When General Anthony Wayne was appointed commander of the army, he began his preparations with a caution which was surprising to those who knew him only as the dashing Mad Anthony of Stony Point, the brave but impetuous and sometimes unwise leader. Wayne was a soldier by inheritance of fighting blood which had shown itself in the wars of two continents. His grandfather, a Yorkshireman by birth, had emigrated to County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1681, and while there following the peaceful occupation of farming, nine years later, entered the army of William of Orange. He took part in the battle of the Boyne-Water, and the siege of Limerick, and later on, as if to

(61.) Captain Buntin writes to Governor St. Clair from Fort Washington, February 13, 1792.

show that his courage was not chilled by age, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1722, at the age of sixty-three. Isaac, the youngest son of this old soldier, himself took part in the Indian wars and was a member of the Colonial Assembly of Pennsylvania. Anthony, only son of Isaac Wayne, was born January 1, 1745, in Easttown, near Paoli, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He early showed an inclination for military pursuits. His uncle who was conducting his education once wrote a complaining letter to Anthony's father, in which he says: "one thing I am certain of, that he will never make a scholar. He may make a soldier; he has already distracted the brains of two-thirds of the boys under my direction, by rehearsals of battles, and sieges; \* \* \* some, laid up with broken heads and others with black eyes. During noon, instead of the usual games and amusements, he has the boys employed in throwing up redoubts, skirmishing, &c." (62). Young Anthony, however, became more steady, and did after all become a scholar to the extent of taking up land surveying, astronomy, and engineering, so that in spite of his natural impetuosity, he could control his sometimes rash impulses. Anthony Wayne was a provincial deputy in Pennsylvania in 1774-5. His record in the Continental Army is too well-known to require mention, and when he returned from the army at the close of the war, with the rank of Major-General he at first resumed civil life in his native state. Later removing to Georgia, he represented that state in Congress during a part of the years 1791-92. He was confirmed as Major-General in command of the United States Army, April 3, 1792, and at once set about bringing his troops into fit condition. The apprentice-

(62.) From letter of Gilbert Wayne to his brother Isaac, quoted by Brice in his History of Fort Wayne, Ind.

ship of his soldiers began on the plain (just below Economy, Pa.,—the Logstown of Christopher Gist's time) which now bears the name of Legionville. Here the molding and forging and riveting together of his victorious legion was begun; later it was carried on at "Hobson's Choice," in Cincinnati, some two miles below Fort Washington. When the perfected machine was ready for operation, it was advanced from point to point as the knights and pawns are moved upon a chess board. When, however, the time for final action came, then Wayne was the same impetuous commander as of old, ready to defy not the Indians alone, but if must be, the whole British Army. In his enthusiasm he was near forgetting that he was not merely the leader of a company, but rather the commander in chief; so that his aide, Captain William Henry Harrison, had to ask in advance for orders which he feared might not be given, once the fight had begun. With this impulsive desire to carry out his plans there was a sober, prudent side to General Wayne, which is shown in his letters to the army contractors, Messrs. Elliot and Williams, and to Major John Belli the Deputy Quartermaster-General at Fort Washington (63). These letters throw some light on the secret of General Wayne's success where other leaders had failed. He was daring to a remarkable degree, as was shown by his throwing down the gage of defiance to the British commander at "Fort Miami," in 1794; but, this daring quality of mind and heart was held in check by prudent preparations for his campaign; by a personal supervision of the little details which were so essential to the carrying out of his general plan. General Wayne did not long survive

(63.) See Appendix III for letters of General Anthony Wayne to Messrs Elliott and Williams, and John Belli, D. Q. M. G. From MSS. hitherto unpublished, as believed, and now in possession of Mr. H. D. Gregory of Covington, Ky.

his triumph. He died in a rude log cabin at Presqu' Isle (Erie), Pennsylvania, on the 15th of December, 1796, and in accordance with his own request was buried under the flagstaff of the fort.

With the successful termination of this campaign, the importance of Fort Washington visibly declined. It was a garrison only, for the Indians had at last met their master, and had retired beyond the limits set by the Treaty of Greenville.





#### THE DRAKE HOUSE.

Built by Doctor Daniel Drake in 1812, on the site of the Southeast Blockhouse of Fort Washington.

The Alto-relievo of Washington (see frontispiece) forms a part of the cornice in the parlor, on the north wall, between the two windows opening on the balcony, and is said to have been placed in the house about the year 1815.

Daniel Drake was born at Plainfield, N. J., October 20, 1785, but at an early age removed with family to Mayslick, Mason County, Ky. About the years 1801-2 he was engaged in the study of medicine at Cincinnati, living at this time in one of the buildings within Fort Washington. Dr. Drake's medical studies were completed at the University of Pennsylvania, by lectures which he attended in 1805 and again some years later. He became an active promoter of medical education in the West, at Cincinnati, Ohio, and at Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky. He was also an extensive writer on medical subjects. Dr. Drake died in Cincinnati, Ohio, November 6, 1852.





**N** A LETTER from General Harmar to Lieutenant Ernest then commanding Fort Pitt, is given a list of the officers composing the garrison at Fort Washington, on the 9th of June, 1790.

1. General Harmar (Josiah of Pa.)
2. Captain Ferguson (William of Pa.),
3. Captain Strong (David of Conn.),
4. Captain McCurdy (William of Pa.),
5. Captain Beatty (Erkuries of Pa.),
6. Lieutenant Armstrong (John of Pa.),
7. Lieutenant Kersey (William of N. J.),
8. Lieutenant Ford (Mahlon of N. J.),
9. Lieutenant Pratt (John of Pa.),
10. Lieutenant Denny (Ebenezer of Pa.),
11. Ensign Suydam (Cornelius Ryker of N. J.),
12. Ensign Hartshorn (Asa of Conn.),
13. Ensign Thompson (Robert of Conn.),
14. Doctor Allison (Richard of Pa.).

This list was made out for the information of the Quartermaster or the army contractor who had engaged to furnish the garrison at Fort Washington with rations and other supplies. These returns were forwarded at a time when a number of the officers belonging to the "First United States Infantry" were on duty at other posts in the valley of the Ohio. Fort Pitt was still maintained as a distributing center for supplies; Fort Franklin (at Venango, near the site of the old French and English forts), was also occupied; while at Fort Harmar on the Muskingum; Fort Steuben (often called Fort Finney), near Jeffersonville, Ind.; and Fort

Knox at Vincennes, Ind.; small garrisons were held in readiness for operations wherever most needed. Fort McIntosh at Beaver, Pa.; Fort Steuben at Steubenville, O.; and Fort Finney (near the mouth of the Great Miami); having outlived their usefulness, had been abandoned. New Fort Massac, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles above the present town of Metropolis, Ill.; and Fort Wilkinson, at the head of the Grand Chain, about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  miles below Metropolis; were not constructed until a later period.

With but few exceptions, the officers of this, the first Army of the Republic, had served during the Revolution; and an examination of their individual records, unfolds an outline picture of the War for Independence. From the first call, the "Lexington Alarm"; down through Bunker Hill and the Siege of Boston, to the campaigns in New York and the Jerseys; through the sufferings and disappointments of Valley Forge, Brandywine, and Germantown, or the picturesque struggle among the clouds and crags of Stony Point; through the stubborn battles in the Carolinas and the glorious successes of Saratoga and Yorktown; had come men who now gathered in friendly intercourse around the mess table at Fort Washington. Some who had passed unscathed the perils of battle, and the disease and suffering of the prison ship; some even who before the Revolution had taken part in the wars of the colonies; were now destined to fall beneath the rifle and knife of the western savage.

Only a fleeting glance can be given at the life of these men. They were furnished with an army wholly inadequate as regards size and, in general, illy supplied with the most common necessities of life; they had already served throughout a long, protracted war; but now that their services were again required, they cheerfully entered anew upon a life of privation and danger. To them, the West owes a debt of remembrance and gratitude.

The pay of the soldiers at this time was most niggardly, varying from three to five dollars per month, as the demand for recruits to engage in active field operations sometimes made it necessary to increase the



first named amount (64). Even this meager allowance was often long in arrears, and certain money-lenders attempted to speculate upon the necessities of the men. There is a clear, manly ring in the letter of the commanding officer denouncing such practices. He says: "It is in my opinion, a most dishonorable traffic; by God, my hands are clear of it, and if I find that any officer is concerned in it, he shall be called to a strict and severe account for such unmilitary proceedings" (65).

Supplies, as once before, were delivered in such an irregular manner, that the garrison at Fort Washington was well-nigh threatened with famine. At mid-summer the men had been without meat for some days and both flour and whiskey had given out (66). The garrison was relieved from the danger of starvation by the settlers, some of whom furnished corn; while two hunters went down the river in a canoe and procured sufficient game—buffalo, bear, and deer—to subsist the soldiers for nearly six weeks.

(64.) On one occasion, a year or two earlier, an expedition bound for some point in the region of Kaskaskia, Ill., stopped en route at "The Falls" (Louisville), and the sergeant's mess concluded they would have a friendly bowl of punch. When the score was paid, they found that the entire monthly pay of one man was absorbed by that friendly bowl of punch. (Journal of Joseph Buell.)

(65.) General Harmar to Joseph Howell, Acting Paymaster General, U. S. A., June 9, 1790.

(66.) General Harmar to Joseph Howell, June 9, 1790.



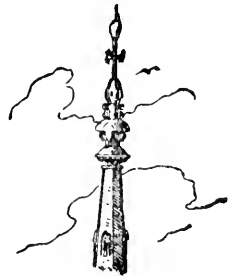


TO THE WEST of the military reservation on which Fort Washington stood, two blocks, as we now measure the distance, and on the street which extended along the northern boundary of the reservation, lay the little graveyard which received the dead of the garrison.

Far away from the familiar scenes of childhood, far from the storm-lashed coast of New England or the plains and valleys of the Middle States, "after life's fitful dream had ended," these soldiers of the Republic were received into the bosom of Mother Earth.

With muffled drum and drooping colors, the military cortege was wont to pass along the narrow trail (67) leading from the garrison to the little graveyard. No vestige of the graveyard itself is left. It has fallen before man's greed for land; and there remains only the pathetic remembrance, that here the dust of the half-forgotten dead mingles with the soil, close to the bustling city thoroughfare.

The ground devoted to burial purposes occupied the southern portion of the block bounded by Main, Walnut, Fourth, and Fifth streets in Cincinnati. On a portion of this ground there now stands the First Presbyterian Church, and even this comparatively modern structure has been strangely metamorphosed by recent additions; but its slender spire is still lifted skywards and literally points a finger toward a higher world.



(67.) The lines of the streets in Cincinnati had been laid out by the surveyor, Mr. Israel Ludlow, as far as Northern Row (7th Street), during the winter of 1788-90; but the streets were not entirely cleared of trees and underbrush until several years after that time.



#### THE MANSFIELD HOUSE.

Built by Lieutenant-Colonel Jared Mansfield, U. S. A., on the site of the Great Gateway of Fort Washington.

Jared Mansfield was born in New Haven, Conn., May 23, 1759. He was graduated from Yale College in the class of 1777, and subsequent thereto acquired such a reputation as a teacher and writer on scientific subjects that he was appointed a Captain of Engineers, U. S. Army, by President Jefferson, May 3, 1802. He was one of the professors at West Point Military Academy in 1802-3 and in the fall of the latter year was assigned the duties of Surveyor-General of the Northwest Territory. This office he held until October 7, 1812, when he resumed his professorship at West Point and there remained until he resigned from the Army, August 31, 1828, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was engaged (1819) on the boundary line commission between Niagara and Detroit; and was consulting engineer for the state of Pennsylvania. Colonel Mansfield married a Miss Phipps who came of the family of which Sir William Phipps, Governor of Massachusetts, was a member. In 1825 Colonel Mansfield was honored by his Alma Mater with the degree of LL. D. After his resignation from the army he retired to New Haven, where he died February 3, 1830.





**THE FORT WASHINGTON MONUMENT**

THIRD STREET, CINCINNATI, OHIO.

ERECTED 1901, BY THE SOCIETIES OF THE MAYFLOWER, COLONIAL WARS, COLONIAL DAMES, SONS OF THE REVOLUTION, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, CHILDREN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WAR OF 1812, LOYAL LEGION.





THE ARMY OF the United States in these early days contained no chaplains, so that the officers and men composing the garrison at Fort Washington, had to depend upon such religious services as might be held in the straggling, little hamlet below the fort.

When Cincinnati was first laid out, certain lots were dedicated to the use of religion and education (68). The block of land already noted as containing the little graveyard used by the garrison, was also intended for the occupation of a church and a school building. The poverty of the new settlement prevented the erection of a church building until 1792, although a church society (Presbyterian) had been formed in the preceding year. Between the arrival of the first settled minister (69) and the erection of a church building, of a Sunday morning, the people gathered at the northwest corner of Fourth and Main streets and listened to the preaching, seated upon the fallen tree trunks, their rifles within easy reach, ready for instant use.

So great was the apprehension of a sudden Indian attack upon the settlement, that on September 18, 1792, Winthrop Sargent, in the absence of Governor St. Clair, issued a proclamation calling on every man enrolled in the militia, when attending religious services, to "arm and equip himself as though he were marching to engage the enemy, or in default that he shall be

(68.) Lots 100, 115, 139, 140.

(69.) Rev Mr. James Kemper, an earnest, pious man, a native of Parquier County, Va.

fined in the sum of one hundred cents'' (70). At least one fine was imposed for failure to comply with this law.

When the weather proved too stormy for holding these services in the open air, the congregation sometimes assembled in the building of a little mill used for grinding corn, which stood between Third and Fourth streets near Vine. Here were no windows of stained glass, no hangings of rich tapestry, no strains of the organ resounding amid the carved columns and groined arches of a lofty nave; but only the rough posts and rafters of a frontier corn mill, hung with the dusty cobwebs of the week. Here with eager attention, the audience listened to the story of One whose first temple was a stable, whose attendants were the simple fisher-folk of a Galilean lake.

In June, 1792, and again in 1794, subscriptions were secured, first for the original construction of this Presbyterian Church, and then for its interior finish; as well as for a fence which should surround both church and graveyard. The list of subscribers contained the following names of officers and ex-officers of the garrison at Fort Washington.

Allison, Richard	(Surgeon)
Ford, Mahlon	(Captain)
Harrison, William Henry	(Lieutenant)
Mercer, John	(Captain)
Peters, William	(Lieutenant)
Shaylor, Joseph	(Captain)
Wade, John	(Ensign)
Wilkinson, James	(Brigadier-General)
Ziegler, David	(Major)

(70.) St. Clair Papers Vol. 11, p. 309.



The careless life of the soldier had not obliterated the teachings of home; and it is pleasant to note the ready response given by the officers to this call for assistance from the first church organization within a reasonable distance of the garrison (71).

(71.) The Baptists had organized a church at Columbia as early as 1790 but this was nearly five miles distant from Fort Washington, rendering attendance from Cincinnati generally impracticable.





HERE WAS a serious side to life in the garrison during its earlier years; but there was also not lacking amusement and relaxation. From the atmosphere of bustling activity about the fort, went forth the battalions who marched with buoyant step, the scars of a former campaign covered, if not healed, the empty places in the ranks filled with new re-

cruits who had no acquaintance with disaster, fresh faces and new uniforms, hearts as yet untouched by the sorrow for lost comrades and with no gloomy fear of the future, for how could *they* suffer defeat. So fared they forth; but twice at least, within a few weeks of their departure, there hurried back to the fort's sheltering care, the broken remnant of an army, bruised, disheartened, wounded, and dying.

To the old experienced campaigners, however, those to whom the hazard of life was no new thing, those who from Bunker Hill to Yorktown, had witnessed the ebb and flow of fortune, there came a settled philosophy which took things, good or ill, with unruffled serenity.

Returning then from the various campaigns into the wilderness where even if life were spared, there had still been much of privation and suffering, at the very least a scarcity of food and fire and roof-tree; what wonder that there was dining and wining at the quarters within the fort, a breaking of glasses to prevent "heeltaps," and a pledging of toasts in bumpers.

Towards the latter part of the fort's existence there were theatrical performances in the old "yellow house" of the Artificers' Yard which stood on the river brink in front of the fort, comic operas even; and elsewhere races, for which dazzling purses were offered, as much as thirty-five and fifty dollars. Many an "oblong," as the three dollar bills of the old Bank of the United States were locally called, changed hands at these races, not to mention the more modest "sharp shin" of silver, cut from a Spanish milled dollar to supply the local needs.

In November of 1801, a much milder amusement was provided, a singing school for ladies and gentlemen, where for \$2.00 for a whole quarter's lessons, the gay young ensigns and cadets of the fort might meet the eyes of demurely roguish maidens, as the soft modulations of Coronation and Duke Street were given by the class.

Anon just before Christmas of that same year, a performance was advertised at the "Cincinnati Theater," "THE POOR SOLDIER and Peeping Tom Coventry." "Doors to be opened at half past five and the performance to begin at half past six precisely."

For the more serious-minded of the garrison, there was the mental relaxation afforded by books. The officers had a taste for reading, and some a love for especially fine books. One officer in writing about a certain encyclopedia which had been ordered in the East, said: "I want the most elegant edition which can be procured."

For those who could not afford the luxury of very fine books, the advertisement of one Cincinnati bookseller discloses such a wealth of reading matter as, "Assembly Catechism, Abelard & Eloise, American

Farmer, Beauties of Watts, Beauties of Fielding, Mrs. Moore's Works, Philip Quarle. Citizen of the World, Everyone his own Lawyer, Butler's Analogy, and Vicar of Wakefield." There must have been those who scoffed at this modest mental pabulum, and thought it too circumscribed, for a month later a meeting was called to consider the establishment of a library in Cincinnati.

In the year 1800, and possibly a little before that time a distillery was in operation within the narrow confines of the Deer Creek Valley (72). It was the one, lone building in all that region, half shadowed by the beetling sides of Mount Adams on the east, and surrounded by the oaks, sugar trees, and water maples, which constituted the original forest growth.

Festoons of wild grapevine hung from tree to tree, and in the days of early autumn, the morning-glory spread its gay colors over the ruins of stump and fallen tree top.

The two, well-beaten trails, which led to this distillery, one from Fort Washington and the other from the straggling little hamlet upon which the fort looked down, offered mute testimony to the popularity of the institution. The loneliness of its situation did not deter visitors from passing under the low portal, they being bravely determined no doubt to "keep their spirits up, by pouring spirits down."

When General Wilkinson, a very polished man, was stationed at Fort Washington, about 1796, he lived in what was considered very great style.

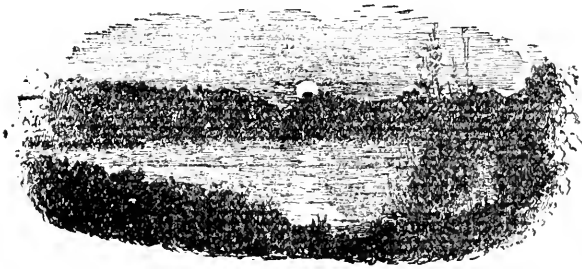
He had the first carriage in Cincinnati, so tradition says, and a spanking team to pull it. He entertained

(72.) Address before the Cincinnati Medical Library Assn., Jan. 9, 1852, by Dr. Daniel Drake.

in a handsome, almost lavish manner, assisted by the gracious lady, his wife, and the entertainments were not confined to banquets and balls on the land.

Some of his boat-parties had a flavor of the old world sports upon the Adriatic. The gaily decorated barge, the boatmen, some twenty-five or thirty in number, laboring with oar and pole to propel the craft, the music rolling over the moon-lit water to the echoing hills beyond, the banquet, the elegant costumes of the guests, and the charming hospitality of the host, (73) made the scene one of bright coloring, framed in by the sombre-wooded hillsides which rose from the river's brink.

(78.) Recollections, by H. M. Brackenridge.





THE PUBLIC functions in which Fort Washington and its garrison took a prominent part, may be mentioned two which possess special interest. One of these was the celebration of the Fourth of July, 1799 (74). The guns of the fort boomed a salute at daybreak, and after a grand parade, the officers attended a banquet where a great many long and formal toasts were proposed to the memory of the dead and the health of the living. In the evening a brilliant company assembled at one of the town houses, where, according to the reporter of that day, "it is impossible to describe the ecstatic pleasure that appeared to be enjoyed by all present at the Celebration of the Auspicious Day, and the scene closed in perfect harmony" (75).

During the following winter, an occasion of sadness was presented in the memorial funeral of the great man in whose honor the fort had been named. Owing to delay in the transmission of mails, the news of Washington's death did not reach Cincinnati until late

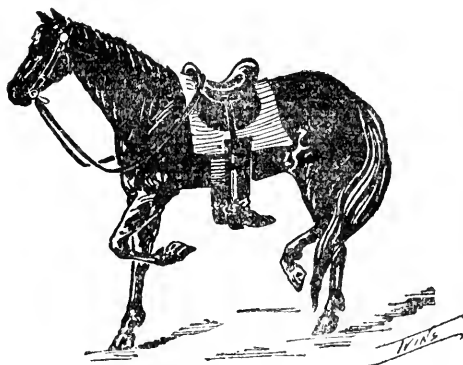
(74.) The fort was at this time commanded by Captain Edward Miller. He was born in Middlesex County, Connecticut, June 30, 1756, being the son of Jared Miller and Elizabeth Center. Edward Miller was one of those who responded to the first call to arms in the Revolutionary struggle, serving as ensign in the "Lexington Alarm." He was commissioned lieutenant in the Second Regiment of Infantry, United States Army, February 21, 1793. He had married, October 16, 1783, Elizabeth Rockwell, daughter of Samuel Rockwell and Abigail Johnson, and brought his family to Fort Washington in 1798. After his retirement from the army, he resided for some years in Clermont County, Ohio, and died in Columbia Township, Hamilton County, July 6, 1823. As a Mason—a member of the Army Lodge—he is said to have been associated with Washington during the Revolution.

(75.) Appendix IV.

in the month of January, 1800, and the first day of February was set apart for fitting memorial services. These services included a military funeral, in which the troops from Fort Washington immediately preceded the horse "with saddle, holsters and pistols, and boots reversed," which represented that of General Washington" (76).

As the echo of the last volley of musketry died away among the hills, one might have felt that the old fort was destined soon to pass away, even as had its great namesake.

(76.) Appendix V.





Y THE YEAR 1802, the fort was shorn of most of its military glory. In the report of the Secretary of War to Congress, written in December, 1801; it was proposed for the year 1802, to divide one company of infantry between Pittsburg and Cincinnati (77), so that Fort Washington would have but half a company.

In the year 1803, the United States acquired title by purchase and gift, to a tract of land, some six acres in all, in Newport, Ky., lying at the confluence of the Licking and Ohio rivers.

On this new reservation buildings were erected, and when completed in 1804, the old flag was lowered and Fort Washington abandoned; the little garrison which still occupied the old post being transferred to the Newport Barracks (78).

(77.) Published Report of the Sec'y of War in Western Spy & Hamilton Gazette, Jan. 30, 1802.

(78.) This post was in active occupation during the War of 1812, the Mexican, and the Civil War. A new post, Fort Thomas, having been erected on the bluffs overlooking the Ohio River, 7 miles above the Licking, in 1894, the Newport Barracks were then abandoned after an occupation of ninety years and the buildings demolished or moved away.







OHIO

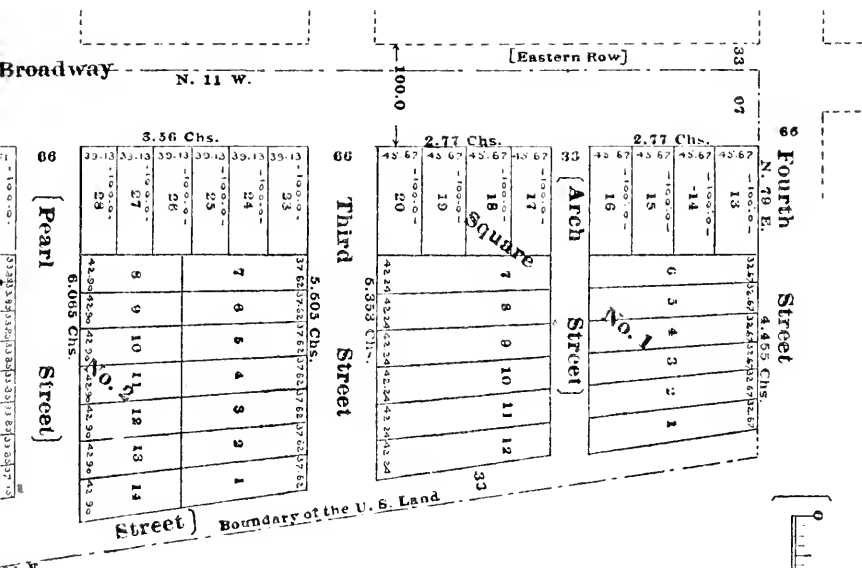
RIVER

[ Eastern Row ]

66 Columbia ( Second ) Street

[ Ludh ]





**COPY OF MAP IN PLAT BOOK 1.**  
 [CITY ENGINEER'S OFFICE.]

**PLAN**

OF THE FIFTEEN ACRES OF PUBLIC LANDS  
 IN CINCINNATI.

Certified this 8th day of July, 1807.  
 Signed: **JARED MANSFIELD,**  
 Surv. Gen'l.





THE TROOPS, having been removed to Newport Barracks, it remained for the general government only to dispose of the buildings and the land on which Fort Washington stood. Authority for such disposal was conferred by an act of congress in 1806, the title of which is as follows:

“An Act

Authorizing the sale of a tract of land, in the town of Cincinnati, and State of Ohio.”

This act was signed by Nath. Macon, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Geo. Clinton, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate; and was approved by Thomas Jefferson, February 28, 1806 (79).

Under the authority of this act, Captain Jared Mansfield, Surveyor General, made a survey and prepared the plat to which he gave his certificate dated July 8, 1807 (80).

The sale of the land was advertised by Daniel Symmes, Recorder, and James Findlay, Receiver, to take place on the “first Thursday of March next.” (March 14, 1808) (81).

(79.) Published in Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Mercury, February 22, 1806.

(80.) This certificate which is written on the plat, reads as follows: “I do hereby certify that agreeably to instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, I have surveyed, or caused to be surveyed, and laid off into lots, streets and alleys, the fifteen acres of land belonging to the United States lying in the town of Cincinnati, in the form and manner exhibited in the Plat, and the field notes of the Survey are deposited in the office of this department. Certified this 8th day of July 1807, Jared Mansfield Surv. Gen'l.”

(81.) Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Mercury, January 13, 1808.

The land embraced in the Military Reservation about Fort Washington having thus been divided into lots and sold, the incident was for a time closed.

About 20 years later, however, a controversy arose as to the location of certain lots adjoining the fort, and in order to settle this matter it became necessary to determine as precisely as possible the original location of Fort Washington itself. This controversy finding its way at last into the United States Court, Seventh Circuit, District of Ohio, was tried before the December Term for 1829. The case is for Ejectment, Lessee of Harmer Heirs vs. David Gwynne and George Morris. The testimony is voluminous, embracing numerous depositions of parties who had been familiar with the original location or construction of the fort. Among the depositions was that of John Cleves Symmes, made in 1809 (82). Besides the deposition, a map made by Joseph Gest, then city surveyor of Cincinnati, was presented in court, and the witnesses interrogated concerning it. The map was identified by the witnesses as a substantially true and correct representation of the situation of the fort with regard to street lines and corners. The map itself bears on its face a certificate signed by Joseph Gest, to the effect that it was prepared, "Pursuant to an order of the Circuit Court of the United States, Seventh Circuit, Ohio District, of December Term 1828, Monday 29," after the parties interested had gone over the ground with him (83). Besides this certificate on the map itself, Joseph Gest made deposition before one of the Judges of Hamilton County, in which he recites the manner of making the survey and the map (84). The certificate on

(82.) Appendix. VI.  
(83.) Appendix. VII.  
(84.) Appendix. VIII.

the map and the deposition by Joseph Gest, both identify the map as the official instrument made by order of the United States Court.

Daniel Drake, a distinguished physician of Cincinnati, was also one of the deponents in this case; having doubtless been selected by reason of his intimate knowledge of Fort Washington and its surroundings. He had lived in the garrison prior to its abandonment; and after the land was sold in 1808, he purchased several lots, built upon one of them, and resided there for upwards of eleven years.

The southeast blockhouse of Fort Washington stood upon the land purchased by the doctor, and the locality came to be called "Drake's Corner."

Regarding the accuracy of the map prepared by Joseph Gest, Doctor Drake says: "I was present on the site of Fort Washington at the time that Joseph Gest, the City Surveyor, made a survey of the foundation of that Fort, a plat and description of which is now before me, and I believe that the lines and angles are accurate as it is possible to fix them" (85).

John Cleves Symmes, at the time of this trial in 1829, had been dead some fifteen years, but a deposition made by him in 1809 was submitted as evidence in this case. Symmes testifies to the building of Fort Washington by Major John Doughty in the fall of 1789. He also states, that, of certain lots laid out to the east of Fort Washington, eight had been purchased by General Josiah Harmar (86) at a cost of thirty-two pounds, Pennsylvania currency. William Berry (87) and William H. Orcutt(88) had been soldiers at Fort Washington,

(85.) Appendix. IX.

(86.) Appendix. VI.

(87.) Appendix. X.

(88.) Appendix. XI.

the first in 1792, and the other three years earlier when the ground was originally cleared for the erection of the blockhouses. Their testimony shows the fort to have had four blockhouses, arranged in the form of a square, while westward of this rectangle was an Artificers' Yard (89) "somewhat in the form of a triangle." This triangular extension to the main fort had a blockhouse at its western end.

The size and number of the rooms in the barracks is also stated. Both witnesses agree in saying that Drake's Corner was the southwest corner of Third and Ludlow, and that the southeast blockhouse of Fort Washington stood on Drake's Corner.

One David Lewis, whom the deposition describes as a man "exceeding the age of sixty years," adds his testimony to the effect that Fort Washington formed a square, was wholly east of "Eastern Row" (Broadway), and had its principal front facing the river (90).

The testimony of Griffin Yeatman who had come to Cincinnati in the year 1793, relates mostly to the location of lots owned by General Harmar; but he speaks of the St. Clair Cellar (mentioned also in the Lewis deposition) which was west of Major Ruffin's (the early Postoffice), and he also certifies to the general correctness of the location given by Joseph Gest's map (91).

The evidence in support of the location of Fort Washington as laid down on the map accompanying this paper, includes then:

1st. The testimony offered by General Mansfield's original plat of the Military Reservation (1807), which

(89.) There were two Artificers' Yards in connection with Fort Washington. One was on the west; while the other and much larger yard, embracing about two acres of land, was situated upon the river bank in front of the fort, and contained the famous "Yellow House."

(90.) Appendix. XII.

(91.) Appendix. XIII.



fixes the location of the various blocks and lots laid out upon them.

2nd. The map of Mr. Joseph Gest, City Surveyor, made in compliance with an order of the United States Court, December Term 1828; and exhibited in the same court during the trial of the case of Harmer Heirs vs. David Gwynne and George Morris, December Term, 1829; including with this, the certificate of Joseph Gest, written on the face of the map.

3rd. The depositions of Joseph Gest, Daniel Drake, John Cleves Symmes, William Berry, William H. Orcutt, David Lewis, and Griffin Yeatman.

It may be here noted that the map of Joseph Gest, City Surveyor, gives the location of the various blocks and lots in the subdivision of the Military Reservation, thus repeating General Mansfield's map in this respect. Gest, however, gives also the position of the four blockhouses with regard to the streets and lots. The location of the lots is an important matter, as it makes it possible to examine the legal records of each lot, the original purchaser, and the transfer, mortgages, etc., all of which adds concurrent testimony to that offered in the case under trial.

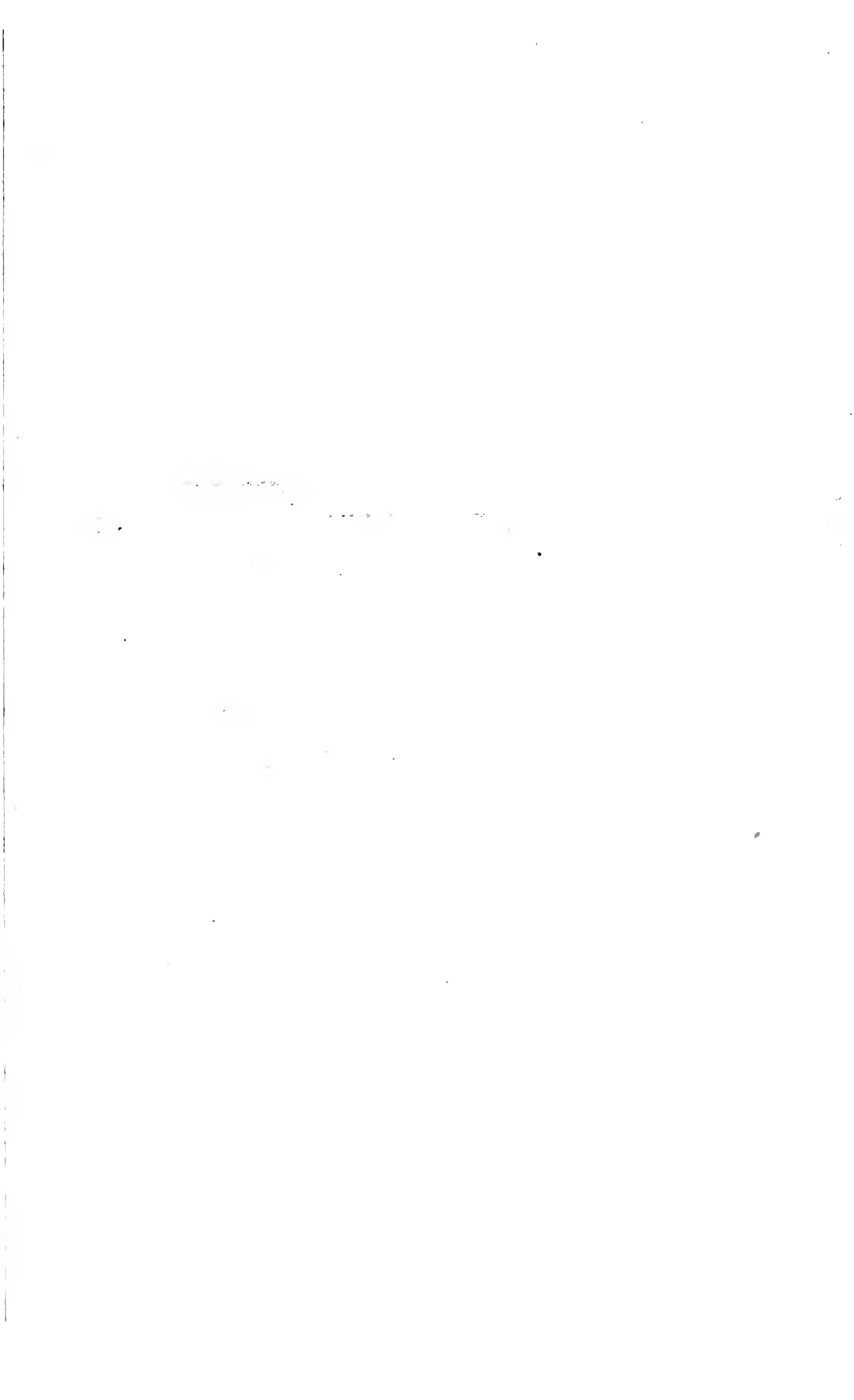
The only clash of evidence offered in the depositions, appears in the first part of the testimony of William H. Orcutt, where he speaks of the Garrison as having a width of "About 120 feet." He then says: "there were six Barrack rooms in each row of about 20 feet each" and adds over his second signature, that "there were three Barrack rooms on each side of the gate facing the river." It is evident that in speaking of the width of the "Garrison" as being "about 120 feet," Mr. Orcutt had in mind the *barrack* buildings only, which were located in the middle of each face of the fort (a common

arrangement in frontier forts), and not the entire width or length of the fort itself. His after qualification as to the arrangement of the rooms on each side of the gateway, would, allowing for the width of the gateway which was twelve feet, and the thickness of the partitions and end walls, make the South Barracks about one hundred and thirty-five feet long; and to this must be added the blockhouses at the angles and the palisade work connecting the ends of the barrack buildings with the blockhouses. This point has thus been specifically alluded to, in order to explain the apparent conflict of testimony between William H. Orcutt and Daniel Drake; Joseph Gest having marked upon his map, Orcutt's location as taken from the first part of his testimony, as well as the location sworn to by Daniel Drake.

Such explanation reconciles all apparent differences, and makes the evidence offered by maps and depositions agree in all essential particulars. Not only is this the case, but other valuable testimony such as that offered by military correspondence, the description of Fort Washington by Rev. Oliver Spencer (92), and the sketch of the fort made by Captain Jonathan Heart in 1791, bears out the testimony offered in court.

It may be observed further, that the records of early deeds and mortgages in the office of the Recorder of Hamilton County, mention the location of the lots purchased by Daniel Drake on which the map of Joseph Gest, City Surveyor, as well as the testimony of Doctor Drake and William B. Orcutt, fixes the loca-

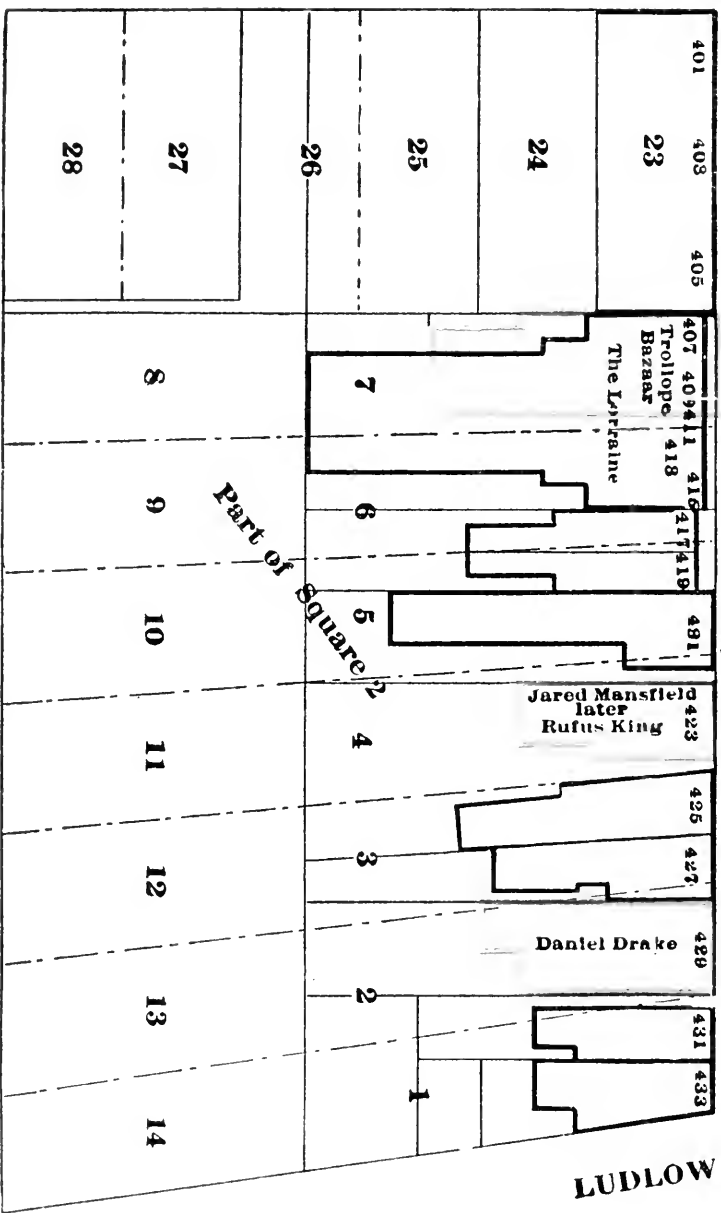
(92.) A well known Methodist clergyman, who as a child was captured by the Indians at a point between Fort Washington and Columbia. The only particular in which Rev. Mr. Spencer's description (see Appendix XIV.) fails to agree with others, is in determining the point of the compass at which the Artificers' Yard projected from the main fort. This matter is often confusing by reason of the direction in which certain streets run.



THIRD STREET

Fort Washington Monument

66.80



401

403

405

23

24

25

26

27

28

407 409 411  
Trollope  
Bazaar  
The Lorraine

416 417 418 419

363.27

481

Jared Mansfield  
later  
Rufus King

423

425

427

Daniel Drake

429

431

433

LUDLOW

PEARL

STREET

**A MAP OF THIRD STREET BETWEEN BROADWAY AND LUDLOW STREET  
CINCINNATI, O.**

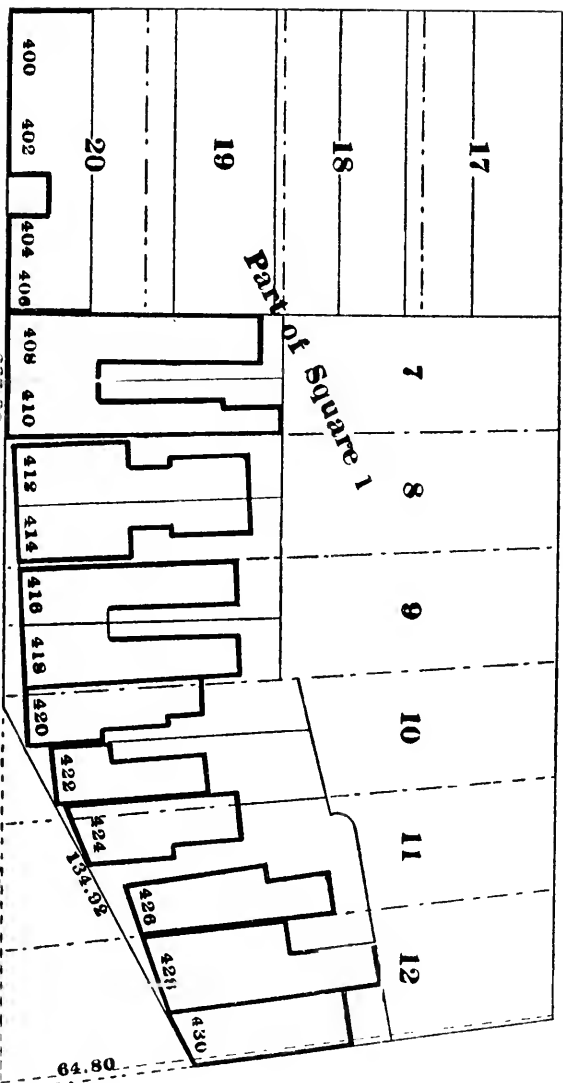
Showing original lots in parts of Squares Nos. 1 and 2, recent Subdivisions, and present Buildings. From Plat Book of Hamilton County, Insurance Plats, and actual measurements.

**THE SITE OF FORT WASHINGTON**

as deduced from Records of the UNITED STATES COURT and Maps of Records as indicated in yellow. The present position of the house built by Daniel Drake [1812], that built by Col. Mansfield, U. S. A., and afterward occupied by Rufus King, as well as the former site of Madame Trollope's Bazaar built in 1829 are marked in red.



**ARCH STREET**



**STREET**

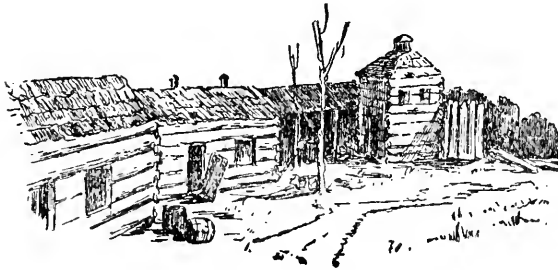
**PEARL**

**STREET**

tion of the southeast blockhouse. The house built by Dr. Drake on lot No. 2, is still standing (1902), on the south side of Third Street, the third house west of Ludlow Street, and it is at present numbered 429. In the cornice of the parlor of this old house, there yet remains a medallion, in high relief, of George Washington; an eminently appropriate tribute to the great man for whom the fort was named.

The maps of Mansfield and Gest fix the location of lot No. 4, Square 2, on which General Mansfield built his home. This house, which is still standing (1902) on the south side of Third Street, is the sixth house west from Ludlow Street, and bears the number 423. Here stood the gateway of the fort.

The maps of Mansfield and Gest also determine the location of lot No. 7 of Square 2, and the latter's map shows the situation thereupon of the southwest blockhouse of Fort Washington. This lot was once occupied by the famous Trollopean Bazar, but the land is now covered by the "Lorraine Building."





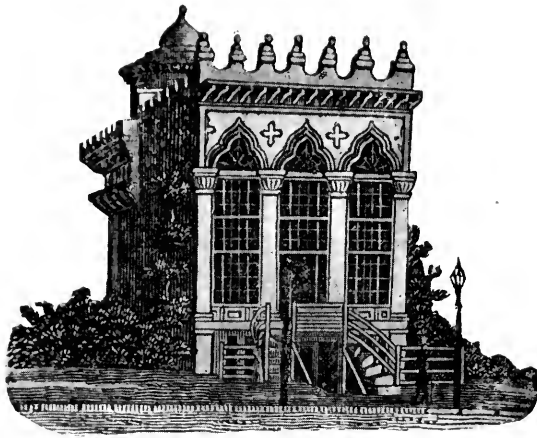
FOURTY YEARS elapsed between the building of the blockhouse and the erection of that "Greco-Moresco-Gothic-Chinese-looking building" which, it was hoped, would be the making of the Trollope fortunes (93). Less than this period of time had sufficed to change the primeval wilderness into a thriving and bustling little

city. Where the Indian had been wont to prowl about, under the very walls of the fort, stealing pack horses and other movable property; there had arisen, as if by magic, buildings of frame and brick, churches and schools, markets, business houses, and homes.

A madness for high-sounding names seems to have clung to the very walls of the old bazar through its checkered fortunes of more than half a century; for what was in 1829 a "Literary-Athenæum-Bazar," after passing from the hands of the Trollopes, is described as the "Literary-Botanico-Medical-College." Only the young and light-hearted escaped the spell of failure and unhappiness which lay upon the building. In the early thirties the young folks climbed the stairways, which, from either side of the central entrance, led to the second story, to attend the dancing classes there conducted by M. Guibert; while Tosso discoursed sweet music upon his violin. The measured tread of the frontier sentinel was now exchanged for the fast flying steps of the dancers; and where once the rollick-

(93.) Appendix XV.



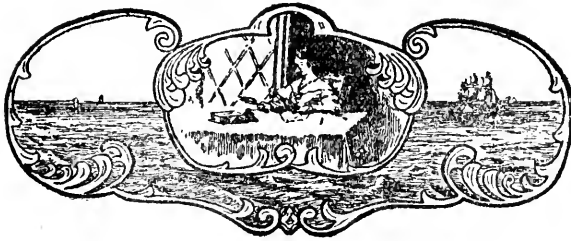


**BAZAR BUILT BY MADAME TROLLOPE IN 1829**  
**ON THE SITE OF THE SOUTHWEST BLOCKHOUSE**  
**OF FORT WASHINGTON.**



ing song of the camp fire had echoed from the rough walls and rafters of the frontier blockhouse, there now lingered the strains of "Money Musk" and the "Arkansas Traveler," or the more stately measures of the Cotillion.

After a sad deterioration in manners and morals, the old bazar was torn down to make way for the present structure in 1886.





ABOUT THE YEAR 1899, an awakened interest in the early history of the western country, brought about an effort to relocate and mark the site of Fort Washington at Cincinnati, and foremost among the organizations which took part in this laudable endeavor, was the Society of Colonial Wars.

There was not wanting literature of a certain kind which touched upon the fort. Some of the early travelers to this region had alluded to Cincinnati in the account of their journeys, and there was, moreover, a limited cartography relating to the fort.

Doctor Daniel Drake, graphic and picturesque in his description of this country as it was in the beginning of the last century, had depicted upon the map of Cincinnati which accompanied his "Statistical View in 1815," the location of Fort Washington. The map was, however, engraved to such a small scale (825 feet to 1 inch, or  $\frac{1}{825}$  actual size) that any attempt to enlarge the outline of the fort and its surrounding streets must result, if used for the purpose of relocation, in magnifying such errors in size and location as inevitably creep into the reproduction of any object to a very small scale (94).

Four years after the publication of the "Statistical View," that is in 1819, a directory of Cincinnati was

(94.) Drake in the preface to his work states that the map was drawn to a scale of 800 feet to one inch. This scale was, however, reduced in the process of reproducing the map, so that the engraving shows a scale of 825 feet to one inch.

N. B. The map prepared by Joseph Gest was drawn to a scale of 100 feet to 1 inch, or eight times as large as the original from which Doctor Drake's map was engraved.



THIS TABLET

ERECTED BY THE PATRIOTIC  
SOCIETIES OF OHIO

MARKS THE LOCATION OF  
FORT WASHINGTON

BUILT 1789  
DEMOLISHED 1803

MDCCC



issued by Oliver Farnsworth. This directory also contained a map of Cincinnati, engraved to scale of  $\frac{1}{100,000}$  actual size, showing a location of the fort generally similar to that given in Doctor Drake's work.

Colton's Atlas (Ed. 1855), and Gray's Atlas (Ed. 1873), contain maps of Cincinnati on which Fort Washington is shown. Both maps are engraved to a scale of  $\frac{1}{25,000}$  actual size.

In 1888, Doctor A. E. Jones, an enthusiastic archaeologist, wrote an interesting little volume on early days in Cincinnati, in which he shows the location of the fort upon a map drawn to a scale of  $\frac{1}{100,000}$  actual size. The location given by Dr. Jones appears to be about the same as that given by Drake, Farnsworth, Colton, and Gray.

It was felt that a relocation, based on these diminutive representations of Fort Washington, would not answer the demand for accurate work, and the writer therefore began a search for other material upon which to base an authentic determination of the original site of the fort.

Knowing that a map of Fort Washington had been made at the time of its construction, and that this map had been transmitted to the Secretary of War (95), application was made to the Department, for information concerning it.

A careful search through the records of the Engineer Department, Adjutant General's Office, and War Department at large, failed to discover the much desired map. The true explanation of its disappearance is undoubtedly that given by the Adjutant General's Office, as follows: "It is to be explained that most of the records of the War Department prior to 1800 were

(95.) Letter of General Harmar, Jan. 14, 1790. See Appendix II.

consumed in a fire which occurred in the War Department building during that year ; that another fire consumed many records in 1809, and the greater portion of such as had accumulated up to that date were either burned or lost at the time of the visit of the British troops to the City of Washington in 1814.”

There still remained a chance of procuring original data. The field notes of Surveyor General Mansfield, which contained the survey of the Reservation already alluded to, would, if found, undoubtedly give the desired information concerning the location of the fort. The lines run by Mansfield must have crossed and recrossed many times the area covered by the fort, itself, and, in fact, must have encountered the very walls of the fort as a resistance to further progress. A search through departments at Washington and the state records at Columbus, O., failed to find these notes.

It was at this juncture that the search for authentic data concerning the old fort was carried into the offices of the Recorder and Auditor of Hamilton County, the records of the United States Circuit Court, the plat-books of the City Engineer's Office, and the files of early newspapers.

This search resulted in the finding of the maps of Mansfield and Gest in the City Engineer's Office ; and the depositions in the case of Harmer Heirs vs. David Gwynne and George Morris. in the United States Circuit Court Records, already discussed in the case of the controversy over land adjoining the fort. These documents mutually supplemented each other ; and the old newspapers, military correspondence, and county records, together with a survey of the locality about the fort, added whatever else was essential.

The relocation of Fort Washington was now completed and its site marked by a suitable monument,



which was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, June 14, 1901.

This monument is built of native Ohio stone, in the form of a blockhouse standing about nine feet above the ground ; and it is surrounded by a chain railing supported by four old cannon.

The face of the monument towards the west carries two bronze tablets, the upper one of these containing the dedicatory inscription.

The lower tablet contains an outline map of the main portion of the fort, together with the streets which intersected it or which surrounded the area upon which it stood, shown in boldly relieved lines.





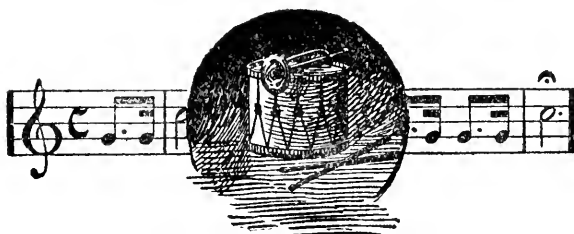
THE FORMAL dedication of the monument which now marks the site of Fort Washington, an interesting coincidence presented itself. In the year 1791, the Second Regiment of Infantry was organized at Fort Washington, a little prior to starting out on the ill-fated campaign of General St. Clair, when Major Heart, the first commandant

of the regiment, was slain, together with many other officers and men of the regiment, on the 4th of November of the same year. At the dedication of the monument in 1901, a detachment of this Second Regiment was present and took part in the ceremonies. The trim blue-clad soldiers who stood about the monument in 1901, were the legal heirs, so to speak, of the old Second Regiment which had gone forth to battle from the same spot, one hundred and ten years before.

Four buglers from the regiment stood at "Attention" by the old guns which formed the railing around the monument. At the word of command, they gave out clearly and distinctly the "reveille." The call had been sounded by the trumpeters of the old regiment more than a century before, waking the slumbering echoes of the valley and startling the wild bird from its nest, as the silver notes rolled across the shimmering waters of the Ohio, or were hurled back with increased volume from the forest-clad hills behind the fort.

Then came the final "taps," always of mournful association, as the last tribute of the living to the memory of the dead; and in this case, as it seemed, a

fitting conclusion to the obsequies of those who had passed for the last time the frowning portal of old Fort Washington.



APPENDIX I.—NARRATIVE OF THOMAS GREGORY OF CINCINNATI, O.—My grandfather, Jonathan Gregory, came to the West under General St. Clair. Although he was two years younger than the required age, and had no queue (which was one of the requirements of the enlisted men); his sister cut off her braid and supplied that portion of the outfit, that he might go.

He reached Columbia, the settlement of Hezekiah Stites, on the night of the fight between the settlers and the Indians, the latter being whipped and routed back on to what is now called Bold Hill. The victory was so complete (the Indians losing all their corn in addition to the fight) that the settlers had a great jollification, at which some of the participants indulged too freely, resulting in a fight among themselves.

My grandfather and his brother, who had preceded him down the river, afterwards went to Lexington, Ky., where they assisted in erecting the first houses of that settlement, and returned again to Northern Kentucky opposite the Stites settlement, or Columbia, on the Ohio River, just below the mouth of the Little Miami River, where my father and I were born.

These early settlers had a local "league" or understanding that at the conclusion of the annual Harvest, they were to meet at the "Congo Tree" on Crawfish, at about the present site of Wortman's Corner (Delta and Eastern Avenues) where there was a magnificent spring to furnish water, and there celebrate the Harvest Home with three weeks dancing and feasting. My sister Ellen and I were privileged to carry the breakfast, dinner, and supper daily to my father, who was an enthusiastic attendant at these occasions.

My father, Thomas Gregory, lived in Campbell County, Kentucky, on the hill back of what is now "Hartwegs Landing," a mile or so below the present Newport Water Works.

Near the edge of the high river bank on the Ohio side of the river, at a point about one-half mile below the mouth of the Little Miami River, there stood a blockhouse which in 1832 was occupied by a family named Hart, but owned by Athan Stites, a son of Hezekiah Stites and nephew of Captain Benjamin Stites who were among the first settlers of Columbia in 1788.

This blockhouse was occupied in 1832 as a dwelling house, by a family consisting of two young women, Catherine and Mary Hart, and their brother, Jacob, a lad of about my own age,

(9 years). The oldest daughter afterward married Athan Stites. One day in the year 1832 one of the young women alluded to (Catherine) crossed the river in a boat and coming to my father's house requested as a favor that I might be allowed to come and live at their house (the blockhouse) so as to be company for their young brother Jacob.

My father granted the request and I accordingly went to live with the family in the blockhouse, remaining there about three years.

During those three years, say 1832-1834 inclusive, I lived in the blockhouse and have a clear idea of its size and location, in part from the fact that a brick house of Athan Stites, which is still standing, was built at some time within the three years I mention, and this brick house was constructed facing the river at a point about 100 feet back of the blockhouse and had its western end at about the center of the blockhouse.

I am led to remember the relative position of the brick house, and the blockhouse in which I lived, from the circumstance that with the other lad, Jacob Hart, I assisted in carrying brick to the mason who was employed to build the house. We each piled up a few bricks on a short board and thus carried them to where he was at work.

The blockhouse was about eighteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long with the gable end towards the Ohio River and very close to the edge of the bank.

The building was constructed of round logs about the size of a man's body, unhewed, but notched together at the corners. It contained two rooms divided by a rough partition of split logs, afterwards changed to a board partition, and above the first story was a high garret or attic. The roof was covered with split logs secured by wooden pins, afterwards replaced by clap-boards. There was a puncheon floor, later removed for a more modern substitute. The attic projected over the lower story and was provided with port or loop holes for rifles. A large stone chimney stood in the middle of the gable end farthest from the river. This chimney was built outside of the logwork, but the fireplace opened into the lower room. This fireplace was large enough to take in logs about four feet in length and at night it furnished our light, for lamps of any kind were very scarce.

The front of the house, facing the Ohio River, had a window and door in the lower story and a small window in attic.

There was a window opening on each side of the house in the back room and another small window in the attic facing away from the river. The door was a heavy one secured by a bar, and the windows were protected by solid plank shutters.

Early in the spring of 1838 during a high stage of the river, two steamboats were passing the blockhouse at about the same time, and the swells from these boats caused the bank to cave away and the old blockhouse to fall into the river.

The day on which this accident occurred was the same as that on which the boilers of the Steamer Moselle exploded, at Fulton, (April 25, 1838).

The above is a true statement, as I remember the events of the old blockhouse, which was said to have been built soon after the landing of Benjamin Stites and his brother Hezekiah, with other settlers, just below the Little Miami River, on November 18, 1788.

THOMAS GREGORY.

The above account of the Stites blockhouse at Columbia on Sec. 29—Tp. 5—F. R. 1, was given in my presence and I hereby bear witness to it and to the signature of Thomas Gregory the narrator.

FRANK C. STOUT.

Sworn to and Subscribed in my presence this the 15th day of January, 1902.  
(SEAL.)

WALTER STONE,  
Notary Public, Hamilton County, O.

APPENDIX II.—LETTER FROM GENERAL HARMAR TO  
GENERAL KNOX.

HEADQUARTERS,

FORT WASHINGTON, January 14, 1790.

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th October last, to which I shall now particularly reply.

The Governor of the Western Territory arrived at this post on the 2d instant, and departed from hence on the 5th for the Illinois country. I furnished him, agreeable to his request, with an escort of fifty chosen men under the immediate command of Lieut. Doyle. Major Wylls accompanies him on this tour. I did not leave the Muskingum until the 24th ult., being detained so long waiting for his and the Pay-master's arrival there. We were four days upon our passage. The distance from thence to this garrison (which is directly opposite the mouth of Licking River), is about three hundred miles. Major Doughty is left to command at Fort Harmar.

This will be one of the most solid, substantial wooden fortresses, when finished, of any in the Western Territory. It is built of hewn timber, a perfect square, two stories high, with four blockhouses at the angles. I am particularly indebted to Captain Ferguson and Lieutenant Pratt, for their indefatigable industry and attention in forwarding the work thus far. The plan is Major Doughty's. On account of its superior excellence, I have thought proper to honor it with the name of *Fort Washington*. The public ought to be benefited by the sale of these buildings whenever we evacuate them, although they will cost them but little.

About forty or fifty Kentucky boats have begun, and will complete it. Limestone is the grand mart of Kentucky; whenever boats arrive there they are scarcely of any value to the owners; they are frequently set adrift in order to make room for the arrival of others. I have contracted for the above number for the moderate price of from one to two dollars each; thus much for the plank work. All other expenses (wagon hire, nails, and some glass excepted), are to be charged to the labor of the troops. The lime we have burned ourselves, and the stone is at hand. Be pleased to receive the inclosed plan of the fort. The distance between the Little and Great Miami is twenty-eight measured miles. Near the Little Miami there is a settlement

called Columbia; here (seven miles distance from Columbia), there is another named Losanteville, but lately changed to Cincinnati, and Judge Symmes himself resides at the other, about fifteen miles from hence, called the Miami City, at the north bend of the Ohio river. They are, in general, but small cabins, and the inhabitants of the poorer class of people.

It is very probable that the Creek nation, under Mr. M'Gillivray, may be troublesome on the frontiers of Georgia, &c., during the ensuing summer, and especially as you inform me that the commissioners who were appointed to hold a treaty with them, returned from the Omee river unsuccessful.

I observe that the Governor of the Western Territory is empowered by the President of the United States, in case the hostilities of the Indians should render the measure inevitable, to call on the nearest counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia for militia—not exceeding, in the whole, fifteen hundred—to act in conjunction with the federal troops, in such operations, offensive and defensive, as the said Governor and the commanding officer of the troops, conjointly, shall judge necessary for the public service, and protection of the inhabitants and posts. You may rest assured, sir, that in all these cases, the most perfect harmony will ever subsist between the Governor and myself.

By this time it is presumed Congress is convened, and that instead of a temporary, a permanent establishment of the troops will be made.

Lieutenant Armstrong, I see, has been writing to the War Office about brevet rank. He is a valuable officer, but instead of troubling you upon the occasion, it is my opinion he should have represented his grievances, if any there were, unto his commanding officer.

By the latest advices from Major Hamtramck he writes me that he had manœuvred in such a manner as to divide the Weea Indians, and that eighty of their warriors had come into Post Vincennes, and put themselves under the protection of the United States. This may be considered as a very favorable circumstance, provided these yellow gentry adhere to their allegiance.

The difficulty of forwarding my dispatches from this post to the War Office, is great. Up the river, from here to Fort Pitt, is about five hundred miles; it is too fatiguing to be monthly sending a boat against the stream for the purpose, unless an extra-



ordinary occasion should require it. I am therefore making arrangements to send my letters to Danville, in Kentucky, from thence to be forwarded through the wilderness and deposited in the postoffice at Richmond, which I believe to be the most expeditious conveyance.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JOS. HARMAR.

The Honorable Major—General Knox, Secretary at War,  
New York.



APPENDIX III —LETTERS FROM GENERAL WAYNE.  
HEADQUARTERS,

GREENVILLE, 8th June 1794.

MESSRS. ELLIOT & WILLIAMS,

GENTLEMEN:—Having fully and confidentially communicated to your Robt. Elliot the orders that I have received from the Executive & the critical situation of America & of this Legion threatened with an immediate attack from a heterogenous Army composed of British troops, the Militia of Detroit & all the hostile Savage tribes under the conduct of the famous Governor Simcoe from the West, & by some European powers on the ocean & Atlantic States.—

I have now to desire you to make every possible exertion to send forward every supply of provision & to load all the horses belonging to your own & the Q. M. Generals department with the flour now at Fort Hamilton; the articles of Salt, Soap and Vinegar are also essentially necessary at this crisis; as it is more than probable that the enemy will direct their attention in force against our Convoys, this will be the last trip of the waggons from Fort Washington to the head of the line for a length of time. Nor can we count upon more than two trips of the Pack Horses between this & Fort Hamilton, as the period of offensive is not more than three weeks distant, when every arrangement must be perfected for a forward move, or to repel the attacks of the Enemy.

You will therefore proceed at Reveille tomorrow morning with the Escort to make the necessary & final arrangements in your department on the present momentous occasion.

With a full reliance upon your exertions & cordial co-operation in sending forward the required supplies

I am Gentlemen your Most Obedt. Hum. servt.

(COPY)

ANTY WAYNE.

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JOHN BELLI, ESQR., D. Q. M. G.  
HEADQUARTERS,

GREENVILLE, 8 June, 1794.

SIR:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo.—I am much pleased to hear that you have succeeded so well in the purchase of cattle & that in your opinion the

contractors will be able to supply the troops in the future ; but this will require at least three hundred head per month independent of accident, which number the Contractors have promised to supply.—

You may therefore for the present desist in any further purchases of cattle than those already made, which I wish you to forward with the first escort.—at present we have not more than about three weeks supply of the meat kind for the Legion, nor can I think of advancing with less than from six to eight hundred head of cattle, which would not be more than ten weeks supply in advance, should they all arrive safe.—

The waggons will set out from Fort Jefferson tomorrow morning for Fort Washington under a good escort commanded by Maj. Hughes they are not to be delayed at that place more than 48 hours if possibly to be avoided,—and to be loaded with all the tents, intrenching tools & axes,—such hospital & ordnance stores as may be ordered by the heads of those departmts., together with all the hunting shirts, & shirts and shoes that may be in your possession, also all my own private stores under the care of a select guard which you will request Major Hughes to furnish from his detachment.—You will likewise forward every other necessary article in the line of your departmt for the use of the Legion.—

Capt Pierce is directed to divide the detachment lately arrived under Ens: McClane into two equal divisions, as escorts to ply between Forts Washington & Hamilton—say 40 at each place: you will therefore make use of as many private teams as can be procured which with the use of the water transport when a favorable rise may happen in the Miami will enable you to forward the grain to Fort Hamilton the quantity of which, from the enclosed copy of a letter from the Secry. of War to the Q. M. Genl you will find to be considerably increased.—it will also tend to shew you that there is not a single moment to be lost in mounting the Dragoons & furnishing all the necessary accoutrements that may be wanted for them—such as saddles, bridles, &c., &c.

It's probable that Colo. O'Hara may arrive at Fort Washington by the time you receive this ; who will undoubtedly come forward prepared with Cash.—if not the paymaster Gen. will furnish you with two thousand dollars in specie & 8000 in good bank bills to be replaced by your department.

You are clearly & decidedly to understand that every arrangement must be made in your department for a forward move from this post on about the 1st of July, agreeably to the enclosed copy of a letter to the Contractors of this date, with whom you will cordially co-operate in the transport—of flour &c., the transport to be paid for or repaid as circumstances may hereafter suit.—hence you will see the necessity of keeping an exact account of all you have already made or that you may occasionally make on their account.—

Wishing you perfect success in your purchases & supplies of every nature in the line of your department,

I am Sir, your most obedt. humble servt.

ANTY WAYNE.



APPENDIX IV.—FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION 1799.

(From the Western Spy & Hamilton Gazette, Tuesday July 9, 1799.)

“ Last Thursday being the fourth of July, it was celebrated by the citizens of this town in a manner which does credit to its inhabitants, and testifies that they hold in just estimation the DAY which gave BIRTH to our NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

“ The morning was ushered in by a Federal Salute from Fort Washington, the 1st Battalion of Hamilton Militia paraded at the muster ground in the vicinity of this place, and went through the customary evolutions and firings.—As to their performance, we only need refer our Readers to the Governors General Orders.—After the Battalion was dismissed, the Governor, the Federal Officers from Fort Washington, the officers of Militia, and a large number of respectable citizens dined under a bower prepared for that purpose.—Capt. Miller having furnished a piece of Artillery, which with Capt. Smith's company of Militia, accompanied by martial music made the woods resound to each of the following :

TOASTS.

1. The PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.—May the display of his firmness and Patriotic Spirit, endear him to all who live under his administration.
2. GENERAL WASHINGTON, the Father and Friend of his country.
3. The ANNIVERSARY we celebrate ; May every year impress on our minds a stronger sense of its consequence and blessing.
4. The Memory of those who fought and bled to establish AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE ; May they never be forgotten.
5. Our INFANT NAVY ; May it add to the Nation's honor and wealth and confound her enemies.
6. The Army of the UNITED STATES. May they stand and be ever ready to guard our rights and support our Government.
7. Our Foreign Ministers. May they be respected as the representatives of a great, free and independent people.
8. PEACE throughout all the world on just principles.
9. The OFFICERS of the different Departments in the General Government.—May they be faithful in executing the duties of their important stations.

10. The NORTH WESTERN TERRITORY.
  11. The FAIR SEX of AMERICA.—May their influence lead to the happiness of the nation.
  12. Agriculture and Commerce.—May we feel their happy effects like the SUN from East to West making a plentiful harvest.
  13. The Old Patriots of Seventy-six; May they retain their energy and hand down their principles to the latest posterity.—
  14. Confusion and Reformation to all designing Bad Men, who are endeavoring to mar the peace and prosperity of our country.
  15. May the AMERICAN EAGLE soar triumphantly when danger approaches.
- “In the evening the Gentlemen joined a brilliant Assembly of Ladies at Mr. Yeatman’s in Town, and it is impossible to describe the ecstatic pleasure that appeared to be enjoyed by all present at the Celebration of the Auspicious Day, and the scene closed in perfect harmony.”



APPENDIX V.—MEMORIAL FUNERAL FOR WASHINGTON:—" At 12 o'clock the troops formed on the flat in front of the garrison (then under command of Capt. Miller), where they were joined by Captain Findlays (and Capt. Browns) troop of horse, the Masonic brethern and a large concourse of citizens, all eager to testify their high veneration for the character of the deceased. The bier was received by the troops formed in lines, with presented arms, officers, drums and colors saluting.

"The procession than moved on in the following order— Minute guns firing from the garrison and the music performing a solemn dirge.

Cavalry

Regular Troops

Horse, representing that of the General, with saddle, holsters and pistols, and boots reversed

Rev. Mr. Wallace

Pall Bearers

To the left of Bier

Dr. Sellman

Capt. Prince

Col. Spencer

To the right of Bier

Dr. Elliott

Maj. Ziegler

Major Goforth

His excellency the Governor and the Attorney General as Mourners

Masonic Brethern

Militia Officers in Uniform

Citizens.

" Having proceeded through different streets, and arrived at the place representing that of interment, the military halted, and opening their lines, formed an avenue for the bier and those immediately attendant on it to pass through the troops leaning on reversed arms.

" The coffin having been deposited in the grave, a prayer suitable to the occasion was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Wallace, after which the Masonic Brethern performed their ceremony.

" Three discharges of musketry over the grave concluded the ceremonies." Western Spy & Gazette of Feb. 5, 1800.

APPENDIX VI.—DEPOSITION OF JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
DISTRICT OF OHIO.

December Term 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS  
VS.  
GWYNNE AND MORRIS.

}

EJECTMENT.

(p. 268.)

“Be it remembered that on this seventeenth day of February in the year 1809 (pursuant to due notice given him), personally appeared before us the subscribing two Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, in and for the county aforesaid, James Silvers and John Matson, the underwritten deponent, John Cleves Symmes, who being examined on oath in the premises, in order to perpetuate testimony between Josiah Harmer, Esquire, of the State of Pennsylvania, and Ethan Stone, Esquire, of Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, of and concerning the purchase of eight small lots, commonly called in-lots, lying in the eastern part of the Town of Cincinnati, and between the creek or branch of water called Deer Creek and the body of the Town of Cincinnati, or rather the ground heretofore used for a Parade in front of the late Fort Washington. This deponent, the said John Cleves Symmes, deposeth and saith, that in the fall of the year 1789, Major John Doughty arrived at Cincinnati with a detachment of the Army of the United States, and laid the foundation of Fort Washington in Cincinnati, that very early in the beginning of the year 1790, at the special request of many of the officers of the Garrison at that time stationed in Fort Washington, this deponent was induced to lay out into small lots of sixty square Rods each, a portion of land between said Fort Washington, and the aforesaid Parade on the West and the before mentioned Deer Creek on the East—this deponent further saith that soon after the laying out of the aforesaid small lots, he sold eight of the said lots to General Josiah Harmer, at that time Commandant of the Garrison in said Fort Washington, at the price of Thirty-two pounds, Pennsylvania Currency, which sum of Thirty-two pounds this deponent declares was fully paid and satisfied unto him by the said purchaser, General Josiah Harmer, the greater part thereof in cash, and fifteen dollars thereof by the acceptance of an order in favor of Abner Hunt, drawn by this deponent in



April, 1790, on said General Harmer, and by said Josiah Harmer. Paid to said Abner Hunt in full of said Order for said fifteen dollars, which closed the account of this deponent against the said Josiah Harmer for the purchase money of said Eight Lots, which eight lots are particularly described and set forth in a deed of conveyance of the said eight lots, made sealed and delivered by the said John Cleves Symmes to the said General Josiah Harmer by which deed of transfer the title to the said Eight Lots as this deponent believes and fully intended in the month of May, in the year 1791, (the date of said deed) became vested in the said Josiah Harmer. This deponent further saith that from the time of the sale of said Eight Lots to the said Josiah Harmer, he, this deponent, hath never entertained any idea that the said Eight Lots, as described in said deed, was in any degree his property, or that he had any control over them, the said General Harmer forthwith taking them into his immediate possession and occupancy. Question by Mr. Stone: Was the deed dated and executed on the day it purports to have been, to-wit, on the day and year therein specified? Ans.: I verily believe it was. Question by Mr. Stone: Was the deed at that time delivered to General Harmer? Answer: I verily believe it was. And further this deponent saith not.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

Sworn and subscribed to the day and year first written before us.

JAMES SILVERS,  
JOHN MATSON.



APPENDIX VII.—CERTIFICATE OF JOSEPH GEST.

(From Book of Surveys in Cincinnati, 1833.)

JAMES JACKSON EX DEM. JOSIAH HARMERS HEIRS, PLAINTIFF, }  
 VS. } EJECTMENT.  
 GEORGE MORRIS AND DAVID GWYNNE, DEFENDANTS. }

“Pursuant to an order of the Circuit Court of the United States, seventh circuit, Ohio District, of December Term, 1828. Monday 29. The undersigned surveyor, of the City of Cincinnati, did on the 9th day of April, 1829, a day fixed by the Plaintiff, (David Gwynne, one of the Defendants being sick and unable to attend) and on the 16th day of April, inst., a day fixed on by the Defendants, the Plaintiff attending proceeded to the premises in controversy and surveyed the claims of the different parties and examined such——— and objects as supposed to have a bearing to prove their respective claims as pointed out or suggested by the parties, I find the ground in controversy or ——ed by Plaintiff to be sixty feet three inches on Front Street, running back northwardly, ——lled to Lawrence Street, twenty poles or three hundred and thirty feet to the second street from the River, called Congress Street.

Said claim lays immediately westward of and —— lots Number three and twenty-two, of John Cleves Symmes’ map, as may be fully seen by the annexed map, showing the connection and interference of the U. S. Subdivision, Cincinnati, April 27, 1829.

Joseph Gest, City Surveyor.”

N. B. The incomplete words occurred in margin which was torn.

APPENDIX VIII.—DEPOSITION OF JOSEPH GEST.  
 CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
 DISTRICT OF OHIO.  
 December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS	}	EJECTMENT.
VS.		
GWYNNE AND MORRIS.		

(p. 291.)

“Be it remembered that on the seventh day of July 1829 at the office of Charles Hammond Esquire in Cincinnati between the hours of eight o’clock A. M. and seven o’clock P. M. personally came before me Enos Woodruff an Associate Judge of the County of Hamilton aforesaid, Joseph Gest who being first carefully examined cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth to be read in evidence in the above entitled cause, does depose and say

That the annexed plat was made by him as City Surveyor in pursuance of an order of Court for that purpose and is a correct copy of that returned to Court. Deponent says that he was called upon by G. W. Jones to lay out Harmers lots according to a decree of Court as he understood as well as he recollects. Mr. Jones said they could not make a better of it than to take Ethan Stones Statement of the boundaries, and that Mr. Stone would be on the ground for that purpose, he also referred me to Mr. Este, for the same purpose, who told me about the same, and that Mr. Stone did come upon the ground and designated the boundaries, and the survey was made accordingly and is described on the map by light blue lines and the letters I. K. N. L. D. M.

At a subsequent period he was called upon by G. W. Jones or Josiah Harmer to fix the point for building the brick house marked S. on the plat at the intersection of Front and Ludlow Streets and he fixed the corner where the house is now built. He believes the house was built by or for the heirs of Harmer. Subsequently to the time of fixing the corner, Deponent further says that Mr. Jones went with him on the ground in company with Mr. Stone but is not certain that he was there when the survey was made. He recollects no difference between Mr. Jones and Mr. Stone at the time as to the situation of the ground. Mr. Jones did not pretend to have any personal knowledge of the situation of the lots. After the survey according to the blue lines was made in pursuance to the decree he handed it to Mr. Jones while standing on the steps of the U. States Bank.

JOSEPH GEST.”

APPENDIX IX.—DEPOSITION OF DANIEL DRAKE.  
 CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
 DISTRICT OF OHIO.  
 December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS } VS GWYNNE AND MORRIS.    }	EJECTMENT.
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(p. 291.)

“Be it remembered that on the seventh day of July 1829 at the office of Charles Hammond Esquire in Cincinnati between the hours of eight o’clock A. M. and seven o’clock P. M. personally came before me Enos Woodruff as Associate Judge of the County of Hamilton aforesaid, Joseph Gest who being first carefully examined cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth to be read in evidence in the above entitled cause, does depose and say.” \* \* \* \* \*

(p. 294.)

“Same time and place came Daniel Drake, who likewise being carefully examined cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth does depose and say. I was present on the scite of old Fort Washington at the time that Joseph Gest the City Surveyor made a survey of the foundation of that Fort a plat and description of which is now before me, and I believe that the line and angles of said Fort as laid down by him are accurate as it is possible to fix them, Question. How is it that you are able to testify to this fact? Answer. I once lived in the rooms that were occupied by the Commander of the Garrison, this was in 1802 or 3, and afterward in 1808 when the reserve was sold by the Government, I purchased several lots which included the S. E. Angle and Block house and built upon the same, where I resided, from 1812 to 1823, during which period the foundations of the Fort were everywhere to be seen and could be compared with the lines and corners of the lots and streets, finally in preparing a plat of the town, for the picture of Cincinnati in 1814 I took great care and pains to lay down the scite of the Fort correctly and find that the plat made by Mr. Gest corresponds almost exactly with it. Question by the Defendants. How did Fort Washington front and where was the principal Gateway? Answer. It fronted to the South, a little inclining to the east. The whole South Front was on the South side of Front street, but not exactly parallel to it. The South West Block-house was farther from the street than the South East. The Great Gate was I believe in the centre of the South line of Block-houses. Question by the Defendants. What would be the location of four lots, the calls for which were lying directly in front of Fort Washington? Answer. They must all be between Ludlow Street and Broadway, that is West of Ludlow Street.

DANIEL DRAKE.”

APPENDIX X.—DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM BERRY.

CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
DISTRICT OF OHIO.

December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS }  
VS. } EJECTMENT.  
GWYNNE AND MORRIS. }

(p. 276.)

“Be it remembered that on the 31st. day of March, 1829, before me, Enos Woodruff, one of the Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Hamilton County, in the State of Ohio, came Christopher Cary.”

\* \* \* \* \*

(p. 277.)

“Same time came William Berry, who in like manner, being carefully examined, cautioned and sworn, deposeth and saith: That he came to Cincinnati the spring after St. Clairs defeat with a detachment of troops, and was put in the Garrison and stayed there for about one year. Understood there were lots on the bottom called General Harmer’s lots. They lay the upper side of what is now called Ludlow Street. Question by Plaintiff’s counsel: Will you state whether you were acquainted where Ludlow Street now runs? Answer: I do. I helped make it. Question by same: Will you state if you can what number of lots situated on the bottom you understood belonged to General Harmer? Answer: I cannot say how many, but understood he had lots there. Witness says as early as 1795 or thereabouts he was acquainted with an old cellar not a great way below Ruffins Corner, between the Columbia road and the River—was acquainted with the situation of the summer house on the hill, thinks it stood on Strongs lot—has been on the ground to-day and measured the distance from the town blockhouse near Drakes Corner to where he believes the summer house stood—the distance is about one hundred and thirty feet eastwardly. Drakes Corner is the corner of Third and Ludlow Street—said blockhouse stood on Drakes Corner. Q. by Defendants: Did you ever see the lots on the bottom called Harmers lots surveyed? Answer: No, I never did. Question: How then do you know that Harmers lots on the bottom were located above or eastwardly of what is now called Ludlow street? Answer: I never knew where they were located except by hearsay from other people.

his  
WILLIAM X BERRY.”  
mark

APPENDIX XI.—DEPOSITION OF WILLIAM H. ORCUTT,  
 CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
 DISTRICT OF OHIO.  
 December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS }  
 vs. } EJECTMENT.  
 GWYNNE AND MORRIS. }

(p. 276.)

"Be it remembered that on the 31st day of March 1829, before me Enos Woodruff one of the Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Hamilton County in the State of Ohio came Christopher Cary."

\* \* \* \* \*

(p. 277.)

"Same time and place came William H. Orcutt who also was carefully examined and cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth deposes and says: He came to Cincinnati in the year 1789 in the month of August with other troops. Soon after they proceed to clear the ground and build the blockhouses, in Fort Washington. Staid in Cincinnati 3 or 4 months, was then sent off on command and staid 8 months and then returned to Cincinnati. Was well acquainted with the situation of the Garrison and the blockhouses; there were four blockhouses in the Garrison one at each corner and one in the Artificers yard; have this day been on the ground where the Garrison stood and was in my own mind able to fix the corners. The Southeast blockhouse stood on Drakes Corner at the junction of Ludlow and Third street. There was a kind of trace coming up from the river on the the east side of the Garrison. Witness further says that when on the ground this day he pointed out to Mr. Gest where the Summer house stood. There was a place on the river called the Stone Landing 10 or 15 rods below Ruffins Corner, was acquainted with a man by the name of Jones who was about the Garrison who cultivated a garden near the Summer house for General Harmer and had free access to the Garrison. Question by Defendants Counsel. What was the position of the blockhouse in the Artificers yard, in relation to the Garrison? Answer. It was to the west of Garrison. The Artificers yard was somewhat in the form of a triangle and the blockhouse was on the western corner of the triangle. Q. by same. What width do you estimate the Garrison to have been? Answer. About 120 feet, there were six barrack rooms in each row, of about 20 feet each. Q. by same. How long since you have been on the ground before last week? Answer. About 30 years, and further saith not.

WM. H. ORCUTT.

Mr. Orcutt further states that there were three barrack rooms on each side of the gate fronting the river

WM. H. ORCUTT.

APPENDIX XII.—DEPOSITION OF DAVID LEWIS.

CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
DISTRICT OF OHIO.  
December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS }  
VS } EJECTMENT.  
GWYNNE AND MORRIS. }

(p. 274.)

“Be it remembered that on the 31st day of March 1829 at the office of Casewell and Starr in Cincinnati before me Enos Woodruff an Associate Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the County of Hamilton and State of Ohio, came David Lewis exceeding the age of sixty years and after being carefully examined cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth, deposeth and saith.

\* \* \* \* \*

(p. 275.)

“Question by same : Was the front of Fort Washington between Broadway and the first street east of Broadway and running parallel to it? Answer: Fort Washington fronted the river and was on the east side of Broadway. Question by Plaintiff’s Counsel. A map is now shown you with the name of Thomas Henderson on it, have you examined that map and does it correctly denote the situation of the blockhouse, Ruffins Corner and other objects according to your recollection when you first knew their situation. Answer. I have examined the map and it does denote the situation of the four blockhouses. Ruffins Corner, the cellar and the summer house agreeably to my memory and recollections. Question by same. Will you state whether within a day or two past you have been upon the ground to point out the former situation of those objects according to your recollection. Answer. I was. Question by same. Will you state whether you were able in your own mind to fix upon those objects as you believe them to have been without consulting others? Answer. Yes I was. I pointed out their situation without consulting others. Question by Defts. Counsel. Did not the four blockhouses that originally stood in the four corners of the Garrison farm according to the best of your recollection a square? Answer. They appeared so. Question by same. Was not the two West blockhouses on a line of what was then called Eastern Row? Answer. They both stood on the east side of what was called the Eastern Row and some distance from it.

\* \* \* \* \*

DAVID LEWIS.”

APPENDIX XIII.—DEPOSITION OF GRIFFIN YEATMAN.  
 CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE  
 DISTRICT OF OHIO.  
 December Term, 1829.

LESSEE OF HARMER HEIRS }  
 VS. } EJECTMENT.  
 GWYNNE AND MORRIS. }

(p. 278.)

“Be it remembered that on the first day of May, 1829 before me Enos Woodruff one of the Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Hamilton and State of Ohio, came Jacob White.”

(p. 280.)

“Same time and place came Griffin Yeatman who being first carefully examined cautioned and sworn to testify the whole truth does depose and say. Question. Who was the reputed owner of the lots on half block directly west of Ruffins Corner situated on Front and Lawrence Street in the year 1791 or about that time? I came to Cincinnati in the year 1793 and in that year I understood that General Josiah Harmer was the owner of lots lying west of what is called Ruffins Corner. Question by same. Did you understand that General Harmers lots lay immediately west and near to Ruffins Corner, or did they belong to some one else, and if to any other person to whom did they belong? There was a cellar dug on the lots west of Ruffins Corner called St. Clairs Cellar, but never heard of any one owning lots here but General Harmer, the cellar is laid down upon the map of Mr. Gest which is now before me. and agreeable to my impression it is correct or nearly so as to its east and west position. GRIFFIN YEATMAN.”

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, }  
 SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF OHIO, } SS.  
 WESTERN DIVISION. }

I, BENJAMIN R. COWEN, CLERK of the CIRCUIT COURT of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, within and for the DISTRICT and DIVISION aforesaid, do hereby certify that the foregoing ENTRIES, being the sworn statements, respectively, of John Cleves Symmes, February 17, 1829 [Appendix VI]; Joseph Gest, July 7, 1829 [Appendix VIII]; Daniel Drake, July 7, 1829 [Appendix IX]; William Berry, March 31, 1829 [Appendix X]; Win. H. Orcutt, March 31, 1829 [Appendix XI]; David Lewis, March 31, 1829 [Appendix XII]; and Griffin Yeatman, May 1, 1829 [Appendix XIII]; all presented in this Court at the December Term, 1829, are truly taken and correctly copied from the Journal of said Court.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF. I have hereunto set my Hand and affixed the seal of said Court at the city of Cincinnati, Ohio, this 26th day of May. A. D. 1902, and in [SEAL] the one hundred and twenty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

B. R. COWEN, CLERK.



APPENDIX XIV.—EARLY CINCINNATI AND FORT WASHINGTON:—"Between Eastern-row (a narrow street now enlarged into Broadway) and Main-Street, on Front and Columbia Streets, there were about twenty log houses; and on Sycamore and Main, principally on the second bank, or hill, as it was called, there were scattered about fifteen cabins more. At the foot of this bank, extending across Broadway and Main Streets, were large ponds, on which as lately as the winter of 1798, I have seen boys skating. All the ground from the foot of the second bank to the river, between Lawrence-Street and Broadway, and appropriated to the Fort, was an open space, on which, although no trees were left standing, most of their large trunks were still lying. On the top, and about eighty feet distant from the brow of the second bank, facing the river, stood Fort Washington, occupying nearly all the ground between Third and Fourth Streets, and between Ludlow-Street and Broadway. This fort, of nearly a square form, was simply a wooden fortification, whose four sides or walls, each about one hundred and eighty feet long, were constructed of hewed logs, erected into barracks two stories high, connected at the corners by high pickets, with bastions or blockhouses, also of hewed logs, and projecting about ten feet in front of each side of the fort, so that the cannon placed within them could be brought to rake its walls. Through the centre of the south side, or front of the fort, was the principal gateway, a passage through this line of barracks, about twelve feet wide and ten feet high, secured by strong wooden doors of the same dimensions. Appended to the fort on its north side, and enclosed with high palisades extending from its north-east and north-west corners to a blockhouse, was a small triangular space, in which were constructed shops for the accommodation of the artificers. [This Artificers' Yard, as was established by testimony offered in the United States Court in 1829, was on the west, not north, side.] Extending along the whole front of the fort, was a fine esplanade, about eighty feet wide and enclosed with a handsome paling on the brow of the bank; the descent from which, to the lower bottom, was sloping, about thirty feet."

(From "A True Narrative of the Capture of Rev. O. M. Spencer by the Indians," p. 27.)

APPENDIX XV.—THE TROLLOPE FAMILY IN AMERICA.

—Mrs. Trollope, with her two daughters and a son, sailed from London on the 4th of November, 1827. After a tedious voyage extending over fifty-one days, the ship reached the mouth of the Mississippi on Christmas Day, and in the following February the party reached Cincinnati.

Of the plans then formed, Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope wrote: "It was determined, by the advice of what Cincinnati friends I know not, that he (Henry Trollope) should join my mother there, and undertake the establishment and conduct of an institution which, so far as I was able to understand the plan, was to combine the specialties of an Athenaeum, a lecture hall, and bazaar; and it was when this enterprise had been decided upon, but before any steps had been taken for the realizing of it, that I accompanied my father on a visit to America." According to this arrangement, Mr. Thomas Anthony Trollope, Barrister-at-Law, and his son, Thomas Adolphus, taking steerage passage in the ship *Corinthian*, sailed from England in September, 1828, and joined the other members of the family in Cincinnati.

The deed which conveyed the land upon which the bazaar was built, reads as follows: "This indenture, made the twenty-first (21) day of January, in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, by and between Jared Mansfield, Esq., of the City of Cincinnati in the State of Ohio, and Elizabeth, his wife of the first part, and Thomas Anthony Trollope of the Middle Temple, London, Barrister-at-Law, of the second part." The consideration named in the deed is \$1,655.00, and the conveyance is for "All that plat, piece or parcel of ground situate on the south side of Third Street near Broadway in the city of Cincinnati aforesaid, being lot number seven of square number two."

Anthony Trollope wrote of the building: "And the bazaar was built, I have seen it since in the town of Cincinnati—a sorry building." This, however, was after the enterprise had been overtaken by misfortune, which indeed came quickly enough. On the 18th of November, 1829, a mortgage was recorded against the building by a firm which had furnished hardware and other material, set forth in their bill in sums ranging from ten cents upward. As a foil to the "pins, pocket-knives and pepper boxes" of which Anthony Trollope wrote so derisively, we find the family sternly confronted with a demand for the payment of

a bill for nails, sand paper and screws. These little insignificant details of house construction were likely to prove the ruin of the grand enterprise, but somehow the financial difficulties were temporarily tided over and the building was completed.

The bazar was of brick and stone, about thirty-four feet in width, as shown by the old records, and in depth, covering the greater portion of lot "number seven," now occupied by the western part of "The Lorraine," on the south side of Third Street a little east of Broadway.

The Trollopes had some warm friends in Cincinnati, and while embittered by pecuniary losses, one of the family wrote with interest of meeting local celebrities—Hiram Powers, the sculptor, and Nicholas Longworth, as well as of the private theatricals at the house of Doctor and Mrs. Price. The grand scheme for making the family fortunes was destined to fail because of want of capital, and a total lack of experience in conducting business affairs. Mrs. Trollope wrote, in 1832: "We quitted Cincinnati in the beginning of March, 1830, and I believe there was not one of our party who did not experience a sensation of pleasure in leaving it."



APPENDIX XVI.—ARRIVAL OF GOVERNOR ST. CLAIR AT CINCINNATI.—On the 3rd of January, 1790, a party of settlers landed at Cincinnati, among whom was Benjamin Van Cleve one of the founders of Dayton, Ohio. He states that on the preceding day (January 2) General St Clair, the Governor, had arrived. Having issued a proclamation erecting the County of Hamilton, he appointed judges and justices of the peace for the county. The building of Fort Washington was still in progress, but it was already occupied by four companies of infantry commanded respectively by Strong, Pratt, Kersey, and Kingsbury, and by Fords company of Artillery:

MEMORANDUM—Benj. Van Cleve, Amer. Pioneer, Vol. 2, p 148.











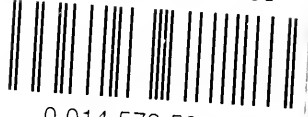








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