



*G. W. Waples*



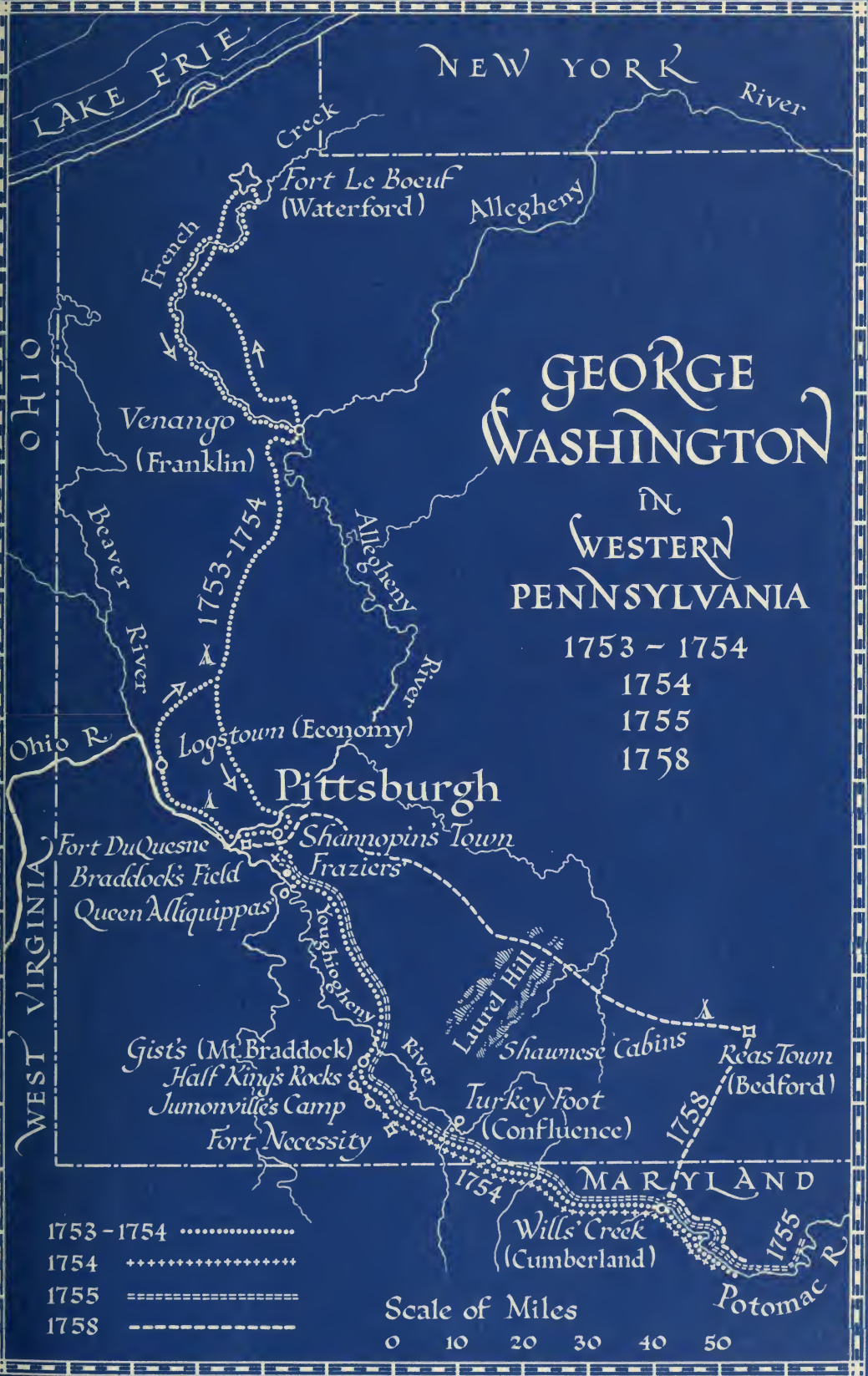
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*See Historical*

~~NATIONAL HISTORY~~  
SURVEY





LAKE ERIE

NEW YORK River

Fort Le Boeuf (Waterford)

Allegheny

French

Venango (Franklin)

**GEORGE WASHINGTON**  
**IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA**

IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

1753 - 1754  
 1754  
 1755  
 1758

OHIO

Beaver River

Allegheny River

1753-1754

Logstown (Economy)

Pittsburgh

Ohio R.

Fort Duquesne

Shannopin's Town

Braddock's Field

Frazier's

Queen Alliquippas

WEST VIRGINIA

Gist's (Mt Braddock)

Half King's Rocks

Jumonville's Camp

Fort Necessity

Youghiogheny River

Laurel Hill

Shawnese Cabins

Turkey Foot (Confluence)

Reas Town (Bedford)

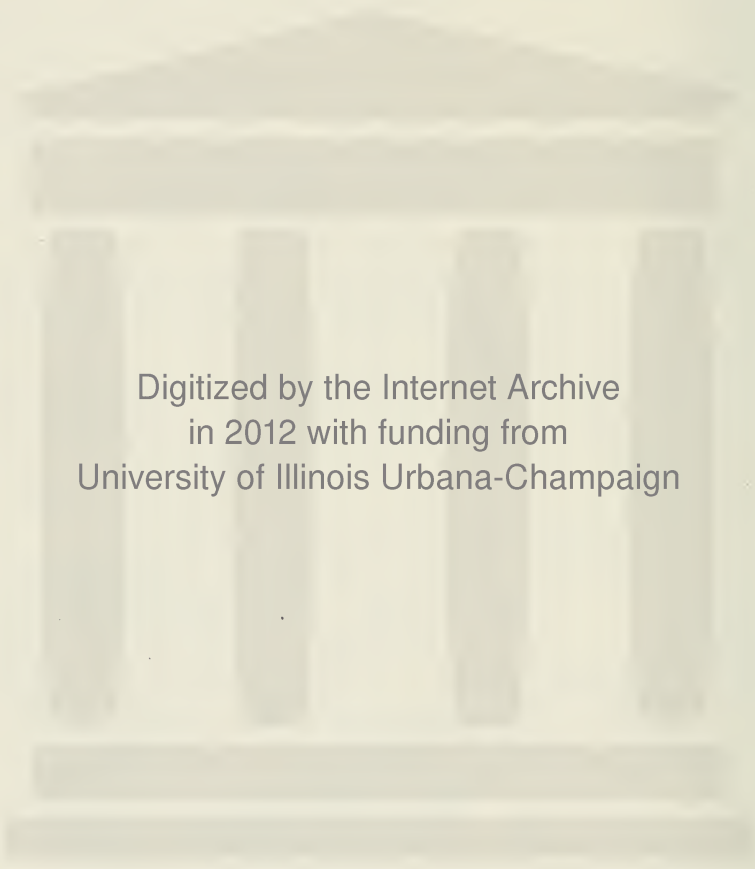
MARYLAND

Wills' Creek (Cumberland)

Potomac R.

- 1753 - 1754 .....
- 1754 ++++++
- 1755 =====
- 1758 -----

Scale of Miles  
 0 10 20 30 40 50



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George Washington



George  
Washington  
in the  
Ohio Valley

HUGH CLELAND

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS

Pittsburgh: 1955



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UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS

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ONE OF A LIST OF BOOKS IN THE CULTURAL  
HISTORY OF WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA MADE  
POSSIBLE THROUGH A GRANT-IN-AID FROM  
THE BUHL FOUNDATION OF PITTSBURGH



## *Preface*

This book relates some of the important early history of the upper Ohio Valley, with Pittsburgh as its center, in the words of one of its most distinguished visitors, George Washington; and occasionally, to round out the narrative, in the words of his contemporaries—soldiers and Indian traders, friends and enemies, Colonials, French, British, and Indians.

It is, essentially, the story of the Western Country as it helped to make the man, and of the man as he helped to make the Western Country.

The book is directed primarily to people who like to read history rather than to professional historians. The author, however, has attempted to maintain scrupulous historical accuracy and objectivity, and for those who have a specialized interest in the early places, people, and events of the region and the period named in the story, there are footnotes.

The volume was prepared under the direction of a committee of three at the University of Pittsburgh: Dr. John W. Oliver, professor emeritus of history, who helped the author with the same kindness he has shown generations of students; Professor Agnes Lynch Starrett, director of the University of Pittsburgh Press, who would make a first-rate historian if she ever decides to interrupt her career as editor and publisher; and Dean Stanton C. Crawford of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.

Thanks are due also to Dr. Donald H. Kent, associate historian of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, for prompt and gracious assistance in making material available; to University Librarian Lorena Garloch Byers, who smoothed the path for the author as only an alert and sym-

## PREFACE

pathetic librarian can; to Lois Mulkearn, Darlington Librarian, who contributed freely of her extensive historical knowledge of the period as well as of her technical knowledge as a librarian; to Miss Rose Demorest and Miss Dorothy English of the Pennsylvania Room of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh for similar kindness and assistance; and to the late Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook of the Library of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.

The Abbé Arthur Maheux, Archivist of the University of Laval in Quebec, generously gave permission to quote in translation from *Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents* . . . published by the University of Laval. Dr. Alfred P. James of the history department of the University of Pittsburgh gave unstintingly of his seemingly inexhaustible fund of information about Virginia and Virginians. Sympathetic assistance came also from the late Dr. Russell J. Ferguson, head of the history department of the University of Pittsburgh, and from Miss Alice Linton of the department. Miss Leah Goodman rendered valuable secretarial assistance and Miss Betty Elkin kindly checked translations from the French.

The author's wife, Celia, gave not alone the invaluable editorial and technical aid and advice which falls to the lot of the historian's wife, but lent as well her good spirits and encouragement, a vital ingredient of the book.

HUGH GREGG CLELAND

*Pittsburgh, August, 1955*

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## *Foreword*

In the midst of Pittsburgh's bicentennial celebrations (1953, Location Day; Battle of Fort Necessity; 1955, Braddock's Defeat; and 1958, the conquest by the English of the Forks of the Ohio), at a most appropriate time, appears this interesting book, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*. In its pages, through his own accounts and those of his contemporaries, we live with George Washington for nearly half a century on his seven journeys into the Ohio Valley to deal with the problems of the frontier. We meet him first in 1753, a youth of twenty-one, in the role of ambassador to the French at Fort Le Boeuf; we leave him in 1794, five years before his death, successfully quelling the Whiskey Rebellion, the first insurrection threatening the newly established government of which he was the head.

Many separate studies of incidents and phases of Washington's career and a continual stream of Washington biographies have been published. This book concentrates on the times Washington came into the Western Country—five times on military maneuvers and two on his own and others' land interests. In letters and journals and newspaper accounts we see with the eyes and hear with the ears of men who walked and talked and served with Washington in crises and events which called forth and developed qualities and skills that made George Washington a leader among men, respected then and now, universally and without reservation, as a man of the strictest honor and integrity. Again and again, as he faced every test—the hard life on the frontier and the difficulties of tying together diverse interests and loyalties in a raw new land—his good judgment, his unshakable dignity, his cool logic, and his respect

## FOREWORD

for others made him stand out above older and more experienced veterans of war and politics.

The editor of this book, Hugh Cleland, history department, University of Pittsburgh, wisely has left opinions and judgments to those whose records are printed here. No comments of his are needed to let the reader know that Washington understood the Indians and that they understood him; that he was respected by French officers who were his enemies and by British generals seasoned on foreign battlefields; that his journal entries in time of peace are even now a traveler's guide through the Ohio Valley, whose mountain trails, flowing streams, cleared farms, oak and hickory and pine forests, black rich soil and stony soil Washington describes in minutest detail. Of few men in world history can it be said as has been said of Washington, "He never sought honor, title, or position of importance, but he never tried to escape the call of duty by his fellow men." This, too, we realize as we follow him and his companions on these journeys. When in times of peace he talked with civil officers, inventors, surveyors, prominent citizens, and the tenants who occupied his far-reaching lands and farms we realize that he knew this country, its terrain and its people, as probably no President since has known it.

On a library shelf with other books about the Father of His Country and with other histories of our nation, learned and popular, this book will hold its own sound place. It is a book for the casual reader, the professional historian, and the collector. It is Washington's own regional history of an area, the great Ohio Valley of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, which has played so great a part in the military, the economic, and the cultural history of the United States. It seems to say afresh that the policies and the life of the frontier set the policies and the life of America.



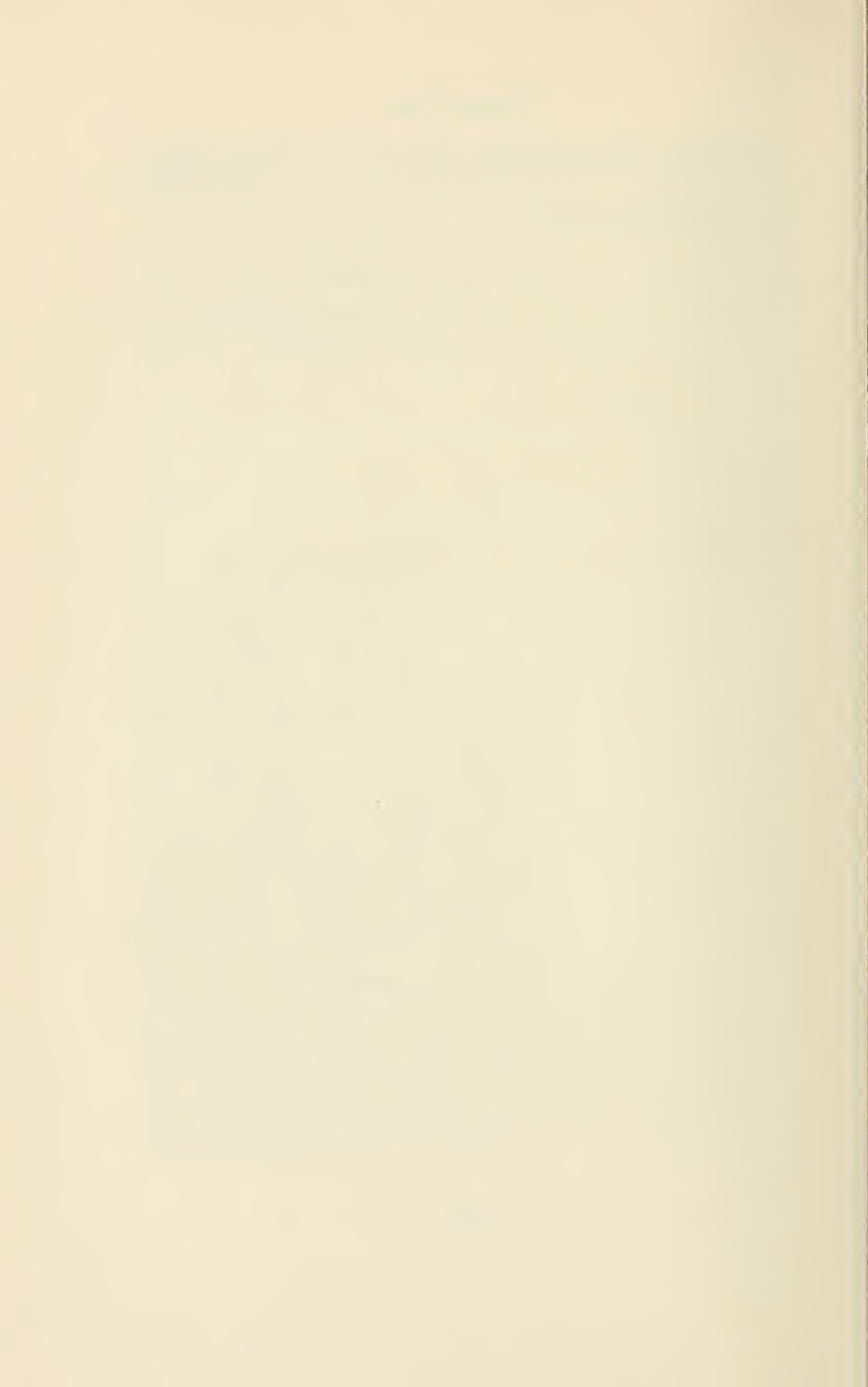
## FOREWORD

As Herbert Baxter Adams once said, "It would seem as though all lines of our public policy lead back to Washington as all roads lead to Rome."

JOHN W. OLIVER

*Professor Emeritus of History*

*University of Pittsburgh*





Ambassador to the French

Fort LeBoeuf

October 31, 1753—January 16, 1754



## *The Ohio Country—1753*

When George Washington first set foot on the western slopes of the Alleghenies, late in the autumn of 1753, he entered a wilderness soon to be a battleground for two European civilizations. Britain and France both claimed the Ohio Valley and rapidly were approaching armed conflict to defend their claims. And that was not all. The powerful Iroquois confederation of Indians claimed it as their private hunting grounds; and traders from Virginia and Pennsylvania, scheming for priority in trade with the Indians, represented rival colonial claims.

The upper Ohio Valley, including what is now Western Pennsylvania, had been only Indian Country and a bountiful hunting ground for them until a short while before Washington came. At some date uncertain historically, the aboriginal Indian tribes had disappeared, and their successors, the Erie, had been driven out by the powerful Iroquois. In the first half of the eighteenth century some Delawares and Shawnees and a few Senecas had drifted into the region, largely from the east, and had been allowed to stay because they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Iroquois. The Iroquois, from the date of the Lancaster Treaty, 1744, had been firm allies of the British, and since 1603, had been enemies of the Huron, who were allies of the French.

Some white traders had followed the Delaware and Shawnee from their eastern settlements into the wilderness. They were mostly from colonial Pennsylvania, which thought of the region as part of Penn's Woods. They provided the Indians with manufactured goods in exchange for furs, which brought enormous profits in the European market. These lone traders were the first whites other than the earliest French explorers to

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

enter the western wilderness. Since the early years of the eighteenth century the entrepreneurs of the forest had been leading their pack trains deep into what is today western Ohio. It seems strange to realize that the well-worn forest trails—worn by Indian civilizations conquered long ago by other Indian civilizations buried deep under mounds and tall forest trees and by later Indians and traders—were as easy to follow then as a modern highway is today.

These far-ranging colonial frontiersmen, the forerunners of English civilization in the region, inevitably were to clash with the French, whose outposts by 1730 lay like a crescent around the English colonies. From the settlements of the French in the St. Lawrence Valley, these outposts ran along the Great Lakes, through the Illinois country to the Mississippi, and thence south to New Orleans. Because British trade goods were better and cheaper than French goods, at such posts as Niagara and Detroit the French fur trade suffered and the French were in danger of losing their line of communication and supply between Canada and Louisiana—indeed their claim to the entire region. Since the Indians sided with whoever supplied them best with manufactured goods, and since Indian allegiance was naturally an important factor in the control of the wilderness, a bitter struggle for domination of the Indian trade had begun.

Events in Virginia, too, intensified the white man's struggle for control of the upper Ohio. Virginia was soon to claim that the disputed land was within her borders, for besides a charter to back her claims, Virginia had an agreement of sorts with the Iroquois, the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster. Hoping to realize Virginia's claims, a number of Virginia gentlemen, in 1747, launched the Ohio Company of Virginia. This venture was designed not only to win the Indian trade but also to gain title to vast lands, "five hundred thousand acres . . . on the Waters



## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

of the Ohio," and locate settlers on them. Among the partners were influential members of the Virginia legislature, and others among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, older half-brothers of George. In 1750, Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia himself became a partner.

Alarmed at the English trade success, whether Pennsylvania's or Virginia's, the French, in 1749, had sent a military force under Céleron de Blainville into the upper Ohio Valley to win back Indian allegiance and to bury at strategic points lead tablets asserting French sovereignty over the region. Céleron ordered English traders out of the area, and subsequently the French on more than one occasion made prisoners of English traders caught in the region.

But the French recognized that orders and threats were not enough. The Indians they met with in the woods had become too dependent on the skills of British gunsmiths and the goods of British traders to be influenced easily by strangers doing little more than to set up new claims to land the Indians considered their own to begin with. And so, in 1753, the new Governor of Canada, the Marquis Duquesne, began to build a string of forts on the upper tributaries of the Ohio. Early in 1753, Fort Presque Isle (present Erie, Pennsylvania) was raised, followed by Fort Le Boeuf (now Waterford, Pennsylvania) near the head of French Creek, an upper tributary of the Allegheny. A fort was planned for Venango (present Franklin, Pennsylvania) at the junction of French Creek and the Allegheny; another, for Logstown (now Ambridge, Pennsylvania) on the Ohio itself. However, illness and other difficulties forced postponement of these last two projects.

The resolute French actions alarmed the Pennsylvania traders, but the Pennsylvania legislature, dominated by Quaker merchants, had already refused their governor money to erect

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

a fort on the Ohio. Therefore, the burden of contesting the French fell to Virginia and its Ohio Company.

Already, in 1752, just a year before Washington's coming, commissioners representing Virginia had met with the Indians at Logstown and got permission, according to Dinwiddie, "from the original Proprietors of the Soil," for the Ohio Company to erect a fort on the Ohio and to establish settlements south of the river.

The Company had had a rough road cut from Wills Creek in Maryland (now Cumberland) to the Monongahela, and in 1753, laid plans for a fort at the mouth of Chartier's Creek on the south bank of the Ohio (where McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, is today). In the same year the Company established its first settlement, known as Gist's Plantation, near what is now Mount Braddock, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

Thus, in the year George Washington first set foot in the Ohio Valley, 1753, the French were moving south on the Allegheny; the British were working their way north in the valley of the Monongahela to the point where the Allegheny and Monongahela converge—the point, now Pittsburgh, where England and France were destined to collide; and the Indians, divided and uncertain in their allegiance, were watching and waiting.

And so, on his first journey into the Western Country and on his first grave and important responsibility in a lifetime of grave and important responsibilities, came George Washington, twenty-one years old, newly commissioned major in the Virginia Militia. He carried a "letter of protection for safe passing and re-passing to the French camp" on the "Ohio" and a message from Governor Dinwiddie to the French Commandant—all in the name of the Crown of Great Britain. He was received by the French officer "with a Distinction suitable to . . . his

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

own Quality and great Merit." With him were a French interpreter, Jacob Vanbraam; the experienced frontiersman, Christopher Gist; and four "servitors:" Barnaby Currin and John MacQuire (seasoned Indian traders), Henry Steward, and William Jenkins.

To Fort Le Boeuf on French Creek they travelled—on horseback, on foot, and by canoe—through miles of great white pine and hardwood forests, clear and shining streams, lush meadows, rolling hills topped with endless mountain ridges, sharp stars, and cold blue skies—the unbelievable autumnal beauty of Western Pennsylvania—none of which he mentions in his Journal, for the delivery of the message, the observation of French strength and weakness, and the alertness to dangers loomed as more important. And with greatest difficulty Washington travelled back to Williamsburg, most of the way on foot, through the worst of weather, through the snows and ice of December and through deep wilderness tense with the emotions of three nations—emotions just ready to explode into a great European war which doomed forever the forest civilization of a proud people, ended the threat of a French Empire in the New World, and opened a continent, broader than any yet explored, to the unity of a fresh life and hope for humanity.

### *The Facsimile of Washington's Journal of 1753*

George Washington's own account of his first journey into the upper Ohio Valley follows here as a letterpress facsimile of a pamphlet printed in London in 1754 for T. Jefferys, royal geographer. Earlier in 1754, the Journal had been printed in Williamsburg, Virginia, by William Hunter; of this printing two copies only are known: one in the Newberry Library, Chicago; the other in a private collection. Washington's orig-

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

inal has not survived. There is "a true copy verbatim" made by Wm. Withers which Governor Dinwiddie sent with other pertinent papers to the Lords of Trade, to which the printing can be compared and slight variations noted.

The Journal must have held great interest in England, for it was printed also in the *London Magazine*, 1754, vol. 24, p. 335, and in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1754, vol. 24, p. 294. Notices of Mr. Jefferys' printing appeared in the *Monthly Review*, vol. X, June, 1754, pp. 509-10, as did notices of the magazine printings. On this side of the water the Journal appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, March 21 and 28, 1754, and was copied in the *Boston Gazette*, April 16 to May 21, 1754.

The Jefferys' pamphlet, too, is rare. The one reproduced here is in the Darlington Collection of Americana. It is from the library of the late William McCullough Darlington, given to the University of Pittsburgh by his daughters, Mary O'Hara Darlington and Edith Darlington Ammon, in memory of their father and of their mother (Mary Carson Darlington).

A title page, thirty-two pages of text, and a map are printed on laid rag paper, with the watermark, *Strasburg Bend and Lily*, of Lubertus van Gerrevink.

The book is bound in crimson leather, tooled in gold. Whether it was in this binding when Mr. Darlington acquired it is not certain. Bound with it are a listing of "Maps, Plans, and charts just imported by Thomas Jeffereys, Geographer to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales"; a gatefold "Map of the Western parts of the colony of Virginia, as far as the Mississippi"; an "Advertisement" signed G. Washington; a printing of the letter to the French commander from Dinwiddie and the letter from the French officer to the Governor; an engraving of the young Major Washington; and pressed under the engraving a holograph signature, *G. Washington*.

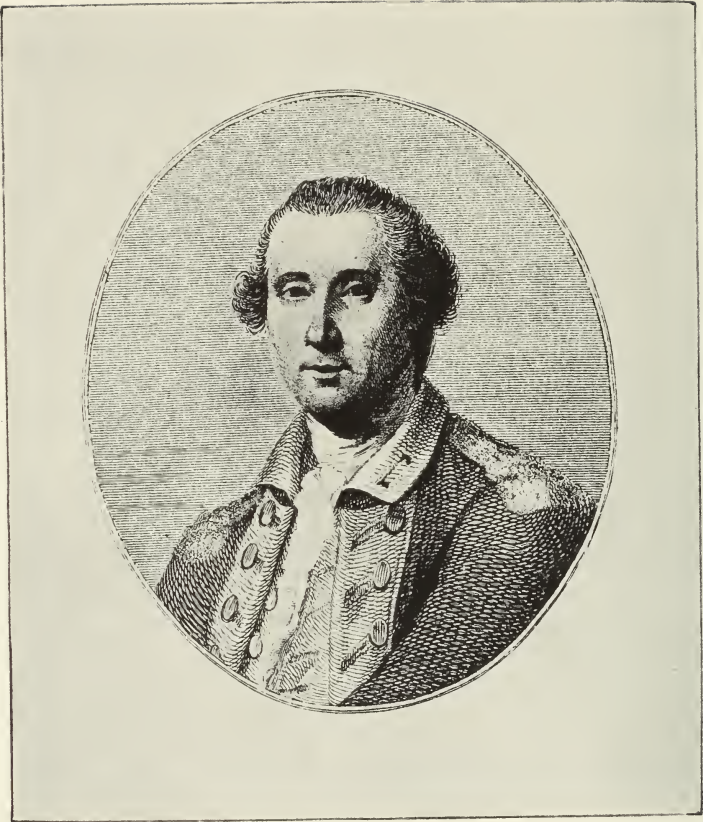
## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

The engraver is unknown, but his work suggests the portraits of Washington by the American portrait painter, Charles William Peale. The "Advertisement" appeared in the Williamsburg edition, too. The engraving and the signature are unique to this binding of the Journal.





THE FACSIMILE



L.<sup>o</sup>  
F. Wapenstok





T H E  
J O U R N A L  
O F  
MAJOR *George Washington*,

SENT BY THE  
Hon. ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq;  
His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and  
Commander in Chief of *Virginia*,

T O T H E  
COMMANDANT of the *French* Forces  
O N  
O H I O.

To which are added, the  
GOVERNOR'S L E T T E R:

A N D A  
TRANSLATION of the *French* Officer's Answer.

W I T H  
A New MAP of the Country as far as the  
M I S S I S S I P P I.

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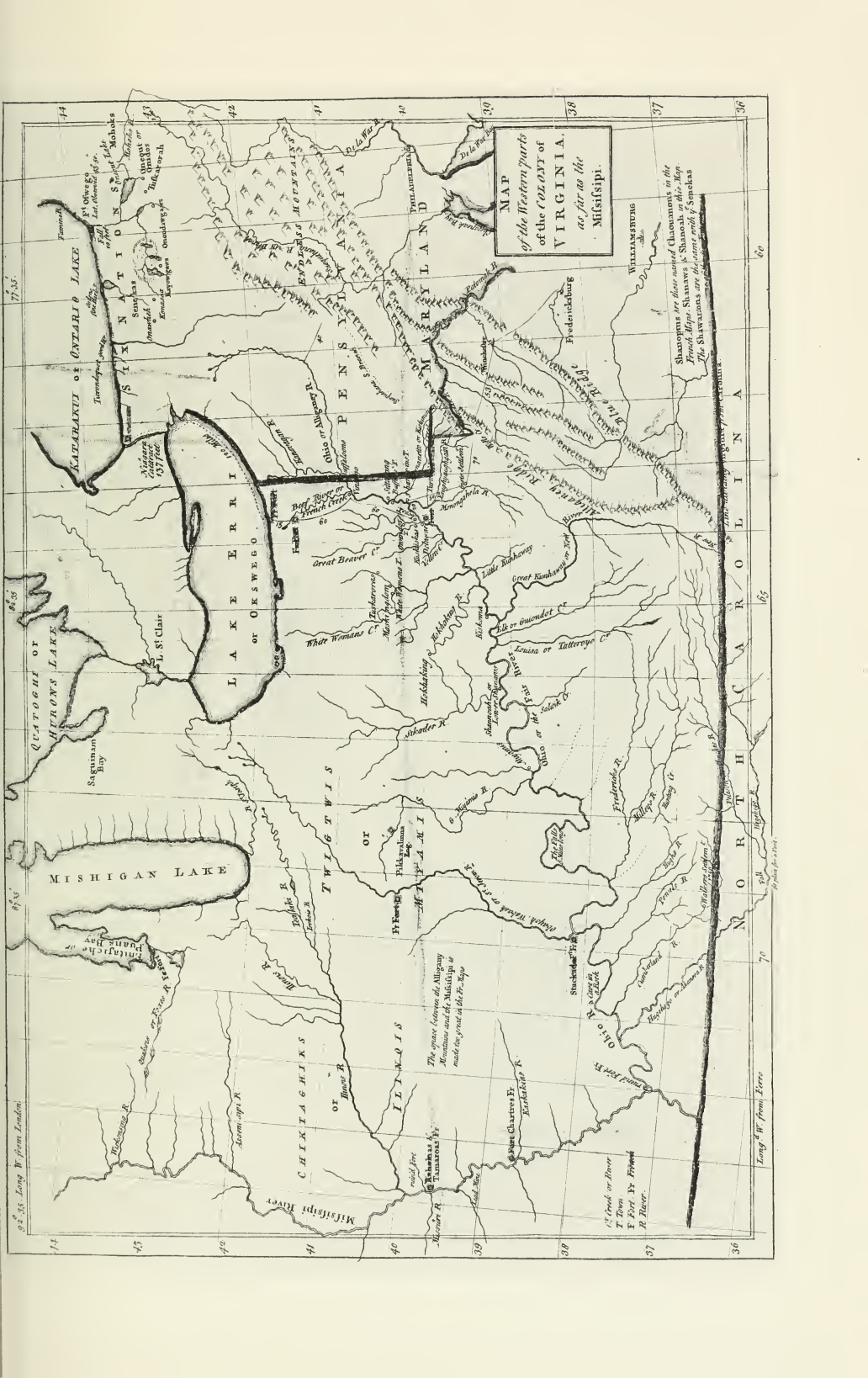
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a Memoir.





MAP  
of the WESTERN PARTS  
of the COLONY of  
VIRGINIA,  
as far as the  
MISSISSIPPI.

Shenandoah are their supposed claimants in the  
French Maps, Shawnee & Shawana  
The Shawanons are the same people

The space between the Allegheny  
Mountains and the Potomac is  
made up of great hills & valleys

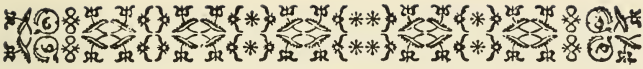
St. Croix or River  
T. Brown  
F. D. R. or River  
R. River.

LONGITUDE FROM LONDON

LONGITUDE FROM LERO

Scale of Miles





## ADVERTISEMENT.

**A**S it was thought adviseable by his Honour the Governor to have the following Account of my Proceedings to and from the French on Ohio, committed to Print; I think I can do no less than apologize, in some Measure, for the numberless Imperfections of it.

There interven'd but one Day between my Arrival in Williamsburg, and the Time for the Council's Meeting, for me to prepare and transcribe, from the rough Minutes I had taken in my Travels, this Journal; the writing of which only was sufficient to employ me closely the whole Time, consequently admitted of no Leisure to consult of a new and proper Form to offer it in, or to correct or amend the Diction of the old: Neither was I apprised, nor did in the least conceive,  
when

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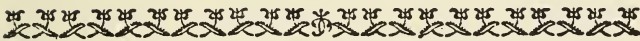
*when I wrote this for his Honour's Perusal, that it ever would be published, or even have more than a cursory Reading; till I was informed, at the Meeting of the present General Assembly, that it was already in the Press.*

*There is nothing can recommend it to the Public, but this. Those Things which came under the Notice of my own Observation, I have been explicit and just in a Recital of:—Those which I have gathered from Report, I have been particularly cautious not to augment, but collected the Opinions of the several Intelligencers, and selected from the whole, the most probable and consistent Account.*

G. WASHINGTON.



T H E  
J O U R N A L, &c.



*Wednesday, October 31st, 1753.*

I WAS commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie, Esq;* Governor, &c. of *Virginia*, to visit and deliver a Letter to the Commandant of the *French* Forces on the *Ohio*, and set out on the intended Journey the same Day : The next, I arrived at *Fredericksburg*, and engaged Mr. *Jacob Vanbraam*, to be my *French* Interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria*, where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester*, and got Baggage, Horses, &c. and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek*, where we arrived the 14th of *November*.

Here I engaged Mr. *Gift* to pilot us out, and also hired four others as Servitors, *Barnaby Currin*,  
and

and *John Mac-Quire*, Indian Traders, *Henry Steward*, and *William Jenkins* ; and in Company with those Persons, left the Inhabitants the Day following.

The excessive Rains and vast Quantity of Snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. *Frazier's*, an Indian Trader, at the Mouth of *Turtle-Creek*, on *Monongabela* [River] till *Thursday* the 22d. We were informed here, that Expresses had been sent a few Days before to the Traders down the River, to acquaint them with the *French General's* Death, and the Return of the major Part of the *French Army* into Winter Quarters.

The Waters were quite impassable, without swimming our Horses ; which obliged us to get the Loan of a Canoe from *Frazier*, and to send *Barnaby Currin*, and *Henry Steward*, down the *Monongabela*, with our Baggage, to meet us at the Forks of *Ohio*, about 10 Miles, there to cross the *Aligany*.\*

As I got down before the Canoe, I spent some Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork ; which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water ; and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it, very convenient for Building : The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles : *Aligany* bearing N. E. and *Monongabela* S. E. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running Water ; the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall.

About two Miles from this, on the South East Side of the River, at the Place where the *Ohio*

\* The *Ohio* and *Aligany* are the same River.



Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Sbingifs*, King of the *Delawares*: We called upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs-Town*.

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the *Forks*, my Curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; especially the latter: For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well situated on the *Ohio*, and have the entire Command of the *Monongabela*; which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well designed for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature. Besides a Fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much less Expence, than at the other Place.—

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient Fortification there.—The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken-in, the Side next the Descent made extremely high, or else the Hill itself cut away: Otherwise, the Enemy may raise Batteries within that Distance without being exposed to a single Shot from the Fort.

*Sbingifs* attended us to the *Loggs-Town*, where we arrived between Sun-setting and Dark, the 25th Day after I left *Williamsburg*. We travelled over some extreme good and bad Land, to get to this Place.—

As soon as I came into Town, I went to *Mona-katoocha* (as the Half-king was out at his hunting-Cabbin on little *Beaver-Creek*, about 15 Miles off) and informed him by *John Davison* my Indian Interpreter, that I was sent a Messenger to the *French* General; and was ordered to call upon the Sachems of the *Six Nations*, to acquaint them with it.—

it.—I gave him a String of Wampum †, and a Twist of Tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King ; which he promised to do by a Runner in the Morning, and for other Sachems.—I invited him and the other great Men present to my Tent, where they stay'd about an Hour and return'd.

According to the best Observations I could make; Mr. *Giff's* new Settlement (which we pass'd by) bears about W. N. W. 70 Miles from *Wills-Creek*; *Shanapins*, or the Forks N. by W. or N. N. W. about 50 Miles from that; and from thence to the *Loggs-Town*, the Course is nearly West about 18 or 20 Miles: So that the whole Distance, as we went and computed it, is at least 135 or 140 Miles from our back Inhabitants.

25th, Came to Town four of ten *Frenchmen* who had deserted from a Company at the *Kuskuskas*, which lies at the Mouth of this River. I got the following Account from them. They were sent from *New-Orleans* with 100 Men, and 8 Canoe-Loads of Provisions to this Place; where they expected to have met the same Number of Men, from the Forts on this Side Lake *Erie*, to convoy them and the Stores up, who were not arrived when they ran-off.

I enquired into the Situation of the *French*, on the *Mississippi*, their Number, and what Forts they had built. They inform'd me, That there were four small Forts between *New-Orleans* and the *Black-Islands*, garrison'd with about 30 or 40 Men, and a few small Pieces in each: That at *New-Orleans*, which is near the Mouth of the *Mississippi*, there are 35 Companies, of 40 Men each, with a pretty strong Fort mounting 8 Carriage Guns; and at the *Black-Islands* there are several Companies, and a Fort with 6 Guns. The *Black-Islands* are

† A kind of *Indian Money*; also given as a Present or Mark of Friendship.

about 130 Leagues above the Mouth of the *Ohio*, which is about 350 above *New-Orleans*. They also acquainted me, that there was a small pallifado'd Fort on the *Ohio*, at the Mouth of the *Obaish* about 60 Leagues from the *Mississipi*. The *Obaish* \* heads near the West End of Lake *Erie*, and affords the Communication between the *French* on *Mississipi* and those on the Lakes. These Deserters came up from the lower *Shanoah* Town with one *Brown*, an *Indian* Trader, and were going to *Philadelphia*.

About 3 o'Clock this Evening the Half-King came to Town. I went up and invited him with *Davison*, privately, to my Tent; and desir'd him to relate some of the Particulars of his Journey to the *French* Commandant, and Reception there: Also to give me an Account of the Ways and Distance. He told me, that the nearest and levellest Way was now impassable, by Reason of many large mirey Savannas; that we must be obliged to go by *Venango*, and should not get to the near Fort under 5 or 6 Nights Sleep, good Travelling. When he went to the Fort, he said he was received in a very stern Manner by the late Commander; Who ask'd him very abruptly, what he had come about, and to declare his Business: Which he said he did in the following Speech.

*Fathers, I am come to tell you your own Speeches; what your own Mouths have declared. Fathers, You, in former Days, set a Silver Bason before us, wherein there was the Leg of a Beaver, and desir'd all the Nations to come and eat of it; to eat in Peace and Plenty, and not to be churlish to one another: And that if any such Person should be found to be a Disturber, I here lay down by the Edge of the Dish a*

\* Or *Wabaish*, written by the *French* *Quabach*.

B

Rod,

Rod, which you must scourge them with ; and if I your Father, should get foolish, in my old Days, I desire you may use it upon me as well as others.

Now Fathers, it is you who are the Disturbers in this Land, by coming and building your Towns ; and taking it away unknown to us, and by Force.

Fathers, We kindled a Fire a long Time ago, at a Place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our Land. I now desire you may dispatch to that Place ; for be it known to you, Fathers, that this is our Land, and not yours.

Fathers, I desire you may bear me in Civilness ; if not, we must handle that Rod which was laid down for the Use of the abstreperous. If you had come in a peaceable Manner, like our Brothers the English, we should not have been against your trading with us, as they do ; BUT TO COME, FATHERS, AND BUILD HOUSES UPON OUR LAND, AND TO TAKE IT BY FORCE, IS WHAT WE CANNOT SUBMIT TO.

Fathers, Both you and the English are white, we live in a Country between ; therefore the Land belongs to neither one nor t'other : But the Great Being above allow'd it to be a Place of Residence for us ; so Fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our Brothers the English : For I will keep you at Arms length. I lay this down as a Trial for both, to see which will have the greatest Regard to it, and that Side we will stand by, and make equal Sharers with us. Our Brothers the English have heard this, and I come now to tell it to you ; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this Land.

This he said was the Substance of what he spoke to the General, who made this Reply.

Now

Now my Child, I have heard your Speech: You spoke first, but it is my Time to speak now. Where is my Wampum that you took away, with the Marks of Towns in it? This Wampum I do not know, which you have discharged me off the Land with: But you need not put yourself to the Trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of Flies, or Musquitos, for Indians are such as those. I tell you, down that River I will go, and will build upon it, according to my Command. If the River was block'd up, I have Forces sufficient to burst it open, and tread under my Feet all that stand in Opposition, together with their Alliances; for my Force is as the Sand upon the Sea Shore: Therefore, here is your Wampum, I fling it at you. Child, you talk foolish; you say this Land belongs to you, but there is not the Black of my Nail yours. I saw that Land sooner than you did, before the Shannoabs and you were at War: Lead was the Man who went down, and took Possession of that River: It is my Land, and I will have it, let who will stand-up for, or say-against, it. I'll buy and sell with the English, (mockingly). If People will be rul'd by me, they may expect Kindness, but not else.

The Half-King told me he enquired of the General after two *Englishmen* who were made Prisoners, and received this Answer.

*Child, You think it is a very great Hardship that I made Prisoners of those two People at Venango. Don't you concern yourself with it: We took and carried them to Canada, to get Intelligence of what the English were doing in Virginia.*

He informed me that they had built two Forts, one on Lake *Erie*, and another on *French-Creek*,



near a small Lake about 15 Miles asunder, and a large Waggon Road between: They are both built after the same Model, but different in the Size; that on the Lake the largest. He gave me a Plan of them, of his own drawing.

The *Indians* enquired very particularly after their Brothers in *Carolina* Goal.

They also asked what Sort of a Boy it was who was taken from the *South-Branch*; for they were told by some *Indians*, that a Party of *French Indians* had carried a white Boy by the *Kuskuska* Town, towards the Lakes.

26th. We met in Council at the *Long-House*, about 9 o'Clock, where I spoke to them as follows.

*Brothers, I have called you together in Council, by Order of your Brother the Governor of Virginia, to acquaint you, that I am sent, with all possible Dispatch, to visit, and deliver a Letter to the French Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers the English; and I dare say, to you their Friends and Allies.*

*I was desired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your Advice and Assistance to proceed the nearest and best Road to the French. You see, Brothers, I have gotten thus far on my Journey.*

*His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young Men, to conduct and provide Provisions for us on our Way; and be a Safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the Hatchet against us. I have spoke this particularly to you, Brothers, because his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies; and holds you in great Esteem.*

*Esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this String of Wampum.*

After they had considered for some Time on the above Discourse, the Half-King got up and spoke.

*Now, my Brothers, in Regard to what my Brother the Governor has desired me, I return you this Answer.*

*I rely upon you as a Brother ought to do, 'as you say we are Brothers and one People: We shall put Heart in Hand, and speak to our Fathers the French concerning the Speech they made to me; and you may depend that we will endeavour to be your Guard.*

*Brother, as you have asked my Advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay till I can provide a Company to go with you. The French Speech-Belt is not here, I have it to go for to my hunting-Cabbin: Likewise the People whom I have ordered in, are not yet come, nor cannot till the third Night from this; till which Time, Brother, I must beg you to stay.*

*I intend to send a Guard of Mingo's, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our Brothers may see the Love and Loyalty we bear them.*

As I had Orders to make all possible Dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my Inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable Manner I could; and told him, that my Business required the greatest Expedition, and would not admit of that Delay. He was not well pleased that I should offer to go before the Time he had appointed, and told me, that he could not consent to our going without a Guard, for Fear some Accident should befall us, and draw a Reflection upon him. Besides, says he, this is a Matter of no small Moment, and must  
not



not be entered into without due Consideration : For now I intend to deliver up the *French-Speech-Belt*, and make the *Shannoaks* and *Delawares* do the same. And accordingly he gave Orders to King *Shingis*, who was present, to attend on *Wednesday* Night with the Wampum; and two Men of their Nation to be in Readiness to set-out with us next Morning. As I found it was impossible to get-off without affronting them in the most egregious Manner, I consented to stay.

I gave them back a String of Wampum which I met with at Mr. *Frezier's*, and which they had sent with a Speech to his Honour the Governor, to inform him, that three Nations of *French Indians*, viz. *Chippoways*, *Ottoways*, and *Orundaks*, had taken-up the Hatchet against the *English*; and desired them to repeat it over again : But this they postponed doing till they met in full Council with the *Shannoaks* and *Delaware* Chiefs.

27th. Runners were dispatched very early for the *Shannoab* Chiefs. The Half-King set out himself to fetch the *French-Speech-Belt* from his hunting Cabbin.

28th. He returned this Evening, and came with *Monokatoocha*, and two other Sachems to my Tent; and begged (as they had complied with his Honour the Governor's Request, in providing Men, &c.) to know on what Business we were going to the *French*? this was a Question I all along expected, and had provided as satisfactory Answers to, as I could; which allayed their Curiosity a little.

*Monokatoocha* informed me, that an *Indian* from *Venango* brought News, a few Days ago, that the *French* had called all the *Mingo's*, *Delawares*, &c. together at that Place; and told them, that they intended

intended to have been down the River this Fall, but the Waters were growing cold, and the Winter advancing, which obliged them to go into Quarters : But that they might assuredly expect them in the Spring, with a far greater Number ; and desired that they might be quite passive, and not to intermeddle, unless they had a Mind to draw all their Force upon them : For that they expected to fight the *English* three Years (as they supposed there would be some Attempts made to stop them) in which Time they should conquer : But that if they should prove equally strong, they and the *English*, would join to cut them all off, and divide the Land between them : That though they had lost their General, and some few of their Soldiers, yet there were Men enough to reinforce them, and make them Masters of the *Ohio*.

This Speech, he said, was delivered to them by one Captain *Foncaire* their Interpreter in Chief, living at *Venango*, and a Man of Note in the Army.

29<sup>th</sup>. The Half-King and *Monokatoocha*, came very early, and begged me to stay one Day more: For notwithstanding they had used all the Diligence in their Power, the *Shanoah* Chiefs had not brought the Wampum they ordered, but would certainly be in To-night ; if not, they would delay me no longer, but would send it after us as soon as they arrived. When I found them so pressing in their Request, and knew that returning of Wampum was the abolishing of Agreements ; and giving this up, was shaking-off all Dependance upon the *French*, I consented to stay, as I believed an Offence offered at this Crisis, might be attended with greater ill Consequence, than another Day's Delay. They also informed me, that *Sbingifs* could not get-in his Men ; and was prevented from coming

ing himself by his Wife's Sickness, (I believe, by Fear of the *French*); but that the Wampum of that Nation was lodged with *Kustaloga* one of their Chiefs at *Venango*.

In the Evening late they came again and acquainted me that the *Sbannoaks* were not yet arrived, but that it should not retard the Prosecution of our Journey. He delivered in my Hearing, the Speeches that were to be made to the *French* by *Jeskakake*, one of their old Chiefs, which was giving-up the Belt the late Commandant had asked for, and repeating near the same Speech he himself had done before.

He also delivered a String of Wampum to this Chief, which was sent by King *Sbingis*, to be given to *Kustaloga*, with Orders to repair to the *French*, and deliver-up the Wampum.

He likewise gave a very large String of black and white Wampum, which was to be sent up immediately to the Six Nations, if the *French* refused to quit the Land at this Warning; which was the third and last Time, and was the Right of this *Jeskakake* to deliver.

30th. Last Night the great Men assembled to their Council-House, to consult further about this Journey, and who were to go: The Result of which was, that only three of their Chiefs, with one of their best Hunters, should be our Convoy. The Reason they gave for not sending more, after what had been proposed at Council the 26th, was, that a greater Number might give the *French* Suspicions of some bad Design, and cause them to be treated rudely: But I rather think they could not get their Hunters in.

We set out about 9 o'Clock with the Half-King, *Jeskakake*, *White Thunder*, and the Hunter; and travelled

travelled on the Road to *Venango*, where we arrived the 4th of *December*, without any Thing remarkable happening but a continued Series of bad Weather.

This is an old *Indian* Town, situated at the Mouth of *French* Creek on *Ohio*; and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the *Loggs*-Town, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go.

We found the *French* Colours hoisted at a House from which they had driven Mr. *John Frazier*, an *English* Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Foncaire*, informed me, that he had the Command of the *Ohio*: But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, where he advised me to apply for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them; and treated us with the greatest Complaisance.

The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their Conversation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely.

They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take Possession of the *Ohio*, and by G— they would do it: For that altho' they were sensible the *English* could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew, their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Discovery made by one *La Solle* 60 Years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of some Families moving-out in Order thereto. From the best Intelligence I could get, there have been 1500 Men on this Side *Ontario*

C

Lake

Lake : But upon the Death of the General all were recalled to about 6 or 700, who were left to garriſon four Forts, 150 or thereabouts in each. The firſt of them is on *French-Creek*, near a ſmall Lake, about 60 Miles from *Venango*, near N.N.W. the next lies on *Lake Erie*, where the greater Part of their Stores are kept, about 15 Miles from the other. From this it is 120 Miles to the carrying Place, at the Falls of *Lake Erie*, where there is a ſmall Fort; which they lodge their Goods at, in bringing them from *Montreal*, the Place whence all their Stores come from. The next Fort lies about 20 Miles from this, on *Ontario-Lake*. Between this Fort and *Montreal* there are three others, the firſt of which is near oppoſite to the *Engliſh Fort Oſwego*. From the Fort on *Lake Erie* to *Montreal* is about 600 Miles, which they ſay requires no more, if good Weather, than four Weeks Voyage, if they go in Barks or large Veſſels, ſo that they may croſs the Lake : But if they come in Canoes it will require 5 or 6 Weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the Shore.

5th. Rain'd exceſſively all Day, which prevented our Travelling. Capt. *Joncaire* ſent for the Half-King, as he had but juſt heard that he came with me: He affected to be much concerned that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excuſed it in the beſt Manner I was capable, and told him, I did not think their Company agreeable, as I had heard him ſay a good deal in Diſpraiſe of *Indians* in general. But another Motive prevented me from bringing them into his Company: I knew he was Interpreter, and a Perſon of very great Influence among the *Indians*, and had lately uſed all poſſible Means to draw them over to their Intereſt; therefore I was deſirous of giving no Opportunity that could be avoided. When



When they came in, there was great Pleasure expressed at seeing them. He wondred how they could be so near without coming to visit him ; made several trifling Presents ; and applied Loquor so fast, that they were soon rendred incapable of the Business they came about, notwithstanding the Caution which was given.

6th. The Half-King came to my Tent, quite sober, and insisted very much that I should stay and hear what he had to say to the *French*. I fain would have prevented his speaking any Thing, till he came to the Commandant ; but could not prevail. He told me, that at this Place a Council Fire was kindled, where all their Business with these People was to be transacted ; and that the Management of the *Indian* Affairs was left solely to Monsieur *Joucaire*. As I was desirous of knowing the Issue of this, I agreed to stay : But sent our Horses a little Way up *French* Creek, to raft over and encamp ; which I knew would make it near Night.

About 10 o'Clock they met in Council. The King spoke much the same as he had before done to the General ; and offered the *French* Speech-Belt which had before been demanded, with the Marks of four Towns on it, which Monsieur *Joucaire* refused to receive ; but desired him to carry it to the Fort to the Commander.

7th. Monsieur *La Force*, Commissary of the *French* Stores, and three other Soldiers came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the *Indians* off To-day, as every Stratagem had been used to prevent their going-up with me. I had last Night left *John Davison* (the *Indian* Interpreter whom I brought with me from Town, and strictly charged him not to be out of their Company, as I could not get them over to

my Tent; for they had some Business with *Kustaloga*, chiefly to know the Reason why he did not deliver up the *French Belt* which he had in Keeping: But I was obliged to send Mr. *Gist* over To-day to fetch them; which he did with great Persuasion.

At 11 o'Clock we set out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps. These we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the Creek, which was impossible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was so high and rapid.

We passed over much good Land since we left *Venango*, and through several extensive and very rich Meadows; one of which I believe was near four Miles in Length, and considerably wide in some Places.

12th. I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Business, and offered my Commission and Letter: Both of which he desired me to keep till the Arrival of Monsieur *Riparti*, Captain, at the next Fort, who was sent for and expected every Hour.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis*, and named *Legardeur de St. Pierre*. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was sent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.

At 2 o'Clock the Gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, &c. again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain to translate, who understood



derstood a little *Englisb*. After he had done it, the Commander desired I would walk-in, and bring my Interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13<sup>th</sup>. The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what Observations I could.

It is situated on the South, or West Fork of *French* Creek, near the Water; and is almost surrounded by the Creek, and a small Branch of it which forms a Kind of Island. Four Houses compose the Sides. The Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, standing more than 12 Feet above it, and sharp at Top: With Port-Holes cut for Cannon, and Loop-Holes for the small Arms to fire through. There are eight 6 lb. Pieces mounted, in each Bastion; and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate. In the Bastions are a Guard House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private Store: Round which are laid Plat-Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on. There are several Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling; covered, some with Bark, and some with Boards, made chiefly of Loggs. There are also several other Houses, such as Stables, Smiths Shop, &c.

I could get no certain Account of the Number of Men here: But according to the best Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred exclusive of Officers, of which there are many. I also gave Orders to the People who were with me, to take an exact Account of the Canoes which were hauled-up to convey their Forces down in the Spring. This they did, and told 50 of Birch Bark, and 170 of Pine; besides many others which were block-out, in Readiness to make.

14<sup>th</sup>. As

14<sup>th</sup>. As the Snow encreased very fast, and our Horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded; under the Care of *Barnaby Currin* and two others, to make all convenient Dispatch to *Venango*, and there wait our Arrival, if there was a Prospect of the Rivers freezing: If not, then to continue down to *Shanapin's Town*, at the Forks of *Ohio*, and there to wait till we came to cross *Aliganey*; intending myself to go down by Water, as I had the Offer of a Canoe or two.

As I found many Plots concerted to retard the *Indians* Business, and prevent their returning with me; I endeavour'd all that lay in my Power to frustrate their Schemes, and hurry them on to execute their intended Design. They accordingly pressed for Admittance this Evening, which at Length was granted them, privately, with the Commander and one or two other Officers. The Half-King told me, that he offer'd the Wampum to the Commander, who evaded taking it, and made many fair Promises of Love and Friendship; said he wanted to live in Peace, and trade amicably with them, as a Proof of which he would send some Goods immediately down to the *Logg's-Town* for them. But I rather think the Design of that is, to bring away all our straggling Traders they meet with, as I privately understood they intended to carry an Officer, &c. with them. And what rather confirms this Opinion, I was enquiring of the Commander, by what Authority he had made Prisoners of several of our *English* Subjects. He told me that the Country belong'd to them; that no *Englishman* had a Right to trade upon those Waters; and that he had Orders to make every Person Prisoner who attempted it on the *Ohio*, or the Waters of it.

I enquir'd of Capt. *Riparti* about the Boy who was carried by this Place, as it was done while the Command devolved on him, between the Death of the late General, and the Arrival of the present. He acknowledged, that a Boy had been carried past; and that the *Indians* had two or three white Men's Scalps, (I was told by some of the *Indians* at *Venango* Eight) but pretended to have forgotten the Name of the Place which the Boy came from, and all the Particular Facts, though he had question'd him for some Hours, as they were carrying him past. I likewise enquired what they had done with *John Trotter* and *James Mac Clocklan*, two *Pensylvania* Traders, whom they had taken, with all their Goods. They told me, that they had been sent to *Canada*, but were now returned Home.

This Evening I received an Answer to his Honour the Governor's Letter from the Commandant.

15th, The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Provision, &c. to be put on Board our Canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to set our own *Indians* at Variance with us, to prevent their going 'till after our Departure. Presents, Rewards, and every Thing which could be suggested by him or his Officers.—I can't say that ever in my Life I suffer'd so much Anxiety as I did in this Affair: I saw that every Stratagem which the most fruitful Brain could invent, was practis'd, to win the Half-King to their Interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the Opportunity they aimed at.—I went to the Half-King and press'd him in the strongest Terms to go: He told me the Commandant would not discharge him 'till the Morning. I then went to the Commandant, and desired him to do their Business; and complain'd  
of

of ill Treatment: For keeping them, as they were Part of my Company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my Journey as much as he could. He protested he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the Cause of their Stay; though I soon found it out:—He had promised them a present of Guns, &c. if they would wait 'till the Morning.

As I was very much press'd, by the *Indians*, to wait this Day for them, I consented, on a Promise, That nothing should hinder them in the Morning.

16th. The *French* were not slack in their Inventions to keep the *Indians* this Day also: But as they were obligated, according to Promise, to give the Present, they then endeavoured to try the Power of Liquor; which I doubt not would have prevailed at any other Time than this: But I urged and insisted with the King so closely upon his Word, that he refrained, and set-off with us as he had engaged.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing Passage down the Creek. Several Times we had like to have been staved against Rocks; and many Times were obliged all Hands to get-out and remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals. At one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impassable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe across a Neck of Land, a Quarter of a Mile over. We did not reach *Venango*, till the 22d, where we met with our Horses.

This Creek is extremely crooked, I dare say the Distance between the Fort and *Venango* can't be less than 130 Miles, to follow the Meanders.

23d, When I got Things ready to set-off, I sent for the Half-King, to know whether he intended to go with us, or by Water. He told me that *White-Thunder* had hurt himself much, and was sick and unable

unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a Canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a Day or two, and knew that Monsieur *Joucaire* would employ every Scheme to set him against the *English* as he had before done; I told him I hoped he would guard against his Flattery, and let no fine Speeches influence him in their Favour. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the *French* too well, for any Thing to engage him in their Behalf; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavour to meet at the Forks with *Joseph Campbell*, to deliver a Speech for me to carry to his Honour the Governor. He told me he would order the young Hunter to attend us, and get Provision, &c. if wanted.

Our Horses were now so weak and feeble, and the Baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the Necessaries which the Journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it: therefore myself and others (except the Drivers who were obliged to ride) gave-up our Horses for Packs, to assist along with the Baggage. I put myself in an *Indian* walking Dress, and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting home in any reasonable Time. The Horses grew less able to travel every Day; the Cold increased very fast; and the Roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneasy to get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. *Vanbraam* in Charge of our Baggage; with Money and Directions, to provide Necessaries from Place to Place for themselves

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and



and Horses, and to make the most convenient Dispatch in Travelling.

I took my necessary Papers; pulled-off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat. Then with Gun in Hand and Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same Manner, on *Wednesday* the 26th. The Day following, just after we had passed a Place called the *Murdering-Town* (where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for *Shannapins* Town) we fell-in with a Party of *French* Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not 15 Steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this Fellow into Custody, and kept him till about 9 o'Clock at Night: Then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop; that we might get the Start, so far, as to be out of the Reach of their Pursuit the next Day, since we were well assured they would follow our Tract as soon as it was light. The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two Miles above *Shannapins*. We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore: The Ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

There was no Way for getting over but on a Raft: Which we set about, with but one poor Hatchet, and finished just after Sun-setting. This was a whole Day's Work: we next got it launched, and went on Board of it: Then set-off. But before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice, in such a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put-out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity of the Stream threw it with  
so

so much Violence against the Pole, that it jirked me out into ten Feet Water: But I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithstanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. *Gist* had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen; and the Water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting-off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. *Frazier's*. We met here with 20 Warriors who were going to the *Southward* to War: But coming to a Place upon the Head of the great *Kunnaway*, where they found seven People killed and scalped (all but one Woman with very light Hair) they turned about and ran back for Fear the Inhabitants should rise and take them as the Authors of the Murder. They report that the Bodies were lying about the House, and some of them much torn and eaten by Hogs: By the Marks which were left, they say they were *French* Indians of the *Ottoway* Nation, &c. who did it.

As we intended to take Horses here, and it required some Time to find them, I went-up about three Miles to the Mouth of *Yaughyaughgane* to visit Queen *Alliquippa*, who had expressed great Concern that we passed her in going to the Fort. I made her a Present of a Matchcoat and a Bottle of Rum; which latter was thought much the best Present of the two.

*Tuesday* the 1st Day of *January*, we left Mr. *Frazier's* House, and arrived at Mr. *Gist's* at *Monongahela* the 2d, where I bought a Horse, Saddle, &c. the 6th we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after some Families going-out to settle:



This Day we arrived at *Wills* Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather. From the first Day of *December* to the 15th, there was but one Day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole Journey we met-with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable Lodgings; especially after we had quitted our Tent, which was some Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to *Belvoir*; where I stopped one Day to take necessary Rest; and then set out, and arrived in *Williamsburgh* the 16th; when I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the *French* Commandant; and to give an Account of the Success of my Proceedings. This I beg Leave to do by offering the foregoing Narrative as it contains the most remarkable Occurrences which happened in my Journey.

I hope what has been said will be sufficient to make your Honour satisfied with my Conduct; for that was my Aim in undertaking the Journey, and chief Study throughout the Prosecution of it.

With the Hope of doing it, I, with infinite Pleasure subscribe myself,

Your Honour's most Obedient,

And very humble Servant,

*G. Washington.*

C O P Y



COPY of his Honour the GOVERNOR's Letter,  
to the Commandant of the French Forces on  
the OHIO, sent by Major Washington.

S I R,

THE Lands upon the River *Ohio*, in the Western Parts of the Colony of *Virginia*, are so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; that it is a Matter of equal Concern and Surprize to me, to hear that a Body of *French* Forces are erecting Fortresses, and making Settlements upon that River, within his Majesty's Dominions.

The many and repeated Complaints I have received of these Acts of Hostility, lay me under the Necessity, of sending, in the Name of the King my Master, the Bearer hereof, *George Washington*, Esq; one of the Adjutants General of the Forces of this Dominion; to complain to you of the Encroachments thus made, and of the Injuries done to the Subjects of *Great-Britain*, in open Violation of the Law of Nations, and the Treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns.

If these Facts are true, and you shall think fit to justify your Proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me, by whose Authority and Instructions you have lately marched from *Canada*, with an armed Force; and invaded the King of *Great-Britain's*

*Britain's* Territories, in the Manner complained of? that according to the Purport and Resolution of your Answer, I may act agreeably to the Commission I am honoured with, from the King my Master.

However Sir, in Obedience to my Instructions, it becomes my Duty to require your peaceable Departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a Purpose so interruptive of the Harmony and good Understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King.

I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major *Washington* with the Candour and Politeness natural to your Nation; and it will give me the greatest Satisfaction, if you return him with an Answer suitable to my Wishes for a very long and lasting Peace between us. I have the Honour to subscribe myself,

S I R,

Your most obedient, -

Humble Servant,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

*Williamsburgh, in Virginia,* }  
*October 31st, 1753.* }

T R A N S-



TRANSLATION of a Letter from Mr.  
Legardeur de St. Piere, a principal French  
Officer, in Answer to the Governor's Letter.

S I R,

AS I have the Honour of commanding here in Chief, Mr. *Washington* delivered me the Letter which you wrote to the Commandant of the *French Troops*.

I should have been glad that you had given him Orders, or that he had been inclined to proceed to *Canada*, to see our General; to whom it better belongs than to me to set-forth the Evidence and Reality of the Rights of the King, my Master, upon the Lands situated along the River *Ohio*, and to contest the Pretensions of the King of *Great-Britain* thereto.

I shall transmit your Letter to the Marquis *Du-guisne*. His Answer will be a Law to me; and if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it to you forthwith.

As to the Summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it: Whatever may be your Instructions, I am here by Virtue of the Orders of my General; and I intreat you, Sir, not to doubt one Moment, but that I am determin'd to conform myself to them with all the Exactness  
and

and Resolution which can be expected from the best Officer.

I don't know that in the Progress of this Campaign any Thing has passed which can be reputed an Act of Hostility, or that is contrary to the Treaties which subsist between the two Crowns; the Continuation whereof as much interests, and is as pleasing to us, as the *English*. Had you been pleased, Sir, to have descended to particularize the Facts which occasioned your Complaint, I should have had the Honour of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, most satisfactory Manner.

I made it my particular Care to receive Mr. *Washington*, with a Distinction suitable to your Dignity, as well as his own Quality and great Merit. I flatter myself that he will do me this Justice before you, Sir; and that he will signify to you in the Manner I do myself, the profound Respect with which I am,

S I R,

Your most humble, and

most obedient Servant,

LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERE.

*From the Fort sur La Riviere au Beuf,  
the 15th of December 1753.*

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

### *Editor's Commentary*

The commentary serves instead of footnotes for the Journal reproduced in facsimile, where of course no footnotes are possible. No attempt is made to present the commentary in connected narrative, for the Journal is the *real* narrative.

The commentary follows the page numbers of the Jefferys' edition which is reproduced in facsimile in this volume; therefore, the comments do not agree with the paging of other editions and they refer to the Jefferys' text, which differs slightly from other texts.

Citations of sources are not included; in many cases such citations would necessarily be longer than the comment itself, and the bibliography lists sources which are usually cited. The same plan is carried out in subsequent chapters, except that there the customary footnotes are used instead of a commentary.

#### MAP OF THE WESTERN PARTS OF VIRGINIA AS FAR AS THE MISSISSIPPI

This English notion of the Transappalachian region is not very accurate, as, for example, a glance at Lake Huron or Lake Michigan will show. Shanopin, a person, is confused with Chaouanon, a French spelling of Shawnee. Shawanon, another rendering of Shawnee, is confused with Seneca. The French fort indicated at the mouth of the Wabash was non-existent. With such imperfect geographical information, it is small wonder that both the English and the French miscalculated in their military planning.

Three maps differing slightly yet containing approximately the same information were published in England in July, 1753. Washington's own map, published by William Darlington in



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

*Gist's Journals*, has names that can be traced to a French source. This map is probably a Jefferys' map.

### PAGE FIVE

*Robert Dinwiddie* was referred to at times as the Governor and at other times as the Lieutenant Governor. The *title*, Governor of Virginia, was honorary, a sinecure bestowed on one or another English lord who, as a rule, never set foot in the colony. The executive was the Lieutenant Governor; this Dinwiddie really was. However, on the other side of the water, the Lieutenant Governor was usually addressed as Governor—thereby the confusion.

*The letter* which Washington carried to the French commander is on Facsimile pages 29 and 30. Dinwiddie had been instructed by the King himself, George II, to send it.

*Jacob van Braam* was a Hollander who came to Virginia in 1752. It is reputed that he was formerly an officer in the Dutch army. He had advertised in Virginia as a French teacher. His command of English was limited. Later, he was in the Fort Necessity campaign.

*Wills Creek*, later Fort Cumberland, is today Cumberland, Maryland.

*Christopher Gist* was a native of Maryland, a surveyor, farmer, frontiersman, and soldier who was employed by the Ohio Company. Before accompanying Washington, he had made extensive explorations of the Ohio Valley for the Company. He had also represented the Company among the Indians, supervised the construction of the Company's wagon road to the Monongahela, and established the first Company settlement, Gist's Plantation.



## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

His own records of his early explorations are our first description of much of the Ohio Valley.

*Barnaby Currin*, hired by Washington for the trip, was an experienced Ohio Company Indian trader.

### PAGE SIX

Of the remaining three men hired by Washington at Wills Creek, a *John MacQuire* was with Washington later at Fort Necessity, and a *William Jenkins* participated in at least part of that campaign. Of *Steward*, nothing is known.

*John Frazier*, or Fraser, was an Indian trader who kept a blacksmith shop where he repaired guns and tools for the Indians. His shop had been at the juncture of French Creek and the Allegheny, now Franklin, Pennsylvania, until he was driven out by the advancing French; then he set up shop at Turtle Creek. Later, in 1754, he was to serve as a lieutenant in the company of Virginia Militia at Fort Prince George.

*The French commander who died* was Pierre Paul, Sieur de Marin.

### PAGE SEVEN

*Shingas*, chief of the Delawares, lived on the site of present McKees Rocks "where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort." His rule over the Delawares was subject to some control by the Iroquois, who exercised political control over the Delawares, Shawnees, and other Indians in the upper Ohio watershed. Shingas was an ally of the British, but went over to the French after Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity. During the subsequent French and Indian War he led many raids on the English settlements. After the final defeat of France he made peace with the British.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

*Logstown*, located approximately where Ambridge is today, was an Indian town probably established in the 1730's. It was inhabited by Shawnee, Delaware, and Iroquois. Logstown was the main center for trading activities and diplomatic councils with the Indians of the upper Ohio.

When Washington speaks of the *Forks of the Ohio and Monongahela*, he refers to what we know as the Forks of the *Allegheny* and Monongahela. The Allegheny was frequently called the Ohio at that time. The area that Washington was observing and comparing to the Forks was the land adjacent to the mouth of Chartier's Creek.

*Monakatoocha*, also known as Scarouady, was an Oneida chief sent by the Council of the Six Nations (the Iroquois) to exercise authority over the Shawnees. Among the Ohio Indians he was second in authority only to the Half King, described below. An unswerving friend of the English, he was later with Washington at the Jumonville skirmish and served also in the Braddock campaign.

*The Half King*, also known as Tanacharison, was a Seneca chief and the main representative among the Ohio Indians of the Iroquois ruling body, the Onondaga Council. The English called him the Half King because of his dependence on the Council of the Six Nations. An enemy of the French, he was ally, adviser, informant, scout, and comrade in arms to the English. He was at Fort Prince George when the French dispersed the builders and at the Jumonville skirmish.

*John Davison* was an experienced Indian trader and a master of the Indian dialects spoken in the Western Pennsylvania region. Washington apparently hired him at Logstown, which it

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

seems was Davison's base of operations. Davison was the interpreter for the Half King and handled Half King's English correspondence for him.

PAGE EIGHT

*Mr. Giff's* new settlement is a typographical error for Mr. Gist's new settlement.

*Shannopin's town* was a Delaware village on the south bank of the Allegheny two miles above the point.

*The French deserters* whom Washington met at Logstown were recorded as being from Kuskuskas.

*Kuskuskas* was believed by the late Douglas Southall Freeman, Washington's recent biographer, and John C. Fitzpatrick, editor of Washington's diaries, to be the Indian town of Kuskuskies, now New Castle, Pennsylvania.

This seems incorrect for a number of reasons. The French military records of the period, which are fairly complete, record no such expedition. And surely, news of a hundred French at Kuskuskies, only thirty miles from Logstown, would have excited further comment from Washington.

The Frenchmen were undoubtedly from *Kaskaskia*, the French establishment on the Mississippi near the mouth of the Ohio. On English maps of the period—Lewis Evans' map of 1755, for example—*Kaskaskia* is spelled *Kuskuskes*. Washington speaks of Kuskuskas as being "at the mouth of this river," that is, the Ohio.

This could hardly be a reference to Kuskuskies on Beaver Creek. It could easily be a reference, however, to *Kaskaskia*. While *Kaskaskia* was some eighty miles north of the mouth of the Ohio, Washington might well have spoken of it as being

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

in the area of, or in the direction of, the mouth of the Ohio.

Also, Kaskaskia would be a logical place for the French troops to rendezvous, whereas Kuskuskies would not.

Finally, it was reported that the deserters were picked up by an English trader at Lower Shawnee Town (now Portsmouth, Ohio) and were heading for Philadelphia. If these men had deserted from Kuskuskies for Philadelphia and been picked up at Lower Shawnee Town, they had traveled two hundred miles in the wrong direction and *towards* the French settlements from which they were fleeing.

*The Black Islands* mentioned by the French was no doubt Illinois, the French name for the seventh administrative district of the province of Louisiana. This district embraced what is today southwestern Illinois. Van Braam, Washington's interpreter of French, apparently translated Illinois as "isles noires."

There was no French fort at the mouth of the Wabash. The deserters must have been talking about Vincennes, which was on the Wabash but considerably upstream from the mouth. If the soldiers deserted from Kaskaskia, they probably never saw Vincennes, and were speaking only from hearsay, therefore the error.

*The French Commandant* with whom the Half King had exchanged threats would have been Marin, who had died before Washington's arrival, and not Legardeur de St. Pierre, who arrived at Fort Le Boeuf only a few days before Washington did.

*Venango*, later the site of the French Fort Machault, is today Franklin, Pa.

PAGE ELEVEN

A man named *Lead* taking possession of the river for France

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

apparently meant Céleron, who had buried lead plates at various points to establish French sovereignty.

### PAGE TWELVE

Washington's reference to *Kuskuska* on this page, as a place between the Potomac and the Great Lakes, unlike the reference on page eight, is clearly to the Indian village of Kuskuskies and not to the French settlement at Kaskaskia.

*Long-House* was the name the Indians gave to their council houses.

### PAGE THIRTEEN

*Mingo* was the name for the Iroquois in the Ohio Valley. Originally Senecas, these Iroquois had assumed a degree of independence because of their distance from their original home.

### PAGE FIFTEEN

*Philippe Thomas Joncaire*, eldest son of Louis Thomas Joncaire, had served France with distinction in the Ohio Country as interpreter, Indian agent, and soldier. His father had been a successful French agent among the Senecas. The son inherited this influence and was adopted into the tribe; the adoption eventually gave rise to the belief that he was part Indian. His younger brother, Chabert, was also in the French army. The two are sometimes confused, or even spoken of as the same person.

### PAGE SIXTEEN

*Kustaloga*, also known as Custaloga or Tuscaloga, was a Delaware chief living at Venango, which was often called Custaloga's town. He was later a leader in Pontiac's conspiracy.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

As far as the editor knows, *Jeskakake* and *White Thunder* do not appear elsewhere in historical literature.

*The young hunter*, not mentioned by name here, was Kiashuta or Guyasutha, who was to become a famous Iroquois chief. He has been described variously as a Seneca and a Mingo. The fact that he was at Logstown in 1753 would indicate that he was a Mingo, although the lines were not too clearly drawn. Washington met him again seventeen years later on another trip to the upper Ohio, when, in the meantime, Guyasutha had fought with the French during the French and Indian War and during Pontiac's conspiracy. It is believed that he led the Indians at the Battle of Bushy Run, the Indians' last stand in this area. He was at peace with the settlers from then on until the American Revolution, during which he sided with the British. Among his forays in 1782 was the burning of Hannastown, county seat of Westmoreland County.

### PAGE SEVENTEEN

The exact *route followed by Washington* from Logstown to Venango is not definitely known.

The reference to *La Solle* on this page is a misprint for La Salle.

### PAGE EIGHTEEN

The *Fall of Lake Erie* referred to Niagara Falls. The fort there was Fort Niagara; the next was Fort Toronto; and the one opposite Oswego was Fort Frontenac.

### PAGE NINETEEN

Commissary (or Quartermaster) *LaForce* was one of the outstanding French leaders in the struggle for the Ohio, especially

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

able in treating with the Indians. Washington was to meet him again soon under less friendly circumstances.

### PAGE TWENTY

The new commandant, *Legardeur de St. Pierre*, had assumed command only a week before Washington arrived. He had seen service on the upper Ohio as early as 1739, when a French expedition under Baron de Longueuil descended the Ohio to fight the Chicksaw Indians to the south. Just before assuming command on the Ohio, he had been on an exploring expedition almost to the Rocky Mountains.

*Monsieur Riparti* was *Sieur de Repentigny*, who had held the French command from the death of Marin until the arrival of *St. Pierre*, after which he became the commander of Fort *Presque Isle*.

### PAGE TWENTY-THREE

*John Trotter* and *James MacClocklan* were captured at *Venango* and taken to France before they were finally released.

### PAGE TWENTY-FOUR

*Records from December 16 to 23.*

It will be noted that Washington wrote nothing of his activities between the 16th and 23rd of December. Fortunately, *Christopher Gist* also kept a journal and has left a record. His entries from the 16th to the 22nd are therefore given here:

### JOURNAL OF CHRISTOPHER GIST

December 16-23, 1754

*Sunday, 16th. We set out by water about sixteen miles, and encamped. Our Indians went before us, passed the little lake, and we did not come up with them that night.*



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

*Monday, 17th. We set out, came to our Indians' camp. They were out hunting; they killed three bears. We stayed this day and*

*Tuesday, 18th. One of our Indians did not come to camp. So we finding the waters lower very fast, were obliged to go and leave our Indians.*

*Wednesday, 19th. We set out about seven or eight miles, and encamped, and the next day*

*Thursday, 20th. About twenty miles, where we were stopped by ice, and worked until night.*

*Friday, 21st. The ice was so hard we could not break our way through but were obliged to haul our vessels across a point of land and put them in the creek again. The Indians and three French canoes overtook us here, and the people of one French canoe that was lost, with her cargo of powder and lead. This night we encamped about twenty miles above Venango.*

*Saturday, 22nd. Set out. The creek began to be very low, and we were forced to get out, to keep our canoe from oversetting, several times; the water freezing to our clothes; and we had the pleasure of seeing the French overset, and the brandy and wine floating in the creek, and run by them, and left them to shift for themselves. Came to Venango, and met with our people and horses.*

### PAGE TWENTY-FIVE

*Met with our horses.* It will be remembered that the weakened horses had been sent ahead to Venango from Fort Le Boeuf under the care of Barnaby Currin.

*Joseph Campbell* was apparently a trader with whom the Half King expected to make the trip down the river.

### PAGE TWENTY-SIX

A *match coat* was a kind of overcoat of matching skins or sometimes of fur or wool.

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

The exact location of *Murdering Town* has never been established, nor has its name been explained. Gist's account of the scrape with an Indian near *Murdering Town* differs from Washington's:

### JOURNAL OF CHRISTOPHER GIST

December 27, 1754

*Thursday, 27th. We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to the Murthering town, on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there, etc. Major Washington insisted on travelling on the nearest way to the forks of Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which we set out, and the Indian took the Major's pack. We travelled very brisk for eight or ten miles, when the Major's feet grew very sore, and he very weary, and the Indian steered too much north-eastwardly. The Major desired to encamp, to which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and they would scalp us if we lay out; but go to his cabin, and we would be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the Major know I mistrusted him. But he soon mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy, and then he said two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further; then the Major*

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

*said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow; it was very light, and snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, turned about; the Major saw him point his gun toward us and fire. Said the Major, "Are you shot?" "No," said I. Upon which the Indian run forward to a big standing white oak, and to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him; but the Major would not suffer me to kill him. We let him charge his gun; we found he put in a ball; then we took care of him. The Major or I always stood by the guns; we made him make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the Major, "As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night." Upon which I said to the Indian, "I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun." He said, he knew the way to his cabin, and 'twas but a little way. "Well," said I, "do you go home; and as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning." He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way, and then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass, and fixed our course, and travelled all night, and in the morning we were on the head of Piney creek.*

Since Gist's account was written sooner after the event than Washington's, and since Gist was more at home with Indians, his account is the more probable. Washington apparently *believed* that the Indian was part of the unseen band of Ottawas alluded to, and also *believed* that they had been lying in wait. After all, when one has been suddenly shot at by a strange Indian at only fifteen paces, one is probably ready to believe the worst.

## AMBASSADOR TO THE FRENCH

PAGE TWENTY-SEVEN

*The island* which sheltered the raftsmen, known variously as Garrison Island or Wainwright's Island, is since submerged.

The *great Kunnarway* is an early spelling of the Great Kanawha.

The *Yaughyaughgane* is the present Youghiogheny.

*Queen Alliquippa* also had lived at the mouth of Chartier's Creek. She has been variously described as a Seneca or as a Delaware.

It will be noted Washington records that on the sixth of January while on the road home, he "met 17 horses loaded with Materials and Stores, for a *Fort at the Forks of Ohio*." If his observation is correct, the Ohio Company or the government of Virginia had already decided on the Forks of the Ohio for their fort before Washington got back to Virginia from Fort Le Boeuf. Just when and by whom the decision was made is not clear, but it may have been that when Washington first inspected the land at the point as a possible site for a fort, he did so because he knew that it already had been so chosen. His is the first written reference to the site which is now Pittsburgh.

PAGE THIRTY-ONE

The reference to the *Marquis Duguisne* is obviously a misprint for Duquesne.





Colonel in the Virginia Militia

Fort Necessity

April 2, 1754—July 9, 1754





## *In Defense of His Majesty's Lands, 1754*

When young Major Washington, on January 16, 1754, delivered the French commander's reply to Governor Dinwiddie, the Governor's worst suspicions were confirmed: the French were moving into the Ohio Valley. And—adding insult to injury—the French Captain Joncaire had told Washington that any action by the English would be “too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking” of the French. With this taunt spurring him on, Dinwiddie energetically set about to thwart the French advance.

The Governor did not have at his immediate command either troops or funds for raising troops, and the House of Burgesses, the lower chamber of the legislature of the colony, which would have to provide funds and authorize the use of troops, was not in session. And so, he issued a call for the House of Burgesses to gather on February 14, more than a month ahead of schedule. The upper chamber, the Governor's Council, he had always at hand. An earlier date could not be set for convening the legislators because it would take time to notify them and a longer time for them to gather.

Primarily for the members of the legislature Dinwiddie had ordered the printing of Washington's account of his journey to the French commandant at Fort Le Boeuf. He hoped that Washington's report of the French determination to occupy the Ohio Valley would stir them as it had stirred him. And he had sent to the Lords of Trade, late in January, 1754, a full report of Washington's mission: Washington's Journal of 1753, “a true and verbatim copy”; his own correspondence with the French commander; a plan of the French fort as drawn by Washington; a report of French strength and of Virginia weak-

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

ness, in men, supplies, and ammunition; and assurance that he would do all to keep the Indians loyal and to set up defense of "His Majesty's Lands."

But what was the Governor to do until the burgesses gathered? Time was important; the French might already be pushing their bark canoes and dugout pirogues into the Allegheny River for a sweep south to the strategic Forks. He decided to take emergency measures at once. As a partner in the Ohio Company, Dinwiddie knew that the Company agent, William Trent, was already in the disputed territory with workmen and supplies on hand for building a Company warehouse where Redstone Creek enters the Monongahela River (now Brownsville, Pennsylvania), and a Company fort at the Forks of the Ohio. Washington had met the builders and some settlers on his return trip to Williamsburg. The fort would fit well into the plans for repelling the French; but only if it were built in time. The workmen should have protection and help. Many English traders were already in the area, the Governor knew; why not enlist them? After all, their stake in holding off the French was direct and real; English traders had been the first to suffer from the French advance; and who would be better at frontier warfare than these rough men of the wilderness, who knew both the Indians and the country better than any other group in the English colonies? Acting on this happy thought, the Governor sent Trent a commission making him a captain and authorizing him to enlist one hundred of his fellow traders and frontiersmen into a company of infantry. This company, to be formed on the spot, was then to guard and assist the workmen building the fort until more troops could be hurried to the defense.

For the first contingent of reinforcements Dinwiddie turned to Washington. At the time, he hoped that part of the Colonial

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Militia, as the forerunner of our present National Guard was then called, could be persuaded to volunteer for service to help erect and guard the fort; if enough volunteers did not come forward, for the daily pay of fifteen pounds of tobacco paid to Virginia Militia, he would conscript enough more to make up a force. Major Washington, as an adjutant of the Colonial Militia, was assigned to recruit one hundred volunteers and with them to speed to the aid of Trent at the Forks of the Ohio.

The French characterization of the English as dilatory proved all too true. The Virginia legislators did not react as quickly as Dinwiddie wanted. Like other Colonial legislators they were suspicious of a governor appointed by the King and sent to them from Britain. They were especially suspicious of requests for money—money that the colonists would have to provide through taxes—and they were equally suspicious of requests from a governor for additional power—such as the power to raise or employ troops. Some members objected that Washington's report of the French advance was propaganda aimed at promoting the interests of the Ohio Company. One burgess declared that he felt the Forks of the Ohio really did belong to France. And, worst of all from the Governor's point of view, they generally agreed that the Governor was not authorized to employ the Militia outside of the province—and, cautioned the legislators, the Ohio Country might well be outside the province. As it turned out, the best measure that the frustrated and furious Dinwiddie could get from the lawmakers was an appropriation of ten thousand pounds to be used in "protecting the frontier."

Three different types of troops were known in the American colonies at that time: the Colonial Militia, the British Regulars, and volunteers called occasionally for specific needs.

Every able-bodied free white man over twenty-one was re-

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quired by law to be available for service in the Militia and to provide his own arms and ammunition. The Militia was designed to repel invasion, and in southern colonies like Virginia, to guard against slave revolts. The Governor had already been blocked by the legislature in his plans to use the Militia.

There were a few units of the British Regulars in the colonies. They were professional career soldiers who were under the direct control of the home government in London. The nearest of these units—two companies in New York and one in South Carolina—were put at the disposal of Dinwiddie. They were called by the British war office independent companies— independent because they were not attached to any regiment. These independent companies, however, were too small a force to hold off the French alone, and it would be weeks or even months before they could reach the Virginia frontier.

The only military organization immediately possible had to be volunteers. Such a force Dinwiddie decided to organize. When he had expected to be able to use the Militia, Dinwiddie had planned a force of six hundred. Now, in the interests of speed, and because recruiting proved difficult, he decided three hundred would have to do, organized into a regiment of six companies of fifty men each.

There were other components included in the Governor's blossoming plans. (Secretly he had ordered a uniform for himself.) He called on the governors of the colonies near-by for troops, and confidently expected them to comply. For reasons too various and complicated to go into here, they could not or would not—but this Governor Dinwiddie did not know at the time.

Further, he optimistically expected to raise one thousand warriors from among two southern Indian tribes allied to the British: the Catawbas and the Cherokees. The Catawbas lived



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in western South Carolina and the Cherokees lived west of the Catawbas.

If these southern warriors had appeared on the Ohio, a delicate situation indeed would have presented itself, for the Catawbas were bitter enemies of the Iroquois, who were the northern Indian allies of the British. Fortunately then, the Catawbas and Cherokees did not appear. Governor James Glen of South Carolina, suspecting that Dinwiddie was plotting to get the southern Indians to transfer their trade from South Carolina to Virginia, advised the Indians to stay home, and they did.

In the meantime, Trent and Washington, too, were plagued with apathy and skepticism. Volunteers were scarce, and those who came forward were disappointing. Trent was never able to raise his quota. Washington wrote to the Governor, from Frederick, Virginia, "You may, with almost equal success, attempt to raise the dead to life again as to raise the force of this county." Even after the Governor had announced that the regiment was to receive a bonus of two hundred thousand acres of land to divide among themselves, recruits came in slowly. After all, the land was in the distant Ohio Country. Those who did enlist, Washington wrote Dinwiddie on March 9, 1754, were not only self-willed and ungovernable, but "loose, Idle persons, that are quite destitute of House, and Home; and . . . many of them of Cloaths. There is many of them without Shoes, others want Stockings, some are without Shirts, and not a few that have Scarce a Coat, or Waistcoat to their backs."

Yet the recruiting went forward. A colonel's commission and command of the entire force were given to Joshua Fry, a former mathematics professor and a respected officer of the Militia with some frontier experience. Washington applied for—and received—the post of second in command and a commission in the Virginia Militia as a lieutenant colonel—though he almost



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resigned in anger when he learned that the pay would be considerably less than that given the same rank in the British Regulars—a wound as much psychological as financial for a Colonial officer.

In the meantime, Trent and Gist sent word from the Forks of the Ohio that friendly Indians reported the French already on the move. With the report they sent an urgent request for reinforcements. In reply the Governor ordered Washington and such troops as were already enlisted to march at once, and Colonel Fry and the rest of the force to follow as soon as possible.

On April 2, 1754, only three months after his first journey west of the mountains, Lieutenant Colonel Washington, at the head of two volunteer companies, turned his horse again westward towards the Allegheny mountain ridges.

### *Story of the Washington Journal of 1754*

Without records or documents of some sort no history can be written. Sometimes the documents themselves are pedestrian or dull; more often they are live and dramatic. But the history even of some dull documents is as romantic as the information the document itself gives. Such is the history of Washington's Journal for the spring and summer of 1754.

This Journal fell into the hands of the French, no doubt during the confusion of the evacuation and retreat from Fort Necessity. Since the diary of the Virginia commander would naturally be prime military intelligence to the French, it was translated by an unknown Frenchman and a copy of the translation was forwarded to Paris. Soon after the translation reached Paris, Britain and France became engaged in a world-wide war, which became known to the old world as the Seven Years War, and to the American colonies as the French and Indian War.

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The military action in the Ohio Valley, in 1754, marked the first actual hostilities between the English and the French. For that reason, Washington's skirmish with a French detachment under Ensign Jumonville—which we will learn of shortly and which Washington had featured in his Journal—was presented by the French as one of their grievances against the English.

To substantiate their charge that the English had started the war, the French government, in 1756, published translated excerpts from Washington's captured Journal as part of a book which set forth the French version of the origins and causes of the war. This French government publication—it would be called a White Paper today—was entitled *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux observations envoyées par les ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe*. (*Memorial Containing the Summary of the Facts, with Supporting Documents, to Serve as Reply to the Observations Sent by the Ministers of England to the Courts of Europe*).

Shortly after its publication the French book was translated into English and appeared in English and American editions as *The Conduct of the Late Ministry* and as *The Mystery Revealed*. Washington's Journal, containing his description of the fight with Jumonville, was one of the "supporting documents" used in the books.

Until recently the *Memorial* has been the earliest surviving source of Washington's Journal of the campaign. Historians always have considered it suspect. The French at the time had every reason to present Washington in a poor light and, it has been thought, might have tampered with his account. One historian has recorded that when Washington some years later saw the English retranslation of the French translation of his Journal, he complained that some things were left out and other

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things were added "and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect."

The original Journal has never been found, nor has the French translation which was sent to Paris. Another translation, however, was sent from Governor Duquesne to Contrecoeur, his commander at Fort Duquesne, to give Contrecoeur information about English plans and make it easier for him to plan the defense of the fort. Very recently, among the Contrecoeur papers, this French translation of the captured Journal has come to light, together with new information about the contents of Washington's original document. This, like the earlier translation, contains only excerpts, but the Contrecoeur copy contains excerpts not in the *Memorial*.

Since the passages that occur in both translations, the *Memorial* and the Contrecoeur, are worded the same, we must conclude that the *Memorial* did not deliberately *alter* Washington's Journal, although it probably *omitted* parts which did not support the French view. Or the additions which Washington noted several years later could have been the result of honest mistake, for usually in his notebooks Washington kept drafts of letters he sent while on campaign, and the French translator could have thought these parts of the Journal and so included them.

Because the *Memorial* contains some passages not in the Contrecoeur, to present Washington's writing as fully as is now possible, in this book we are presenting a combination of the two, more complete than either alone.

The passages from the *Memorial* we have had printed in italics. All statements in parentheses are part of the original text; those in brackets are the editor's comments.

We must pause here to give thanks to Donald H. Kent who has translated the French text of the two versions which are printed side by side in *Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents*

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*concernant le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756.* Dr. Kent has published his translation in *Pennsylvania History*, XIX, 1, January, 1952. Dr. Kent has also made a new and superior translation of the old *Memorial* version, the first made in many years. With his kind permission it is Dr. Kent's translations we have used.

### *Extract from the Journal of Colonel Washington on his Oyo [Ohio] Expedition*

The last of March, 1754.

March 31. I received a commission from the Governor (of Virginia), dated the 15th instant, for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Virginia regiment under the commanding officer Joseph Fry [Joshua Fry], Esquire, with orders to take under my command the troops which were then in quarters at Alexandria, and to march with it towards Oyo and aid Captain Trente [William Trent]<sup>1</sup> in constructing fortresses and in defending the possessions of His Majesty against the enterprises and hostilities of the French.

*April 2. Everything being ready in execution of our orders,\* we*

\* The italic represents excerpts from the *Memorial* copy; the nonitalic, the Contrecoeur version. Bracketed material is the editor's; the parentheses are in the translation.

<sup>1</sup> As already noted, before being commissioned by the Governor, William Trent was the agent of the Ohio Company charged with constructing storehouses and a fort for the Company in the Ohio Country. Trent, a Pennsylvanian, had been a captain of Pennsylvania troops raised in 1746 to march on Canada, and had spent time on the New York frontier. In the 1740's he entered a partnership for trading with his brother-in-law, George Croghan. Benjamin Franklin was one of the backers of the firm. Trent also acted at various times as an Indian agent for Pennsylvania and for Virginia. He was with the Forbes expedition in 1758. In his latter

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*began our march on April 2, with two companies of infantry, commanded by Captain Peter Hog<sup>2</sup> and Captain-lieutenant Vanbraan [Van Braam],<sup>3</sup> five subaltern officers, two sergeants, six corporals, a drummer, and one hundred and twenty soldiers, a surgeon-major, a Swedish gentleman volunteer,<sup>4</sup> two<sup>5</sup> wagons guarded by a lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, and twenty-five soldiers.*

\* \* \* \* \*

April 17. About noon I met Mr. Gist who had been sent from Oyo on express by the Half King<sup>6</sup> in order to find out when the English could be expected there. He informed me that the Indians are very angry at our delay, and that they threaten to abandon the country; that the French are expected

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years he engaged in wide land speculation in the hope of recovering trading losses incurred during the French and Indian War and during Pontiac's uprising.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Hog (pronounced with a long "O"), a native of Scotland, came to Virginia about 1745, and was 51 years of age in 1754. He served in the Virginia regiment until the fall of Fort Duquesne in 1758. In later years he became a large holder of western lands, many of which were grants given in recognition of his military service.

<sup>3</sup> Van Braam, Washington's French interpreter in 1753, had reputedly been an officer in the Dutch army prior to his migration to America.

<sup>4</sup> The Swede was Carolus Gustavus de Spiltdorph. Like many others in the Virginia regiment, he later fell during Braddock's defeat at the Battle of the Monongahela.

<sup>5</sup> The Contrecoeur copy lists 12 wagons. This seems more probable than 2, in view of the fact that 28 men were assigned to guard the wagons. Possibly the copyist for the *Memorial* omitted the figure "one" in "twelve."

<sup>6</sup> Lest the reader think that the struggle for the Ohio Country was only between the French and the British, let the Half King be kept in mind throughout the campaign. As the most important Indian leader of the upper Ohio region, it will be seen that often it was he who decided the course of events. While he was without doubt a staunch friend of the English, that friendship hinged on English opposition to French incursions into the Half King's territory.



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every day at the lower part of the river; that the fort is begun, but hardly advanced; and several other particulars.

\* \* \* \* \*

April 20. I received word that the fort had been taken by the French. This news was confirmed two days later by Captain Trente's ensign, Mr. Wart [Ensign Edward Ward],<sup>7</sup> who had been obliged to surrender it to a corps of French of more than a thousand men under the command of Captain Contrecoeur,<sup>8</sup> who had come from Venango (In French, from la Presquile),<sup>9</sup> with sixty boats and 300 canoes and 18 pieces of

<sup>7</sup> Edward Ward, a brother-in-law of William Trent, was working with him in the Ohio Country when Trent received Dinwiddie's order to enlist a company for guarding the projected fort at the Forks of the Ohio. John Frazier (or Fraser) was made the lieutenant of the Company, and Ward, the ensign. In April, Ward was in command of the thirty-one troops that Trent had managed to enlist when word came that the French were almost at hand. Captain Trent was absent at Wills Creek seeking supplies; Lieutenant Frazier considered resistance hopeless and refused to leave his store to return to the Forks. Only the Half King was at hand to advise Ward, and his suggestion was to try to complete the fort. Ward and the Half King almost did complete it, but the arrival of a large force of French on April 16 forced surrender.

<sup>8</sup> Claude Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur was a captain in the French Marines, commander in chief of the French forces on the Ohio (relieving Saint Pierre), and was to be commandant of Fort Duquesne as soon as it was erected on the spot where Ensign Ward's little enclosure, Fort Prince George, had stood. A veteran of the wilderness, he had been with Céleron on his trip down the Allegheny and Ohio in 1749, and had commanded Fort Niagara. As already noted, one of the two sources for Washington's Journal for 1754 is the extract of that captured document sent to Contrecoeur by Duquesne. Contrecoeur was in command of Fort Duquesne (although not of the French field forces) during the battle of the Monongahela. He later held other commands on the New York frontier during the French and Indian War.

<sup>9</sup> The French translator of the Journal apparently did not know that Venango and Presque Isle were not the same place.



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artillery, which were set up as a battery against the fort. He then sent him a summons to withdraw.

Mr. Wart also informed me that the Indians still remain firmly attached to our interests. He had brought two young men of the Mingo nation, so that they would have the satisfaction of seeing that we were on the march with troops to aid them.

He also gave me the following speech which the Half King sent to me (This is thought to be Tanahisson.)<sup>10</sup>

Speech of the Half King, Escruniat [Monacatoocha],<sup>11</sup> and Belt of Wampum<sup>12</sup> for the Governor of Virginia and of Pennsylvania.

My brothers the English, the bearer will let you know how we have been treated by the French. We expected for a long time that they would come and attack us; now we see how they intend to treat us. We are now ready to attack them, and are waiting only for your aid. Take courage and come as soon as possible, and you will find us as ready to fight them as you are yourselves.

We have sent these two young men to see if you are ready to come, and in that case they will return to us and will let us know where you are, so that we may come and join you. We could wish indeed, if you can do it, that the troops of the

<sup>10</sup> Tanahisson is a French variation of Tanacharison.

<sup>11</sup> Escruniat is a variation of Scruncyattha, also known as Scarouady or Monacatooha, the Iroquois chief who was the Onondago Council's leader over the Shawnees.

<sup>12</sup> Belt of Wampum in this instance is a proper name, that of the Seneca chief, Tohashwughtonionty. Donald Kent, "Journal of 1754," 11, n., points out that *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), "give the erroneous impression that Half King is used here as a title for Scarouady, and that Belt of Wampum refers to the belt delivered with the speech."

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two provinces might meet at the fork<sup>13</sup> of the road. If you do not come to our aid soon, it is all over with us, and I think that we shall never be able to meet together again. I say this with the greatest sorrow in my heart.

A string of wampum.

The Half King addressed this speech to me personally.

I am ready, if you think it proper, to go with these two young men to meet the two Governors, for I no longer depend on those who have been gone so long without returning or sending any word.

*April 23. Council of war held at Wills-creek (Wills Creek), in order to take precautions with regard to the news brought by Mr. Wart.*

*Upon examining into the news brought by Ensign Wart, and reading the summons made by Captain Contrecoeur, commanding the French troops, and examining into the speeches of the Half King and of other chiefs of the Six Nations, it appears that Mr. Wart was forced to surrender the said fort on the 17th of this month to the French, who numbered more than a thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, of which some were nine-pounders;<sup>14</sup> whereas the detachment of the Virginia regiment, amounting to one hundred*

<sup>13</sup> In the French of both versions of the Journal, this is written "fort du chemin" (*fort* of the road). The French translator of the Journal, however, did not seem to know the English word *fork*, for in places where *fork* was clearly used by Washington, it is always translated as *fort*. Kent, "Journal of 1754," 12, n., who first pointed out this French error, believes that the "fork of the road" was where the path to Gist's branched off from the path leading to the mouth of the Redstone.

<sup>14</sup> In the *Memorial* version of the Journal, the French editor, at this point, included the following footnote, which is typical of the French editorial comments appended to the work: "Captain Trent and Ensign Ward had greatly exaggerated the French forces. Which is natural common enough for people to do who abandon their fort at a bare summons."

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*and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Washington, had orders to reinforce Captain Trent's company, and that thus the garrison of the said fort consisted only of thirty-three effective men.*

*It was found impracticable to march toward the fort without sufficient forces; and being strongly invited by the speeches of the Indians, and especially by those of the Half King, the president proposed for discussion whether they should not advance as far as Redstone Creek (In French, as far as the Creck de la Roche Rouge) upon the Monongehel  (In French, Mal-engeul ), about thirty-seven miles on this side of the fort, and fortify themselves there, while clearing the roads so that they could bring artillery and baggage, or to wait for further orders.*

*The affirmative was decided by reason of the fact that the mouth of Red-stone is the first suitable place on the Monongehel ; that the storehouses for the Company's provisions are ready there to receive our munitions and food; and that, when opportunities occur, the heavy artillery can be transported by water in case we should find it convenient to attack the fort; moreover, that would preserve our men from the sorry consequences of inaction and encourage our allies to remain on our side.*

\* \* \* \* \*

May 4. We met Captain Trente's factor<sup>15</sup> who informed us that 400 more French had certainly arrived at the fort and that the same number were expected in a short time. He also informed us that they were busy building two strong houses, one upon the Oyo, and the other upon the River Mal engueul  [Monongahela], both of them about three hundred rods from their junction; and that they are setting up a battery on an islet between them.

May 5. We were joined by another trader coming from

<sup>15</sup> The identity of "Captain Trent's factor" is not known.

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Aliganie [Allegheny] who confirmed the same news, and who added that the French were building in the place where the Oyo Company [Ohio Company] had at first intended to build a fort, at the mouth of the small River Shuttiés [Chartier's Creek].

May 7. We met a trader who informed us that the French had come to the mouth of the River Rouge, and that they had taken possession of it with about four hundred men.

May 8. This report was contradicted by some other traders who came directly from there.<sup>16</sup>

May 10. A trader arrived from the Wyendot country, having passed by the Mal engueulé forks where he had seen the Half King and the other chiefs of the Six Nations who had just received the speech I had sent them. The Half King showed the pleasure it had given him and, before the trader left, a detachment of 50 men was sent to meet us. He informs me that the French are working with all their might to build a fort on the point which I had indicated to the government. On the way this same merchant met M. La Force<sup>17</sup> at Mr. Gist's new plantation with three other Frenchmen and two Indians who had come to reconnoiter the country of the River Rouge [Redstone] and the vicinity under the specious pretense of hunting deserters.

May 11. I detached a party of 25 men commanded by Captain Sthefen [Stephen]<sup>18</sup> and Ensign La Peronie [La Peyronney].<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The flood of frontier rumor and counter-rumor indicated in this and the preceding entries is indicative of the difficult military intelligence problem which Washington faced throughout the expedition.

<sup>17</sup> M. La Force, it will be recalled, escorted Washington from Venango to Fort Le Boeuf the previous year.

<sup>18</sup> Adam Stephen, a captain in the Virginia regiment, joined Washington with a detachment of troops before Washington left Wills Creek. He was promoted to major in the field, and, after the campaign, to lieutenant colonel. He survived Braddock's campaign, and, in 1756, led an expedition

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They had orders to go to Mr. Gist's and to find out exactly where La Force and his party were; and in case they should be in the vicinity, not to pursue them. I also ordered them to examine the surrounding woods closely and to *try to grab some Frenchmen*<sup>20</sup> if they should find one apart from the rest, and bring him in so that information could be gotten from him; *to secure exact information on whether it is possible to make a descent by water; and to look for some suitable place in the vicinity of the mouth of the River de Red-stone where a fort might be built; and to greet the Half King and send him to me with a small escort; and likewise to get information as to the views of the French, their intentions, what they have done, and what they have in mind to do, and to gather everything which might give us knowledge.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*May 15. An express reached us with letters which informed us that Colonel Fry, with a detachment of more than a hundred men, was at Winchester, and that he was to set out in a few days to join us; and likewise that Colonel Junis [Innis]<sup>21</sup> was marching with*

against the Creek Indians. He was with Forbes in 1758, surviving Grant's defeat. During Pontiac's uprising he was active in the defense of the Virginia frontier. During the Revolution he rose to the rank of major general, but was then dismissed from the service for being intoxicated during an engagement.

<sup>19</sup> William La Peyronie, or Peyrony, a native of France, settled in Virginia about 1750. He was Washington's adjutant. After being wounded at the Battle of Great Meadows, Fort Necessity, he was later promoted to captain by Dinwiddie, at Washington's suggestion. The following year, while commanding a company of Virginia Rangers, he was killed at the Battle of the Monongahela.

<sup>20</sup> These italicized words are italicized in the original, so that, here, the italics do not indicate that the phrase is from the *Memorial* copy.

<sup>21</sup> Colonel James Innes, a native of Scotland and a close friend of Dinwiddie, had been a company commander of Virginia troops in the British attack on the Spanish colonial city of Cartagena (in what is now



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*three hundred and fifty men recruited in Carolina; that it was expected that Maryland would raise two hundred men; that Pennsylvania had raised ten thousand pounds (equivalent to about fifty-two thousand five hundred livres) to pay the soldiers of the other colonies, this province furnishing no recruits at all; and that Governor Shirley had sent six hundred men to harass the French in Canada. I hope that that will give them something to do, and will lessen the spirited parties which they are sending to the River Oyo with so much zeal.*

May 16. Met two traders who say they fled for fear of the French, whose parties were often seen toward Mr. Gist's. These traders are of the opinion, like many others, that it is not possible to open a road for loaded wagons from here to the River de la Roche Rouge.

\* \* \* \* \*

May 17. This evening also arrive two Indians from Oyo who come from the fort of the French. They report that they were using all their forces to build their fort which, six days ago, was breasthigh, two fathoms thick, with the intermediate space filled with earth, stones, etc.

All the trees which were around it have been cut and burned, and grain has been sown in their place. They number only 800 men by their count; the Indians think they number only 600.

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Columbia) in 1740. This expedition—an unsuccessful one—had provided the only opportunity for Virginians to see military service in Washington's time, until the Ohio expedition of 1754. Dinwiddie appointed him commander in chief of the expedition forces which, it was planned, would become more than the Virginia regiment through the addition of other Colonial troops plus some Regulars. At the time he received the command he was leading some North Carolina troops toward the frontier. These troops never left the settlements, however, due to lack of weapons and disputes over pay. Innes himself never got beyond Wills Creek, where he commanded Fort Cumberland after the defeat of the Virginia regiment.



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A larger number is expected in a few days. They think that this will amount to 1,600, by means of which, they say, they can defy the English.

*May 18. The continuing high water prevented me from moving my men and baggage forward,<sup>22</sup> which made me decide to get into a state of defense against any immediate attack of the enemy, and to go down myself to observe the river.<sup>23</sup>*

\* \* \* \* \*

*May 20. I embarked in a canoe with Lieutenant West,<sup>24</sup> three soldiers, and an Indian and after going along for the distance of half a mile, we were obliged to come back on shore, where I met Peter Surver, a trader, who was inclined to discourage me in the search I was making for a passage by water. That made me change my intention of having canoes made. I had the men march, as the water was low enough so that they could cross. However, I continued to go down along the river, and finding that our canoes were too small for six men, we stopped and made a boat. With this and with our canoes we reached Turkey-Foot<sup>25</sup> (in French, le pied de dinde) at the beginning of the night. Eight or ten miles from there we met with several slight obstructions of little consequence, unless the water should get still lower. We passed several places suitable for canoes.*

<sup>22</sup> The expedition at this point was blocked by high water at the ford known as the Great Crossing of the Youghiogeny, near what is now Addison, Pennsylvania.

<sup>23</sup> Since many traders who knew the area had declared that cutting a wagon road over Chestnut Ridge to the mouth of the Redstone would be very difficult, Washington was now contemplating sending his supplies, instead, down the Youghiogeny by canoe—if that should prove possible.

<sup>24</sup> Lieutenant John West, Jr., was a lieutenant in Van Braam's company for a period, but was often on detached duty. He resigned his commission shortly after the return of the regiment to Wills Creek in July of 1754.

<sup>25</sup> The junction of the Youghiogeny, Laurel Hill Creek, and Castelman's River at what is today Confluence, Pennsylvania.

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May 21. *We passed some time in examining the place, which we found very suitable for the location of a fort, as it was at the junction of three branches, and in most places there was a good gravel foundation upon which to establish it. The sketch, to be seen here, is as exact as I could make it without instruments.*

*We went about two miles to observe the course of the river, which is narrow and with many eddies, full of rocks, and rapid. We crossed it, although the water was quite high. This makes me think there would be no difficulty in traveling it in canoes, which could only be with hard work, however.*

*Besides this rapids, we found others, but as the water is less deep there, and the current more gentle, we easily crossed them, after we found little or no depth. The mountains lie on both sides of the river. We went down about ten miles, where a large rapids obliged us to stop and come ashore.<sup>26</sup>*

*(From May 22 to 24, the journal contains only a description of the country.)*

May 24. This morning the young Indian arrived whom I had sent to the Half King, from whom he brought me the following letter.

To the first of His Majesty's officers whom this may concern.

Upon hearing report that the French army is going to meet Mr. George Washington, I exhort you, my brothers, to be on your guard against them, for they are resolved to strike the first English they meet. They have been on the march for two days; I cannot tell in what number. The Half King and the rest of the chiefs will join you in five days to hold a council. I do not say more, but give my compliments to my brothers the English.

Signed, the Half King.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The Ohiopyle Falls of the Youghiogheny, at Ohiopyle, Pennsylvania.

<sup>27</sup> A surviving copy of this letter indicates that it was actually written

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I got as much information as I could from these young Indians about all the circumstances, but they did not give me much enlightenment.

They say that there are often parties in the field, but they do not know of any large one coming in this direction. The French continue to erect their fort. What is on the land side is very well enclosed, but the side toward the water is much neglected, at least it is undefended. They have only nine pieces of cannon, and some of them very small, and none of them are mounted. There are two on the point, and the others some distance from the fort on the land side.

They report that there are many sick and that they could not find any Indian to guide their small parties in the direction of our camp, *as these Indians had refused them.*

*The same day we arrived at the meadows<sup>28</sup> at two o'clock where we found a trader who told us he came that morning from Mr. Gist's, where he had seen two Frenchmen the previous night; and that he knew there was a strong detachment on the march, which confirmed the news we had received from the Half King. Consequently, I stationed troops behind two entrenchments which were natural formations, and had our wagons put there, too.*

May 25. I sent out a party on horseback along the roads to go scouting, and, in addition, several other small parties to reconnoiter the roads. I gave the horsemen orders to examine the country well and to try to get news of the French, of their strength, of their movement, etc.

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for the Half King by his English interpreter, John Davison. Davison will be remembered as Washington's Indian interpreter on the journey to Fort Le Boeuf, in 1753.

<sup>28</sup> Washington had now reached the Great Meadows, where Fort Necessity was to be erected and battle eventually joined. The location is slightly south of U. S. Route 40, eleven miles east of Uniontown, Pennsylvania.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

In the evening all these parties returned without having discovered anything, although they went quite far in the direction from which it was said the party was coming.

May 27. Mr. Gist arrived early in the morning with news that M. La Force with 50 men, whose tracks he had seen *five miles from here* had gone to his plantation the day before about noon, and that they would have killed a cow and broken everything in his house, if they had not been prevented by two Indians, whom he had left to guard his house. Immediately I sent out 75 men under the command of Captain Hog, *Lieutenant Mercer*,<sup>29</sup> *Ensign La Peronie, three Sergeants and three corporals* with suitable instructions.

The French had made much inquiry at Mr. Gist's on the subject of the Half King. I did not fail to let some young men know about this, who were in our camp, and this had the effect I wanted. *I made them understand that* the French wanted to kill the Half King. Immediately they offered to chase after the French with our men; and if it was true that they had either insulted or killed him, one of them would go promptly to carry the news to the Mingo villages and arouse the warriors to strike. One of these young Indians was sent out toward's Mr. Gist's, and in case he did not meet the Half King, he was to send him a speech by a Delaware.

About eight o'clock in the evening, I received an express

<sup>29</sup> Lieutenant George Mercer was later promoted to captain and for a time was Washington's aide. After serving with Braddock he was appointed lieutenant colonel in a second Virginia regiment, and with it accompanied the Forbes expedition. In 1763 he went to England as the agent of the Ohio Company. Later, he was appointed Stamp Agent for Virginia, a position he was forced to resign under popular pressure. In 1768 he served briefly as lieutenant governor of North Carolina. When he sold his extensive land holdings in 1774 and 1775, Washington was one of the principal buyers. Mercer died in England in 1784.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

from the Half King, who informed me that, as he was coming to join us, they had seen along the road the tracks of two men which went down into a gloomy hollow,<sup>30</sup> and that he imagined that the whole party was hidden there. Instantly I sent out forty men; I ordered our munitions put in a secure place, for fear that this was a stratagem of the French to attack our camp. I left a guard there to defend it, and with the rest of my men began to march through a heavy rain, with the night as black as pitch and by a path scarcely wide enough for a man. We were often astray for 15 or 20 minutes before we could find the path again, and often we would jostle each other without being able to see. We continued our march all night long, and, *May 28*, about sunrise we arrived at the camp of the Indians, where, after holding council with the Half King, we decided to strike jointly.

Therefore, he sent out a couple of scouts to see where they were and how they were arranged, and also to reconnoiter the vicinity, after which we carried out our arrangements to surround them, and we began to march in Indian fashion, one after the other. We had advanced quite near them according to plan, when they discovered us. Then I gave my men orders to fire; my fire was supported by Mr. Wage's [Lieutenant Thomas Waggoner],<sup>31</sup> and my men and his received the entire fire of the French during most of the action, which lasted only a quarter of an hour until the enemy were routed.

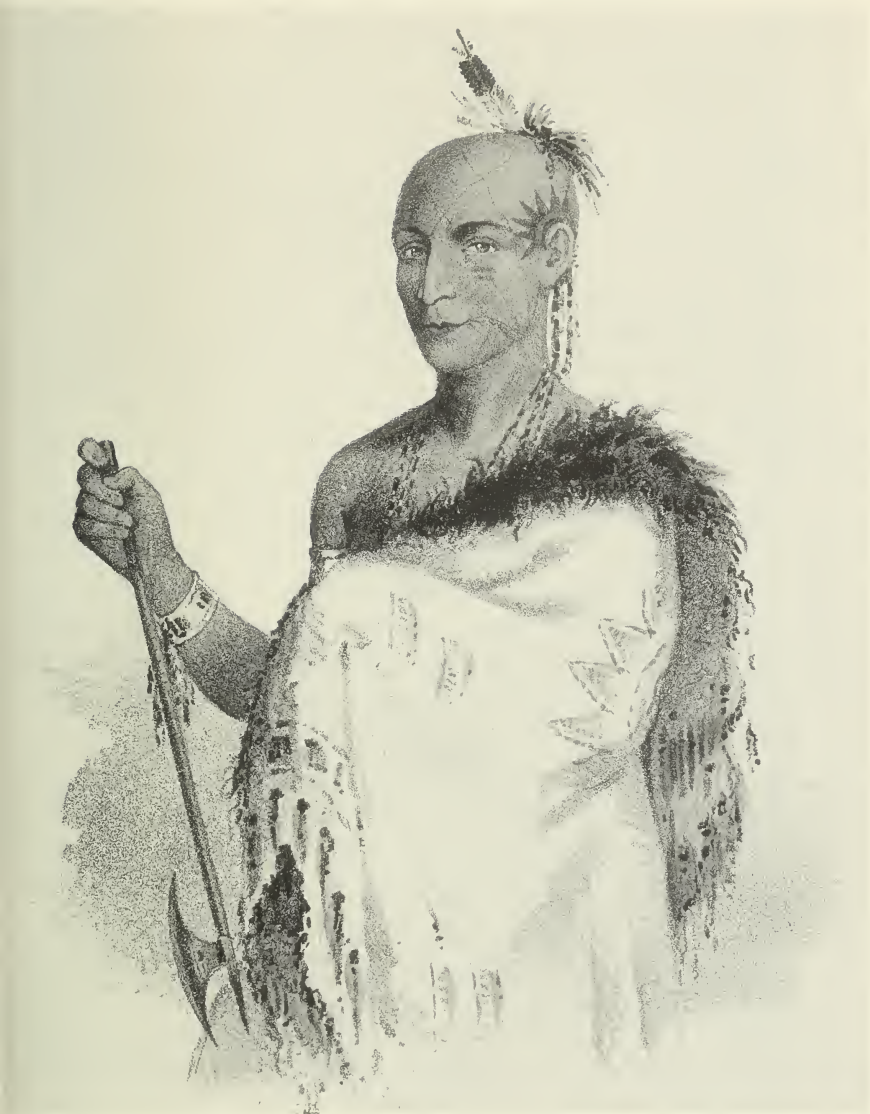
We killed M. de Jumonville,<sup>32</sup> commanding this party, with

<sup>30</sup> The French camp is known today as Jumonville's Rocks. It is three miles north of Summit, Pennsylvania.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Waggoner was a lieutenant in Van Braam's company. He was wounded in the Jumonville skirmish. The following year, as a captain, he fought well at the Monongahela. In the fall and winter of 1755, he served creditably in defending the Virginia frontier against Indian raids.

<sup>32</sup> Joseph Coulon de Jumonville, ensign in command of the French de-





Typical Iroquois from *Notes on the Iroquois*, Schoolcraft, 1847





## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

nine others; we wounded one and made 21 prisoners, among whom were M. La Force, M. Drouillon,<sup>33</sup> and two cadets.<sup>34</sup> The Indians scalped the dead, and took most of their arms. Afterward, we marched with the prisoners under guard to the camp of the Indians, where again I held council with the Half King, etc. There I informed him that the Governor wanted to see him, and was waiting for him at Wischester [Winchester]. He replied that that was impossible for the time being, as his men were in too grave danger from the French whom they had just attacked; that he must send messengers to all the allied nations to invite them to take up the hatchet. In fact, he sent the message, and sent with it a French scalp, to the Delawares by one of their young men. This man wished to have a part of the presents which were intended for them, and that the rest should be kept for another occasion. He intended to go and find his family and several others, in order to bring them toward Mr. Gist's, whither he asked me to send some horses and men to aid them in coming to our camp. Afterward, I proceeded with the prisoners. They informed me that they had been sent with a summons for me to retire, a specious pretense so that they could reconnoiter our camp and learn our forces and our situation. (See the summons and the orders.) It was so evident that they had come to reconnoiter us that I admired their assurance in declaring to me that they had come as an embassy.

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tachment, was the younger brother of a French captain, Coulon de Villiers. Jumonville was born in the province of Québec in 1718 and entered military service at fifteen. For a review of the two-hundred-year controversy over the "assassination" of Jumonville, see *The Jumonville Affair*, by Marcel Trudel in *Pennsylvania History*, XXI, 351-381.

<sup>33</sup> Drouillon was a major. The fact that he was under an ensign on the expedition would indicate either that he went along as a volunteer, or that he was new to the Ohio region and therefore was not put in command.

<sup>34</sup> M. de Boucherville and M. de Sablé.

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Their instructions stated that they were to get information about the roads and rivers and about the country as far as Potomac. Instead of coming as an ambassador should, publicly and in an open manner, they came with the greatest secrecy and looked for the most hidden retreats, much more suitable for deserters than for an ambassador. They camped there, they remained hidden there for two whole days, when they were no more than 5 miles from us. They sent out spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole company re-traced its steps for two miles; two messengers were sent, as mentioned in the instructions, to warn M. de Contrecoeur of the place where we were and of our arrangement, so that he could send out his detachment to enforce the summons as soon as it should be given.

Besides, that was an escort worthy of a prince serving as ambassador, instead of which it was only a mere French petty officer; spies are not needed by an ambassador, whose dignity is always sacred. If they came with good intentions, why stay for two days five miles away from us without imparting the summons to me, or revealing anything relating to his embassy. That alone would be sufficient to give birth to the strongest suspicions, and we ought to do them this justice, that if they wanted to hide, they could not have chosen better than they did.

The summons is so insolent, and looks so much like bragging, that if two men had come to bring it openly, it would have been an excessive indulgence to have suffered them to return.

The Half King's opinion in this case is that they had evil designs, and that it was a mere pretext; that they had never pretended to come to us as anything but enemies, and that if we had been so foolish as to let them go, he would never help us to capture other Frenchmen.

They pretend that they called to us as soon as we were dis-

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covered. This is an absolute falsehood, for I was then at the head of the file going toward them, and I can affirm that, as soon as they saw us, they ran for their arms without calling, which I should have heard if they had done so.

May 29. I dispatched Ensign la Tour [Ensign James Towers]<sup>35</sup> to the Half King with about 25 men and almost as many horses, and as I expected that there would constantly be French parties which would follow the one which had been defeated, I sent an express to Colonel Frey [Fry] in order to get reinforcements.

After that, the French wanted to speak to me, and asked me on what footing I regarded them, whether as part of the retinue of an ambassador or as prisoners of war. I informed them that it was in the latter category, and I told them my reasons as stated above.

May 30. I detached Mr. Wart [Ward] and Mr. Spindorph [Spiltdorph] to take the prisoners to Wischschester [Winchester], with an escort of twenty men.

Fearing that as soon as the news of this defeat should reach the French we might be attacked by considerable forces, I began to raise a fort with a little palisade.<sup>36</sup>

June 1. A trader arrived with the Half King. They say that, at the same time M. de Jumonville was sent here, another party had been detached toward the lower part of the river, in order to capture and kill all the English they might find.

We are finishing our fort.

In the evening Mr. Tours [Towers] arrives with the Half King, Queen Aliquipa [Aliquippa], and about 25 or 30 families, making nearly 80 to 100 persons, including women and children.

<sup>35</sup> Ensign James Towers, also written as Towner, was promoted to lieutenant before the end of the campaign. He served in Captain Hog's company. He resigned from the regiment in December of 1754.

<sup>36</sup> This was the beginning of Fort Necessity at the Great Meadows.

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The old king, being invited to come into our tents, tells me that he had sent Monakatoocha to the Village des Logs [Logstown] with a belt of wampum and four French scalps which were to be sent to the 6 Nations, to the Wyendots, etc., in order to inform them that they had attacked the French, and to ask for their assistance to uphold this first blow.

\* \* \* \* \*

June 5. An Indian arrives from Oyo who had gone to the French fort for a short time before; he confirms the news of the two traders taken by the French and sent to Canada. He says that they have set up their palisade and enclosed their fort with very big trees.

There are eight Indian families toward this side of the river who are coming to join us. He met one of the Frenchmen<sup>37</sup> who escaped from the engagement with M. de Jumonville, and who was without shoes or stockings and almost unable to walk; but he had let him go, not knowing that they had been attacked.

June 6. Mr. Gist on his return informs me of the death of poor Colonel Fry,<sup>38</sup> and that the French prisoners arrived safe and sound at Wchestre [Winchester], with which the Governor had great satisfaction.

I learn also that Mr. Montour<sup>39</sup> is coming with a commission to command 200 Indians.

<sup>37</sup> His name was Mouceau.

<sup>38</sup> Fry died as the result of a fall from his horse. After his death, Washington was promoted (in May) to colonel and assumed formally the command of the entire regiment.

<sup>39</sup> Three-quarter Indian and one-quarter French, the son of an Iroquois chief, a master of English, French, and several Indian tongues, Andrew Montour was an outstanding interpreter and Indian agent for Pennsylvania and Virginia. He was also a leading fur trader. Montour was not very successful in enlisting Indian troops in 1754. In 1755, he served with Braddock and remained an ally of the English throughout the French and Indian War.



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*Mr. Gist had encountered a French deserter who had assured him that they numbered only five hundred men when they took the fort from Mr. Wart, and that they were fewer at present, having sent fifteen men to Canada to inform the Governor of their success; that there were still about two hundred men who were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to come and join us.*

*June 9. The final part of the Virginia Regiment arrived under the command of Colonel Must [Major, later Lieutenant Colonel, George Muse].<sup>40</sup> We learned that the independent company from Carolina had arrived at Wilscreck [Wills Creek].*

*June 10. I received [or, reviewed] the regiment, and in the evening I had word that some Frenchmen were advancing toward us. Thereupon I sent a party of Indians scouting towards Gist's, to try to find them and learn their numbers. At the beginning of the night we had an alarm, but it was false.*

*June 12. Two of the scouts whom we had sent out yesterday, returned after having discovered a small party of Frenchmen; the others continued as far as Stuart's.<sup>41</sup> Upon this news, I thought it necessary to march with the greater part of the regiment, in order to find these ninety men of whom we had intelligence. Consequently, I gave Colonel Must orders to take away all our baggage and munitions, to place them in the fort, and to establish a good guard there until my return; and I marched at the head of one hundred thirty men and about thirty Indians; but at the distance of half a mile I*

<sup>40</sup> George Muse had served in the Cartagena expedition and then had been, like Washington, one of the adjutants of the Virginia Militia. Commissioned a major in the Virginia regiment, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel when Washington was advanced to colonel. During the action at Fort Necessity he behaved in a cowardly manner and was afterwards in disgrace. His resignation was accepted immediately upon his return to Virginia.

<sup>41</sup> Stewart's Crossing was a ford on the Youghiogheny at what is today Connellsville. Braddock's army used it in 1755.



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*met the other Indians who told me there were only nine deserters, and I sent Mr. Mantour [Montour] with some Indians to bring them in safely. I had them clothed, and they give us confirmation of what we had conjectured about the designs of M. de Jumonville's party, and that more than a hundred soldiers are waiting only for a favorable opportunity to come and join us; that M. de Contrecoeur was expecting a reinforcement of four hundred men, and that these four hundred men were to have arrived some time before the attack upon La Force; that the fort was completed; that the gates and the front were covered by artillery; that on the water side there was a double palisade; that they have only eight pieces of small cannon; and that they know how many men we have. They inform me also that the Delawares and the Chawanons [Shawnees] have taken up the hatchet against us. Thereupon resolved to invite these two nations to come in council at Mr. Gist's; for this sent messengers and belts.*

June 13. I induce these deserters to write the following letter to their comrades who wish to desert. (It is not in the journal.)

*June 15. I had the men work on the roads.*

*June 16. We left for the River Rouge, and were impeded a great deal, as our wagons broke down several times.*

### THE NEXT FIVE DAYS

[The next five days were spent in preparing for and holding a council with the Indians at Gist's. The Journal entries for these days consist of long and very repetitious speeches to and from the Indians. Rather than reproduce the speeches here, we have made the following summary:

Washington had decided to call the council with the Indians to see if the report of the French deserters, that the Delawares and Shawnees had decided to side with the French, was true. Messengers were sent out to call in the Indians on the 17th.

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On the 18th, some Mingoës from Logstown—who had not been invited to the council—arrived at Gist's and demanded that they be included in the council. The questions they asked and their general attitude aroused the suspicion that they were spies for the French.

On the 19th, with the arrival of the Half King from the Great Meadows, the council began. The Logstown Mingoës, the ones suspected of being pro-French, spoke first. They wanted to know if they would be considered enemies by the English if they remained neutral. Washington replied that the English were fighting solely on behalf of the Iroquois and their allies, to drive away the French, and urged the Indians to send their women and children east to the settlements and to join their warriors with the regiment. Those who did not join the English, he threatened vaguely, would "be responsible for all the consequences," while those who "manifested their bravery and their energy at this juncture . . . I shall recompense . . . in the most generous way."

Roughly the same speech was made to the Delawares and Shawnees. However, these tribes, while protesting their continued friendship to the English, declared that they had been ordered to remain neutral by the ruling Onondago council of the Six Nations.

The parties to the council consumed almost three whole days in devising, delivering, and listening to translations of the various speeches. Consequently the council did not end until the 21st.]

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### *Extracts from the Journal (continued)*

Afterward, the council broke up, and these treacherous demons who had been sent by the French to spy went away, not

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

without some suitable stories prepared to amuse the French, and to tend to make our own designs succeed.

As they had spoken to me of 1,600 Frenchmen and 700 Indians who were on the march to reinforce those at the fort, I persuaded the Half King to send out three of his men in order to learn the truth, although I believed that this news was only soldiers' talk. These men were sent secretly before the council was finished, with orders to go to the fort, and to gather information painstakingly from all the Indians they would find there; and if there were any news worth the trouble, one of them would return, and the others would continue their journey as far as Venango and around the lake, in order to learn everything exactly.

I also persuaded King Schingués [Shingas] to keep scouts in the field along the river to give us news in case any Frenchmen came. I gave him a letter which he was to send me by his messengers, in order to prevent any one from imposing on me to alarm us.

\* \* \* \* \*

The day the council finished, I persuaded Kaquehuston,<sup>42</sup> a trusty Delaware, to carry to the fort the letter which the French deserters had written to their comrades, and I gave instructions about how he should carry on his observations in several mat-

<sup>42</sup> Kaquehuston is in all probability Kekeuscung, also known as Kit-tiuskund, who later became a chief of the Delawares. He may not have been as "trusty" as Washington believed, for with the rest of the Delawares, Kekeuscung went over to the French. He is known to have helped to harry the Forbes expedition in 1758 and to have taken part in Pontiac's War. It is reported that at the Battle of Bushy Run, in 1763, when Colonel Bouquet's troops were besieged in their flour sack fort while enroute to raise the siege of Fort Pitt, Kekeuscung spent the night of August 5 shouting threats and insults in broken English at the improvised fort. He is believed to have fallen in the action of the following day.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

ters of which I spoke to him; for I am strongly of the opinion that the fort can be surprised, because the French are camping outside and their guard cannot be kept very exactly because of the work they are doing.

I also persuaded George,<sup>43</sup> another trusty Delaware, to visit the fort a little after Kaquehuston, and gave him suitable instructions, recommending particularly that he hasten his return so that we might have fresh news.

Immediately after the council, in spite of everything Mr. Montour could do to dissuade them, the Delawares, like the Half King and all the other Indians, returned to the Great Meadows; but although we no longer had them, I did not leave off still having our own men constantly out scouting to forestall any surprise.

\* \* \* \* \*

As these Indians, spies of the French, were very curious and asked many questions in order to learn what way we intended to go to the fort, and when we expected to arrive there, I stopped the work on the road and did not push it any farther. I told them finally that we intended to continue through the woods, cutting down the trees, etc., and that we were waiting here for the reinforcement which was coming, with our artillery and our wagons to accompany us there. But as soon as these men had gone, I began work marking out and making a road toward the Roche Rouge [Redstone Creek].

June 24. In the evening there arrive from the Great Meadows three men, among whom is the son of Queen Aliguipa [Aliquippa]. He brings me a letter from Mr. Croghon [Croghan]<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Delaware George rose to be a chief among his people, and with them went over to the French. He may have received his English name while a disciple of the famous frontier missionary, Christian Frederick Post.

<sup>44</sup> George Croghan, a native of Ireland, came to Pennsylvania in 1741 and by 1745 was engaged in the Indian trade. Highly successful as a trader,

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who informs me of the trouble he has in finding any Indian willing to come; that in truth *the Half King* was disposed and was preparing to join us, but a blow which he had received had prevented him from doing so. I thought it would be wise to send Captain Montour to Fort Necessity to see if it would not be possible to persuade the Indians to come to us.

June 26. An Indian arrives bringing us news that Monocatocha has burned his village (Loystown) [Logstown], and begun to travel by water to the Roche Rouge with his people, and may be expected there in two days. This Indian passed near the fort and is sure that the French have received no reinforcements except a small number of Indians who have killed, he says, two or three Delawares. I did not fail to relate this news with the most appropriate colors to the Indians and particularly to the Delawares who are here.

June 27. Detached Captain Louis [Lewis],<sup>45</sup> Lieutenant Vagghener [Waggoner], and an ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, a drummer, and 60 men to complete building the road as far as the mouth of the River de la Roche Rouge on the Monanghelelé. [Here the Journal ends.]

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he was prominent among the English entrepreneurs who won the trade of the Ohio Indians from the French, thus helping to precipitate the struggle for the valley. Besides, he was a leading interpreter and adviser for Pennsylvania on Indian affairs. He served the Virginia regiment as a contractor of flour and horses; his failure at this assignment contributed to the defeat of the expedition. The date on which he joined Washington on the expedition as an interpreter and adviser on Indian diplomacy is not known. In 1756, Croghan became Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs under Sir William Johnson. He was also active in land speculation. It will be recalled from an earlier note that he was a brother-in-law and partner of William Trent. He moves through the history of the frontier, one of the liveliest and most complex of all the personalities in the Ohio Country.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew Lewis, a captain and company commander, later was promoted to major in the Virginia regiment. He served with Braddock and



## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

### *Fort Necessity:*

### *Eyewitness and Contemporary Accounts*

Colonel Washington was too busy with more serious matters in the days after June 27, 1754, to make his Journal entries. For the story of the rest of the campaign, therefore, we must turn to many sources, all of them incomplete in one way or another. There were no war correspondents with the Virginia regiment—or for that matter with the French detachment. But we do have the accounts either of men who were at the battle or who heard about it shortly thereafter—men on both sides—officers and privates, heroes and deserters.

The observant reader will note that accounts do not agree always as to details. There are many reasons for this: they were written later and from memory; the heat of battle is always confusing; the witnesses' testimony is no doubt colored by both patriotic considerations and by being personally involved. But these men, these soldiers, write with the vividness of things they felt deeply. And anyway, theirs are the only records we have.

[The sub-titles of the selections below are the editor's.]

#### COLONEL WASHINGTON RECORDS A MILITARY DECISION

Minutes of a Council of War held at Gists Plantn.<sup>46</sup>

At a Council of War held at Mr. Gists June 28th 1754.

on the Virginia frontier against the Indians in the fall of 1755. He was with Forbes in 1758, part of Major James Grant's ill-fated detachment, and in the defeat of Grant was captured and taken to Canada. During the Revolution he held a colonelcy and served creditably until his death from illness in 1781.

<sup>46</sup> These minutes are in Washington's handwriting. They are in *Letters to Washington, and Accompanying Papers*, ed. Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898-1902), I, 16-18.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

After the Junction with our own Detachmt.<sup>47</sup> and the Independent Company<sup>48</sup> to Consider what was most prudent & necessary to be Done in the present Situation of Affairs: It was Unanimously Resolved that it was Absolutly necessary to Return to our Fort at the meadows & Wait there untill Supply'd with a stock of provisions Sufficient to serve us for some months.

The Reasons for so doing were very Weighty:

Monacatootha a man of Sense and Experience & agreed friend to the English Had left the French Fort only two days before & had seen the Reinforcmt. arrive & heard them declare their Resolution to march and Attack the English wt 800 of their own men & 400 Indians.

There was a Reinforcemt. hourly expected, we learned from French Deserters.

We knew, that two of our own men had deserted to them and acquainted The Enemy of our Starving Condition and our Numbrs. & Situation.

We had wanted<sup>49</sup> bread & meat for six days already; and were still uncertain when any would arrive. We had only about 25 head of Live Cattle the most of them Milch Cows to depend upon, for 400 men, and about one quart of salt to use wt. our Meat, or preserve it.

The Enemy being thrice our Number & knowing our Cir-

<sup>47</sup> This is the detachment sent out the day before under Captain Lewis to work on the road. It had been recalled at the worsening military situation.

<sup>48</sup> The Independent Company from South Carolina had joined Washington on the 14th or 15th of June. It was commanded by Captain James Mackay. Because Mackay held a commission from the King and Washington was commissioned only by the Governor, Captain Mackay would not accept orders from Washington, but acted as a separate command. When Washington advanced to Gist's, the Independent Company remained behind at the Meadows.

<sup>49</sup> "We had wanted bread and meat"—that is, had been without them.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

cumstances would not give us a Chance to fight them, but Strive to starve us out by intercepting our Convoys. The Live Cattle were Uncertain as the Enemy strove to Block us up. If the Enemy were so Void of knowledge in Military Affairs as to Risk a Battle, We must give a Total defeat to thrice our Number,—Otherwise be Cut to pieces by so prodigious a Number of their Indians in our Retreat, who are the best people in the World to improve a Victory and at the best lose all our Warlike Stores & Swivles.<sup>50</sup> Compell'd by these Reasons it was Unanimously Resolv'd to Decamp directly, and to have our swivles drawn By the men by Reason of the Scarcity of horses.

Besides the Indians decla'd that they would leave us, unless we Returned to ye Meadows. The distance Between that & Mr. Gist's house, is thirteen miles of hilly road form'd Naturally for Ambushes. The French could not so Easily Support themselves at the Meadow as at Gist's by reason of distance to Carry the Stores and Provisions & their want of horses to do it. They can come within five miles of Gist's house by water; thirteen miles further of bad Road was a Great obstruction to them & gave us an Opportunity of Obtaining intelligence, & Securing our Convoys.<sup>51</sup> While we lay at Gist's house They might pass us unobserved by a different Road from Red Stone that Lay about nine miles from us. But at the Meadows, both Roads are United, and the Bearing of the Mountains makes it difficult for an Enemy to come near or pass us without Receiving Advice of it. From all these Considerations this Resolves

<sup>50</sup> This refers to small cannon mounted on swivels, with which the Virginia regiment was armed.

<sup>51</sup> "Securing our convoys"—that is, receiving shipments of food which were supposed to be on the way and which would reach the Meadows before it would reach Gist's.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

was Signed by [There are no signatures. The copy that has survived is probably a draft copy.]

### MAJOR ADAM STEPHEN DESCRIBES THE RETREAT FROM GIST'S NEW SETTLEMENT TO FORT NECESSITY AT THE GREAT MEADOWS<sup>52</sup>

June 29,<sup>53</sup> we received certain Intelligence, that the French were reinforced with 300 White Men, and the same Number of Indians, and that they intend to march immediately to attack us; Whereupon Col. Washington call'd a Council of War, wherein it was resolved to send an Express to hasten the Independents<sup>54</sup> to join us, and that in the mean Time we should set about fortifying ourselves, as well as the Time would permit, and there wait the arrival of Cap. Lewis, and Mr. Polson,<sup>55</sup> who were out on Detachments, and to whom Orders were sent to join us with the utmost Expedition. Captain Maccay<sup>56</sup> arrived at our Camp at Gist's House, in the Night, and we were joined by our Detachment next Forenoon: when a Council of War was again call'd, wherein it was unanimously resolved to retreat immediately, carrying all public Stores with us; and as we had but two very indifferent Teams, and few Horses, the Officers loaded their own Horses with Ammunition, and left

<sup>52</sup> This account appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* of Annapolis on August 29, 1754. It is reprinted in Charles H. Ambler's *Washington and the West*, pp. 214-216.

<sup>53</sup> Stephen places the date one day later than Washington.

<sup>54</sup> The Independent Company.

<sup>55</sup> William Polson, a native of Scotland, was the lieutenant in Captain Stobo's company. He assumed command of the company when Stobo became a hostage, and was promoted to captain shortly thereafter, on July 21. He was killed at the head of a company of Virginia Rangers the following year at the Battle of the Monongahela.

<sup>56</sup> Captain James Mackay, commander of the Independent Company from South Carolina.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

part of their Baggage behind; Col. Washington setting them an Example, by ordering his Horse to be loaded first, and giving four Pistoles<sup>57</sup> to some Soldiers to carry his necessary Baggage. We had nine Swivels, which were drawn by the Soldiers of the Virginia Regiment twelve Miles, of the roughest and most hilly Road of any on the Alleghany Mountains. The independents refused to lend a Hand to draw the Guns, or help off with the Ammunition; nor would they do Duty as Pioneers,<sup>58</sup> which had an unhappy Effect on our Men, who no sooner learned that it was not the proper Duty of Soldiers to perform these Services, than they became as backward as the Independents. This was one great Reason why we had not compleated our Works before the Attack.

July 1st, we arrived very much fatigued at the Meadows, and had continued our Retreat, but for want of Horses and Conveniences to carry our Ammunition. Our Men had been eight Days without Bread, and instead of a large Convoy, which we had long expected, there arrived only a few Bags of Flour: They were so harassed with working on the Fortifications at Gist's,<sup>59</sup> and with marching, that they were not able to draw the Swivels. This being the Case, and having certain Intelligence that the Yorkers<sup>60</sup> had arrived at Alexandria about twenty Days before, a fatal Stay! and a flying Report, that they had got to Will's Creek on their March to join us, it was thought most advisable to fortify ourselves in the best Manner possible, and wait our Convoys and Reinforcements, which we daily expected.

<sup>57</sup> A pistole was worth \$4.

<sup>58</sup> The Regulars maintained that professional soldiers were not required to do manual labor, unless given extra pay, and Washington had no authority to promise them extra pay.

<sup>59</sup> A fort had been started at Gist's before retreat was decided.

<sup>60</sup> The two independent companies from New York.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

In the mean Time an Express was sent to inform them of our Station, and hasten them to our Assistance. We set about clearing the Woods nearest to us, and carrying in the Logs, to raise a Breastwork, and enlarge the Fort.

### COLONEL WASHINGTON RECORDS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF HIS INDIAN ALLIES<sup>61</sup>

. . . the few Indians while till now had attended him;<sup>62</sup> and who by reconnoitering the enemy in their March had got terrified at their numbers and resolved to Retreat as they advised us to do also but which was impracticable without abandoning our Stores, Baggage, &ca. as the horses which had brought them to this place had returned for Provision had left us previous to the Attack.

### COLONEL WASHINGTON AND CAPTAIN MACKAY DESCRIBE THE FRENCH ATTACK ON THE FORT<sup>63</sup>

The third of this Instant July, about 9 o'clock, we received Intelligence that the French, having been reinforced with 700 Recruits, had left Monongehela, and were in full March with 900 Men to attack us. Upon this, as our Numbers were so unequal, (our whole Force not exceeding 300) we prepared for our Defence in the best Manner we could, by throwing up a small Intrenchment, which we had not Time to perfect, before our Centinel gave Notice, about Eleven o'Clock, of their Approach, by firing his Piece, which he did at the Enemy,

<sup>61</sup> From some notes that Washington once prepared for the use of a biographer. They appear in *The Writings of George Washington* . . . edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, XXXIX, 39-40.

<sup>62</sup> Washington here speaks of himself in the third person.

<sup>63</sup> From a newspaper account first printed in the *Virginia Gazette* of Williamsburg and subsequently reprinted in other colonial papers. It is reprinted in Ambler's *Washington and the West*, pp. 211-213.



## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

and as we learned afterwards killed three of their Men, on which they began to fire upon us, at about 600 Yards Distance, but without any Effect: We immediately called all our Men to their Arms, and drew up in Order before our Trenches; but as we looked upon this distant Fire of the Enemy only as an Artifice to intimidate, or draw our Fire from us, we waited their nearer Approach before we returned their Salute. They then advanced in a very irregular Manner to another Point of Woods, about 60 Yards off, and from thence made a second Discharge; upon which, finding they had no Intention of attacking us in the open Field, we retired into our Trenches, and still reserved our Fire; as we expected from their great Superiority of Numbers, that they would endeavour to force our Trenches; but finding they did not seem to intend this neither, the Colonel gave Orders to fire, which was done with great Alacrity and Undauntedness.

## COLONEL WASHINGTON REMEMBERS THE FIGHTING AND THE RAIN<sup>64</sup>

. . . they then, from every little rising, tree, stump, Stone, and bush kept up a constant galling<sup>65</sup> fire upon us; which was returned in the best manner we could till late in the Afternoon. when their fell the most tremendous rain that can be conceived, filled our trenches with Water, Wet, not only the Ammunition in the Cartouch<sup>66</sup> boxes and firelocks, but that which was in a small temporary Stockade in the middle of the Intrenchment called Fort Necessity erected for the sole purpose of its security, and that of the few stores we had; and left us nothing but

<sup>64</sup> From the source described in note 61.

<sup>65</sup> *Galling*, that is, irritating.

<sup>66</sup> An early form of *cartridge*.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

a few (for all were not provided with them) Bayonets for defence.

### PRIVATE JOHN SHAW DESCRIBES THE FIGHTING AND THE FORT<sup>67</sup>

. . . their Indians were thereby Encouraged to Advance out of the Wood and show themselves pretty near where our Men lay upon which Colo. Washington Gave the Word to fire which was accordingly done, and many of the Indians were killed. Our people having two Swivel Guns which were discharged at the same time. After this neither French nor Indians appeared any more but kept behind Trees firing at our Men the best part of the Day, As our people did at them. There was at this place a Small Stocade Fort made in a circular form round a Small House that stood in the middle of it to keep our provisions and ammunition in, and was covered with Bark and some Skins and might be about fourteen feet Square and the Walls of the Fort might be eight feet distance from the said house all round. The French were at that time so near that Severall of our people were wounded by the splinters beat off by the Bullets from the said House.

### MAJOR ADAM STEPHEN TELLS OF THE PLIGHT OF THE GARRISON<sup>68</sup>

[We] had received no Intelligence of the approach of our Convoys or Reinforcements, and . . . had only a Couple Bags of Flour and a little Bacon left for the Support of 300 Men. We had intended to have killed the Milch Cows which were

<sup>67</sup> Deposition of John Shaw, original manuscript in the British Public Records Office, photostats in the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh.

<sup>68</sup> From the *Maryland Gazette*, August 29, 1754.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

our greatest Dependence before the Engagement, but had no Salt to preserve them, and they soon became the property of a superior Enemy. By the continued Rains, and Water in the Trenches, the most of our Arms were out of Order, and we had only a Couple of Screws<sup>69</sup> in the whole Regiment to clean them. But what was still worse, it was no sooner dark, than one-half of our Men got drunk.<sup>70</sup>

### COLONEL WASHINGTON RECORDS THE FRENCH OFFER TO NEGOTIATE<sup>71</sup>

We continued this unequal Fight, with an Enemy sheltered behind the Trees, ourselves without Shelter, in Trenches full of Water, in a settled Rain, and the Enemy galling us on all Sides incessantly from the Woods, till 8 o'Clock at Night, when the French called to Parley: From the great Improbability that such a vastly superior Force, and possessed of such an Advantage, would offer a Parley first, we suspected a Deceit, and therefore refused to consent that they should come among us; on which they desired us to send an Officer to them, and engaged their Parole<sup>72</sup> for his Safety. . . .

### MAJOR STEPHEN DESCRIBES THE READING OF THE FRENCH TERMS<sup>73</sup>

When Mr. Van Braam returned with the French Proposals,

<sup>69</sup> A tool used in cleaning fouled firearms.

<sup>70</sup> Washington recently had been supplied with rum to use as presents for the Indians. Apparently the tired, wet and hungry men of the Virginia regiment had got into it. When Coulon de Villiers, the French commander, inspected the fort after its surrender the next day, he found casks of rum still unopened. He had the casks smashed to keep the contents from his own troops and his Indian allies.

<sup>71</sup> See note 63.

<sup>72</sup> *Parole* in this case means "word of honor."

<sup>73</sup> See note 52.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

we were obliged to take the Sense of them by word of Mouth: It rained so heavily that he could not give us a written Translation of them; we could scarcely keep the Candle light to read them; they were wrote in a bad Hand, on wet and blotted Paper so that no Person could read them but Van Braam who had heard them from the mouth of the French Officer. Every Officer then present, is willing to declare, that there was no such word as Assassination<sup>74</sup> mentioned; the Terms expressed to us were 'the Death of Jumonville.' If it had been mentioned, we could have got it altered, as the French seemed very condescending, and willing to bring Things to a Conclusion; during the whole course of the Interview: Upon our insisting on it they altered what was more material to them, the Article relating to Ammunition, which they wanted to detain; and that of the Cannon, which they agreed to have destroyed, instead of reserved for their Use. Another Article, which appears to our Disadvantage, is that whereby we obliged ourselves not to attempt an Establishment beyond the Mountains: This was translated to us, 'Not to attempt Buildings or Improvements, on the Lands of his Most Christian Majesty.' This we never intended; but denied that he had any Lands there, and therefore thought it needless to dispute that Point.

### THE ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION<sup>75</sup>

Capitulation granted Mons. de Villiers,<sup>76</sup> captain and com-

<sup>74</sup> As will be shown subsequently, the terms of capitulation signed by Washington *did* admit that Jumonville had been "assassinated," much to Washington's later mortification.

<sup>75</sup> An English translation of the Articles of Capitulation may be found in Ambler's *Washington and the West*, pp. 216-217. The text in French may be found in *Washington and "The Murder of Jumonville"* by Gilbert F. Leduc, pp. 219-227.

<sup>76</sup> Louis Coulon de Villiers, commander of the French detachment at

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mander of infantry and troops of his most Christian Majesty, to those English troops actually in the fort of Necessity which was built on the lands of the King's dominions July the 3rd, at eight o'clock at night, 1754.

As our intention has never been to trouble the peace and good harmony which reigns between the two friendly princes, but only to revenge the assassination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a summons, upon his party, as also to hinder any establishment on the lands of the dominions of the King, my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to grant protection or favor, to all the English that are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

1. We grant the English Commander to retire with all his garrisons, to return peaceably into his own country, and we promise to hinder his receiving any insult from us French, and to restrain as much as shall be in our power the Savages that are with us.

2. He shall be permitted to withdraw and to take with him whatever belongs to them excepting the artillery, which we reserve for ourselves.

3. We grant them the honors of war; they shall come out with drums beating, and with a small piece of cannon, wishing to show by this means that we treat them as friends.

4. As soon as these Articles are signed by both parties they shall take down the English flag.

5. Tomorrow at daybreak a detachment of French shall receive the surrender of the garrison and take possession of the aforesaid fort.

6. Since the English have scarcely any horses or oxen left, they shall be allowed to hide their property, in order that they

the battle of the Great Meadows, was the older brother of Jumonville and had been given command of the expedition for that reason.

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may return to seek for it after they shall have recovered their horses; for this purpose they shall be permitted to leave such number of troops as guards as they may think proper, under this condition that they give their word of honor that they will not work on any establishment either in the surrounding country or beyond the Highlands during one year beginning from this day.

7. Since the English have in their power an officer and two cadets, and, in general, all the prisoners whom they took when they assassinated *Sieur de Jumonville* they now promise to send them with an escort to *Fort Duquesne*, situated on *Belle River*, and to secure the safe performance of this treaty article, as well as on the treaty *Messrs. Jacob Van Braam and Robert Stobo*,<sup>77</sup> both Captains shall be delivered to us as hostages until the ar-

<sup>77</sup> Captain Robert Stobo, later major, was one of the most romantic and colorful figures of the French and Indian War. He was born in Glasgow in 1727, attended Glasgow University, and in 1742 came to Virginia as the representative of a group of Glasgow merchants. Convivial and much sought after socially, a friend of Governor Dinwiddie's, he was given a captaincy in the Virginia regiment. On the campaign he was accompanied by ten servants and a covered wagon loaded with equipment which included a large cask of Madeira wine. He and Van Braam were chosen as hostages, probably because they were both unmarried. While a hostage Stobo was promoted to major. During his imprisonment at *Fort Duquesne*, he sent secretly a sketch of the fort to Washington by way of a friendly Indian. This sketch fell into the hands of the French, along with other of Braddock's papers, when Braddock was defeated, so that Stobo was accused of espionage and for a time was under sentence of death. He escaped twice from his place of imprisonment in Quebec, and twice was recaptured; his third escape was successful. When he rejoined the English, he served as an adviser to General James Wolfe in the campaign against Quebec. Profusely thanked and handsomely rewarded by the Virginia assembly for his services and hardships, he returned to England and a commission in the Regulars. Thereafter he saw service in the West Indies. Three novels have contained fictional accounts of his life and adventures. Historians probably have put no other man in more footnotes than Robert Stobo.



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rival of our French and Canadians herein before mentioned.

We on our part declare that we shall give an escort to send back in safety the two officers who promise us our French in two months and a half at the latest.

Made out in duplicate on one of the posts of our blockhouse the same day and year as before.

Signed

James Mackay  
Go. Washington  
Coulon De Villiers.

### MAJOR STEPHEN ALMOST LOSES HIS LUGGAGE<sup>78</sup>

. . . every thing [was] afloat in the Encampmt which was in a natural meadow or dry marsh—This occasion'd Stephen to put on Shoes without Stockings in which trim he continued all the day of the Engag'nt.

The Weather was Showery, the ditches half full of Water, & fort half Leg deep of Mud, so that Stephen's duty as Major leading him every where: He was Wet; Muddy half thigh up; without Stockings, face & hands besmear'd with powder & in this pickle form'd the Men to march out of the Fort early in the Morning of the 4th according to Capitulation—The Enemy allow'd us to Carry off the Baggage, & to march out with the honours of War—Whilst Stephen was forming the men, His Servant cry'd out Major a Frenchman has Carried off you Cloaths—Stephen looking Round, observ'd the Corner of his port Mantua<sup>79</sup> on a Frenchman Shoulder, he running into the Crowd—Stephen pursued & overtook him Seiz'd the port-

<sup>78</sup> This excerpt is taken from "Colonel Steven's Life written by himself for B. Rush in 1775" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVIII, 43-50.

<sup>79</sup> A portmanteau was a traveling bag designed for use on horseback.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

mantua, kicked the fellow back side & Return'd. Upon Seeing this two french Officers, observ'd to Stephen that [if] he Struck the Men & behaved So, they could not be answerable for the Capitulation. Stephen damned the Capitulation, & Swore they had Broke it already. The Officers Observing such pertness in a dirty, half naked fellow, ask'd Stephen, if he was an Officer— Upon Which Stephen, made his Servant Open his portmantua, & put on a flaming suit of laced Regimentals Which in those cheap days cost thirty pistols—

The French Officers gazed at the flaming Regimentals, on Such a dirty fellow without Stockings, were extremely Complaisent, told us, as we had given hostages, we ought to get hostages of them; that they were very desirous of going to Virginia, as they understood there were a great many Belles Madammoiselle there—

### PRIVATE JOHN SHAW DESCRIBES THE EVACUATION OF FORT NECESSITY<sup>80</sup>

[The Capitulation] was accordingly agreed to and signed by Colo. Washington, and agreed to by all the Officers, And accordingly next Morning We Hoisted no Colours. And as soon as it was day the French and their Indians came in a Body beating their Drum and formed themselves into two Ranks that our People might pass through, which they Accordingly did with their Drums beating, with their Arms and what provisions and Ammunition they could Carry. But we were obliged to leave behind our Swivel Guns and some Arms which soon after were destroyed and broke to pieces by the Indians. Such of our men that were in that little Fort having broke the Heads of the Powder Barrels and strewn it about that it might be of no Service to the French.

<sup>80</sup> The source for this excerpt is described in note 22.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

We were also obliged to leave with them Captn. Vanbraam and Captn. Stobo as Hostages for the Delivery of the Twenty one prisoners that had been taken by Colo. Washington . . . who were then at Williamsburgh.

### THE FRENCH COMMANDER, COULON DE VILLIERS,<sup>81</sup> DESCRIBES THE CAMPAIGN FROM THE FRENCH POINT OF VIEW

—*Too much rain, Too little ammunition, and  
Trouble with his Indian allies*

July 1. We went and put our wheel-carriages in a secure place. We disposed in order our effects, and whatever else we could dispense with in the Stock-house.<sup>82</sup> I left a good sergeant and twenty men and a few sick Indians to guard the effects. Some ammunition was shared out and we marched on. *Towards eleven o'clock we found the roads<sup>83</sup> so bad that, from the first stop, the chaplain was no longer able to continue the trip; he gave us general absolution, and returned to the warehouse; we saw some tracks which made us suspect that we were discovered.*

<sup>81</sup> Coulon de Villiers' Journal was first printed in the French *Memorial* . . . and appeared in English translation in *The Conduct of the Late Ministry* and in other places. None of these versions was complete, however. The excerpt printed here is translated from the *Papiers Contrecoeur*.

Washington saw only the incomplete *Memorial* version of Coulon de Villiers' account. This version was edited so as to magnify the French victory and hide French shortcomings. This fact should be kept in mind when reading Washington's bitter comments on Coulon de Villiers' account of the battle.

In our translation of Coulon de Villiers' Journal, we have placed in italics those portions which Washington did not see. They shed significant light on why Coulon de Villiers offered to negotiate.

<sup>82</sup> The Ohio Company warehouse at the mouth of Redstone Creek on the Monongahela.

<sup>83</sup> The road referred to was probably the pack horse trail used by English traders going from Wills Creek to the warehouse on Redstone Creek.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

About three in the afternoon, having had no account of our scouts, I sent out some others, who fell in with the first. They mistook each other, and were just going to fire at one another; but luckily they found out their mistake. They came to us and declared, that they had been as far as the road which the English were making; that they had seen no one there; and that it was apparent no one had been there for about three days; we no longer doubted but that the English were informed of our steps. *We continued our way, however, up to a house advantageously situated from which we could send to reconnoiter on all sides, and the troop settled down there in such a way that it could defend itself, and we passed the night there waiting for our scouts.*

July 2. At break of day, we set out on our march, without waiting the arrival of the scouts. After I had marched for some time, I stopped and determined not to proceed farther; till such time as I received some positive account. I dispatched some scouts towards the road; in the meantime some of the Indians arrived whom I had left behind at the Stockhouse. They had made a prisoner who said he was a deserter; I questioned him, and threatened to hang him if he tried to deceive me. I was informed the English had deserted their post, in order to draw near their fort; and that they took with them their cannon. *Our last scouts arrived and told me that the first had missed the way, that they had seen the track of ten to twelve men, and that they did not doubt that this was theirs. I continued my way and arrived at an abandoned house from which some of our people discovered the camp<sup>84</sup> which had been abandoned by the English; and we went there. This place consisted of three houses . . . I sent out scouts, and took care to have every place searched. A great many tools and other utensils were found concealed, which I ordered to be taken away. It being late I caused my detach-*

<sup>84</sup> Gist's Settlement.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

ment *who were levelling the bad roads to encamp here; moreover, the weather was rainy. We had there an alert caused by our Indians, who were seeking some animals.*

I again set about asking the Englishman more questions, continuing to alternately frighten and flatter him with the hopes of being rewarded. I communicated to the Indians whatever discoveries I made, and my resolution not to expose them rashly. It rained the whole night.

July 3rd. At day-break I prepared to march. I invited the Indians to supply me with scouts. The weather inclined to be rainy, but I foresaw the necessity of preventing the enemy from raising the fortifications which they might resolve to do, *and I flattered myself that he would be less alert in such bad weather.*

*The Nippissings<sup>85</sup> and the Algonquins<sup>86</sup> did not wish to go on: I told them that they could remain; I began to march with the other tribes, which shamed the first into coming to join me, with the exception of two.*

*Before my departure two of my first scouts for whom I had been worried came back and told me that they had made three prisoners who came from the Chawenons<sup>87</sup> and whom they had taken back to the warehouse, which was confirmed by a letter they brought me from the sergeant whom I'd left there.*

We marched the whole day through the rain; and I sent out scout after scout: I stopped at the place where my brother had been assassinated; and here I saw some human bodies still remaining.

Being now about three quarters of a league from the English

<sup>85</sup> The Nipissings were a pro-French and anti-Iroquois tribe whose home was the northeast shore of Lake Huron.

<sup>86</sup> The Algonquins, also enemies of the Iroquois and thus friends of the French, lived in the Gatineau River valley in present day Ontario.

<sup>87</sup> "Chawenons" was a French version of Shawnee.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

fort; I made each officer to march in a column at his respective division, in order to have it in my power to dispose of them as circumstances should require.

I sent scouts who were to go close to the camp; and twenty more to support them; and I advanced myself in order; when some of my people returned to tell me that we were discovered; and that the English approached in order of battle to attack us: as it was said they were close to me, I put my troops in order of battle, and in a manner suited to woods-fighting. It was not long before I perceived that my scouts had led me wrong; and I gave order to my troops to advance towards that side from which I apprehended an attack. As we were not acquainted with the ground, we presented our flank to the fort from whence they began to cannonade us: I perceived almost at the same time, to the right, the English coming towards us in order of battle.<sup>88</sup> The Indians, and we also, set up the cry, and advanced to meet them: but they gave us no time to make our discharge: they filed off, and withdrew into an entrenchment which lay next to their fort. We then set ourselves about investing the fort: it was advantageously enough situated in a meadow, the wood of which was within musket shot of it. We came as close to them as it was possible, to the end that his Majesty's subjects might not be exposed without necessity: the fire was pretty brisk on both sides, and I repaired to the place which appeared most to favor a sally. We succeeded in silencing the fire of their cannon, I may say, with our small arms. *It is true that the zeal of our Canadians and soldiers worried me, because I saw that we would in a little while be without ammunition. Mr.*

<sup>88</sup> It will be recalled that Washington had drawn up the Virginia regiment in front of the entrenchments to repel the charge that he thought was coming. Coulon de Villiers apparently mistook this defensive measure for an intended attack.



## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

*Le Mercier*<sup>89</sup> proposed to me making arrangements to bolster our positions so as to confine the English in their fort and entirely prevent them from leaving. I ordered Mr. De Bailleul<sup>90</sup> to assemble as many men as possible in order to help the quarter which would be attacked in case of a general sortie. At this time we distributed provisions, ammunition and goods, which encouraged the Indians and militiamen.

The enemy's fire began again at six o'clock, with more fury than ever, and lasted till eight o'clock. *As we had spent our time all day drying things from the rain, the Detachment was very tired. The Indians had announced to me their departure on the next day. Rumor said that the beat of drums and the firing of cannon had been heard from a distance. I proposed to Mr. Le Mercier to offer to parlay with the English. He agreed with me and we caused it to be cried out, that if the English were desirous to speak to us, we would cease firing: they accepted the proposal, and there came a captain to that part of the attack where I was. I detached Mr. le Mercier to receive him, and I went into the meadow myself; there we told them, that as we were not in war, we were willing to deliver them from the cruelties to*

<sup>89</sup> Francois le Mercier, a relative of Contrecoeur, had originally been in command of the detachment that took Fort Necessity. Before the detachment had left Fort Duquesne, however, Coulon de Villiers had arrived and had been given command because he outranked Le Mercier and in order to have the opportunity of avenging his brother, Jumonville. Le Mercier had served as engineer and supply officer with Marin's fort-building expedition into Western Pennsylvania in 1753 and thus was the designer of the French forts in the upper Ohio Valley. A few months before, he had accepted the surrender of Ensign Ward for Contrecoeur at the Point of the Allegheny and Monongahela.

<sup>90</sup> Francois Piercot de Bailleul was in the Ohio Country as early as the 1739 expedition of Baron de Longueuil. In 1753 he was with the advance party that began the chain of French forts on the upper Ohio. Like many of his English foes at the action at Fort Necessity, he was wounded the following year at the Battle of the Monongahela.



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which a more obstinate resistance would expose them from the Indians; that this very night we would take away from them all hopes of slipping away from us. That we now condescended to show them mercy, as we were come only to take revenge for the murder of my brother, in violation of the most sacred laws, and to force them to leave the King's territories; and we agreed with them to grant them the capitulation, of which a copy is annexed.

We considered that nothing could be more advantageous to the nation than this capitulation, it not being natural in time of peace that we should make prisoners of war *who in time of war would have been a nuisance to us since they would have consumed our provisions*. We made the English agree to give us in their own hands, that they had committed an assassination on us, in the camp of my brother. We had hostages as sureties for the French whom they had in their power: we compelled them to evacuate the country as belonging to the most Christian King. We obliged them to leave us their cannon, which consisted of nine pieces. We had already destroyed all their horses and cattle, and further we made them give in their own hand that the favor we showed them was only to prove to them how greatly we desire to treat them as friends.

*We were able to count up the considerable advantages held by the enemy: almost as numerous as we; who had been awaiting us for several days; who had a meadow in the middle of which was their fort; who had nine pieces of cannon, and who were attacked only by wild small arms fire from natives little accustomed to this military discipline. Thus I owe the success of this enterprise only to the valor and steadiness of the officers and to the example of the cadets who composed our party.*

That very evening the articles of capitulation were signed: and I had in my camp the hostages I required.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

The 4th, at break of day, I sent a detachment to take possession of the fort; the garrison filed off, and the number of their dead and wounded raised compassion in me, notwithstanding my resentment of the manner in which they had made away with my brother.

The Indians, who had in every respect, complied with my desires, had laid claim to the pillage. I opposed it, but the consternation of the English was so great that they ran away and left behind them even their flag and a pair of their colors. I demolished their fort and Mr. le Mercier caused their cannon to be destroyed together with the one which had been granted them by their capitulation, the English not being able to take it away.

I hastened away, after having first destroyed the casks of liquor, in order to prevent the disorders which they would have inevitably caused. One of my Indians took ten English and brought them to me; I sent them away by another. . . .

I lost in this attack only two French and one [Indian], I had seventeen wounded, of whom two were Indians, exclusive of several wounds so slight as not to require the attention of the surgeon.

I marched this day about two leagues, and caused our chief sick to be carried on litters by detachments.

The 5th I arrived about nine o'clock at the camp which had been abandoned by the English.<sup>91</sup> I ordered the intrenchments to be demolished and the houses to be burned to ashes. This done, I marched on, after having detached Mr. De La Chauvignerie<sup>92</sup> to burn all the houses in the neighborhood. . . .

<sup>91</sup> Gist's Plantation.

<sup>92</sup> The Sieur de La Chauvignerie, one of the French's "Indian experts," later supervised the construction of Fort Machault in 1755 at what is today Franklin, Pennsylvania.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

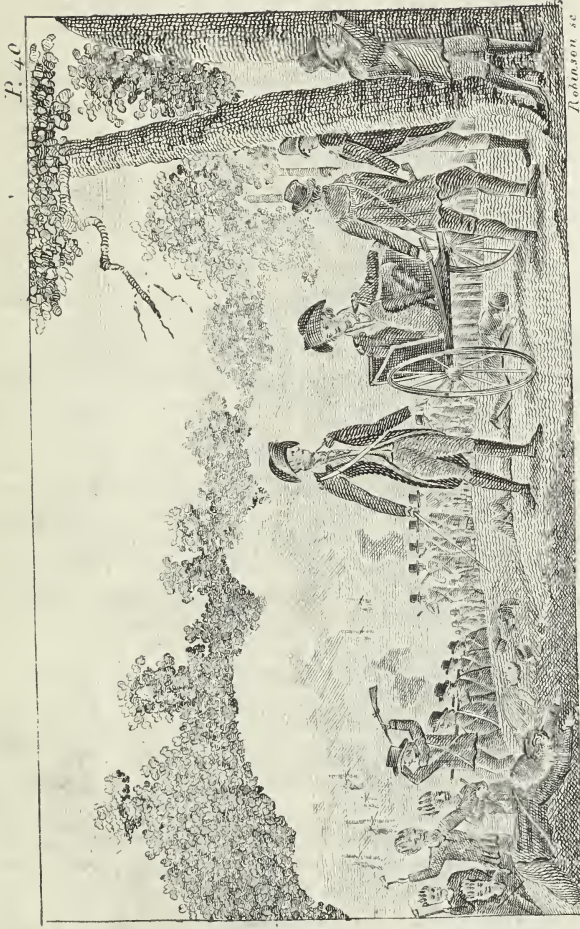
The 6th I set out early in the morning to the place where we left our wagons . . . we burned the warehouse. . . .

The 7th I continued to march . . . I burned as I went along all the settlements I met with, and I turned over command of the detachment to Mr. Contrecoeur about 4 o'clock.

### COLONEL WASHINGTON COMMENTS ON COULON DE VILLIERS' JOURNAL<sup>93</sup>

. . . I cannot help remarking on Villiers' account of the battle of, and transactions at, the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known, that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges, that we sustained the attack warmly from ten in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed, that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on this account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vain-glory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained. That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word *assassination*, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will

<sup>93</sup> This letter appears in *The Writings of Washington* . . . edited by Jared Sparks (Boston, 1834), II, 463-465. The original has not been found by modern scholars.



*Defeat of Gen. Braddock*

From Mason Lock Weem's, A history of the life and death, virtues and exploits, of General George Washington, 1800





## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English: but whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss*, of the *Sieur Jumonville*. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation.

That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away is equally certain, as we had every horse belonging to the camp killed or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring any thing off, that our shoulders were not able to bear; and to wait there was impossible, for we had scarce three days' provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply; yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false; notwithstanding they did, contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage,<sup>94</sup> and commit all kinds of irregularity, we were with them until ten o'clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage, to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off. When we had got about a mile from the place of action, we missed two or three of the wounded, and sent a party back to bring them up; this is the party he speaks of. We brought them all safe off, and encamped within three miles of the Meadows. These are circumstances, I think, that make it evidently clear, that we were not very apprehensive of danger. The colors he speaks of as left were a large flag of immense size and weight; our regimental colors were brought off and

<sup>94</sup> Actually, as the text of the capitulation shows, the French promised only "to restrain as much as shall be in our power the savages that are with us." Washington probably felt that the French could have done more to restrain the always restless red men.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

are now in my possession. Their gasconades, and boasted clemency, must appear in the most ludicrous light to every considerate person, who reads Villiers's journal; such preparations for an attack, such vigor and intrepidity as he pretends to have conducted his march with, such revenge as by his own account appeared in his attack, considered, it will hardly be thought that compassion was his motive for calling a parley. But to sum up the whole, Mr. Villiers pays himself no great compliment in saying, we were struck with a panic when matters were adjusted. We surely could not be afraid without cause, and if we had cause after capitulation it was a reflection upon himself.

### GOVERNOR ROBERT DINWIDDIE INFORMS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF THE RETREAT<sup>95</sup>

. . . our Forces were oblig'd to carry off the wounded Men on their Backs to some Distance from the Place of the Engagem't, where they left them with a Guard; the Scarcity of Provisions made them make quick Marches to get among the Inhabit's, w'ch was about 60 Miles of bad road. The Surgeon's Chest was destroy'd, w'ch was a great Loss to the Wounded. The Number of the Enemy killed in this Action is uncertain, but by Acc't from some Dutch in their Service, they say were 300,<sup>96</sup> and many wounded. From their great Superiority of Numbers at the Beginning of the Engagem't, it may be presun'd they lost many Men, or some other Disaster y't they desired to parley, so much contrary to the Expectat's of our Forces, who were determin'd to sell their Lives dear rather than be taken Prisoners. The Number of our People kill'd in the Action were

<sup>95</sup> A letter from Dinwiddie to the Lords of Trade in *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie* edited by R. A. Brock (Richmond, 1883), I, 239-243.

<sup>96</sup> The identity of the Dutch here referred to is obscure. The figure of three hundred killed is almost certainly a great exaggeration.

## COLONEL IN THE VIRGINIA MILITIA

30, and 70 wounded. Our few Forces have behav'd with great Intrepidity and resolution in this Action.

### PRIVATE SHAW DESERTS THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT<sup>97</sup>

This deponent then Marched on with the Rest of our Men to Will's Creek but were obliged to leave all their Stores and Baggage behind them. At Wills-Creek sixteen of the Volunteers of the Virginia Regiment in a Body went to Colo. Washington telling him, that as they Came to Settle the Land Which now they had no more thought of doing, They were determined to Return home. Colo. Washington endeavoured to persuade them to Stay, promising to procure them some Gratuity from the Government of Virginia for all their trouble and Losses, But he could not prevail with them. For they went off in a Body soon after he and Captn. Mackay set out for Williamsburgh<sup>98</sup> and, after he was gone the Men went off daily in Two's and Three's, so that he verily believes there were full two thirds of them gone when he . . . came off.

### MAJOR STEPHEN REPLIES TO CRITICS OF THE CAMPAIGN<sup>99</sup>

. . . our Conduct is blamed by a busy World, fond of finding Fault without considering Circumstances, or giving just Attention to Reasons which might be offered to obviate their Clamours. Let any of these brave Gentlemen, who fight so many successful Engagements over a Bottle, imagine himself at the Head of 300 Men, and laboring under all the Disadvantages above-mentioned, and would not accept of worse Terms than Col. Washington agreed to?

<sup>97</sup> Deposition of John Shaw.

<sup>98</sup> Washington and Mackay hurried ahead to Williamsburg to report to the Governor.

<sup>99</sup> See note 52.





Aide-de-camp to  
General Edward Braddock  
Battle of the Monongahela  
June–July, 1755





## *A Road to the Ohio*

When Colonel George Washington rode into Williamsburg on July 17, 1754, to report personally to Governor Dinwiddie the defeat at Fort Necessity, his military fortunes were at a low ebb. In the months following, however, they sank even lower, before soaring again to honor and distinction.

As was inevitable, Washington received much of the blame for the unsuccessful campaign. He was accused of bad judgment. It was said, further, that he had attempted too much on his own, that he should have waited for reinforcements which were on the way, that his motive had been to win all the glory for himself.

The youthful commander, however, was by no means the sole object of criticism. Others were considered equally if not more at fault. There were the contractors who had failed to supply provision. There were the lethargic officers of the tardy reinforcements from New York and North Carolina. And in Virginia eyes, at least, the leaders of other colonies were culpable for their enormous indifference to the French threat.

Defeat or no defeat, the indefatigable Governor Dinwiddie was anxious to continue the struggle. He even considered sending the Virginia regiment right back to the Ohio Country for another attempt. Just at that moment, however, there loomed another of the Governor's frequent wrangles with the burgesses over money, and the prospect of an empty treasury forced the Governor to abandon a second campaign that year. He had to be content with less strenuous actions. And so, he ordered the building of a fort at Wills Creek as a base for future operations and petitioned the home government more strongly than ever for Regular troops.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Washington was relieved that the Virginia regiment had not been ordered back into action, for the half-starved, ragged, and ill-equipped ranks were thinned by continuing desertion and demoralized by lack of pay. Such duty as was performed consisted of half-hearted frontier garrison activity.

If garrison duty was dull, the next development in young Washington's martial career was sharp—and painful. Dinwiddie long had been wrestling with the delicate and baffling problem of differences between Colonial and Regular officers. It could be solved, he knew, if he could obtain commissions from the King for his Virginia officers, to replace the lowly Colonial commissions which did not carry authority over Regular officers of even lesser title. The King, he knew, would be unlikely to grant high commissions to obscure Colonials, so he hit upon this plan: the Virginia regiment, with its colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major, could be broken up into independent companies commanded by captains. For these captains he would try to get commissions direct from the King.

Under this plan *Colonel* Washington of the Virginia regiment might hope for only a captain's commission. Naturally, George was insulted. The proud young Virginia colonel had been offended not to be able to command mere captains with commissions from the King; how much deeper the humiliation now to be demoted *three grades* and put *under* haughty Regular captains, who would outrank him even with his captaincy because their commissions held earlier dates! He would not do it! He submitted his resignation; and the Governor, who by now had convinced himself that Washington personally had brought on defeat at Fort Necessity by disobeying sage gubernatorial advice, accepted the resignation.

Washington was reluctant to quit his new military career, but now, at least, he could give some time and attention to his

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

own personal affairs, which had been largely neglected for the past year. Although Washington already owned considerable lands, he did not have a homeplace of his own. Therefore, in December of 1754, he leased Mount Vernon, which had been the home of his older half brother Lawrence, now dead. Lawrence's widow had remarried and the estate had passed into the hands of her new husband, George Lee. From him Washington leased Mount Vernon, and he spent much of the winter putting the place in order.

But Washington was destined for a life more strenuous than a planter's. Into the quiet colony came news of military affairs too exciting for him to ignore. The mother country was sending an expedition to Virginia; it was a sizable one to boot—two regiments of infantry, plus artillery, engineers, quartermaster troops—the whole to be commanded, not by some Colonial squire, such as Fry or Innes, but by a major general of the Regulars, Edward Braddock.

No sooner had word of this exciting development arrived than the stir of preparation began. The quartermaster of the expedition, Sir John St. Clair, arrived and began the bustle of contracting for transport, setting up hospital facilities, and inspecting routes of march. St. Clair was followed by other components, so that by early spring northern Virginia was a busy military base.

This was too much for the retired colonel of twenty-three. He had left military life only because of the pride-wounding demotion with which he had been threatened. Now he found occasion through friends to make known to General Braddock his past services in the Ohio Country and his willingness to serve again.

Had Washington known more about the expedition and its personnel, he might have thought better of his ambitions. The

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

two British regiments in their last engagement, in 1745, had run from the field during the brief fighting between Prince Charles Edward Stuart and the supporters of the House of Hanover. And now, fresh from garrison duty in Ireland, they looked on service in the wild new world as a distasteful exile. Further, the regiments were understrength, and were to be filled out with Colonial recruits—to a considerable extent, as it turned out, convicts and runaway indentured servants.

Edward Braddock, the commander, like his father before him, was a product of the Coldstream Guards. He had virtually grown up on the parade grounds, and in his forty-five years of service had come to be the ideal, peacetime professional soldier. The humdrum of garrison life and the procedure of army protocol he knew well enough; the problems of the drillmaster and administrator he could cope with handily; but he had seen little action, and certainly none at all to prepare him for fighting Ottawa and Huron warriors on the banks of the Monongahela.

Intellectually, the General was neither stupid nor brilliant. In the rather dashing society of his brother officers he was at home, although not an ornament. His bravery was beyond question, but the campaign ahead of him was beyond solution with mere bravery.

Further, Braddock was inclined to be a little lazy—after all, after forty-five years in the service one does not get too excited too often. He depended on his staff, and he did not check them too closely. In the slang of soldiery, he was inclined to “go by the book” and let it go at that. He was “going by the book” the day a forest marksman toppled him from his horse.

Oddly enough, the only victory his expedition was to win was not a victory over the French but a victory over the forest; not a triumph of arms but a triumph of axe and shovel, of blasting powder and sweating horse. His victory was a road cut

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

over the mountains and down to the rolling Ohio—a road, symbolically enough, built partly with his own bones. The road his men built and died upon became the artery of a people pouring westward to conquer finally with axe and plow the stubborn foes that Braddock could not conquer with the sword and musket.

### *Braddock's Campaign: Eyewitness and Contemporary Accounts*

Since there is no Washington diary for the year 1755, the story of Washington's third journey to the Ohio is told through his own letters, supplemented by the letters of other men—French and English—who marched to Braddock's Field in 1755.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON ACCEPTS A COMMISSION

*I wish to attain a small degree of knowledge in the military art.*

Letter to Robert Orme,<sup>1</sup> Mount Vernon, March 15, 1755<sup>2</sup>

Sir: I was not favoured with your agreeable Letter (of the 2d) till yesterday, acquainting me with the notice his Excellency, is pleased to honour me with, by kindly desiring my Company in his Family.<sup>3</sup> Its true, Sir, I have, ever since I declined a command in this Service express'd and Inclination to

<sup>1</sup> Robert Orme had served with General Edward Braddock in the Coldstream Guards. In 1755, like Washington, he was one of the *aides-de-camp* to the General.

<sup>2</sup> *The Writings of George Washington* . . . edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, I, 107.

<sup>3</sup> *His Excellency* refers to Braddock. Joining Braddock's "family" meant, in eighteenth century military terminology, joining Braddock's personal staff. Washington had the rank of captain, granted by brevet—that is, on a temporary basis—and he served without pay.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

serve the Ensuing Campaigne as a Volunteer; and this believe me Sir, is not a little encreased, since its likely to be conducted by a Gentleman of the General's great good Character;

But beside this, and the laudable desire I may have to serve, (with my poor abilitys) my King and Country, I must be ingenuous enough to confess, I am not a little biass'd by selfish and private views. To be plain Sir, I wish for nothing more earnestly than to attain a small degree of knowledge in the Military Art. . . .

### GENERAL BRADDOCK ON VIRGINIANS— ON AMERICAN ROADS—ON INDIAN TRADERS

*Very indifferent men—Nothing can  
well be worse—A parcel of banditti*

Letter to Robert Napier,<sup>4</sup> Fort Cumberland,<sup>5</sup> June 8, 1755<sup>6</sup>

. . . the whole of the Forces are now assembled, making about two thousand Effectives, the greatest part Virginians, very indifferent Men, this Country affording no better; it has cost infinite pains and labour to bring them to any sort of Regularity and Discipline: Their Officers very little better, and all complaining of the ill Usage of the Country, who employ'd them last Year without pay or provisions. I am told they have made a pretty good hand of this year's recruiting Affair, tho' I can get no proof of it. This part of the Country is absolutely

<sup>4</sup> Robert Napier was the Adjutant General of the British army and Secretary for Military Affairs to the Duke of Cumberland, the head of the army and second son of the King, George II.

<sup>5</sup> The fort built at Wills Creek in the fall and winter of 1754 had been named Fort Cumberland after the Duke of Cumberland.

<sup>6</sup> *Military Affairs in North America 1748-1765, Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers* . . . edited by Stanley Pargellis, pp. 84-92, which will be referred to hereafter as *Military Affairs* by Pargellis.



## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

unknown to the Inhabitants of the lower parts of Virginia and Maryland, their Account of the Roads and provisions utterly false. From Winchester to this place which is Seventy Miles is almost uninhabited, but by a parcel of Banditti who call themselves Indian Traders, and no Road passable but what we were oblig'd to make ourselves with infinite Labour. It would take up too much of your Time were I to tell you particularly the Difficulties and Disappointments I have met with from the want of Honesty and Inclination to forward the Service in all Orders of people in these Colonies, which have occasion'd the great Delays in getting hither, as well as my being detain'd here a Month longer than I intended. . . .

Nothing can well be worse than the Road I have already pass'd and I have an hundred and ten Miles to march thro' an uninhabited Wilderness over steep rocky Mountains and almost impassable Morasses. From this Description, which is not exaggerated you conceive the difficulty of getting good Intelligence, all I have is from Indians, whose veracity is no more to be depended upon [than] that of the Borderers here; their Accounts are that the Number of French at the Fort at present is but small, but pretend to expect a great Reinforcement; this I do not entirely credit, as I am very well persuaded they will want their Forces to the Northward.<sup>7</sup> As soon as I have join'd the Detachment, who have been seven days making a Road of twenty four Miles, I shall send people for Intelligence, who I have reason to beleive I can confide in. I have order'd a Road of Communication to be cut from Philadelphia to the Crossing of the Yanghyanghain,<sup>8</sup> which is the Road we ought to have

<sup>7</sup> The British plan of campaign in 1755 called for attacks on Canada by way of upstate New York and along the Atlantic Coast, as well as the move against Fort Duquesne.

<sup>8</sup> No one in 1755 seemed to be able to spell *Youghiogheny*.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

taken, being nearer, and thro' an inhabited and well cultivated Country. . . .

### WASHINGTON ON HIS DUTIES

*I shall serve this campagne agreeably enough*

Letter to John Augustine Washington,<sup>9</sup> Fort Cumberland,  
May 14, 1755<sup>10</sup>

I see no prospect of moving from this place; as we have neither Horses nor Waggonen enough, and no forage for them to subsist upon but what is expected from Philadelphia; therefore, I am well convinced that the trouble and difficulty we must encounter in passing the Mountain for want of proper conveniences, will equal all the other Interruptions of the Campaign; for I conceive the March of such a Train of Artillery in these Roads to be a tremendous undertaking: As to any danger from the Enemy I look upon it as trifling, for I believe they will be oblig'd to exert their utmost Force to repel the attacks to the Northward. . . .

The Gen'l. has appointed me one of his aids de Camps,<sup>11</sup> in which Character I shall serve this Campaign, agreeably enough, as I am thereby freed from all commands but his, and give Order's to all, which must be implicitly obey'd.

I have now a good opportunity, and shall not neglect it, of forming an acquaintance, which may be serviceable hereafter,

<sup>9</sup> John Augustine Washington, or "Jack," was the second of George's three younger brothers. Although only twenty years old at the time, he managed Mount Vernon for George while George was on campaign with Braddock.

<sup>10</sup> *The Writings of George Washington* . . . edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, I, 124.

<sup>11</sup> An *aide-de-camp* is an executive assistant to a general officer. He transmits orders, collects information, and otherwise assists the general.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

if I can find it worth while pushing my Fortune in the Military way.

I have wrote to my two female corrispondents<sup>12</sup> by this opportunity, one of which Letters I have inclos'd to you, and beg y'r. deliverance off. I shall expect a Succinct acc't of all that has happened since my departure.

### AN ENGLISHMAN MEETS HIS INDIAN ALLIES

*They are hardly to be described*

Journal of a Seaman,<sup>13</sup> Wills Creek, May 10 and 19, 1755<sup>14</sup>

On the 10th:—Marched at 5 on our way to Will's Creek. . . . At 1 we halted and formed a circle, when Colonel Dunbar<sup>15</sup> told the Army that as there were a number of Indians<sup>16</sup> at Will's Creek, our Friends, it was the General's positive orders that they do not molest them, or have anything to say to them, directly or indirectly, for fear of affronting them. . . .

We found here Indian men, women and children, to the number of about 100, who were greatly surprised at the regular

<sup>12</sup> The two ladies with whom George corresponded were Mrs. Sarah Carlyle and Mrs. Sally Fairfax, both related by marriage to the Washington family, and both among Washington's social circle.

<sup>13</sup> A detachment of seamen of the Royal Navy accompanied Braddock to handle block and tackle work in moving the cannon.

<sup>14</sup> *The History of an Expedition against Fort Duquesne* . . . edited by Winthrop Sargent, pp. 373 and 378-79. The author of the Journal, believed to have been a midshipman in the naval detachment, has never been identified. For more information about this Journal, see *Military Affairs* by Pargellis, p. 104, note.

<sup>15</sup> Colonel Thomas Dunbar commanded the 48th Regiment, one of the two regiments of Regulars in Braddock's force.

<sup>16</sup> The Indians at Wills Creek were Half King's band of Mingoos, who had been under Monacatootha since the death of the Half King in the fall of 1754.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

way of our soldiers marching, and the numbers. I would willingly say something of the customs and manners of the Indians, but they are hardly to be described. The men are tall, well made, and active, but not strong, but very dexterous with a rifle barrelled gun, and their tomahawk, which they will throw with great certainty at any mark and at a great distance. The women are not so tall as the men, but well made and have many children, but had many more before spirits were introduced to them. They paint themselves in an odd manner, red, yellow, and black intermixed. And the men have the outer rim of their ears cut, which only hangs by a bit top and bottom, and have a tuft of hair left at the top of their heads, which is dressed with feathers. Their watch coat is their chief clothing, which is a thick blanket thrown all round them, and wear moccasins instead of shoes, which are Deer skin, thrown round the ankle and foot. Their manner of carrying their infants is odd. They are laid on a board, and tied on with a broad bandage, with a place to rest their feet on, and a board over their head to keep the sun off, and are slung to the women's backs. These people have no notion of religion, or any sort of Superior being, as I take them to be the most ignorant people as to the knowledge of the world and other things. In the day they were in our Camp, and in the night they go into their own, where they dance and make a most horrible noise.

On the 19th:

. . . This evening the Indians met at the General's tent to give their answer, which was, that they were greatly obliged to the Great King their Father, who had been so good as to send us all here to fight for them, and that they would all give their attendance, and do what was in their power of reconnoitring the country and bringing intelligence. . . .

The General told them he was their Friend, and never would

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

deceive them, after which they sung the war song, which is shouting and making a terrible noise, declaring the French their perpetual enemies, which they never did before. After this the General carried them to the Artillery, and ordered 3 Howitzers, 3 12-Pounders, and 3 Cohorns<sup>17</sup> to be fired, all the drums and fifes playing, and beating the point of war, which astonished and pleased the Indians greatly. They then retired to their own Camp, where they ate a bullock, and danced their war dance, which is droll and odd, shewing how they scalp and fight, expressing in their dance the exploits of their ancestors, and war-like actions of themselves.

### ROAD BUILDING IN THE WILDERNESS

*One may go twenty miles without seeing before him ten yards*

Sir John St. Clair<sup>18</sup> to Napier, Little Meadows,<sup>19</sup>

June 13, 1755<sup>20</sup>

The Situation I am in at present puts it out of my power to give you a full discription of this Country; I shall content myself with telling you that from Winchester to this place is one continued track of Mountains, and like to continue so for fifty Miles further. Tho our Motions may appear to you to have been slow, yet I may venture to assure you that not an Hour has been lost; considering that no Magistrate in Virginia or I

<sup>17</sup> The cohorn was the forerunner of the modern mortar, a small cannon which throws low-velocity explosive projectiles at a high angle.

<sup>18</sup> Lt. Col. Sir John St. Clair, deputy quartermaster for North America, was in charge of supply and road building for Braddock.

<sup>19</sup> Little Meadows was in western Maryland about ten miles west of the crossing of the Savage River. It was a regular stopping point on the pack road to the Monongahela. Washington had stopped there in 1754.

<sup>20</sup> *Military Affairs* by Pargellis, pp. 93-95.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

believe in Maryland gave themselves the least trouble to assist in collecting the Country People to work upon the Roads, and to provide us with Carriages: But on the Contrary every body laid themselves out to put what money they cou'd in their Pockets, without forwarding our Expedition. In this Situation we never cou'd have subsisted our little Army at Wills's Creek, far less carried on our Expedition had not General Braddock contracted with the People in Pennsylvania<sup>21</sup> for a Number of Waggons, which they have fulfilled; by their Assistance we are in motion, but must move slowly untill we get over the Mountains. . . .

Thus far I do affirm that no time has been lost in pursuing the Scheme laid down in England for our Expedition; had it been undertaken at the beginning from Pennsylvania it might have been carried on with greater Dispatch and less expence:

<sup>21</sup> Benjamin Franklin was the contractor. As a prominent Pennsylvanian, he had been calling on Braddock at a time when the General was desperately trying to locate 150 wagons and fifteen hundred horses. Franklin offered to try to hire the needed articles in his native Pennsylvania.

A few days before, the quartermaster of the expedition, Sir John St. Clair, had threatened Pennsylvanians with pillage and destruction because they were not working as quickly as St. Clair desired on a supply road Pennsylvania was to build for the expedition, to run from Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, to a forward point on Braddock's line of march.

St. Clair's threats were rhetorical, but the sly Franklin used them to advantage in contracting for the equipment among the Germans of southeastern Pennsylvania. In the Europe which the Pennsylvania Germans had left only recently, light cavalry known as Dragoons or Hussars did pillage for the army.

In a handbill distributed in the heavily German areas of Pennsylvania, Franklin warned that the soldiers were coming for wagons and teams. Franklin kindly offered to try to get good terms for the farmers if they would voluntarily *rent* their animals and vehicles. If not, Franklin went on sadly, he supposed the region would be visited by Sir John St. Clair, the "Hussar."

With this dreadful word Franklin was able to raise the required teams and wagons without difficulty.



## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

I am not at all surprized that we are ignorant of the Situation of this Country in England, when no one except a few Hunters knows it on the Spot: and their Knowledge extends no further than in following their Game. It is certain that the ground is not easy to be reconoitered for one may go twenty Miles without seeing before him ten yards. . . .

What was looked on at home as easy is our most difficult point to surmount, I mean the passage of this vast tract of Mountains; Had we a Country we could subsist in after we get over them, the thing would be easy. . . .

The Roads are either Rocky or full of Boggs, we are obliged to blow the Rocks and lay Bridges every Day; What an happiness it is to have wood at hand for the latter!

### FROM WASHINGTON EN ROUTE

*They halt to level every mold hill  
and to erect bridges over every brook*

Letter to John Augustine Washington, Great Crossing of the Youghiogeny,<sup>22</sup> June 28, 1755<sup>23</sup>

Dear Jack: Immediately upon our leaving the Camp at George's Creek<sup>24</sup> the 14th Instant (from where I wrote to you) I was seized with violent Fevers and Pains in my head which continued without the least intermission till the 23 following when I was relieved by the Generals absolutely ordering the Physicians to give me Doctr. James's Powder,<sup>25</sup> w'ch is the

<sup>22</sup> The Great Crossing of the Youghiogeny was near what is today Addison, Pennsylvania.

<sup>23</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 141-146. Some abbreviations used in the original of the letter have been spelled out to facilitate reading.

<sup>24</sup> George's Creek was crossed about eight miles northwest of Vills Creek.

<sup>25</sup> Dr. James' Powders were a "patent medicine" of the day.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

most excellent medicine in the world for it gave me immed. ease, and removed my Fev'rs and other complaints in 4 Days time. My illness was too violent to suffer me to ride, therefore I was indebted to a cover'd Waggon for some part of my Transp'n; but even in this I could not continue for the jolt'g was so great that I was left upon the Road with a Guard and necess'rys, to wait the Arr'l of Colo. Dunbar's Detach. which was 2 days March behind. The Genl. giving me his word of hon'r that I should be brought up before he reach'd the French Fort; this promise, and the Doct'rs threats that if I persever'd it wou'd endanger my Life, determin'd my halting for the above Detach't.

As I expect the Communication between this and Wills Cr. will soon be too dangerous for single persons to pass, it will possibly stop the interchange of Letters in any measure; therefore I shall attempt (and will go through if I have strength) to give you an acct. of my proceedings, of our situation, and of our prospects at present; which I desire you may communicate to Colo. Fairfax,<sup>26</sup> and my Corrse'ds, for I am too weak to write more than this Letter. In the Letter wh'ch I wrote fr'm Georges Creek, I acquainted you that unless the numb'r of Wag'ns were retrenched and the carry'g Horses increased that we never should be able to see Duquisne: this, in 2 Days afterwards (which was about the time they got to the little Meadows with some of their First Waggons and strongest Teams, they themselves were convinced off, for they found that beside the almost impossibility of gett'g the wag'ns along at all; that they

<sup>26</sup> Colonel William Fairfax was the father-in-law of Lawrence Washington, George's older half brother. He was friend and benefactor of George, a leading man of his day, a member of the Council (or upper house) of the colony, and a cousin and land agent of Lord Thomas Fairfax (one of the great landed proprietors of the colonies and the only English peer resident in the colonies).

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

had often a rear of 3 or 4 miles of Waggon; and that the Sold'rs Guarding them were so dispersed that if we had been attack'd either in Front, Center, or Rear the part so attack'd must have been cut off and totally dispersed before they cou'd be properly sustained by any other Corps.

At the little Mead'ws there was a 2d. Council call'd, for there had been one before wherein it was represented to all the Off'rs of the diff't Corps the great necessity there was for Horses and how laudable it wd. be to retrench their Baggage and offer the spare Horses for the Publick Service. In order to encourage this I gave up my best Horse, (w'ch I have nev'r heard of since) and took no more baggage than half my Portmanteau would easily contain. . . .

The General before they met in Council ask'd my private Opinion concern'g the Expedition. I urg'd it in the warmest terms I was Master off, to push on; if we even did it with a chos'n Detacht. for that purpose, with the Artillery and such other things as were absolutely necessary; leav'g the baggage and other Convoys with the Remainder of the Army, to follow by slow and regular Marches, which they might do safely, while we were advanced in Front. As one Reason to support this Opinion, I inform'd the Genl. if we could credit our Intelligence, the French were weak at the Forks but hourly expect'd reinforcements, which to my certain knowledge cou'd not arrive with Provisions or any Supplies during the continuance of the Drouth as the Buffalo River<sup>27</sup> down w'ch is their only communication to Venango, must be as Dry as we now find the great xing of the Youghe., which may be pass'd dry shod. This was a Scheme that took, and it was det'd that the Genl. with 1200 chosen Men and Officers of all the differ't Corps, with the following Field Officer's (viz.; Sr. Peter Hal-

<sup>27</sup> The River aux Boeufs, or French Creek.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

kett who acts as Brigadier, Lt. Colo. Gage, Lt. Colo. Burton, and Major Sparke,<sup>28</sup> with a certain number of Waggon's as the Train would absolutely require, shou'd March as soon as things cou'd be got in readiness for them, which was compleated, and we on our March by the 19th, leav'g Colo. Dunbar and Maj. Chapman,<sup>29</sup> with the residue of the two Reg's, Companys most of the women<sup>30</sup> and in short every thing behind except such Provision's and other necessary's as we took and carried upon Horses.

We set out with less than 30 Carriages (Incl'g all those that transported the Howetzers, 12 pounders and 6 pounders, etc.), and all of those strongly Horsed; which was a prospect that convey'd the most infinite delight to me tho' I was excessively ill at the time. But this prospect was soon over turn'd and all my sanguine hopes brought very low when I found, that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough Road, they were halting to level every Mold Hill, and to erect Bridges over every Brook; by which means we were 4 Days gett'ng 12 Miles; where I was left by the Doct'r's Advice and the Gen'l's absolute Orders, otherwise I wou'd not have been prevailed upon to remain behind my own Detach't as I then imagin'd, and believ'd I shall now find it not very

<sup>28</sup> Sir Peter Halkett commanded the 44th regiment, which, with the 48th, made up the basic units of Braddock's command. Thomas Gage was lieutenant colonel of the 44th; at the beginning of the American Revolution, Gage rose to the rank of general and became the British commander in North America. Ralph Burton was second in command of the 48th. Major Sparke, or Sparks, was with the 48th.

<sup>29</sup> Major Chapman commanded the detachment of troops working on the road under the direction of Sir John St. Clair, the quartermaster of the expedition.

<sup>30</sup> Women regularly were attached to British forces at that time as washerwomen and hospital attendants. In addition, some of the men were accompanied by their wives, although against orders.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

easy to join my own Corps again, which is 25 Miles advanced before us; tho' I had the Generals word of Hon'r pledg'd in the most solemn manner, that I sh'd be brought up before he arrived at Duquisne. They have had frequent Alarms, and several Men scalp'd; but this is only done to retard the March, and to harass the Men if they are to be turn'd out every time a small party of them attack the Guards at Night; (for I am certain, they have not sufficient strength to make head against the whole).

I have been now 6 Days with Colo. Dunbar's Corps, who are in a miserable Condition for want of Horses, not hav'g more one half enough for their Wag'ns; so that the only method he has of proceedings, is to March on himself with as many Waggons as those will draw, and then Halt till the Remainder are brought up which requires two Days more; and I believe shortly he will not be able to stir at all; but there has been vile management in regard to Horses and while I am mention'g this I must not forget to desire that you'll acq't Colo. G. Fairfax<sup>31</sup> that I have made the most strick enquiry after his Man and Horses, but can hear nothing of either; at least nothing that can be credited. I was told that the Fellow was taken ill upon the Road while he was with Sir John St. Clair's Detacht. the certainty of this I can't answer for, but I believe there is nothing more cert'n than that he is not with any part of the Army. And unless the Horses stray and make home themselves, I believe there is 1000 to 1 against his every seeing them again: for I gave up a horse only one Day, and never cou'd see or hear of him afterwards: My strength wont admit me to say more, tho' I have not said half what I intended concerning our Affairs here. Business, I shall not think of, but dep'd solely

<sup>31</sup> George William Fairfax, eldest son of Colonel William Fairfax, had been a close friend of Washington from boyhood days.



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upon your management of all my aff'rs, and doubt not but that they will be well conducted. You may thank my friends for the Lett'rs I have rec'd which has not been one from any Mortal since I left Fairfax, except yourself and Mr. Dalton.<sup>32</sup> It is a piece of regard and kindness which I should endeavor to acknowledge was I able and suffer'd to write. . . . Make my Complim'ts to all who think me worthy of their Enquiries.

P.S. July 2d. A great Misfortune has attended me in my sickness was, the looseing the use of my Servant, for poor John<sup>33</sup> was taken about the same time that I was, with near the same disorder; and was confin'd as long; so that we did not see each other for several Days. he is also tolerably well recover'd. We are sure advan'd almost as far as the g't Meadows; and I shall set out to morrow morning for my own Corps, with an Escort of 100 Men which is to guard some Provision's up; so that my Fears and doubts on that head are quite remov'd. I had a Letter yesterday from Orme, who writes me word that they have pass'd the Youghyangane for the last time, that they have sent out Partys to scour the Country thereabouts and have Reason to believe that the French are greatly alarm'd at their approach.

### THE ARMY APPROACHES FORT DUQUESNE

*The General order'd to proceed in making the road as usual*

Robert Orme to Napier, Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755<sup>34</sup>

After Marching abt *twenty* Miles from this place<sup>35</sup> to a

<sup>32</sup> John Dalton of Alexandria, a friend.

<sup>33</sup> John Alton, Washington's personal manservant.

<sup>34</sup> Excerpt from *Military Affairs* by Pargellis, pp. 98-99. Like all other British accounts of the battle, it was written after the return of the defeated army to Wills Creek.

<sup>35</sup> Orme is writing from Fort Cumberland, twenty miles from Little Meadows.



## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

Camp calld the *little Meadows*, the General finding the delay so great from the extreme line of Baggage and also that it was impossible from the small number of Troops he had to make his line of March secure, he determined to proceed himself with *twelve hundred Men, ten pieces of Ordinance, Ammn and Provisions* proportion'd to the undertaking, and left *eight hundred Men* with the body of the Convoy under the Command of Colo *Dunbar* with orders to move forward as fast as the Nature of the Service woud admit; with this Command His Excellency marched with great expedition and safety, and Encamp'd on the *8th* of this Instant within *ten miles* of the *French Fort*. Here the Guides were all summons'd and question'd as to the first part of the next days March His Excellency having been informd of a very *bad* and *dangerous* Defiléé calld the *narrows*,<sup>36</sup> upon their report it was judg'd most expedient to pass the *Monongahela* twice at two different Fords<sup>37</sup> which were neither of them knee deep, by which measure the *narrows* were to be avoided and a very bad passage of the *Turtle Creek*. To secure the two passages of the River the General order'd the two Grenadier's Companys as a part of a Detachment which was to be completed to *300: Men* with *two Six pounders* under the Command of Lieut. Colo *Gage* with proper Guides to March before break of Day making the two crossings of the *Monongahela*, of which the first was a mile distance, and to take an advantageous Post at the last, Sir *John St. Clair* with a working party of *200: Men* was to follow at Day break, and the whole was to March at *Six*. This Plan was exactly and punctually executed, and the *Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, Baggage* and all the Troops had passd the river the *second* time

<sup>36</sup> Turtle Creek valley.

<sup>37</sup> One ford was between present-day McKeesport and Duquesne; the second ford was just north of the mouth of Turtle Creek.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

at *one o'clock*; as soon as the whole was over the *General* order'd the two Detachments to advance, and *Sir John St. Clair* to proceed in making the Road as usual. . . .

### ENGINEER GORDON<sup>38</sup> SEES THE FOE

*The enemys Indians run along our right and left flanks*

Harry Gordon to an unknown correspondent,  
Wills Creek, July 23, 1755<sup>39</sup>

The flank partys of the Advance & Main Body were No Stronger than Usual & Coll: Gage's party march'd By files four Deep our front had not Got above half a Mile from the Banks of the River, when the Guides which were all the Scouts we had, & who were Before only about 200 yards Came Back, & told a Considerable Body of the Enemy, Mostly Indians were at hand, I was then just rode up in Search of these Guides, had Got Before the Grenadiers, had an Opportunity of viewing the Enemy, & was Confirm'd By the Report of the Guides & what I saw myself that their whole Numbers did Not Exceed 300.

As soon as the Enemys Indians perceiv'd our Grenadiers, they Divided themselves & Run along our right & Left flanks. The Advanc'd party Coll: Gage order'd to form, which Most of them Did with the front Rank upon the Ground & Begun firing, which they continued for several Minutes, Altho' the Indians very soon Dispers'd Before their front & fell upon the flank partys, which only consisted of an officer & 20 men, who were very soon Cut off. . . .

<sup>38</sup> Harry Gordon, a military engineer, was one of several engineers engaged in road-building.

<sup>39</sup> *Military Affairs* by Pargellis, p. 106.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR ON THE FIGHTING

*For God-sake gain the rising ground*

St. Clair to Napier, Wills Creek, July 22, 1755<sup>40</sup>

. . . we began to feel the Enemys fire and to hear their Shouts; those who were under my Command immediately form'd. On those in my front falling back upon me, I ran to the front to see what the matter was, when I received a Shot through the body. I then return'd to my own people, posted Cap: Polsons<sup>41</sup> Company of Artificers and Cap: Periwées<sup>42</sup> Company of Rangers to Cover my two Cannon. I then went up to General Braddock who was then at the head of his own Guns and beg'd of him for God-Sake to gain the rising ground on our Right to prevent our being Totally Surrounded. I know no further of this unlucky affair to my knowledge being afterwards insensible.

CAPTAIN ORME ON THE BATTLE

*No order could ever be restored*

Orme to Napier, Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755<sup>43</sup>

The *French* and *Indians* as we found after had possessed the *sides* and *Brow* of a Hill in a kind of Semicircular form, from the extremes of which, some of them fired upon one of our advanced Flank Parties, this immediately brought on a *general Pannick*, the Men could never be perswaded to form regularly,

<sup>40</sup> *Military Affairs* by Pargellis, p. 103.

<sup>41</sup> William Polson, it will be recalled, had served as a lieutenant with Washington at Fort Necessity. He was killed in the fighting at the Monongahela.

<sup>42</sup> This was actually Captain William La Peyrony, who had been Washington's adjutant at Fort Necessity. He was killed in the fighting at the Monongahela.

<sup>43</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, p. 99.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

and in great confusion fell back upon the Party which Sir *John St. Clair* commanded, as did Sir *John St. Clair's* upon *Colo Burton's*, every exhortation entreaty and perswation was used by the General and Officers to make them advance or fall back into the line of March, examples of all kinds were likewise given by the Genl. and the Officers, but the Pannock was so universal and the Firing so executive and uncommon that no order could ever be restor'd, after *three hours* of irregularity, and the *waste* of all the ammunition, during which time almost all the Officer's were killed or Wounded by advancing sometimes in bodys and sometimes separately in order to encourage the Men. . . .

### ENGINEER GORDON ON THE BATTLE

*I turned & saw them tomohocking some of our wounded people*

Gordon to an unknown correspondent,  
Wills Creek, July 23, 1755<sup>44</sup>

The General Order'd the officers to Endeavor to tell off 150 men, & Advance up the hill to Dispossess the Enemy, & another party to Advance on the Left to support the two 12 pounders & Artillery people, who were in great Danger of Being Drove away By the Enemy, at that time in possession of the 2 field pieces of the Advanc'd party. This was the Generals Last Order; he had had Before this time 4 horses killed under him, & now Receiv'd his Mortal wound. All the Officers us'd their Utmost Endeavors to Get the men to Advance up the hill, & to Advance on the left to support the Cannon. But the Enemy's fire at that time very much Encreasing, & a Number of officers who were Rushing on in the front to Encourage the men Being killed & wounded, there was Nothing to Be

<sup>44</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, pp. 107-108.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

seen But the Utmost panick & Confusion amongst the Men; yet those officers who had Been wounded having Return'd, & those that were not Wounded, By Exhorting & threatning had influence to keep a Body about 200 an hour Longer in the field, but cou'd not perswade them Either to Attempt the hill again, or Advance far Enough to support the Cannon, whose officers & men were Mostly kill'd & wounded. The Cannon silenc'd, & the Indian's shouts upon the Right Advancing, the whole Body gave way, & Cross'd the Monongahela where we had pass'd in the Morning. with great Difficulty the General & his Aid de Camps who were Both wounded were taken out of a Waggon, & hurried along across the River. . . . Before I had got 40 yards in the River, I turn'd about on hearing the Indians Yell, & Saw them Tomohocking some of our women & wounded people, others of them fir'd very Briskly on those that were then Crossing, at which time I Receiv'd Another Shot thro' the Right Shoulder. But the horse I Rode Escaping, I got across the River. . . .

Coll: Burton tho' very much Wounded attempted to Rally on the Other Side, & made a Speach to the Men to Beg them to get into some Order, But Nothing would Do, & we found that Every man wou'd Desert us; therefore we were oblig'd to go along. . . .

### WASHINGTON ON THE DEFEAT

*The Virginia companies behav'd like men and died like soldiers*

Washington to Governor Dinwiddie,  
Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755<sup>45</sup>

. . . we were attack'd (very unexpectedly I must own) by abt. 300 French and Ind'ns; Our numbers consisted of abt. 1300 well arm'd Men, chiefly Regular's, who were immedi-

<sup>45</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 148-150.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

ately struck with such a deadly Panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of order's prevail'd amongst them: The Officer's in gen'l behav'd with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffer'd, there being near 60 kill'd and wound'd. A large proportion, out of the number we had! The Virginia Companies behav'd like Men and died like Soldiers; for I believe out of the 3 Companys that were there that day, scarce 30 were left alive: Capt. Peyrouny and all his Officer's, down to a Corporal, were kill'd; Captn. Polson shar'd almost as hard a Fate, for only one of his Escap'd: In short the dastardly behaviour of the English Soldier's expos'd all those who were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain Death; and at length, in despite of every effort to the contrary, broke and run as Sheep before the Hounds, leav'g the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and, every individual thing we had with us a prey to the Enemy; and when we endeavour'd to rally them in hopes of regaining our invaluable loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to have stop'd the wild Bears of the Mountains. The Genl. was wounded behind in the shoulder, and into the Breast, of w'ch he died three days after; his two Aids de Camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of Recovery; Colo. Burton and Sir Jno. St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave Officers were kill'd in the Field. I luckily escap'd with't a wound tho I had four Bullets through my Coat and two Horses shot under me. It is suppose that we left 300 or more dead in the Field; about that number we brought of wounded; and it is imagin'd (I believe with great Justice too) that two thirds . . . received their shott from our own cowardly English Soldier's who gather'd themselves into a body contrary to orders 10 or 12 deep, wou'd then level, Fire and shoot down the Men before them.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

### WASHINGTON ON HIS OWN ACTIONS

*G. W. remained the sole aid through the day, to the Genl*

Notes written by Washington for a biography<sup>46</sup>

In the early part of the Action some of the Irregulars (as they were called) without direcns. advanced to the right, in loose order, to attack; but this, *unhappily* from the unusual appearance of the movement being mistaken for cowardice and a running away was discountenanced. and before it was *too late*, and the confusion became general an offer was made by G.W. to head the Provincials and engage the enemy in their own way; but the propriety of it was not seen into until it was too late for execution. After this, many attempts were made to dislodge the enemy from an eminence on the Right but they all proved ineffectual; and fatal to the Officers; who by great exertions and good examples endeavoured to accomplish it. In one of these the Genl. recd. the Wd. of which he died; but previous to it, had several horses killed and disabled under him. Captns. Orme and Morris his two Aids de Camp. having received wounds which rendered them unable to attd. G. W. remained the sole Aid through the day, to the Genl. . . . No person knowing in the disordered State things were, who the surviving Senr. Officer was. and the Troops by degrees going off in confusion; without a ray of hope left of further opposition from those that remained; G. W. placed the Genl. in a small covered Cart, which carried some of his most essential equipage, and in the best order he could, with the best Troops (who only contind. to be fired at) brought him over the *first* ford of the Monongahela; where they were formed in the best order circumstances would admit on a piece of rising ground.

<sup>46</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIX, 41-46.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

### COLONEL DUNBAR ON THE INVISIBLE ENEMY

*The soldiers dont seem to think they deserve all that is said*

Dunbar to Napier, Fort Cumberland, July 24, 1755<sup>47</sup>

The Officers by All Accounts behaved As Well as Men could and the Soldiers dont seem to think they deserve all that is Said. that they fought an invisible Enemy is by All Accounts Certain for I have heard many say both Officers and Soldiers they did not see One of the Enemy the whole day tho A Warm Constant fire in the front and on both flanks Colo Gage who was in the front and first Attacked declares he does not know he saw One of the Enemy the whole time this Manner of fighting confounded the people; they saw and heard firing and the fatal consequences but few saw an Enemy.

### THE FRENCH COMMANDER REPORTS THE VICTORY

*Perhaps, I should say, God put himself on our side*

Captain Contrecoeur to Count La Galissonnière,<sup>48</sup>  
Fort Duquesne, July 20, 1755<sup>49</sup>

The favor with which you have honored me and the role which you play in the Colony leads me to inform you of the complete victory which we have just won from the English three leagues from this fort. 250 French and 650 Indians have defeated 2000 English regular troops and taken all their cannon and baggage. M. de Beaujeu,<sup>50</sup> who had been named to suc-

<sup>47</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, p. 111.

<sup>48</sup> Count Galissonnière, a former governor of Canada, was a high naval officer and influential person in the colony.

<sup>49</sup> *Papiers Contrecoeur* edited by Grenier, pp. 398-99; in French.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel-Hyacinthe-Marie de Beaujeu, a captain, had previously commanded Fort Niagara.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

ceed me in this command, led the party, having as his lieutenants M. Dumas and M. de Ligneris.<sup>51</sup> He was killed on the third discharge from the enemy; these men took his place very well and they were well seconded by all the other officers and cadets. The enemy left 500 men on the field of battle and have lost their commander and almost all their officers.

I ask you, please, Monsieur, to be helpful at the colony at this time when nothing would please me more than to have to have the officers who served so well under me rewarded for their zeal. Messieurs Dumas and de Ligneris had a great part in our recent success, since victory was very much in the balance<sup>52</sup> when M. de Beaujeu was killed, but these 2 men encouraged our troop so well that all came out for the best end—or, perhaps, I should say, God put himself on our side. . . .

### WASHINGTON DESCRIBES THE RETREAT

*The dead, the dying, the groans, lamentation, and crys*

Notes written by Washington for a biography<sup>53</sup>

. . . by the Genls. order, he<sup>54</sup> rode forward<sup>55</sup> to halt those which had been earlier in the retreat: Accordingly, after crossing the Monongahela the *second time* and ascending the heights, he

<sup>51</sup> Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas formerly had commanded Fort Le Boeuf. On the month following Braddock's defeat, he assumed command of Duquesne from Contrecoeur. Captain François-Marie Le Marchand de Ligneris, too, eventually rose to the command of Fort Duquesne and was the last French commander of the post. Thereafter, he assumed command of Fort Machault to the north. In 1759, he received a mortal wound while trying to raise the English siege of Fort Niagara.

<sup>52</sup> The bulk of the Canadian Militia had fled from the field at the first discharge, leaving the fighting to the French Regulars and the Indians.

<sup>53</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIX, 41-46.

<sup>54</sup> Washington here speaks of himself in the third person.

<sup>55</sup> Since the army was now in retreat, riding "forward" meant *away* from the battlefield.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

found Lieutt. Colo. Gage engaged in this business to whom he delivered the Genls order and then returned to report the situation he found them in. When he was again requested by the Genl. whom he met coming on, in his litter with the first halted troops, to proceed (it then being after sundown) to the second division under the command of Colo. Dunbar, to make arrangements for covering the retreat, and forwarding on provisions and refreshments to the retreating and wounded Soldierly. To accomplish this, for the 2d. division was 40 odd miles in the rear it took up the whole night and part of the next Morning, which from the weak state in which he was,<sup>56</sup> and the fatigues, and anxiety of the last 24 hours, rendered him in a manner wholly unfit for the execution of the duty he was sent upon when he arrived at the Dunbars Camp.<sup>57</sup> To the best of his power however he discharged it, and remained with the secd. division till the other joined it. The shocking Scenes which presented themselves in this Nights March are not to be described. The dead, the dying, the groans, lamentation, and crys along the Road of the wounded for help (for those under the latter descriptions endeavoured from the first commencement of the action, or rather confusion to escape to the 2d divn.) were enough to pierce a heart of adamant. the gloom and horror of which was not a little encreased by the impervious darkness occasioned by the close shade of thick woods which in places rendered it impossible for the two guides which attended to know when they were in, or out of the track but by groping on the ground with their hands.

Happy was it for him, and the remains of the first division

<sup>56</sup> It will be recalled that Washington had been violently ill only a few days before.

<sup>57</sup> Dunbar's Camp was just north of Jumonville's rocks, about three miles north of present Summit, Pennsylvania, in Fayette County.



## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

that they left such a quantity of valuable and enticing baggage on the field as to occasion a scramble and contention in the seizure and distribution of it among the enemy for had a pursuit taken place, by passing the defile which we had avoided; and they had got into our rear, the whole, except a few woodsmen, would have fallen victims to the merciless Savages. Of about 12 or 13 hundred which were in this action eight or 9 hundred were either killed or wounded; among whom a large proportion of brave and valuable Officers were included. The folly and consequence of opposing compact bodies to the sparse manner of Indian fighting, in woods, which had in a manner been predicted, was now so clearly verified that from hence forward another mode obtained in all future operations.

As soon as the two divisions united, the whole retreated towards Fort Cumberland; and at an Incampment near the Great Meadows the brave, but unfortunate Genl. Braddock breathed his last. He was interred with the honors of war, and as it was left to G. W. to see this performed, and to mark out the spot<sup>58</sup> for the reception of his remains, to guard against a savage triumph, if the place should be discovered, they were deposited in the Road over which the Army, Waggon &ca. passed to hide every trace by which the entombment could be discovered. thus died a man, whose good and bad qualities were intimately blended. He was brave even to a fault and in regular Service would have done honor to his profession. His attachments were warm, his enmities were strong, and having no disguise about him, both appeared in full force. He was generous and disinterested, but plain and blunt in his manner even to rudeness.

<sup>58</sup> The site is about a mile west of the restored Fort Necessity on Route 40, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

AN ENGLISH OFFICER ON THE RETREAT

*Scandlous was the base and hurried retreat*

Anonymous letter on Braddock's Campaign,  
Wills Creek, July 25, 1755<sup>59</sup>

Scandlous as the action was, more Scandlous was the base and hurried Retreat, with the immense destruction and expense to the Nation—what was lost in the Action with what was destroy'd afterwards by our selves, amounted upon a moderate Calculation to near Three hundred Thoussand pounds value besides the loss of Blood &c. We Carried with the sweat of our Brows, a pritty Train of Artillery up to the ffrench, which they never Could have obtain'd otherwise.

ENGINEER GORDON ON THE RETREAT

*Nothing after we are gone cou'd hinder 150  
French Indians from ravaging to Alexandria*

Gordon to an unknown correspondent,  
Wills Creek, July 23, 1755<sup>60</sup>

On the Road I propos'd fortifying a Camp . . . 10 mile to the Westward of the Crossing of the Yohiogany, a very advantageous Situation, & which Cover'd the Richest part of the Country which Lyes Betwixt Guest's [Gist's] & that, or at least I imagin'd we might have Been join'd By Coll: Dunbar's party at Guest's, where a Good Camp might Easily Been had,

<sup>59</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, p. 119. The author of this anonymous letter, a ranking British officer with the expedition, has not been positively identified, but is believed to have been Captain Gabriel Christy, an assistant to Quartermaster St. Clair.

<sup>60</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, p. 108.

## AIDE-DE-CAMP TO GENERAL BRADDOCK

which fortified with two or three Redoubts in front cou'd have Been defended By our Numbers (above 1000 fitt for Duty) against any force our Enemys cou'd Bring against us.

Instead of all this Nothing wou'd Do, But Retiring, & Destroying immense Quantitys of Amunition & Stores, with which Last all our Instruments & Stationary wares shar'd the fate.

Here we are at present, But the talk is of going into Pensilvania, & No talk of putting this fort or the frontiers of this Country in any posture of Defence; as it is at present, 3 pieces of 6 pound Cannon, with the Advantage the Ground wou'd Naturally give them, cou'd knock the fort<sup>61</sup> to pieces, & nothing after we are gone cou'd hinder 150 french Indians from Ravaging to Alexandria.

## WASHINGTON FEARS FOR THE SETTLEMENTS

*The poor remains of the Virginia troops  
will be too small to guard our frontiers*

Washington to Governor Dinwiddie,  
Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755<sup>62</sup>

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colo. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends so soon as his Men are recruited at this place, to continue his March to Phila. into Winter Quarters: so that there will be no Men left here unless it is the poor remains of the Virginia Troops, who survive and will be too small to guard our Frontiers. . . .

<sup>61</sup> Fort Cumberland, from whence Gordon was writing.

<sup>62</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 150.

GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

AN ENGLISH OFFICER ON THE STRAGGLERS

*The road was full of dead and people dieing*

Anonymous letter on Braddock's campaign,  
Wills Creek, July 25, 1755<sup>63</sup>

. . . from *Guests*<sup>64</sup> their was a bag of flower left here and there on the road, least any Soldiers should have been in need of it. Several stragglers have Join'd us since who says they should have starv'd but for Provisions they found on the road—but report, the road was full of Dead and people dieing who with fatigue or Wounds Could move on no further; but lay down to die—this melancholy Accot Convinces, what use our Staying, would been of, to save the life of many a poor fellow.

WASHINGTON DENIES HIS DEATH

*I take this early oppertunity of contradicting*

Washington to John Augustine Washington, July 18, 1755<sup>65</sup>

Dear Jack: As I have heard since my arriv'l at this place, a circumstantial acct. of my death and dying speech, I take this early oppertunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you that I have not as yet, composed the latter.

<sup>63</sup> Pargellis, *Military Affairs*, p. 124.

<sup>64</sup> Gist's.

<sup>65</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, I, 152.



Virginia Colonel  
With General John Forbes  
Fort Pitt

April – December, 1758





## *The Road to Victory*

Fleeing waggoners were the first to reach Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek with wild tales of the disaster that had befallen Braddock's army on the Monongahela. The dispirited army which followed them had not been annihilated, as the first mad rumors had reported. Indeed, had the campaign been planned intelligently, these troops under Colonel Thomas Dunbar, many of whom had seen no action, might have taken Fort Duquesne.

Between the site of battle and the base at Fort Cumberland, however, there was neither fortification nor supply depot to which the army could fall back. And by the time Dunbar's men had trudged the more than seventy weary miles back to Fort Cumberland, a return to the Forks of the Ohio was unthinkable.

At any rate, a return was unthinkable to the unaggressive Dunbar. When he reached Fort Cumberland he paused only long enough to leave the sick and wounded with the shattered remnants of the Virginia soldiery as garrison, and then with the Regulars hastened to Philadelphia and "winter quarters" (in August!).

The former *aide-de-camp* to the late General Braddock was one campaigner who did not go with the army to Philadelphia. Washington, at the death of Braddock, lost his only official connection with the Regular Military Establishment. From the General he had held the brevet, or temporary, commission of General's *aide-de-camp*. With Braddock's death, he became again a civilian. Still weak and ill from the sickness which had struck him down on the campaign, he was glad enough to go home to Virginia for rest and recuperation.

The year before, when Governor Dinwiddie had been trying to get the Virginia House of Burgesses to raise money to send

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

the Virginia regiment to the Ohio Country, he had painted for them a frightful picture of the Indian warfare that would come unless the Ohio Country was garrisoned immediately with English troops. At the time it had been a threat conjured up by a governor trying to win approval for expansionist schemes. Now, two campaigns and two defeats later, the threat was real.

For one thing, the apparent weakness of the English was a spur to the savages to clear at least one group of white men out of their hunting grounds. For another, the French, who were now involved in earnest, were giving to Indian efforts a direction and a purpose their own leadership had never provided.

Thus, behind the last straggling redcoats limping from the valley of the Ohio came the war parties of Delaware and Shawnee, Huron and Wyandot. As often as not, a war party included an ambitious French cadet or an adventurous Canadian Militiaman. These Frenchmen were seldom seen; nor, for that matter, were the Indians, except by frontier farmers who could give no report of them because their little clearings were stained with their own life's blood.

To guard Virginia's long and irregular frontier the Governor had only two alternatives—familiar, if not reassuring. One was the Militia and the other what remained of the independent companies which had been the Virginia regiment.

The Militia, farmers conscripted for the immediate action, showed resolution in only one endeavor: keeping a safe distance between themselves and Indians. The romantic myth of the stalwart husbandman who became an intrepid fighter the moment he laid aside plow for rifle is attractive, but had it been related to Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, he would have waxed profane.

Again the Governor and the legislature had to turn to Virginia's own full-time soldiers. The Virginia regiment had to

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

be reconstituted. Thus it was that the harried Governor, late in the summer of 1755, again offered Washington command of the Virginia regiment—a command Dinwiddie had taken away from him little more than a year before. It was hardly surprising that Washington at first refused. The service of Virginia had proved hard and the gratitude of Dinwiddie meager. Further, the young planter now had won a military reputation of sorts, and his strong pride, which was at once a strength and a torment to him, rebelled at undertaking a task which seemed likely to result in all blame and no triumph. But the Governor persisted, and so did friends whose judgment Washington respected. Added inducements were offered—he might choose his own field officers; his pay would be increased; he would bear the title, commander in chief of the Forces of Virginia; and after all, the frontier must be defended. Washington accepted.

Washington's reluctance to undertake the job, however, proved well founded. The difficulties which he had anticipated, and which were to test his patience throughout his military career, appeared in generous quantity. Recruits were few in number and poor in quality. Eventually the regiment was padded out to something like full strength through the dubious measure of drafting vagrants. Supplies were too little and too late. Men deserted, and the detachments sent to hunt them deserted, too. There were the inevitable wrangles over rank when the commander of the Maryland troops at Fort Cumberland turned up with an old commission from the King and claimed he outranked the Virginia colonel who held only a lowly commission from the colonial governor. The construction of frontier forts went too slowly and the consumption of provisions went too fast. And through it all, the Indians struck—now here, now there—and all too often with impunity. Once a party of Militia,

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called out to reinforce the regiment during a particularly bad raid, returned from the hot pursuit of an Indian party with candid but maddening news. They had been actually on the verge of overtaking the Indians, they related, and therefore thought it high time to turn back.

As 1755 gave way to 1756 and 1756 to 1757, the fighting settled down into a grim pattern. The Virginians took to sending out scalping parties of *their* Indian allies, the Cherokee and Catawba, and spurred on these undependable red men by paying them for scalps. As a desperate means to prevent desertion the Virginia regiment added to its martial accoutrement a gallows; its grisly shadow on the parade ground reminded the rank and file that this backwoods' war was in earnest.

There were, of course, lulls in what was essentially a guerilla struggle. And since the military front, if it could be called that, was only a few days' ride from Williamsburg, Colonel Washington was sometimes able to grace the ballroom in his regimental uniform and even visit occasionally his Mount Vernon lands. He even managed, in 1756, during the winter's lull, to visit Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and there mix military conferences with sight-seeing, shopping, and the social gaiety that only these cities could offer. In the summer of 1757, an event occurred in the mother country which was to affect both Washington and the Forks of the Ohio with which his military fortunes were already so much entwined. To the post of Secretary of State in the British cabinet came William Pitt, blistering debater in parliament, master strategist in military council, daring gambler with the public funds—and for staggering stakes. With energy driven by a touch of madness his leadership turned the tide of war.

In the American theater of operations the rise of Pitt brought about the great campaign of 1758. Against the long serpent of



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French encirclement the British fashioned a three-pronged trident. In the East a force was to strike at the fortress of Louisburg which guarded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In the center an expedition was to move against Ticonderoga. In the West, British arms were once again to attempt the capture of Fort Duquesne.

To Washington this expedition promised two things: it would settle accounts with the tormentors of the Virginia frontier and it would afford a new opportunity for service with the Regulars and under experts in the military profession.

Virginia pledged not only one regiment for the campaign; she raised a second. To the command of the second Virginia regiment was called another proud Virginian, William Byrd, III. And in Williamsburg, Francis Fauquier succeeded, as governor of Virginia, the ill and aging Dinwiddie.

The story of the long campaign of 1758 follows in the narratives of eyewitnesses. Without impinging on their accounts, a few comments here will serve to summarize the important features of the campaign they describe firsthand.

Under Brigadier John Forbes and Colonel Henry Bouquet, Washington met and served two commanders who brought to their assignments not only the skills of their profession but, at last, an understanding of warfare in America. For Washington it was a very valuable apprenticeship.

To the campaign General Forbes made two signal contributions. In the all-important field of supply his plan was modern in a logistical sense. He did not move his troops until his provisions were sufficient and nearby, and he did not move his provisions until he had fortified a base ready to receive them. This made for slow progress and a long campaign, but it meant that a repulse would not be turned into a route for lack of a nearby rallying point, or an army be driven from the field for

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lack of provender. In short, from Braddock's errors came Forbes's success.

Forbes made an important contribution in the field of diplomacy, too. While ready to agree heartily with the frontiersman that the only good Indian was a dead one, he realized also that dead Indians were hard come by. He resolved instead of killing Indians to gain their friendship. The delicate and dangerous negotiations to win their confidence also slowed the campaign, but Forbes's patience and tact finally won away from the French many of their wavering red allies.

There were other problems, too. Relations between the army and the civil population taxed the patience of the commanders. To these quarrels were added the harassment of Indian foe and the exasperation of Indian ally—one could not live with Indians, and, in the forest, one could not live without them.

To the colonials, too, the campaign presented problems. The road General Forbes had his men cut to Fort Duquesne was to them only a necessary drudgery detail, but to settlers and traders it meant a permanent way to the rich Ohio Country and the vast watershed beyond. And so, whether this avenue to the commerce of an island empire should begin at the busy quays of Philadelphia or the broad expanses of Chesapeake Bay roused a controversy which launched an intercolonial struggle within the larger international conflict.

But out of the patience and skill of John Forbes, who like Edward Braddock died far from his homeland, came at last the victory: the French left forever the Forks of the Ohio, and the road was open westward.

With these many twisted strands is woven the story of George Washington's fourth journey into Western Pennsylvania.

VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

*Forbes and Pittsburgh:  
Eyewitness and Contemporary Accounts*

COLONEL WASHINGTON SEEKS A RECOMMENDATION

Washington to Brigadier General John Stanwix,<sup>1</sup>  
Fort Loudoun, Virginia, April 10, 1758<sup>2</sup>

Dear Sir: Permit me, at the same time I congratulate you, (which I most sincerely do) upon your promotion, you have met with and justly merited, to express my concern at the prospect of parting with you. I can truly say, it is a matter of no small regret to me! and that I should have thought myself happy in serving this campaign under your immediate command. But every thing, I hope, is ordered for the best; and it is our duty to submit to the will of our superior. I must, nevertheless, beg, that you will add one more kindness to the many I have experienced, and that is, to mention me in favorable terms to General Forbes,<sup>3</sup> (if you are acquainted with that gentleman,) not as a

<sup>1</sup> General Stanwix commanded all forces in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; he was Washington's immediate military superior.

<sup>2</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 172.

<sup>3</sup> General John Forbes, a native of Scotland, was a career officer, although educated for medicine. He distinguished himself particularly in the War of the Austrian Succession and won rapid promotion. Early in 1757 he had been sent to America as Colonel of the 17th Foot. In December of the same year, Pitt elevated him to brigadier general and gave him command of the expedition against Fort Duquesne. He was so ill throughout the campaign that he was forced to travel the last six weeks in a litter between two horses, but he forced himself to continue in service until the campaign was successful. Exhausted and emaciated, he died a few months after his victory, on March 11, 1759, and was buried with military honors befitting his rank in Christ Church, Philadelphia.

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person, who would depend upon him for further recommendation to military preferment, for I have long conquered all such expectancies, (and serve this campaign merely for the purpose of affording my best endeavors to bring matters to a conclusion), but as a person, who would gladly be distinguished in some measure from the *common run* of provincial officers, as I understand there will be a motely herd of us. . . .

### THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA REPORTS ON BORDER WARFARE

The Marquis de Vaudreuil<sup>4</sup> to his home government,  
Montreal, February 13, 1758<sup>5</sup>

Monseigneur,

Since the letter that I had the honor to write you, by the last vessels, concerning the region of the Belle Riviere, nothing very important has happened there, but our parties continued to harry our enemies.

4 Frenchmen of the Illinois detachment, who had been in the field for two months, came back with the scalps of two Englishmen killed in Pinsilvanie.

A Canadian voyageur, who had raised a savage party, took 12 prisoners and 18 scalps in the same country.

Two cadets of our troops also returned with two scalps taken on the Riviere Potomack.

M. de Rocheblave,<sup>6</sup> at the head of 4 Canadians and a few savages, took 13 prisoners and 4 scalps. He destroyed a considerable number of oxen and other animals.

<sup>4</sup> Pierre-François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, had succeeded Duquesne as governor of New France.

<sup>5</sup> From S. K. Stevens and D. H. Kent, editors, *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1941), pp. 109-111. Cited hereafter as *Wilderness Chronicles*.

<sup>6</sup> Sieur de Rocheblave was a cadet in the French forces who led many raiding parties against the English frontier.





Portrait of General John Forbes by John Watson, probably painted in Philadelphia between April 20 and June 27, 1758, before Forbes came west to Fort Duquesne; owned by Alan Scaife of Pittsburgh





## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

M. de Vercheres<sup>7</sup> took two prisoners and one scalp in the settlements of Virginia.

Two other cadets of our troops also returned with two scalps.

All our parties have carried terror among our enemies to a point that the settlements of the English in Pensilvanie, Mariland, and Virginia are abandoned. All the settlers have retreated to the city or into the forest. . . .

I had the honor, Monseigneur, to report the departure of the Jesuit to establish a mission among the tribes of the Belle Riviere. He has reached there, but at the beginning he did not have the success that his zeal made him desire. He has, nevertheless, baptised a few children and begun to instill the sentiments of Christianity in several savages. This is a work that requires time and patience. I am also exhorting this missionary not to be discouraged and to have as much perseverance as is necessary for an object of such importance.

### COLONEL WASHINGTON REPORTS ON BORDER WARFARE

Washington to Sir John St. Clair, Ft. Loudoun, Virginia, May 4, 1758<sup>8</sup>

Dear Sir: I have now had an opportunity of examining Ucahula, an Indian Warrior, who brought in the *scalps* mentioned in my last. His account is nearly the following:

That, about the 1st. of last month, Lt. Gist<sup>9</sup> with 6 Soldiers, and 30 Indians, left the South-branch of Potomack-river; and after a tedious march, occasioned by deep snows on the mountains, they got upon the waters of Monongahela, where Mr. Gist, by a fall from a steep Bank, got lamed, and was rendered

<sup>7</sup> A cadet named de Verchères was stationed at Fort Duquesne in 1755 and was no doubt the leader of the raiding party mentioned.

<sup>8</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 191-92.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Gist

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

incapable of marching: That the white men and some Indians staid with him, and the remainder of the Indians divided into three small parties and proceeded, when he (Ucahula) with two others, went down the Monongahela in a bark-canoe, and landed on the north-side, not far from Ft. du Quesne.

That they lay concealed two days to make discoveries and, if possible to get a prisoner; but no favourable opportunity offering to accomplish the latter, they attacked a canoe in which two french-men were fishing; both of whom they killed and scalped, in sight of some other frenchmen, also afishing.

This indians account of F. DuQuesne, corresponds with most others I have heard, vizt. that it is strong on the land-side, but stockaded only, where it faces the Ohio-river. It does not appear, from his information, that there are many men there, or that they have thrown up any *New Works*. He saw a party on the other side of the river, which he supposed to be newly come, because there were several canoes near them, and they seemed to be busy in putting up bark-huts, which however were not many; and only two Tents pitched. When he had got about 15 miles on this side of Fort du Quesne, he came upon a large indian encampment, and tracks, steering towards Virginia, and after the parties had joined and were marching in, Lt. Gist came upon a track of another large party, pursuing the same course. These parties have since fallen upon the back-inhabitants of Augusta-County, and destroyed near 50 persons, besides an Officer and 18 men, belonging to Captn. Hogg's<sup>10</sup> ranging-company, who we suppose (for I have no advice from *him*) were sent to the country-peoples' assistance. As soon as I obtained notice of this, I ordered a Detachment from the Regiment, and some Indians, that were equipped for War, to march, and endeavour to intercept their retreat, if they are not too

<sup>10</sup> Peter Hog, who had commanded a company at Fort Necessity.

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numerous. I have also engaged Uchula, with a small party of brisk men, to go immediately for Ft. du Quesne, and try to get a Prisoner. He seems confident of success, and promises to be back in 20 days at the farthest.

### COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET DESCRIBES THE PREPARATION OF A CAMPAIGN

Bouquet<sup>11</sup> to General John Forbes, Carlisle, Pa., June 7, 1758<sup>12</sup>

Sir,

As the arms, tents, and munitions have not yet arrived, I have been obliged to delay my departure, for there is no one here to whom I can entrust the detail and the distribution of the different articles.

312 muskets, cartridges, bayonets, and blankets arrived today for the provincials. I immediately supplied Burd<sup>13</sup> with

<sup>11</sup> Henry Bouquet, a French-speaking protestant from Switzerland, was an outstanding professional soldier. His service in the Dutch and Sardinian armies attracted the attention of the British who offered him a commission as lieutenant colonel of the new Royal American Regiment. He accepted it, and came to America in the spring of 1756. After his service under Forbes, he continued to serve on the frontier throughout the war. During the Pontiac War, he won a brilliant victory over the woods Indians at Bushy Run. Bouquet skilfully adapted European tactics to conditions of frontier warfare. In his use of open combat formations, he was a precursor of modern military thinking. He died a brigadier general in 1765, victim of a fever contracted while on campaign on the southern frontier.

<sup>12</sup> S. K. Stevens, D. H. Kent and Autumn L. Leonard, editors, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet* (Harrisburg, 1951), II, 47-51. Cited hereafter as *Papers of Bouquet*.

<sup>13</sup> Colonel James Burd commanded the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment in Forbes's army. In 1755 he had been in charge of building from the Pennsylvania settlements the supply road which was to connect with Braddock's route of march at Turkeyfoot, now Confluence, Pennsylvania. In 1756, he commanded Pennsylvania's frontier post of Fort Augusta. In 1759, he built Fort Burd near the mouth of Redstone Creek as a supply

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169 muskets, and delivered his old guns to the two captains, McNight<sup>14</sup> and Boyer,<sup>15</sup> to arm their companies while waiting to get others. This battalion is marching tomorrow to join Armstrong<sup>16</sup> at Littleton.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of all the repairs made on the roads, they are almost impassable beyond Shippensburg because of the continual rains on the clay soil. Several wagons have stuck in the mud, and several have been three days in going from Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun.<sup>18</sup> I am having them worked on continually, but they must be given time to become hard. This is an obstacle that cannot be overcome.

Col. Stephens,<sup>19</sup> with 600 men of the Virginia troops (5 of Washington's companies, and a company of carpenters), is at Fort Loudoun, Cumberland County, also busy repairing roads.

One is not through with one difficulty before falling into  

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depot between Fort Cumberland and Fort Pitt, and in 1760, rose to the command of Fort Pitt itself. He later served in Pontiac's War and the Revolution.

<sup>14</sup> John McNight was a captain of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment.

<sup>15</sup> John Byers was a captain of the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment.

<sup>16</sup> Colonel John Armstrong, Irish-born frontiersman and surveyor, commanded the Pennsylvania regiment. In 1756, he had led the successful surprise attack on the Delaware village of Kittanning on the Allegheny River, a point of origin for many raids against the frontier. During the Revolution, Armstrong rose to the rank of major general and later served in Congress.

<sup>17</sup> Fort Littleton was built in 1758 in what is today Fulton County. Originally part of Pennsylvania's frontier defense, it became a post on Forbes's road.

<sup>18</sup> Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania, like Fort Loudoun, Virginia, had been named for Lord Loudoun, British commander in chief for North America from early in 1756 until the spring of 1758. Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania, was close to the present town of the same name, and was the starting point for Forbes's road.

<sup>19</sup> This was Adam Stephen, Lieutenant Colonel of the first Virginia regiment and veteran of Fort Necessity and Braddock's defeat.



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another. The pork for our stores, which was bought in Maryland or Carolina, is worthless; and you will see by the enclosed report that the sample we have inspected, is not acceptable. . . .

The flour is not white, but as it is good and the mills of this country cannot grind it finer, I think—if you approve—that this can be overlooked. . . .

We got 98 horses yesterday which are better or, rather, not so bad as I was expecting. Today they were divided into two troops. . . .

I had 15 men taken from Burd, and 6 from the two companies of new recruits here, to whom horses will be given tomorrow. If all the cavalrymen are as well chosen, you can expect a troop of fine men.

We are waiting for the saddles and pistols, but they say there are neither brushes nor curry-combs. . . .

Until tents can be obtained for the new recruits, nothing can be done with them. There is no way of accommodating more than 200 men here; and it is only by having them together that they can be chosen, and each man put in the place for which he is best suited.

. . . The Cherokees are behaving so badly that it seems they have made their decision, and are ready to leave us. . . .

The success Bosomworth<sup>20</sup> has, will soon determine what we can expect of them. If they wish to come to Loudoun, all could yet be reconciled; if they refuse, we can no longer count on them. The only compensation left to us if they leave, is that we will no longer be obliged to hurry. We have no regular attack to fear, and the French will find as many difficulties in keeping their Indians as we; and if we both lose them, the advantage surely remains on our side.

<sup>20</sup> Captain Abraham Bosomworth was assigned to liason with the southern Indians.

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Captain Gordon<sup>21</sup> arrived here on the 4th. I expect his convoy tomorrow. With what he brought, we have only about 40,000 cartridges, which for 2000 men is only 20 shots each; and none are left in reserve, nor anything to supply the artillery.

At Winchester there were 40 barrels of powder and 170 boxes of bullets, which would still not be enough. I think you will be obliged to buy two or three hundred barrels of powder at Philadelphia, for it will be necessary to use a great deal to train these new recruits a little, and to drill our troops in forest warfare.

A large part of the provincials are armed with grooved rifles and have their molds. Lead in bars will suit them better than bullets—likewise the Indians—, but they also need fine powder FF.

I beg you to send us munitions, cartridge paper, and a quantity of gunflints.

Each wagon should have two ropes with two strong iron hooks at the ends, so that the soldiers can pull them out of the mudholes, and help them to climb the mountains.

A number of ropes an inch in circumference to tie the loads on the pack horses, if they have not already been provided.

I am exhausting your patience by so many requests, but I think I have finished. . . .

As I am obliged to make much of the country folk on the one hand, while I scold them on the other, I cannot avoid recommending a trifle, which is to find some way of paying, through the medium of Mr. Stevenson<sup>22</sup> at York, the cost of that cursed horse which was drowned last year in the service of the second

<sup>21</sup> This was the same Harry Gordon who served as an engineer with Braddock.

<sup>22</sup> George Stevenson was a recruiting officer for the Pennsylvania regiment in York County.

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battalion of the R. A.<sup>23</sup> That will have a very good effect, and will smooth over many difficulties.

The five deserters from the Pennsylvania regiment, who were arrested at Reading, have been brought here. I do not think that they can be hung, as they have not been paid, but they can be made to fear it at Reas Town.<sup>24</sup>

I have collected a dozen poor horses which belonged to General Braddock's expedition, and I am assured that there are still more than 150 included among the strayed, which by the law of England belong to the King until the proprietor shows up. If you consider it worth the trouble, you might have an order published to give them up, promising a crown for those who bring or find them, and menacing those who disobey with the penalty of the law. They could be given to the officers on condition that they be used for expresses when needed, and for pack horses on occasion.

The number of merchants asking to follow the army makes me think that if you offer some encouragement, you could engage workmen of useful trades, such as tailors, saddlers, gunsmiths, wheelwrights, blacksmiths, etc., to come with the army without wages and of their own accord. This would be very helpful in the woods, and would save paying those people. . . .

## THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA LEARNS OF THE APPROACH OF A BRITISH ARMY

The Marquis de Vaudreuil to his home government, June 10, 1758<sup>25</sup>

Monseigneur,

I am still interested in maintaining savage parties in the neighborhood of Fort Chamokin.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> R.A. stood, not for Regular Army, as it does in today's military parlance, but for Royal Americans. This was a regiment of the British regular

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

The first party, composed of 12 Irroquois of the Five Nations and 14 Loups,<sup>27</sup> returned with 7 prisoners and 15 scalps.

The second party took 7 scalps and 2 prisoners.

A third Loup party returned with 4 scalps and 8 prisoners.

These prisoners reported that 7,000 regulars had landed, but they did not know their destination.

The savages assured M. de La Chauvignerie<sup>28</sup> that the army which was forming was intended for the Belle Riviere, and that the English would set out on the march from the 10th to the 15th of May.

It will certainly not be my fault, Monseigneur, if the care I am taking to harry our enemy vigorously on all sides does not oblige them to abandon their plans.

“THIS EXPEDITION, WHICH IS BELIEVED SO EASY, IS FULL OF ALMOST INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFICULTIES”

Bouquet to Forbes, Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania, June 11, 1758<sup>29</sup>

You are not to overlook the fact that no one in this country can be relied on. At all times, private interests outweigh the general welfare. . . .

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army recruited in America. It was later known as the Sixtieth Foot.

<sup>24</sup> Fort Raystown was later renamed Fort Bedford after the fourth Duke of Bedford, a leading British statesman of the day. It is now known as Bedford. It was a major supply base for Forbes's army.

<sup>25</sup> From *Wilderness Chronicles*, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup> This was Fort Augusta at the site of the former Iroquois village of Shamokin at the forks of the Susquehanna, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania.

<sup>27</sup> Loups was the French name for Delawares.

<sup>28</sup> Michel Maray de la Chauvignerie, a lieutenant, commanded Fort Machault, the French post at Venango, now Franklin, Pennsylvania.

<sup>29</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 73-74.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

The farther I go away from the settlements, the more I see that this expedition, which is believed so easy, is full of almost insurmountable difficulties. For want of stores prepared in advance, we shall consume daily almost as much provisions as can be transported over such roads.

If obliged to open all the roads, we shall be obliged to march like tortoises, very slowly, and carrying everything on our backs. I am told that Braddock's army went 3 days without finding grass for the horses, which made them unfit to carry provisions; and he would have been likely to die of hunger, if he had beaten the enemy.

No reliance can be made in the reports of the people who claim to know the country, after passing Reas Town. All whom I have questioned contradict each other, and we shall only learn the truth about it by exploring the country ourselves.

### WASHINGTON WRITES HIS COMMANDER OF THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIAN ALLIES

Washington to Forbes, Fort Loudoun, Virginia, June 19, 1758<sup>30</sup>

Sir: Pardon the liberty I am going to take; a liberty, that nothing but the most disinterested regard for the safety and welfare of these Colonies wou'd cause me to take. How far my notions on what I am going to observe is compatable with Reason, and how far they may corrispond with your Sentiments on the matter, I shall candidly submit to your [Excellency's determination].

The unfortunate arrival of the Cherokees into these Governments so early in the Spring,<sup>31</sup> and the unavoidable Accidents

<sup>30</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 215-16.

<sup>31</sup> The Cherokees had arrived before Forbes's army was ready to march. It was feared that friction between them and the white population would cause them to go home again before the army marched.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

that have hitherto prevented a junction of the Troops, intended for the Western Expedition, has caus'd the Indians (who naturally are of a discontented Tempers) to be tired of waiting, and *all*, except those who came with Colo. Byrd,<sup>32</sup> and a few others that have promised to join him, to return home; how long these can be prevail'd upon to remain with us, I won't absolutely affirm; but this I can venture to say not 6 Weeks, if it requires that time to form our Magazines and prepare for our March, as Colo. Bouquet seem'd to think it will. Now, in this event, we are left to perform a March of more than 100 Miles from our most advanc'd Post, before we shall arrive at Fort Duquesne; a great part of which over Mountains and Rocks, and thro' some such defiles as will enable the Enemy, with assistance of *their* Indian's and Irregulars; and their Superior knowledge of the Country, to render our March extremely arduous, perhaps impracticable; and at best very tedious; unless assisted by a considerable Body of Indians, who I conceive to be the only Troops fit to cope with Indians in such Grounds; for, I must beg leave further to add, that I can not look upon strength and Success in the Woods to be the Consequence of Numbers; on the contrary, I conceive the designs of an unwieldy Body of Troops, marching as Convoys, may be frustrated by a few; this I am certain off, they may be greatly harrass'd; and their March much incommoded by the Sculking Enemy we shall have to deal with.

From what has, and might be said on this [occasion it would] appear that Indians, to Us, are of the utmost Importance; and as I understand your Excellency proposes to keep open the

<sup>32</sup> William Byrd, III, colonel of the second Virginia regiment. Before assuming command of the new regiment, Byrd had served as a commissioner for Virginia among the southern Indians, and was more successful than most of his contemporaries in dealing with the red men.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

Communication with the Inhabitants,<sup>33</sup> and secure a retreat by the construction of Posts at advantageous situations, and proper distances, as the Army advances; (a work truly of the greatest Importance, especially as we will too probably begin our March with a handfull of Indians) I think it wou'd be practicable by the prosecution of this plan, to get a Number of the Indians, (by sending a person of abilities and address *immediately* for them) before we cou'd approach Fort Duquesne; and I *think* it is not likely we shall meet with any formidable attack till we get pretty near that place. . . .

### WASHINGTON PROPOSES INDIAN DRESS FOR THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland,<sup>34</sup> July 3, 1758<sup>35</sup>

My Men are very bare of Cloaths (Regimentals<sup>36</sup> I mean), and I have no prospect of a Supply; this want, so far from my regretting during this Campaign, that were I left to pursue my own Inclinations I wou'd not only order the Men to adopt the Indian dress,<sup>37</sup> but cause the Officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the Woods. 'T is an unbecoming dress, I con-

<sup>33</sup> That is, keep a road open to the settlements after passing into uninhabited country.

<sup>34</sup> Washington had now left the home base of the Virginia regiment, Fort Loudoun at Winchester, and had arrived on July 2nd at Fort Cumberland at Wills Creek, there to await further orders.

<sup>35</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 229.

<sup>36</sup> Regimentals, that is, the distinctive uniform designed for, but usually not supplied, the first Virginia regiment.

<sup>37</sup> Hunting shirt and leggings.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

fess, for an officer; but convenience rather than shew, I think shou'd be consulted.

### BOUQUET REPORTS THE ENDLESS DIFFICULTIES OF A EUROPEAN ARMY IN THE AMERICAN WILDERNESS

Bouquet to Forbes, Camp near Raystown, July 11, 1758<sup>38</sup>

All the letters I receive from Virginia are filled with nothing but the impossibility of finding a passage across Lawrell Hill,<sup>39</sup> and the ease of going by Braddock's road. This is a matter of politics between one province and another, in which we have no part; and I have always avoided saying a word on this subject, as I am certain that we shall find a passage, and that—in that case—we should for many reasons prefer this route, if not for the whole army, at least for a large detachment.

I am sorry that I cannot assure you positively of the possibility of this passage, as the Indian rascals I had sent to explore it with 4 officers and 30 of our men deserted them under the pretext that their omens<sup>40</sup> were bad, which forced them for lack of provisions to return without doing anything. . . .

The Catawbias have left us like scoundrels, after bringing us one scalp, which was recognized by the Cherokees as an old scalp which they themselves gave them<sup>41</sup> in the spring. . . .

The roads are strewn with broken wagons. The wagon masters for the most part are good for nothing. The officers who are escorting them have added further to the evil, which has obliged me to forbid them to meddle with horses and wagons until further orders. . . .

<sup>38</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 179-182.

<sup>39</sup> Laurel Hill is the next to the last western ridge of the Appalachians in Pennsylvania.

<sup>40</sup> The Indians, like other primitive people, were extremely superstitious.

<sup>41</sup> One Indian tribe invited another tribe to join them on the warpath by sending the hoped-for allies a scalp taken from the intended enemies.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

If you cannot come soon, I beg you to send me a warrant for general courts martial. An example must be made to stop desertion. We have a man here, who has offered his services to do the hanging. . . .

The sabers . . . which were given to the light cavalry, are a joke. It is their principal weapon, and they could not kill a chicken with this tiny knife. . . . I should like you to have curved sabers bought for them, which they could use on occasion. This expense, moreover, is nothing if we succeed; and if we fail, everything will be likewise too expensive.

### OF INDIAN RAIDS

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, Maryland, July 13, 1758<sup>42</sup>

Camp at Fort Cumbd. abt 9 Thursday Night, July 13, 1758.

Sir: About 4 Oclock this Afternoon, after I had clos'd my letter to you, I receiv'd Intelligence that two Men were kill'd and a third taken prisoner on the Road<sup>43</sup> about a Mile from this place. I got the Indians to go, and sent a Command of 50 Men immediately to the spot, where they took the Track of six Indians, and followed them till near dark; when the Indians return'd, as did our Party also.

They discover'd that one of the Men kill'd was a Soldier of the second Regiment; and that the other two were herders going to our Grass Guards<sup>44</sup> in the most careless, stragling manner,

<sup>42</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 236.

<sup>43</sup> The road referred to was Braddock's Road. While Washington was at Fort Cumberland, scouting and working parties were sent out on Braddock's Road. At first, it was thought that part of the army might use the road. After this idea was abandoned, parties were still sent out to confuse the French as to the actual route planned by Forbes.

<sup>44</sup> Grass guards were men tending grazing horses and the cattle driven with the army to provide fresh meat.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

contrary to repeated Orders and positive orders given, to prevent Soldiers stragling from camp, or small Parties going out.

The Mischief was done about 8 this Morning. Our discovery of it too late to give us a chance to overtaking the enemy. I thought it advisable nevertheless to give you Information that the Enemy are abt., and that I expect we shall be pester'd w'h them all this Moon; haunting our Camps; and watching our Motions.

### OF COUNTER-RAIDS

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, Maryland, July 16, 1758<sup>45</sup>

Camp at Fort Cumberland, July 16, 1758.

Sir: I was favoured with yours of the 14th. Inst't, at 11 O'clock last Night, the Express who brought it, informs me, that he was twice fired at by six Indians, and oblig'd to abandon his Horse.

There's three Parties gone from hence towards the Enemy's Country within these few days. The largest of them, (consisting of an Officer and 18 Cherokees,) March'd 3 days ago. I always send out *some* white people with the Indians, and will to day or to morrow, send an Officer and some alert white men, with another Party of Cherokees as you desire it; tho' I must confess, that I think these Scalping Parties of Indians we send out, will more effectually harass the Enemy (by keeping them under continual Alarms) than any Parties of white People can do; because small parties of ours are not equal to the undertaking, (not being so dexterous at skulking as Indians;) and large ones will be discover'd by their spies early enough to give the Enemy time to repell them by a superior Force; . . .

<sup>45</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 237.



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

### BOUQUET FRETS ABOUT INTER-COLONIAL RIVALRY<sup>46</sup>

Bouquet to Forbes, Camp near Raystown, Pennsylvania,  
July 21, 1758<sup>47</sup>

The Virginia *party* in regard to your route is continuing in full force, and although the secret motive animating them appears to smack of partiality, it seems to me, however, that this is an additional reason for acting with double caution in a matter of this consequence, in order that we may answer their outcries convincingly in case of an accident, which they would not fail to attribute to the choice of a new route.

### GENERAL FORBES SUSPECTS THE MOTIVES OF VIRGINIANS

Forbes to Bouquet, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 23, 1758<sup>48</sup>

As I disclaim all parties myself, should be sorry that they were to Creep in amongst us. I therefore cannot Conceive what the Virginia folks would be att, for to me it appears to be them, and them only, that want to drive us into the road by Fort Cumberland, no doubt in opposition to the Pennsylvanians who by Raestown would have a nigher Communication [than them] to the Ohio.

### WASHINGTON PLEADS FOR THE SOUTHERN ROUTE TO THE OHIO

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, Maryland, July 25, 1758<sup>49</sup>

I shall most chearfully proceed to Work on any Road;—

<sup>46</sup> The next nine excerpts illustrate the controversy over the army's route. Virginians were for Braddock's route which would strengthen the ties between the Ohio Country and Virginia; Pennsylvanians were for the new all-Pennsylvania route. Forbes and Bouquet were caught in the middle of the struggle.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

pursue any Rout;—enter upon any Service that the General or yourself can think me qualified for, or usefully employed in; and shall never have a Will of my own where a point of Duty is required at my hands: but since you desire me to speake, permit me to observe this; that after having examind all the Guides,<sup>50</sup> and been convinced by them and every other Person who has knowledge of that Country, that a Road comparable to General Braddocks/or indeed fit for any Service at all, even for Carrying Horses<sup>51</sup>/cannot be made. . . . I don't know what reports your Reconnoitring Parties have given, but I have been told on all hands that if any thing is expected there, disappointments will ensue, for nothing can be taken that way without distroying of our Carrying Horses, so extreame bad the Hills are.

### BOUQUET LISTS THE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF BRADDOCK'S ROAD

Bouquet to Forbes, Camp near Raystown, Pennsylvania,  
July 26, 1758<sup>52</sup>

Colonel Washington has had the beginning of Braddock's Road cut, which I have fixed at ten miles from Fort Cumberland. From the guides I have sent you, you will have learned the advantages of this route, which is open and requires few repairs; and its inconveniences, which are the lack of forage, its length, its narrow passes, and the river crossings. Colonel Washington who is animated by a sincere zeal to contribute

<sup>47</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 252.

<sup>48</sup> Alfred P. James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes* (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1938), p. 156. Cited hereafter as *Writings of Forbes*.

<sup>49</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 273-74.

<sup>50</sup> Guides—that is, woodsmen with a knowledge of the country.

<sup>51</sup> Pack horses.

<sup>52</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 277-78.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

to the success of this expedition, and ready to march from whatever direction you may determine with the same eagerness, writes me that, from all he has heard and been able to gather from reports, our route is impracticable even for pack horses, so bad are the mountains; and that Braddock's Road is absolutely the only one to take, etc.

### MAJOR GEORGE ARMSTRONG OF PENNSYLVANIA RECOMMENDS THE NORTHERN ROUTE

Armstrong to Bouquet, Kickenapauling's,<sup>53</sup> July 26, 1758

Sir/

I reached this place Yesterday about 4 oClock P.M. and finds a Good Situation for a Deposite upon this Creek,<sup>54</sup> some of the Ground Cleared some time ago by the Indians, and not overlooked by Hills, the nearest to it is at least 50 perches. Grass is extremely good and plenty of it, so that it is certainly the best Situation for a Deposite between the Allighany<sup>55</sup> and Lawrell hill. . . . The Road we came Yesterday may be made pretty Good. . . . When I return from Loyalhaning,<sup>56</sup> and after the Works are finished, I intend to employ myself in Surveying a very Good Plantation or two that Lays upon this Creek.

### MAJOR ARMSTRONG OVERCOMES THE TEMPTATION TO COMBINE LAND SPECULATION WITH SOLDIERING

Armstrong to Bouquet, Drounding Creek,<sup>57</sup> July 30, 1758<sup>58</sup>

What I dropt inadvertantly in a former letter to you in

<sup>53</sup> Kickenapauling, a former Indian town named for a Delaware chief, was on Quemahoning Creek in Somerset County. It was on Forbes's Route.

<sup>54</sup> Quemahoning Creek, now dammed to form Quemahoning Reservoir.

<sup>55</sup> The Allegheny ridge of the Appalachians.

<sup>56</sup> Loyalhanna took it's name from a previous Indian village of that name.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

respect of Surveying a Plantation was no more than a Jock,<sup>59</sup> and wou'd be extremely sorry to think You wou'd imagine I wou'd not spend my time and the time of those that are with me as much for the Service as lay in my power, as well by punctually obeying Your orders. . . .

### COLONEL BOUQUET STATES THE CASE AGAINST BRADDOCK'S ROAD

Bouquet to Forbes, Raystown, July 31, 1758<sup>60</sup>

You will see by the enclosed extract from Major Armstrong's letters what report<sup>61</sup> he has made. Everything seems practicable, and even easy, but I distrust the observation of a young and inexperienced man too much to act on his advice. I have therefore sent Colonel Burd, Rhor,<sup>62</sup> and Captain Ward<sup>63</sup> to reconnoiter the Allegheny, to make a survey of all the difficulties, and to put me in a position to determine what reliance could be given to the rest of the explorations. Unfortunately, they found things very different, and that mountain over which these gentlemen crossed so easily is worse than Sideling Hill<sup>64</sup>

It was renamed Ligonier after Sir John Ligonier, commander in chief of the British army at the time.

<sup>57</sup> Drowning Creek was another name for Quemahoning Creek.

<sup>58</sup> *Paper of Bouquet*, II, 286.

<sup>59</sup> A joke. Perhaps someone had suggested to Major Armstrong that the purpose of the expedition was not land speculating.

<sup>60</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 290-93.

<sup>61</sup> The report has to do with the suitability of various terrain between Raystown and Loyalhanna for roadbuilding.

<sup>62</sup> Ensign Charles Rhor was an engineering officer. He was killed at Grant's defeat.

<sup>63</sup> Captain Edward Ward served with the first battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment.

<sup>64</sup> Sideling Hill, as users of the Pennsylvania Turnpike or the older Lincoln Highway know, is a part of the Allegheny ridge of the Appalachians.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

and the climb much longer. As they did not think a wagon road could be cut in this escarpment without an immense amount of work, they searched along the mountain for another pass, and found about two miles to the north a gap of which no one here had the slightest knowledge. You will see a description of it in Rhor's report and his map.

It appears that with a great deal of work a road much more satisfactory than the other could be build there; it remains to be seen what obstacles are left as far as Loyal Hannon. . . .

I think as you do that you cannot accept Cumberland<sup>65</sup> until after you have it in your power to demonstrate the impossibility of finding another road, or at least the impossibility of opening it without risking the expedition by too great a loss of time.

We are in a cruel situation, if you are reduced to a single communication. In the 64 miles from Cumberland to Gist's, there are only three places which could furnish enough forage for the army. The rest will be enough for only one night.

The frost, beginning about the end of October, destroys all the grass, and the rivers overflowing in the spring cut off all communication.

I had an interview with Colonel Washington to find out how he imagines these difficulties can be overcome. I learned nothing satisfactory. Most of these gentlemen do not know the difference between a party and an army, and find every thing easy which agrees with their ideas, jumping over all the difficulties. . . .

A soldier hunting horses was attacked four miles from the camp on the Cumberland road by three Indians, who aimed at him from above. As it had rained all day, their guns failed to discharge. He shot at them, and thinks he killed one of them. Before he could reload, the other two attacked him with their

<sup>65</sup> That is, Braddock's road from Fort Cumberland.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

knives and tomahawks. He knocked one down with the butt of his rifle and, collaring the other, threw him to the ground and would have beaten him to death if other Indians had not come to his rescue with loud cries. He fled and, running very rapidly, he escaped with six slight wounds. . . .

We have something worse than the Indians. It is smallpox in the camp. We are keeping it as much a secret as possible, to prevent desertion, and are isolating those who have been attacked by it.

### WASHINGTON STATES THE CASE FOR BRADDOCK'S ROAD

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, Maryland,  
August 2, 1758<sup>66</sup>

Sir: Those matters we talk'd of relative to the Roads has since our parting been the object of my closest attention, and so far am I from altering my opinion that the more time and attention I give thereto, the more I am confirm'd in it; as the validity of the reasons for taking the old Road appear in a stronger point of view. . . .

Several years ago the Virginians and Pensylvanians commenc'd a Trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and to remove the many Inconveniencies a bad Road subjected them to, they, after reiterated efforts to discover where a good one might be made were found ineffectual, employ'd several of the most intelligent Indians who in the course of many years hunting acquired a perfect knowledge of these Mountains to attempt it, but these Indian's after having taken the greatest pains to gain the Rewards then offer'd for this discovery declared the Path leading from Wills Creek was infinitely preferable to any that cou'd be made at any other place; Time and experience

<sup>66</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 252-55.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania Traders commonly carried their Goods thither by Will's Creek, therefore the Ohio Company in 1753 at a considerable Expence open'd a Road thither. In 1754 the Troops I had the hon'r to Command greatly repair'd it as far as Gist's Plantation; and in 1755 it was widened and completed by General Braddock within 6 miles of Fort Duquesne; consequently a Road that has been so long open'd, so well repair'd; and so often, must be much firmer and better than a new one, allowing the Ground to be originally equally as good.

But supposing it was practicable to make a Road from Rays Town quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask if we have time to do it? certainly not, Surmounting the vast difficulties to be encounter'd in making it over such monstrous Mountains, covered with woods and Rocks wou'd require so much time as to blast our otherwise well grounded hopes of striking the long wish'd for and Important Stroke this Season; and deferring it to another year wou'd, I am morally certain, be productive of the most destructive Consequences to the Southern and middle Colonies; for they have to make a noble push towards ending those Calamities under which they so long have groan'd, granted supplies beyond their abilities. These Funds will, in a few months be exhausted; the Troops of course disbanded.<sup>67</sup> Their inability and discouragement from so great a disappointment will prevent their attempting a similar effort against another Season, and experience evinces, that Expence and Numbers must be increas'd in proportion to our Delays.

The Southern Indians have from our bad Success, and inac-

<sup>67</sup> Troops of the second Virginia regiment were enlisted only until the first of December, 1758; troops of the first Virginia were authorized to serve outside the boundaries of Virginia only until that date; Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina had appropriated no funds for paying their troops beyond December 1, 1758.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

tivity, long look'd upon us in a despicable light, have already committed Hostilities on our Frontiers, and only wait the result of this Campaign to unmask themselves; which wou'd be such an acquisition to the Enemy as might terminate in our Destruction.

The favourable accounts some give, of the Forage on the Rays Town Road being so much better than the other is certainly exaggerated, greatly, as every unprejudiced person who are acquainted with both, agrees that the only difference between the Mountains here and there is, that those are more inaccessible; And it is well known that in both, the rich Valleys, between the Mountains abound with good food, and those that are Stony and Brushy are destitute; Colo. Byrd and the Engineer that accompanied him confirm this truth; And surely the Meadows on this Road wou'd greatly overbalance the advantage of having Grass to the foot of the ridge on this side the Mountain on the Rays Town Road and all agree that a more barren Road is no where to be found than from Rays Town to the Inhabitants which is likewise to be consider'd with the badness of the Road.

And the Principal objection made to Genl. Braddock's Road is that of the waters to pass; but these very rarely swell so much as to obstruct the Passage. The Yaughyaughane which is the most rapid and soonest filled I with a Body of Troops, have cross'd after 30 odd days almost constant Rain. In fine any difficulties that may arise therefrom are so trivial that they are really not worth mentioning. The Monongahela the largest of all these Rivers, may if necessary, be easily avoided as Mr. Frazer,<sup>68</sup> (the principal Guide) informs me by passing a Defile<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> John Frazier, the Indian trader who had lived at the mouth of Turtle Creek until driven away by the French.

<sup>69</sup> Turtle Creek Valley.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

which I cannot conceive to be so bad as commonly represented; but even that he tells me, may be shunn'd.

It is said again that there are many Defiles on this Road, I grant there are some, but know of none that cannot be travers'd if found necessary; and I shou'd be glad to know where a Road can be had over these Mountains not subject to this Inconvenience, unless they kept the heights always, and that is impracticable.

The shortness of the Road from Rays Town to Fort Duquesne by Loyal hanny, is us'd as an argument in disfavor of this Road, and bears some thing in it unaccountable to me, for I must beg leave to ask here, if it requires more time, or is it more difficult and expensive, to go 145 miles in a good Road already made to our hands, or to cut 100 miles in length, great part of which over almost inaccessible Mountains, and, to say, or think, we can do nothing more this Fall than to fortify some Post on the other side of the Mountains and prepare against another Campaign I must pray Heaven, most fervently, to avert! . . .

### ON LAUREL HILL AND LAURELS

Washington to Major Frances Halkett,<sup>70</sup>  
Fort Cumberland, Maryland, August 2, 1758<sup>71</sup>

My dear Halkett: I am just return'd from a Conference held with Colo. Bouquet. I find him fix'd, I think I may say fix'd, upon leading you a New way to the Ohio; thro a Road, every Inch of it to cut, at this advanced Season, when we have scarce time left to tread the beaten Tract; universally confess'd to be the best Passage through the Mountains.

If Colo. Bouquet succeeds in this point with the General, all

<sup>70</sup> Major Francis Halkett was Forbes's aide and secretary. Sir Peter Halkett, who fell at the battle of the Monongahela, was his father.

<sup>71</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 260.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

is lost! All is lost by Heavens! Our Enterprise Ruin'd; and we stop'd at the Laurel Hill this Vinter; not to gather Laurels, by the by . . .

### INTELLIGENCE REPORT: SCOUTING FORT DUQUESNE

Journal of Lt. Coleby Chew,<sup>72</sup> August 7 to August 18, 1758<sup>73</sup>

Monday, August the 7th 1758

I Set of from Rays town by order of Colo. Boquet With a party of indians & White men to make What Discoverys I could of the strenth & situation of the Enemy to the Westward & proceeded as far this night as the Shawanese Cabbins. . . .<sup>74</sup>

Tuesday the 8th We continued our Course a long the Old Traiding Path Crossing the Alligany Ridge & encamped—at Edmunds Swamp. . . .<sup>75</sup>

Wednesday 9th We marched abt 9 miles . . . to Quimahony<sup>76</sup> Creek at Which place we continued thursday ye 10th—Friday the 11th We proceeded Early in the morning on our Way crossed the Lauril Ridge & came to & Encampment at the Loyal:hannon Old Town. . . .

Saturday the 12th We continued on our way along the Old Tradg path Which kept for ten or twelve miles for the most part a long the low Ground of the loyalhannon,<sup>77</sup> tho it sometimes turned off from the River & Crossed some Ridges &

<sup>72</sup> Lieutenant Coleby Chew was an officer in the first Virginia. He was killed on Grant's ill-fated expedition.

<sup>73</sup> S. M. Hamilton, ed., *Letters to Washington*, III, 39-43.

<sup>74</sup> Shawnee Cabins was a locality on the Shawnee branch of the Juniata River west of Raystown. It is mentioned in the journals of early traders. The site, south of Schellsburg, Pennsylvania, became a station on the Forbes road.

<sup>75</sup> Now called Miller Run.

<sup>76</sup> Quemahoning Creek.

<sup>77</sup> Loyalhanna Creek, a branch of the Kiskimenetas.



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

points of hills—the high land is well Timbered the Ridges not high, the low Ground of the River & in *general* of all the Creeks: Very bushy & thick. We this Day Discovered some Very late sign of Indians. . . .

Sunday the 13th we marched very early & continued on till 10 o'clock When our indians halted to Conger [conjure] as they had all the Day seen a fresh sign of Indians; the low Grounds & Swamps were Very thick & Bushy: We Sent out Scouts Who continued out till Near Dark Which Occasioned us to Encamp there that Night. We Were informed by the scouts that the Enemy had gone on directly towards F. Duquesne: this Afternoon When the Sun was a bout an hour high we hear 12 Cannon fired as we imagined at F[ort] D[uquesne].

Monday the 14th. . . . as the provision was Near spent the Indians this Night held a Council in which it was Determined that all Except my self a Serjt & five indians should Return.

Wednesday the 16th We sent Back those that were to Return & proceeded on our way being only seven in Number: We came to where a large party of Indians had been abt 10 Days ago I imagine from the size of their Encampment abt 100. . . . We here left the Old Tradg path & went . . . till we Were within two miles of: F: D: then went to the N of W: & came to an Old indian Town<sup>78</sup> on the Ohio Abt 1½ m. Above the Fort We had a Very good View up & Down the River: We saw some Cattle grasing on an Island Down the River: We hid our selves in a thicket till the indians had conjured and painted after Which we Went Down The River Within ¾ of a m[ile] of the F[ort] then turned S.E. & went up on a stony Ridge where the Chief Warriour took his conjuring Implements & tyed them abt the Necks of three young men indians & told them they could not be hurt: Round my

<sup>78</sup> Shannopin's Town.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Neck he Tyed the Otter Skin in Which the Conj'g Implements had been kept & round the Serj'ts neck he tyed a Bag of Paint that had been kept with the Implements, he then told us that not one of us could be shot for those things Would turn the Balls from us—He then made us Strip ourselves of all our Cloaths Except our Breech Clouts & Mocasons, then shook hands With us & told us to go & fight like men for nothing could hurt us. The first View had of the fort was from the Banks of the Ohio but a Great Distance: we saw one Batteau two Cannoes, there were indians in the latter fishing. We were there in a pasture fenced in With Trees sett one on another. We saw by the Tracks that this pasture, the farthest part of Which is only abt.  $\frac{3}{4}$  m: from F: D: was much frequented by indians. from Which I Could make no Great Discovery Except of the Number of tents till Almost sun seting at Which Time I let the Indians know that I wanted them to Accompany me to the top of a Ridge<sup>79</sup> that Run Down in the forks Directly towards the F: but they disliked the proposal & refused as they were in great Expectations of geting a Scalp there—however When they saw that I was Determined to go & had proceeded on towards the place they followed me—from the top of this Ridge I had an extraordinary good View as it was considerably higher than the F & scarce half mile Distant from it, there were fifty or sixty tents pitched on the Ohio abt. 100 yards from the Fort & there are several houses on Monongahela. there were Neither Cannoes nor Batteaus in this that I Could perceive, nor Could I discover any New Works abt. the fort. I do imagine the men parade in the Fort as I saw them going in at Retreat Beating<sup>80</sup> but from What I Saw I do not judge that they have above 300 Frenchmen, the Indians kept a con-

<sup>79</sup> Grant's Hill.

<sup>80</sup> That is, when the drums beat the evening retreat.

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tinual Hooping but I Could not see their Camp unless the Tents I mentioned were pitched for them Which I judge were from the fires & the Appearance of the people at them whom by their looks, noise &c. I imagine to be Indians—I could see no Sign of a Camp or Buildings on the other Side of either of the Rivers—After Dark the Indians got to Singing & Dancing from their noise I judge them to be abt. fifty in Number all which the Cherokees told me were Shawnese. As I have taken a plan of the place & Fort as well as I could upon a Separate paper, I shall make no mention of it here — . . .

From the top of this Ridge I moved to another place nearer to the monongahala but could make no further Discovery From this place we went back to the Chief Warriour & after some consultation a greed to return home—upon Which we came abt. a mile & Near the Tradg path encamped—We heard the Indians singing & Dancing all night — — —

Thursday 17th. As soon as Day break we began our march which we continued Very fast till 1 oClock in Which time we came about 30 miles & overtook our party that was ordered back We then made a short halt & refreshed our selves after which we continued our march together & came Abt. 12 miles. Abt. 2 miles before we encampt we came upon some fresh Tracks that came along the path Eastwards — — —

Fryday the 18th. we continued on our Way pursuing the Tracks that we Came on last Night. The low grounds & Branches I mentioned in my Journal as I went towards F: D: are Very low & liable to be Overflowed & consequently Very moist & Soft so that I am a fraid a Road tho' them Will be Very indifferent for Carriages We followed the Tracks till night When we encamped abt. 4 miles from the Camp at Quimahony Creek — — —

Saterday the 19th. We marched Early in the morning & came

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to the camp Where we found that it was Ensn. Allens<sup>81</sup> party that we had tracked & that they arrived a Camp But last Night.

### GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE FOREST

Bouquet to Forbes, Raystown, August 8, 1758<sup>82</sup>

Yesterday I had word that three sutlers<sup>83</sup> wagons which were going from Juniata to Fort Littleton without escort, were attacked beyond Sideling Hill by nine Indians who scalped two wagoners and took two prisoners. And I learned just now that one of our convoys, coming here escorted by only thirteen men, was attacked on this side of the same mountain, and had two soldiers wounded. On hearing of the first, I sent out a party of thirteen Indians and seven volunteers to cut them off by an ambush on the Frankstown road.<sup>84</sup> Another party of eight Indians and five volunteers with an officer from Virginia has marched in the direction of Venango, with orders to take a position on the communication with the fort and to try to discover if there is not a hidden camp. A third party is on the route beyond Loyal Hannon. A fourth is going straight to the fort, and I have written to Colonel Washington to push on ahead on Braddock's route to stay there in ambush. I hope that we shall encounter some party, and if some of their men can be killed, that will make them more cautious.

<sup>81</sup> Ensign John Allen of the first Virginia.

<sup>82</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 337.

<sup>83</sup> A sutler was an independent merchant who followed the army to sell provisions and supplies to the soldiers.

<sup>84</sup> Frankstown, located on the branch of the Juniata River of the same name, is today in Blair County. The Franks family, traders of Philadelphia, probably gave the locality its name. The Frankstown trail led to the Allegheny River at Kittanning, by way of Frankstown.

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### INTELLIGENCE REPORT: SCOUTING THE ENGLISH ARTILLERY

Bouquet to Forbes, Raystown, August 18, 1758<sup>85</sup>

The enemy has discovered us, as one of their parties took a prisoner Saturday near the Shawnee Cabins, who escaped after being with them for two days. He said that the six Indians who captured him spoke English as well as he could, which makes me fear that they are some of our friends the Delawares. They went along about 150 paces from our workmen, and asked him several pertinent questions about the artillery. When he did not give a correct answer, they told him that he lied, that we had only so many cannon. The rascals have doubtless been following the convoy for several days.

### DIPLOMATIC REPORT: FORBES MOVES TO WIN BACK THE OHIO INDIANS

Forbes to Bouquet, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, August 18, 1758<sup>86</sup>

After many Intreigues with the Quakers, the Commissioners, the Governour &c, and with the Governour and Government of new Jersey and by the downright Bullying of Sir William Johnson &c. I hope I have now brought a Convention with the Indians of whatever denomination or Tribe, pretty near to a Crissis.<sup>87</sup> The six nations and all the Chief men of the Indians living to the eastward of the Lakes and upon the Ohio as far

<sup>85</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 380.

<sup>86</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 383.

<sup>87</sup> Forbes hoped to win the western Indians away from the French. In the negotiations, the English commander had two factors in his favor. The French, due to British naval action, were unable to supply the Indians with trade goods of sufficient quantity and at a reasonable price. Further, the Indians were beginning to suspect that the British would win the war, and thought it politic to be on the winning side.



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down as the Wabache, and Illinoi, have all accepted of our Belts of Invitation and friendship, and have promised to meet the Governours and Commissioners from all those different Provinces at East town<sup>88</sup> in Pennsylvania by the 12th or midle of September, where I think nothing can prevent a solid peace being established with most of those Indian tribes, as the Indian Claims appear to me both Just and Moderate, and what no man in their senses or in our situation with regard to the Indians would hesitate half an hour in granting them.

### COLONEL BOUQUET CONSIDERS A DECLARATION OF WAR ON PENNSYLVANIA

Bouquet to Forbes, Raystown Camp, August 20, 1758<sup>89</sup>

Forge is another article which will require . . . wagons. Hoops<sup>90</sup> says that almost all those which are in service can no longer be used, or would take so long on the way that they could not be depended on, aside from the expense and the quantity of forage they consume. There remains only one decision to take in my opinion, which is to dismiss all the wagons in bad condition and hire new ones. That is the difficulty: to count on the good will of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania or on the press warrants<sup>91</sup> of the magistrates would be folly, and we should die of hunger. You have no more regular troops to use for that purpose, but there are about 300 provincials between Shippensburg, Carlisle, and the east side of Susquehanna, not counting the 200 men at Fort Augusta. These fine gentlemen will not impress anyone unless you give them a leader who will

<sup>88</sup> Easton, Pennsylvania.

<sup>89</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 398.

<sup>90</sup> Adam Hoops, an army contractor, from Carlisle.

<sup>91</sup> Legal orders authorizing the use by the military of civilians' wagons.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

make them step. I think that Sir John<sup>92</sup> would be very suitable for that expedition, and that if you would terrorize the entire province and would find for you, between Philadelphia, Lancaster, Berks County, and York, 300 wagons which might bring us in a single trip about three months' supply of flour. . . .

I know that the whole province will cry murder, but if that measure is necessary for the success of the expedition, their unfounded complaints will not stop you.

### THE ARMY MARCHES: INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE ADVANCE TO LOYALHANNA

Bouquet to Col. James Burd, Raystown, about August 23, 1758<sup>93</sup>

Sir

You are to march from Reas Town Camp the 23d Aug: wth the R.A.

1st Highland Batt<sup>94</sup> 5 Companies

Your own Batt.

one division of artillery

Entrenching Tools

—Waggons loaded wth Provisions.

You are to proceed to Loyal Hannon, leaving your Waggons where the Road is not open with orders to join you with all possible Expedition.

When the three days Provisions taken by your men are consumed (they are Served for the 25th Inclusive) you will take Provisions out of the Waggons of your Convoy, and make them carry Part of the other Waggon's load:

The Horses are to be tyed every night upon the mountain,

<sup>92</sup> Sir John St. Clair, who had performed the same function for Braddock.

<sup>93</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 406-408.

<sup>94</sup> Battalion.

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as they would otherwise be lost; . . . They could perhaps be left loose at Edmunds Swamp, and Kickeny Pawlins.

Lieut Chew with a Party are to be detached from the Top of the Allegheny to reconoitre in a Straight Line the ground betwixt that place and the Gap of Lawrill hill, he is to cross that Gap, observing the course of the Water, and the Path; and is to join the detachment at L. H. All the detachments of the R. A. R. those of the 5 Compys of Highlanders, and of your own Battn are to march with you to Loyal H. with 3 or 4 days Provisions for the whole. Col. Stephens is to march with you and his Six Compys.

at the Place where you leave the Artillery and Waggon, your Men are to carry the Tools themselves, Packing on the Horses the Saws GrindStones, &.

You are to employ all the Pack Horses of the first Batt. and those that you may find on the Road to carry your Provisions untill the Waggon can come to you, and load the 5 Barrils of Cartridges; Drive also Some Bullocks.

As Soon as you arrive at L.H. Mr. Basset is to lay out your Incampment at the Place assigned by Mr. Rhor,<sup>95</sup> with two Small Redouts at 200 yards; All hands are then to be employed in entrenching the Camp; Those who have no Tools will pitch the Tents, cook, and the rest releave one another in the Work.

Before night the Ground must be reconoitred and your advanced guards posted; The Centrys are to releave every hour in the night, without noise.

No Drum is to beat as long as you judge that the Post has not been reconoitred by the Ennemys.

Suffer (in the beginning chiefly) no hunters or Stragglers, to prevent their being taken. No gun to be fired.

a Store house of 120 foot long, and at least 25 wide is to be

<sup>95</sup> Lieutenant Thomas Basset and Ensign Charles Rhor were engineers.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

built immediately to lodge your Provisions and Ammunition, in the Place where the Fort is to be erected, and covered with Shingles.

All the Artificers are to be put to Work: the Sayiers<sup>96</sup> and Shingle Makers with the Smiths first.

an Hospital is to be built near the Fort, and Ovens. Mr. Rhor is to give the direction for the Fort.

If there is any possibility of making Hay, no time is to be lost, and the clear grounds are to be kept for that use, and not Serve for Pasture.

send proper People to reconnoitre where sea Coal<sup>97</sup> could be got, if there is none, Char coal must be made.

The houses of office to be kept clean and covered every day.

The ammunition and Arms carefully inspected, the Arms loaded with a running Ball.

The Tools to be delivered to Each Party upon Receipt of their Commanding officer, who is to See them returned to the Stores before night.

The Intrenchmt is to be divided by tasks, and all the officers are to inspect the Work.

If you Send any Party forward, Don't permit them to take Scalps, which Serves only to render the Ennemys more vigilant. No Party is to be Sent, untill you hear from Major Armstrong<sup>98</sup> and Capt. Shelby.<sup>99</sup>

It would perhaps be proper to change every day the place of your advanced Posts; secure all avenues. If any difficulty Should occur to you, Consult Major Grant,<sup>100</sup> whose Experi-

<sup>96</sup> Sawyers—that is, workmen who did sawing work.

<sup>97</sup> An early name for bituminous coal.

<sup>98</sup> Major George Armstrong served in the third battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment.

<sup>99</sup> Captain Evan Shelby was an officer of the Maryland troops.

<sup>100</sup> Major James Grant of the 77th regiment, or Highlanders, as the 77th

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ence and perfect Knowledge of the Service you may rely intirely upon.

I give you the above instructions by way of Memorandum, and you are at Liberty to make any alterations that your Judgment and the Circumstances may direct.

Let me hear from you every two days; You know that Some of the Provincial officers are not vigilant upon Guard. Warn them every day. They could ruin all our affairs: Keep a Journal of your Proceedings.

### THE DEATH OF A CATAWBA CHIEF

Washington to Bouquet, Fort Cumberland, Maryland,  
August 24, 1758<sup>101</sup>

When the Convoy got within 6 Miles of this garrison 3 Cuttawba men and 2 Squaws (contrary to the advice of the Officers) set on before the Convoy for this Camp, and soon after were fir'd upon by about 10 or 12 of the Enemy; who kill'd Captn. Bullen, and Captn. French,<sup>102</sup> and wounded one of the Squaws; the loss we sustain by the death of these two Indians, is at this juncture very considerable, as they were remarkable for their bravery, and attachment to Our Interest; particularly poor Bullen whom (and the other) we buried with Military Honours.

### "THE LUCKLESS FATE OF POOR VIRGINIA"

Washington to John Robinson,<sup>103</sup> Fort Cumberland, Maryland,  
September 1, 1758<sup>104</sup>

My dear Sir: We are still Incamp'd here, very sickly; and was usually referred to, did not prove as reliable as Bouquet indicates in this passage.

<sup>101</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 274.



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quite dispirited at the prospect before Us. That appearance of Glory once in view, that hope, that laudable Ambition of serving Our Country, and meriting its applause, is now no more! Tis dwindled into ease; Sloth, and fatal inactivity, and in a Word, All is lost. . . .

We seem then, to act under an evil Geni, the conduct of our Leaders (if not actuated by superior Orders) is temper'd with something, I don't care to give a name to, indeed I will go further, and say they are d—ps, or something worse to P—s—v—n<sup>105</sup> Artifice, to whose selfish views I attribute the miscarriage of this Expedition, for nothing now but a Miracle can bring this Campaign to a happy Issue. . . .

See therefore how our time has been mispent; behold the golden opportunity lost; and perhaps never regain'd. How is it to be accounted for? can G—l F—s<sup>106</sup> have Orders for this? Impossible: Will then our Injur'd Country<sup>107</sup> pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full Representation of the matter go to His Majesty. Let him know how grossly his Hon'r and the Publick money have been prostituted. I wish I was sent immediately home as an Aide to some other on this Errand. I think without vanity I cou'd set the Conduct of this Expedition in its true colours, having taken some pains, perhaps more

<sup>102</sup> Despite their anglicized names and titles, Captain Johnny Bullen and Captain French were Catawba warriors. Bullen was "adopted" by Bouquet as a "son." Bullen and French were among the few reliable Indian allies of the British.

<sup>103</sup> John Robinson was Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Throughout his career, he speculated extensively in western lands. Robinson was a close personal friend of Washington's.

<sup>104</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 276-78.

<sup>105</sup> The two words not spelled out are clearly "dupes" and "Pennsylvanian."

<sup>106</sup> General Forbes.

<sup>107</sup> In the years before the Revolution, when Washington spoke of his "country," he meant, as a rule, Virginia.

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than any other to dive into the bottom of it. But no more, adieu my dear Sir. It has long been the luckless Fate of Poor Virginia to fall a Victim to the views of her Crafty Neighbours; and yield her honest efforts to promote their common Interest at the expence of much Blood and Treasure; while her sincerity justified her Measures. We now can only bewail that blindness, and wish for happier times, which seem at so remote a distance, that it is rather to be wish'd than expected.

### LETTER TO WILLIAM PITT— THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

Forbes to Pitt, Fort Loudoun, Pennsylvania, September 6, 1758<sup>108</sup>

In my last letter I had the honour to acquaint you, of my proceedings in the new road across the Alleganey Mountains, and over Laurell Hill (leaving the Rivers Yohiegany and Monongahela to my left hand) strait to the Ohio, by which I have saved a great deal of way, and prevented the misfortunes that the overflowing of those rivers might occasion. I acquainted you likewise of the suspicions I had of the small trust I could repose in the Pennsylvanians in assisting of me with any one necessary, or any help in furthering the Service that they did not think themselves compelled to do by the words of your letter to them.

As likewise of almost the total defection and desertion of the Southern Indians (except 80) who after the receiving of their presents &c. have all returned home not without committing . . . outrages upon the scattered Inhabitants of the North-west parts of Virginia in their return.

I thought fit to recapitulate this least my letters dont come to hand regularly as there is no post in those parts, nor any

<sup>108</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, 202-206.

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regular one anywhere except from Philadelphia, By New York, to Boston; and even there one may be three Months in receiving a Letter, that ought to be delivered in ten days, besides my letters must now go by Mercht. Ships, which makes the delivery very precarious. I hinted to you in my former, of my endeavouring to bring about a Treaty betwixt the Delaware Indians &ca. neighbours to those Provinces, but of late drove into the Arms of French and removed to the Ohio, as the Indians demands were but few, and to me seemingly not unreasonable, I thought the reclaiming of those Tribes would be of very great Service to the Publick in weakening of the French Interest by setting a good example to other Western Tribes of Indians, who it is said have all the Inclination to be well with us, wanting only an Opportunity, and an Assurance of protection to declare themselves for us, or at least to remain neutralls.

This is almost brought to a Crisis, their Chief Men being hourly expected at East-town upon the Delaware, where the Governr. of Pennsylvania and Jersey are to meet them and settle Preliminaries; I wish it could have been done sooner, and that they could have had time to remove, because now my scene of offensive Operations must imediately be put in Execution, when it will be hard for me to distinguish betwixt our friendly disposed Indians, and our real Enemies.

My advanced post consisting of 1500 Men, are now in possession of a strong post<sup>109</sup> 9 Miles on the other side of Laurell Hill and about 40 from Fort Du Quesne, nor had the Enemy ever suspected my attempting such a road till very lately, they having been all along securing the strong passes, and fords of the rivers, upon General Braddock's route.

My greatest distress and what maybe a real hindrance to me for some days is the provisions, which altho' every care im-

<sup>109</sup> Loyalhanna.

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aginable was taken by contracting for great Numbers of Wag-gons and Baggage horses at a very great Expence. Yet all has not been able, to supply the present consumption, and the maintaining of three Month's Provisions in store to carry along with us—This I early foresaw and acquainted the Governr.:, and the Assembly Commissioners of my Doubts, arising from the villiany of the Inhabitants in furnishing their worst Horses at so critical a juncture,—By contract they being obliged to carry 2000 lb weight per Waggon, such a length of road in such a specified time, but cannot carry above 1400 at most and take up four and twenty days in place of twelve to execute it in.

I have wrote the Governr. in very strong Terms upon this head, beging he would shew it to their Assembly now sitting, in order that they may fall upon Methods of sending from Philadelphia, and parts adjacent, three Months provisions at once . . . altho' sad experience makes me dread that their dilatory Measures, and contrary factions, will so retard, so absolutely necessary a transport as to throw me, and the little Army I have the honour to command, into very great distress.

I was greatly afraid that the unfortunate stop General Abercrombie<sup>110</sup> met with, might have enabled the French to strengthen themselves with regulars in those parts, but from every Intelligence I can possibly get, any reinforcements that have joined or are likely to join them, are the West Country Indians, who returned from Ticonderoga, who likewise may tire at Fort Du Quesne, but of this I hope to be better informed, when still a little nigher them, by the Means of deserters of whom as yet we have not had one come in, and there is but little trust to be put in the best Spies you can find, or in the small scouting parties

<sup>110</sup> Major General James Abercromby had succeeded Lord Loudoun as British commander in chief for North America. His "unfortunate stop" was his failure to take Ticonderoga from the French earlier in the summer.

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that you send for discovery, & no truth at all to be expected from an Indian. . . .

I vainly at the beginning flattered myself that some very good Service might be drawn from the Virginia, & Pennsylvania Forces, but am sorry to find that a few of their principle Officers excepted, all the rest are an extream bad Collection of broken Innkeepers, Horse Jockeys, & Indian traders, and that the Men under them, are a direct copy of their Officers, nor can it well be otherwise, as they are a gathering from the scum of the worst of people, in every Country, who have wrought themselves up, into a panick at the very name of Indians who at the same time are more infamous cowards, than any other race of mankind.

If it should please God to grant Success to His Majesty's Arms in their Attempts upon the Ohio, and which I think can't well fail, I shall be greatly at a loss how to dispose of Fort Du Quesne, whether to blow it up, and destroy it and the whole Settlements thereabout, or to keep it and leave a Garrison there for the Winter, the execution of the first is as easy, as the second appears to be attended with many difficulties, all of which must naturally occur to you, from its great distance from any of the inhabited parts of those Provinces, and consequently the great difficulties of either supporting it, or supplying it with Necessaries during a long severe Winter.

I have consulted the Governours of Pennsylvania and Virginia upon this head, and to know what Number of Troops they could leave there in case it was thought proper to preserve it, to which I have had no positive answer, but I know the Pennsylvania troops will disband the first of December unless their Assembly makes a new Provision for their Support.

In a few days I shall have most of my Troops moved forward towards the head, there to be in readiness of seizing the first



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favourable Opportunity of marching to the Banks of the Ohio, which I now have in my power of doing, by a march of 48 hours, and if refused the Carriages demanded from the Pennsylvanians, or they appear too tardy, and dilatory in the execution thereof, I shall most certainly try it upon flour, and rice, with the Assistance of what live Cattle we can carry forward with us.

My health, that has been extreamly precarious these two years, has of late been very near brought to a close, by a long and severe attack of a bloody flux,<sup>111</sup> which has reduced me to a state of weakness that I am obliged to travel in a Hurdle carried betwixt two Horses, but I hope the animating spirits of being able to do the smallest Service to my King and Country, will leave nothing undone on my part that can anyways contribute to the Success of so glorious a cause.

## FORBES DAMNS PENNSYLVANIANS

Forbes to Bouquet, Raystown, September 17, 1758<sup>112</sup>

. . . I have seen with regret for this some time past a Jealousy and suspicion subsisting on the part of the Virginians which they can have no reason for, as I believe neither you nor I values one farthing where we get provisions from, provided we are supplied, or Interest ourselves either with Virginia or Pennsylvania, which last I hope will be damn'd for their treatment of us with the Waggons, and every other thing where they could profit by us from their impositions, Altho' at the risque of our perdition.

<sup>111</sup> Dysentery.

<sup>112</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, 212-13.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

### THE FIRST BATTLE—MAJOR GRANT'S DEFEAT

Washington to John Augustine Washington,  
Raystown, September 25, 1758<sup>113</sup>

. . . I greatly bewail the misfortune that gives rise to the following relation. Major Grant of the Highlanders with a Chosen detachment of 800 Marchd from Our advanced Post at Loyal Hannan the 12th Instt. for Fort Duquesne what to do there I cannot certainly say, but it is reported and I suppose justly, to Annoy the Enemy and gain Intelligence. In the Night of the 13th. He took post with his Troops in sevel. Columns on a Hill<sup>114</sup> just above the Fort, from whence he sent out to Reconnoitre the Works, this they did, and burnt a Log House just by the Walls. Not content with this Success Majr Grant must needs sent an Engineer in full view of the Fort next morning with a covering Party to take a Plan of the place, he also ordered Majr Lewis<sup>115</sup> two Miles back to their Baggage Guard where Captn. Bullet<sup>116</sup> Commanded, and while this was doing causd the Revielle to beat in different places; which causd the Enemy to Salle upon them in very great numbers. hence ensued an obstinate Engagement and the running away of the Pennsylvanians, who were just behind, and ought to have Sustained the Highlanders. Majr Lewis notwithstanding his former Orders Marchd up the Virginians with great dispatch and Intrepidity . . . their bravely fell with more of my Officers besides Captn Walter Stewart<sup>117</sup> who was left wounded in the Field (but is since come in) I had also 62 killd; this is a heavy stroke upon the Regiment who only had 8 Officers 166 Men

<sup>113</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXVII, 482-83.

<sup>114</sup> Grant's Hill.

<sup>115</sup> Major Andrew Lewis of the first Virginia.

<sup>116</sup> Captain Thomas Bullet of the first Virginia.

<sup>117</sup> An officer of the first Virginia.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

there. I inclose you a Return of all the Troops that were there, of the killd wounded &ca. Your Friend Bullett has acquired immense honour in this Action, defending himself with what Virginian's were left against the whole Force of the Enemy while his Ammunition lasted, and then was the last Man that left the Field. It is with infinite pleasure I tell you that the Virginians, Officers and Men, distinguish themselves in the most eminent manner, and the General has Complimented me publickly on their good behaviour, and that every Mouth resounds their Praises. The Highlanders and them are become one People, shaking each other by the hand wherever they meet tho perfect Stranger's. . . .

### MAJOR GRANT'S ACCOUNT—"I HOPE I SHALL NEVER SEE AGAIN SUCH PANNICK AMONG TROOPS"

Grant to Forbes, Fort Duquesne, about September 14, 1758<sup>118</sup>

The Instructions when I left Loyl Hannon was that a particular party should be sent to Attack each Indian fire, but as those Fires either had not been made, or were burnt out before we got to the Ground, it was impossible to make any disposition of that kind. Major Lewis was informed of every particular of our Project before we marched from Loyal Hannon, & was told there that he was to Command the Troops that was to be sent upon the Attack, as I was to continue upon the height to make a Disposition for covering His retreat (which we did not desire to be made in good Order) & for forming the Rear Guard in our March from the Fort, & you'l easily believe that He & I had frequent Conversation upon the March about our Plan of Operations. I sent for Him, the moment . . . the Troops

<sup>118</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 500-504. The French permitted Grant to send this account to Forbes from Fort Duquesne.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

arrived upon the Hill, Opposite to the Fort & told him that as we had been misinformed by the Guides with regard to the distance, & by that means had got there much later than we expected, it was impossible to make the projected disposition of a party of Men for the Attack of each Fire, but that it was impossible to continue another Day without being discovered, & that as the Night was far advanced there was no time to be lost. I therefore ordered Him to march directly with 100 Americans<sup>119</sup> 200 Highlanders & 100 Virginians & to Attack every thing that was found about the Fort. I gave Orders that no Attention should be paid to the Centries, who probably would challenge & in case they were fired upon they were not to return it upon any Account. But to march On as fast as possible & were not to fire a Shot, 'till they were close to the Enemy—& that after they discharged their pieces they were to Use their Bayonets without Loading a Second time. I told the Major that I would Order all our Drums & Pipes<sup>120</sup> to beat the retreat, when it was time for the Troops to retire, that I was indifferent what Order they came back in, for that it was the same thing to me if [there] was not three of them together, provided they did the Business they were sent upon.

The Major had not half a Mile to march into the open plain where the Fort stands. the 400 Men under His Command had a white Shirt over His Cloaths, to prevent Mistakes, & . . . they might even at a distance distinguish One another; I saw the Americans and Highlanders march off & gave directions that the Virginians should fall in—in the Rear, sending a greater Number of Men, might possibly I thought Occasion confusion, & I was of Opinion that 400 Men were quite sufficient to carry the Service into Execution. I was absolutely certain we were

<sup>119</sup> Troops of the Royal American regiment.

<sup>120</sup> The bagpipes of the Highlanders.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

not discovered when the Troops marched from the Hill. I thought our loss must be inconsiderable, & I never doubted but that everything would succeed beyond our most sanguine expectations.

After Posting the remaining part of the Troops in the best manner I could, I placed myself with the Drums & Pipes at the Head of the Highlanders, who were in the Center & exactly Opposite the Fort. during the Operation the time passed, the Day Advanced fast upon us, & was turning uneasy at not hearing the Attack begin, when to my great Astonishment, Major Lewis came up & told Me. "That is was impossible to doe any thing, that the Night was dark, that the Road was bad, worse than anything I had ever seen, that there were Logs of wood across it, that their were fences to pass that the troops had fallen into Confusion, & that it was a Mercy they had not fired upon one another, that they had made so much noise he was sure they must be discovered. & that it was impossible for the Men to find their way back thro' those Woods."—these were exactly the Words he made use of—this behaviour in an Officer was new to Me. His Conduct in Overturning a long projected Scheme & in disobeying such positive Orders, was so Unaccountable that I could not speak to him with common patience, so that I just made Answer to his last words that the Men according to the Orders that had been given would have found their way back to the Drums when the Retreat beat.—So I left Him & went as fast as I could to Lieut. McKenzie<sup>121</sup> & Mr. Rhor, to see what the matter was & to give directions for the Attack if the thing was practicable. I found the Troops in the greatest confusion I ever saw Men in, which to say truth was not surprizing, for the Major had brought them back from

<sup>121</sup> Since there were three Lieutenant McKenzies with Grant, it is impossible to say which one this was.



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

the plain when he returned himself, and every body then took a Road of their own. I found it was impossible to think of forming them for an Attack, and the Morning was too far advanced to send for the other Troops from the other places where they were posted, tho' I was reduced after all my hopes of Success, to this melancholly Situation, that something at least might be Attempted, I sent Liets. Robinson<sup>122</sup> & McDonald,<sup>123</sup> with 50 Men to make an Attack at a place, where Two or Three Fires had been seen the night before. I desired them to kill a Dozen of Indians if possible, & I would be satisfied. they went directly to the place they were ordered, & finding none of the Indians they set fire to the House, but it was daylight before they could return I mention this last Circumstance that it might appear clearly to you it was not in my Power, to send a greater Number.

The surprize was Compleat the Governour<sup>124</sup> knew nothing of us or our March & in all probability the Enterprize must have succeeded against the Camp as well as against the Indians, if the Attempt had been made. So favourable an Opportunity I dare say never was lost; The Difficulties which Major Lewis had represented to Me to be unsurmountable appeared to Me as they Certainly were absolutely imaginary I marched above 12 Miles that night with an advanced Guard & flanking Parties before it without the least Confusion the Major had not a Mile to march to the Fort and above two thirds of that way in an Open plain. & I can safly declare that there is no part of the Road in getting into the plain, worse than what I had passed with out any great difficulty in comeing up the Hill. I made no Secret to the People who were then about Me, that I was so

<sup>122</sup> Archibald Robinson of the Highlanders.

<sup>123</sup> One of two Lieutenant Alexander McDonalds with the Highlanders.

<sup>124</sup> Captain de Ligneris, commander of Fort Duquesne.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

much dissatisfied with the Majors Conduct, that I was determined to Carry him back to Camp in Arrest, that he might Answer to you for his behaviour. Several Officers heard Me say—As Mr. Bentick<sup>125</sup> if he escaped has no doubt informed, that it was my Intention. however I did not think it Advisable to take any Step of that kind 'till we were out of reach of the Enemy. I therefore sent Major Lewis the 14th at break of Day with the Americans & Virginians to reinforce Capt. Bullet who I had left with about 50 Men as a Guard upon our Horses & Provisions, within 2 Miles of the Fort directly upon the Road by which we were to return to our Camp. I was afraid the Enemy might possibly send a Detachment that way to take Possession of some Passes to harrass us in Our March, or perhaps to endeavour to cut us off in case we were forced to make a Retreat—& I directed the Major to place these Troops in Ambuscade that he might have all the Advantage possible of any party that could be sent out.—about 7 in the Morning after the fog was gone & the Day cleared up it was found impossible to take a Plan of the Fort from the height where the Troops were posted, & as Colo. Bouquet & I had settled that a Plan should be taken *A la barbe de la Garisson*<sup>126</sup> in case Our Attempt did not succeed in the Night. I sent Mr. Rhor with Capt. McDonald<sup>127</sup> & a hundred Men to take the Plan, with directions not to expose himself or the Troops, about the same time being informed that some of the Enemy Indians had discovered Capt. McKenzie,<sup>128</sup> who was posted upon the left almost facing the Monongehela. in Order to put on a good Countenance, & to Convince our Men they had no reason to be Afraid, I

<sup>125</sup> Lieutenant Rudolph Bentinck of the Royal American regiment.

<sup>126</sup> Literally, "in the beard of the garrison."

<sup>127</sup> Captain William McDonald of the Highlanders.

<sup>128</sup> Captain Hugh McKenzie of the Highlanders.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

gave directions to our Drums to beat the Reveille. the Troops were in an Advantageous Post, & I must own I thought we had nothing to fear. —For about half an Hour after the Enemy came from the Fort, in different parties, without much Order, & getting behind Forces they advanced briskly, & Attacked our left where there were 250 Men. Capt. McDonald & Lieutenant Campbel<sup>129</sup> were soon killed Lieut. McDonald was wounded at the same time, & our People being Over powered, gave way, where those Officers had been killed, I did all in my power to keep things in Order but to no purpose. The 100 Pensylvanians who were posted upon the right at the greatest distance from the Enemy, went Off without Orders, & without Firing a Shott. in short in less than half an Hour all was in Confusion & as soon as that happened we were fired upon from every Quarter. I endeavoured to rally the Troops upon every rising Ground & I did all in my Power in that Melancholly Situation to make the best Retreat I could. I sent an Officer to Major Lewis to make the best disposition he could, with ye Americans & Virginians, till I could come up, & I was in hopes to be able to make a Stand there, and at last to make a tolerable retreat Unfortunately upon hearing the firing the Major . . . thought the best thing that could be done was to march to our Assistance. Unluckily they did not take the same Road by which I marched the night before & by which they had passed that Morning & As I retired the same way I had Advanced, I never saw them. when I found Capt. Bullet & his 50 Men alone, I could not help saying to him that I was undone However tho' there was little or rather no hopes left, I was Resolved to doe the best I could, & when ever I could get anybody to stay with Me We made a Stand sometimes with 100 & sometimes with 50 just as the Men thought proper for Orders were

<sup>129</sup> Perhaps Lieutenant John Campbell of the first Virginia.

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to no purpose, Fear had then got the better of every other passion & I hope I shall never see again such a Pannick among Troops. till then I had no conception of it.

At last inclining to the left with about 50 Men, where I was told a number of the Americans & Highlanders had gone, my party diminished insensibly. every Souldier taking the Road he liked best, & I found myself with not above a Dozen of Men and an Officer of the Pennsylvanians, who, had been left with Capt. Bullet surrounded on all sides, by the Indians, & when I expected every instant to be cut in pieces without a possibility of escapeing, a Body of the French with a number of their Officers came up, & offered Me Quarters, which I accepted off. I was then within a short League of the Fort. it was then about 11. O Clock, and as far as I can judge about that time, the French troops were called back & the pursuit ended what our loss is you best know, but it must be considerable.

This is the best Acct. I can give you of our unlucky affair. I endeavoured to execute the Orders which I had received to the best of my power, As I have been misfortunate the World may possibly find fault with my Conduct. I flatter myself [that] you will not. I may have committed Mistakes without knowing them, but if I was sensible of them I most certainly should tell you, in what I thought I had done wrong, I am willing to flatter myself that my being a Prisoner will be no detriment to my promotion in case Vacancies should happen in the Army & Its to be hoped that the proper Steps will be taken to get me exchanged as soon as possible.

### “IT WAS BUT A SCENE OF CONFUSION”

Bouquet to Forbes, Layalhanna, September 17, 1758<sup>130</sup>

When they arrived on the height, only a single fire was seen,

<sup>130</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 519-520.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

but Ensign Chew<sup>131</sup> who had been reconnoitering said that the Indians were sleeping in blockhouses easy to capture. He sent Major Lewis there with 400 men. Some confusion occurring among his troops, he feared he had been discovered and returned to join Major Grant, who sent back immediately two parties of Highlanders. They visited the blockhouses, and found no one there. They set fire to them and withdrew.

The major, according to his orders, had but to retreat, but he unfortunately got the notion that the garrison was too weak to dare risk a sortie, and consequently he remained on the height until daybreak. He then had the reveille beaten in different places and ordered Major Lewis to go and station himself in ambush by the baggage with 100 Royal Americans and 150 Virginians. 200 Highlanders, 100 Marylanders, and 100 Pennsylvanians were stationed on the heights, and he sent McDonald with 100 Highlanders, with the drum beating, straight to the fort. A party sallying from the garrison had been discovered, and there is likelihood that he wanted to cut off its retreat. McDonald was scarcely halfway when they heard the whoop of the Indians, followed immediately by a sortie of about 800 French and Indians, who came and fell upon him. He killed so many of their men by his first volley that they spread out and surrounded him. He pierced through them, doing which he was killed. *Monro's*<sup>132</sup> and *Hugh McKenzie's* companies which went down to aid him were thrown into disorder, and the captains were killed. As the enemy continually received reinforcements, all the troops were very soon engaged, and the firing kept up for a long time without our men yielding.

Major Lewis, who was almost two miles away, hearing the shots, pressed by his officers and the soldiers, left his post to

<sup>131</sup> Coleby Chew.

<sup>132</sup> Captain George Monro of the Highlanders.



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go to their aid. He arrived just at the moment when our men were retreating in disorder upon his post. He had reached a height which had made his men out of breath and, on appearing, they found themselves under enemy fire. The action, however, was still very lively and disputed for a long time. Finally, our men gave way and it was but a scene of confusion, despite all Major Grant's efforts to rally them. They would probably have been cut to pieces but for Captain Bullet of the Virginians who with 100 men sustained the battle with all their forces until, having lost two-thirds of his men, he was pushed in the direction of the river, where he found the poor major. He urged him to retreat, but he told him he would not leave the field of battle as long as there was a man who would fight.

"My heart is broke," said he, "I shall never outlive this day." They were soon surrounded, and the Frenchmen, calling him by name, offered him quarter. He did not wish it. They did not want to fire on him, wishing to take him prisoner. Captain Bullet still fired, and in the end they fired, too, and routed his party into the Ohio, where a large number drowned. Bullet escaped, but I have no news of the major. On the first word of his misfortune, I sent Lieutenant Colonel Stephen with 300 men to join Lieutenant Colonel Dagworthy<sup>133</sup> in order to cover their retreat. The Indians did not pursue very far. Our loss is very considerable in officers, and 270 men are still missing. Several crossed the river, and it is believed that many escaped in this way.

### "FRESH DILEMMAS EVERY DAY"

Forbes to Abercromby, Raystown, October 8, 1758<sup>134</sup>

Mr. Gordon the Engineer has either gone off at the nail, or

<sup>133</sup> Lieutenant Colonel John Dagworthy served with the Marylanders.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

is turned so dilatory in every measure under his charge that it is almost impossible to get any one thing done to the purpose where he is concerned. If a trifle is to be done he makes it a labour to man and horse, and if a work of consequence makes slight of it. This is at present cruell, and now Rhorr is dead Hesse<sup>135</sup> and Basset<sup>136</sup> dying, I have no resource. So this branch is infinite perplexity; and the Qr. Mn. Genll<sup>137</sup> is beyond the power of man either to change or amend. And the immense confusion of Waggons and roads are intirely Sir Johns creating, who by a certain dexterity has you in fresh Dilemma's every day, and with his solemn face will tell you when he has done the worst, that he really acted for the best and can justify it. . . .

The Indians I cannot mention to you with any manner of patience, as I look upon them, their Interpreters, their Superintendents, and every creature any ways connected or attached to them, as the most imposing Rogues that I have ever had to deal with. The manner that they have been manadged here for these twelve months by past, has absolutely put it out of our power, almost ever to have any more dealings, or trust in them. They have cost to the provinces and Crown, incredible sums of money, and except about 14 Catawbas who have behaved well at major Grants affair, no one other tribe has done any one piece of service. And they as well as the rest of the Cherokees amounting only in the whole to 100 men leaving you every day, unless retained by presents, which I do assure you they neither do nor ever can deserve. . . .

<sup>134</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, 224-26.

<sup>135</sup> Lieutenant Emanuel Hess, an engineer of the Royal American regiment, suffered from consumption.

<sup>136</sup> Lieutenant Thomas Basset, an engineer of the Royal Americans, apparently recovered from whatever his ailment was, as he was soon back to duty status and completed the campaign.

<sup>137</sup> The Quartermaster General was Sir John St. Clair.

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### THE FRENCH ATTACK THE ADVANCE POST

Burd to Bouquet, Loyalhanna, October 12, 1758<sup>138</sup>

This day at 11 A: M the enemy fired 12 Guns to the South west of us upon which I sent out two partys to surround them but Instantly the firing increased, upon which I sent out a large party of 500 men they were forced to the Camp and Immediately a regular Attack Insued which lasted a long time I think about two hours, but we had the pleasure to do that Honr. to His Majesties Arms to keep his Camp at Loyal Hennon. I can't inform you of our Loss, nor that of the Enemy, must ferr You for the particulars to Lieut. Coll: Lloyd,<sup>139</sup> one of their Soldiers which we have mortally wounded, says they were 1200 strong & 200 Indians but I can Assertain nothing of this further. I have drove them of the field, but I don't doubt of a second Attack, if they do, I am ready. . . .

Excuse this Scrall being in a little hurry at present—since writing we have been fired upon.

### THE FRENCH ATTACK FAILS

Burd to Bouquet, Loyalhanna, October 13, 1758<sup>140</sup>

The Enemy has harrassed me all night, they made some little faints, but I think they were Cheefly Employed in Carrying off their Dead, & wounded, I have had sundry partys out to Day but Can't say possitvely wheither they are gon, or not as yet, but am apt to think they gott enough of it yesterday to suffice them for the first Tryal, I played upon them with shels last night which soon stopt their savage Tones. . . .

<sup>138</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 552-53.

<sup>139</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lloyd was with the second battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment. <sup>140</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 556.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

Capt. Gordon's Musick from the Great Guns farr Exceeded  
The Indian Solos.

### FORBES DESCRIBES THE FRENCH ATTACK

Forbes to Abercromby, Raystown, October 16, 1758<sup>141</sup>

The 12th in the morning about eleven oclock the advanced post were alarmed by hearing some firing about half a mile from them, which was succeeded by the Indian Halloo upon which 60 of the marylanders run towards the place whence the noise came, and when they got up, the firing became brisk—whereupon Colonel Burd of the pennsylvanians who commanded, ordered a party of the first Battalion of pennsylvanians to go and support the Marylanders, who had not marched half a mile when they met with the Enemy who were surrounding the Marylanders, and gave them their fire for some time, but upon finding them too numerous begun to retreat, a third party was ordered out, but the fire encreasing and approaching the breast work, the rest of the troops were ordered to their posts in the breast work and to line the skirts of the wood to favour the retreat of the three partys, and the alarm Guns were fired to make the Cattle and horse Guards take care themselves. In about an hour from the beginning the Enemy had drove our people into the breastwork and appeared in numbers along the edge of the wood from whence they begun afresh a very brisk fire, but our Cannon & Cohorns kept them at a distance, and certainly did execution as they were well served,<sup>142</sup> however after an hours firing and finding they could make no impression they began to retire leaving only two killed and one wounded where the fire was hottest. It is said that they carried off the

<sup>141</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, pp. 231-33.

<sup>142</sup> "Well served" here means "well manned and fired."

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

killed and wounded as they fell and retired in the evening to five miles distance, and next morning were seen by some of our returning scouting partys fifteen miles off. We saved all our Bullocks but they have carried off the officers horses and Batts<sup>143</sup> horses but cannot learn the number. . . .

I am apt to believe that the Enemy were not so strong as call'd, and that we had above 1500 effective men within . . . our breast work exclusive of sick and yet neither made one *Sortie* or followed them half a yard, but shamefully allowed them to bury the few they had killed, Carry off their wounded with some Prisoners and all our horses.

But as the difficultys in roads and rains, provisions for man and horse had sunk the Spirits of every living annimall a Victory . . . was necessary so I puffed up everything and ordered a General *Feu de Joy*,<sup>144</sup> which great surprized the remaining few of the Indians, who by this time had all to a man prepared to leave us next morning. . . .

It is hard how to judge or to choose the best how to act for the good of the Publick, but I know one thing certain, that a little good luck and success often justifies the worst of measures and stupidest of actions.

### “OUR AFFAIRS ARE NOW DRAWING TO A CRISIS”

Washington to Francis Fauquier, Loyalhanna, October 30, 1758<sup>145</sup>

My march to this post gave me an opportunity of forming a

<sup>143</sup> A bat horse carried an officer's personal luggage.

<sup>144</sup> *A feu de joy*, literally, a fire of joy, was a victory celebration. All troops were issued blank cartridges, and these were then all shot off at the same time. The Indians, especially, enjoyed this.

<sup>145</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 299-300.



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

judgment of the road; and I can truly say, that it is indescribably bad. Had it not been for an accidental discovery of a new passage over the Laurel Hill, the carriages must inevitably have stopped on the other side. This is a fact nobody here takes upon him to deny! The General and great part of the troops, &c, being yet behind, and the weather growing very inclement, must I apprehend terminate our expedition for this year, at this place. But as our affairs are now drawing to a crisis, and a good or a bad conclusion of them will shortly ensue, I choose to suspend my judgment, as well as a further account of the matter, to a future day.

### JUST IN CASE—BOUQUET JOTS DOWN PLANS FOR A WINTER EXPEDITION

A paper of Bouquet's, about November 5, 1758<sup>146</sup>

The Battoes being ready, embark the men wth. Six days Provisions dressed and go down Conimax,<sup>147</sup> Kiskemenitos & Ohio, to disembark on the right Side opposite to the Fort, where the Artillery must play hot on the Fort. The Breach made an assault can be given or if not thought advisable, move on this Side & Open a regular attack. The Place being much raked by the first, and the artillery probably dismounted. It would be Short Work.

As a preparation for the expedition, train the soldiers to shoot, to take positions, to load lying behind a log, to run, to dig trenches, etc.

<sup>146</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 594-95. This was a memorandum Bouquet prepared for his own use, probably for a council of war.

<sup>147</sup> The Conemaugh leads into the Kiskimenetas, which in turn flows into the Ohio.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

FORBES WRITES TO THE NEWLY REWON INDIAN ALLIES—

*“Return forthwith to your towns . . .  
let the French fight their own battles.”*

Forbes to the Shawanese and Delawares on the Ohio,  
Loyalhanna, November 9, 1758<sup>148</sup>

Brethren, I embrace this opportunity by our brother, Pesquitomen<sup>149</sup> who is Now on his Return home with some of your Uncles, the Six Nations, from the Treaty of Easton, of giving you Joy of the happy Conclusion of that great Council, which is perfectly agreeable to me; as it is for the mutual advantage of Your Brothers, the Indians, as well as the English nation.

I am glad to find that all past Disputes and Animosities are now finally settled, & amicably adjusted; & I hope they will be forever buried in Oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the Interest of your brethren, the English. As I am now advancing, at the Head of a large Army, against his Majesty's Enemies, the French, on the Ohio, I must strongly recomend to you to send immediate Notice to any of your People, who may be at the French fort, to return forthwith to your Towns; where you may sit by your Fires, with your Wives and Children, quiet and undisturbed, and smoke your Pipes in safety. Let the French fight their own Battles, as they were the first Cause of the War, and occasion of the long difference, which hath subsisted between you & your Brethren, the English; but I must entreat you to restrain your young Men from Crossing the Ohio, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from our Enemies; which I expect you will comply with, without Delay; lest, by your neglect thereof, I

<sup>148</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, pp. 251-52.

<sup>149</sup> Pisquetomen, a Delaware chief, was a brother of Shingas, “king” of the Delawares.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

should be the innocent Cause of some of your Brethren's Death. This Advice take and keep in your own Breasts, and suffer it not to reach the Ears of the French.

As a proof of the Truth and Sincerity of what I say, and to confirm the tender Regard I have for Lives and Welfare of our Brethren, on the Ohio, I send you this String of Wampum.

### A TRAGIC INCIDENT—VIRGINIANS FIGHT VIRGINIANS

Washington's notes for a biographer<sup>150</sup>

. . . during the time the Army lay at Loyal haning a circumstance occurred wch. involved the life of G W in as much jeopardy as it had ever been before or since the enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our Camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of Intelligence that they were within 2 Miles of the Camp a party commanded by Lt. Colo Mercer<sup>151</sup> of the Virga. line (a gallant and good Officer) was sent to dislodge them between whom a severe conflict and hot firing ensued which lasting some time and appearing to approach the Camp it was conceived that our party was yielding the ground upon which G. W. with permission of the Genl. called (for dispatch) for Volunteers and immediately marched at their head to sustain, as was conjectured the retireing troops. led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, and it ceasing, he detached Scouts to investigate the cause and to communicate his approach to his friend Colo. Mercer, advancing slowly in the meantime. But it being near dusk and the intelligence not having been fully dissiminated among Colo.

<sup>150</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIX, 47-48. The incident described took place on November 12, 1758.

<sup>151</sup> Lieutenant Colonel George Mercer was a member of the second Virginia.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Mercer's Corps, and they taking us, for the enemy who had retreated approaching in another direction commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return in spite of all the exertions of the Officers one of whom and several privates were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it. to accomplish which G W never was in more imminent danger. by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces.

### WASHINGTON OPENS THE ROAD

Washington to Forbes, Camp Chestnut Ridge,  
November 17, 1758<sup>152</sup>

Sir: After the most constant labour from day-break till night, we were able to open the Road to this place only, about 6 miles from our last Camp. . . .

I received but 36 of the 42 axes sent by Colo. Montgomery, and those in the very worst order, last night was spent in doing the needful repairs to them. We have 4 carriages with us, that follow with great ease.

If Indians ever can be of use to us, it must be now, in the front, for intelligence. I therefore beg you will order their conductors to bring them at all events, and that we may get our Bullocks immediately up; otherwise, as our meat will be out to-morrow, we shall possibly be delayed the next day in serving it out, when we should be marching to the next Post.

There was a Sergeant (Grant) of mine, confined for insolent behavior to an officer of Pennsylvania, and tried at the last General Court martial; but the sentence was not known when I came away, altho' the Court sat 5 days before. I applied (thro' Major Halkett) to get him released, but could not. He is a very fine fellow, and I am as desirous of getting him, as he is to come.

<sup>152</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 303-304.

VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

“FORT DUQUESNE, OR THE GROUND RATHER ON WHICH  
IT STOOD, WAS POSSESSED BY HIS MAJESTY’S TROOPS  
ON THE 25TH INSTANT.”

Washington to Francis Fauquier, Fort Duquesne,  
November 28, 1758<sup>153</sup>

Honble. Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you, that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his Majesty’s troops on the 25th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day’s march of the place, burned the fort, and ran away (by the light of it,) at night, going down the Ohio by water, to the number of about five hundred men, from our best information. The possession of this fort has been matter of great surprise to the whole army, and we cannot attribute it to more probable causes, than those of weakness, want of provisions, and desertion of their Indians. Of these circumstances we were luckily informed by three prisoners, who providentially fell into our hands<sup>154</sup> at Loyal Hannan, at a time when we despaired of proceeding, and a council of war had determined, that it was not advisable to advance beyond the place above mentioned this season, but the information above caused us to march on without tents or baggage, and with a light train of artillery only, with which we have happily succeeded. . . .

The General purposes to wait here a few days to settle matters with the Indians, and then all the troops, (except a sufficient garrison which will I suppose be left here, to secure the possession,) will march to their respective governments. . . .

<sup>153</sup> From Fitzpatrick’s *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 308-10. The following two letters are out of chronological order in the interest of a clearer narrative.

<sup>154</sup> The prisoners mentioned were taken in the same skirmish in which the Virginia troops had fired on each other. They informed the British that the garrison at Fort Duquesne was very weak.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

This fortunate, and, indeed, unexpected success of our arms will be attended with happy effects. The Delawares are suing for peace, and I doubt not that other tribes on the Ohio will follow their example. A trade, free, open, and upon equitable terms, is what they seem much to stickle for, and I do not know so effectual a way of riveting them to our interest, as sending out goods immediately to this place for that purpose. It will, at the same time, be a means of supplying the garrison with such necessaries as may be wanted; and, I think, those colonies, which are as greatly interested in the support of this place as Virginia is, should neglect no means in their power to establish and support a strong garrison here. Our business, (wanting this) will be but half finished; while, on the other hand, we obtain a firm and lasting peace, if this end is once accomplished . . .

FORBES TO PITT—"I HAVE USED THE FREEDOM OF GIVING  
YOUR NAME TO FORT DUQUESNE"

Forbes to Pitt, letter begun at Pittsburgh, November 27, 1758, and completed at Philadelphia, January 21, 1759<sup>155</sup>

Sir,

I do myself the Honour of acquainting you that it has pleased God to crown His Majesty's Arms with Success over all His Enemies upon the Ohio, by my having obliged the Enemy to burn and abandon Fort Du Quesne, which they effectuated on the 25 th:, and of which I took possession next day, the Enemy having made their Escape down the River towards the Mississippi in their Boats, being abandoned by their Indians, whom I had previously engaged to leave them, and who now seem all willing and ready to implore His Majesty's most Gracious Protection. So give me leave to congratulate you upon this great

<sup>155</sup> *Writings of Forbes*, pp. 267-69.

inadvertent in the service, I should be now ashamed  
making this application to you, but the having so many  
people put over my head, without my being sensible of my  
faults committed, has made and still makes the  
deepest impression on my mind. If Lord Biron pleases  
to let you know the hardness of my case, I flatter myself  
with the protection and service of Mr. Pitt, to restore me  
to Peace of mind.

I have used the freedom of giving your  
name to Fort Du Quesne, as I hoped it was in some measure  
the being actuated by your spirit that now makes us  
masters of the place. Nor could I help using the same  
freedom in the naming of two other Forts that I lately placed  
of which I send you the one Fort Legion & the other Fort John  
I hope the name fathers will take them under their  
protection, in which case, <sup>they</sup> decayed dwellings will soon be  
the richest and most fertile of any I expect to be the fruit  
in N. America. I have the honour to be with great  
regard and Esteem Sir

Your most Obedt  
most humble Servant  
J. Forbes



Philadelphia 20 January 1758

Letter from John Forbes to William Pitt changing Fort Du Quesne to Pittsburgh



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

Event, of having totally expelled the French from this prodigious tract of Country, and of having reconciled the various tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government. . . .

I should have carried the troops up the River to the Lake Erie, and destroyed the French posts at Venango and Presque Isle, but the Season of the Year, and the Scarcity of my Provisions, does by no Means admitt of it, this last inconvenience (being obliged to carry every bit of my Provisions for Men and horse for betwixt 3 & 400 Miles thro' almost impracticable roads and Mountains) renders it extremely difficult for me to leave a sufficient Garrison here for the Protection of this Country, as all Manner of Communication with the inhabited parts of the provinces will be cut off during the Winter for at least four Months, notwithstanding that I have built Forts, and erected Posts at proper distances, to have kept the Communication open if possible. . . .

My Physicians and all our Hospital People unaimously agree that I must go directly for England for to save my life, I must therefore beg it as the greatest favour that you will be so good as to move His Majesty to be graciously pleased to give me His leave of returning home as soon as I possibly can in order to re-establish my health, which at present renders me incapable of any service, or doing any duty whatever.

I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Du-quesne, as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters of the place. Nor could I help using the same freedom in the naming of two other Forts that I built (Plans of which I send you) the one Fort Ligonier & the other Bedford. I hope the name Fathers will take them under their Protection, In which case these dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in N. America.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

“AFTER GOD THE SUCCESS OF THIS EXPEDITION IS  
INTIRELY DUE TO THE GENERAL . . .”

Bouquet to William Allen,<sup>156</sup> Pittsburgh, November 25, 1758<sup>157</sup>

I take with great pleasure this first opportunity of informing you of the Reduction of this important place, persuaded that the success of his Majesty's Arms on this side will give you a great satisfaction, and reward you for all *the pains you have taken for the difficult supply of this army.*

We marched from Loyal Hannen with 2500 picked men without (Teams) or Baggage, and a light-train of Artillery in expectation of meeting the Enemy and determine by a battle who should possess this Country.

The distance is about Fifty miles which we marched in five Days, a great diligence considering the Season, the Uncertainty of the Roads intirely unknown and the difficulty of making them practicable for the artillery.

The 23 we took post at 12 Miles from hence and halted the 24 for Intelligence. In the Evening our Indians reported that they had discovered a very thick smoak from the Front extending in the bottom along the Ohio; a few hours after they sent word that the Enemies had abandoned their Fort after having burnt everything. We marched this morning and found the Report true,—they have blown up and destroyed all their Fortifications, Houses, Ovens and Magazines; all the Indian Goods burnt in their Stores which seems to have been very considerable.

They seem to have been about 400 men, part is gone down the Ohio, 100 by land supposed to Presque Isle, and 200 with the Governor, Mr. de Lignery,<sup>158</sup> to Venango; where he told

<sup>156</sup> William Allen was an influential member of the Pennsylvania assembly.

<sup>157</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 610-11.

<sup>158</sup> de Ligneris.



## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

the Indians he intended to stay this Winter, in intention to dis-lodge us in the Spring; We could soon make him ship his Quar-ters, had we only provisions, but we are scarcely able to main-tain ourselves a few days here to treat with the neighboring Indians who are summoned to meet us; The Destruction of the Fort, the want of Victuals and the impossibility of being supplied in time at this distance and season of the year, obliges us to go back and to leave a small detachment of 200 Men only, by way of keeping possession of the Ground. This successful Expedition can be of great service to the Provinces, provided they will improve and support it: It is now the time to take vigorous Measures to secure this Conquest, and unless Virginia and Pennsylvania can agree upon an immediate assistance, all our pains and advantages will be loss.

An immediate supply of provisions, Cloathing and necessaries should at any rate be sent up for the support of the Troops, and Measures taken for the formation of Magazines on the Frontiers (Rays Town and Cumberland) for the supply of an army to act early in the Spring.

The souccours and directions from England would be too late, and if the Colonies do not exert themselves to the utmost of their power, I am afraid they will have occasion to repent it.

Indian Goods ought to be provided without delay with a Commissary of proper person to dispose of them either for Trade or presents, as our New friends cannot remain long un-provided and would soon return to the French, was we to let them want.

Some artificers are also greatly wanted, such as Carpenters, Smiths, Masons, Gunsmiths & chiefly Ship builders &c.

A number of Cows and Bulls, Mares and Stallions, Garden seeds &c. every moment is precious and the Land so rich, and the pastures so abundant that everything should thrive, and the

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Garrison would soon be able to support itself.

Fish Netts and Hooks would likewise be of great use for people reduced to Salt Meat, and some Rice, Barley &c. to prevent the Scurvey among the Men. I enter in all those Details with you because I think the safety of this post depends of it, and in the plenty you are used to live, they would not so readily occur to you, as to us who are deficient of every necessary of life. Could you diffuse in the Assembly the publick Spirit which directs all your actions, I would be very easy upon the Consequences, but I know the disposition of people in general always indolent and ready to fall asleep on the smallest glance of ease and quiet. You must rouse them, and make them sensible that this business is but half done. We have acted our part, let you do yours; *It is now in your power to enjoy in peace and quietude your Lands and possessions*, if you will only lay out in time some money, which may save you ten times more, and the lives of thousands of your poor Inhabitants.

After God the success of this Expedition is intirely due to the General, who by bringing about the Treaty of Easton, has struck the blow which has knocked the French in the head, in temporizing wisely to expect the Effects of that Treaty, in securing all his posts, and giving nothing to chance; and not yielding to the urging instances for taking Braddock's Road, which would have been our destruction; In all these measures I say that he has shown the greatest prudence, firmness and ability; Nobody is better informed of the Numberless difficulties he had to surmount than I am, who had an opportunity to see every step that was taken from the beginning and every obstruction that was thrown in his way. I wish the Nation may be as sensible of his service as he really deserved and give him the only reward that can flatter him; The pleasure of seeing them pleased and satisfied.

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“THE FINEST AND MOST FERTILE COUNTRY OF AMERICA,  
LYING IN THE HAPPIEST CLIMATE OF THE UNIVERSE”

A despatch dated November 28, 1758, from an anonymous  
correspondent at Pittsburgh to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*  
of December 14, 1758<sup>159</sup>

I HAVE the Pleasure to write this Letter upon the Spot  
where *Fort Duquesne* once stood, while the *British* Flag flies  
over the Debris of its Bastions in Triumph.

Blessed be God, the long look'd for Day is arrived, that has  
now fixed us on the Banks of the *Ohio* with great Propriety  
called *La Belle Riviere*, in the quiet and peaceable Possession  
of the finest and most fertile Country of *America*, lying in the  
happiest Climate in the Universe. This valuable Acquisition  
lays open to all his Majesty's Subjects a Vein of Treasure,  
which, if rightly managed, may prove richer than the Mines  
of *Mexico*, the Trade with the numerous Nations of *Western Indians*:  
It deprives our Enemies of the Benefits they expected from their  
deep laid Schemes, and breaks asunder the Chain of Communi-  
cation betwixt *Canada* and *Louisiana*, a Chain that threatened  
this Continent with Slavery, and therefore the chief Favourite  
and Mistress of the *French* Court. These Advantages have been  
procured for us by the Prudence and Abilities of General  
Forbes, without Stroke of Sword, tho' had they been purchased  
at the Price of much Blood and Treasure, every Lover of his  
Country must have allowed that they would have been cheaply  
bought. . . .

The Twenty-sixth of this Month was observed, by the Gen-  
eral's Orders, as a Day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty  
God for our Success; the Day after we had a grand *feu de Joye*,  
and To-day a great Detachment goes to *Braddock's* Field of  
Battle, to bury the Bones of our slaughtered Countrymen, many

<sup>159</sup> *Papers of Bouquet*, II, 613-14.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

of whom were butchered in cold Blood by (those crueller than Savages) the *French*, who, to the eternal Shame and Infamy of their Country, have left them lying above Ground ever since. The unburied Bodies of those killed since, and strewed round this Fort, equally reproach them, and proclaim loudly, to all civilized Nations, their Barbarity.

Thanks to Heaven, their Reign on this Continent promises no long Duration! especially if Mr. Pitt be preserved, whose great Soul animates all our Measures, infuses new Courage into our Soldiers and Sailors, and inspires our Generals and Admirals with the most commendable Conduct.

### SECURING THE FRUITS OF VICTORY

Washington to Francis Fauquier, Loyalhanna, December 2, 1758<sup>160</sup>

The General has, in his letters, told you what garrison he proposed to leave at Fort Duquesne, but the want of provisions rendered it impossible to leave more than two hundred men in all there. These, without *peculiar* exertions, must, I fear, abandon the place or perish. To prevent, as far as possible, either of these events happening, I have by this conveyance wrote a circular letter to the back inhabitants of Virginia, setting forth the great advantages of keeping that place, the improbability of doing it without their immediate assistance, that they may travel safely out while we hold that post, and will be allowed good prices for such species of provisions as they shall carry. Unless the most effectual measures are taken early in the spring to reinforce the garrison at Fort Duquesne the place will inevitably be lost, and then our frontiers will fall into the same distressed condition that they have been in for some time past. For I can very confidently assert, that we never can secure

<sup>160</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, II, 312-15.

## VIRGINIA COLONEL WITH GENERAL FORBES

them properly, if we again lose our footing on the Ohio, as we consequently lose the interest of the Indians. I therefore think, that every necessary preparation should be making, not a moment should be lost in taking the most speedy and efficacious steps in securing the infinite advantages which may be derived from our regaining possession of that important country.

That the preparative steps should immediately be taken for securing the communication from Virginia, by constructing a post at Red-stone Creek, which would greatly facilitate the supplying of our troops on the Ohio, where a formidable garrison should be sent, as soon as the season will admit of it. That a trade with the Indians should be upon such terms, and transacted by men of such principles, as would at the same time turn out to the reciprocal advantage of the colony and the Indians, and which would effectually remove those bad impressions, that the Indians received from the conduct of a set of rascally fellows, divested of all faith and honor, and give us such an early opportunity of establishing an interest with them, as would be productive of the most beneficial consequences, by getting a large share of the fur-trade, not only of the Ohio Indians, but, in time, of the numerous nations possessing the back countries westward of it. And to prevent this advantageous commerce from suffering in its infancy, by the sinister views of designing, selfish men of the different provinces, I humbly conceive it absolutely necessary that commissioners from each of the colonies be appointed to regulate the mode of that trade, and fix it on such a basis, that all the attempts of one colony undermining another, and thereby weakening and diminishing the general system might be frustrated. To effect which the General would (I fancy) cheerfully give his aid.

Although none can entertain a higher sense of the great importance of maintaining a post on the Ohio than myself, yet,



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under the unhappy circumstances my regiment is, I would by no means have agreed to leave any part of it there, had not the General given an express order for it. I endeavored to shew, that the King's troops ought to garrison it; but he told me, as he had no instructions from the ministry relative thereto, he could not order it, and our men that are left there, are in such a miserable situation, having hardly rags to cover their nakedness, exposed to the inclemency of the weather in this rigorous season, that, unless provision is made by the country for supplying them immediately, they must inevitable perish, and if the first Virginia regiment is to be kept up any longer, or any services are expected therefrom they should forthwith be clothed; as they are, by their present shameful nakedness, the advanced season, and the inconceivable fatigues of an uncommonly long and laborious campaign, rendered totally incapable of any kind of service; and sickness, death, and desertion must, if not speedily supplied, greatly reduce its numbers. . . .

### “THUS ENDED THAT CAMPAIGN”

Washington's notes for a biographer<sup>161</sup>

. . . Thus ended that Campaign, a little before Christmas in very inclement weather and the last one made during that War by G W whose health by this time (as it had been declining for many months before, occasioned by an inveterate disorder in his Bowels) became so precarious as to induce him (having seen quiet restored by this event to the Frontiers of his own Country which was the principal inducement to his taking arms) to resign his Military appointments. The sollicitation of the Troops which he commanded to Continue, their Affecte, farewell address to him, when they found the Situation of his health and other circumstances would not allow it. affected

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him exceedingly and in grateful sensibility he expressed the warmth of his attachmt. to them on that, and his inclination to serve them on every other future occasion.

<sup>161</sup> Fitzpatrick's *The Writings of George Washington*, XXIX, 48-49.





Land Scout  
In the Ohio Country  
October—December, 1770





## *Economic Difficulties*

Newly christened Pittsburgh was desolate and chill in the winter of 1758 as temporary shelters were raised slowly on the ruins the French had made of their once-proud Fort Duquesne. Washington was turning his back on it—on the tatterdemalion garrison, on the recently hostile savages still camped at the Forks, on the very war itself. To a more introspective man, departure from the scene would, no doubt, have been the occasion for welling memories of the more than five years he had given to the struggle for this ground. But Washington was not introspective, and anyway, he was bone-tired and wracked with illness. No doubt, as a man sick and in strange parts will be, he was obsessed with getting home. At least he could comfort himself that the campaign was over.

If the service of Virginia had been hard—and it had been—the rewards were great. When Washington greeted the New Year at Williamsburg, after a hurried return trip from the Ohio Country, he arrived as the acknowledged first soldier of Virginia. In addition, he was now a lawmaker. In the summer of 1758, he had stood for burgess of Frederick County, and had been elected even while absent on the campaign—for although he was a resident of Fairfax County, he owned land in Frederick County and thus was known to the residents there as a neighbor as well as a military leader.

On the sixth of January of the new year, 1759, he added to the title of burgess that of bridegroom. Before the campaign of 1758 had taken him into the wilderness, Washington had become engaged to a comely young widow of his own age, Martha Dandridge Custis. She had been left with two small children—a boy, Jacky, and a girl, Patsy—but she had also

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been left with what was, by the standards of the day, a very large fortune. Her social standing was as elevated as her amiability was pleasing. For Washington, the alliance was from every point of view a favorable one. With his new family he returned now to his beloved Mount Vernon.

In the next few years other honors found their way to the master of the broad estate on the south bank of the Potomac. He became a vestryman in his parish; a trustee of the near-by city of Alexandria; a justice of the County Court. He gave up his seat as a burgess from Frederick County to run for a seat in his own Fairfax County, and won handily.

All of these were honors which a wealthy and well-born planter might expect to accumulate. To them were added, however, other duties which were testimony to his probity and neighborliness. He was called on frequently to act as executor of wills or as guardian to widows or minors. Although these unselfish duties were time-consuming, tedious, and often thankless, Washington gave to them unstintingly of time and effort that spoke unmistakably of *noblesse oblige*. That his neighbors so often asked him for this help was testimony to the kindly regard and respect in which he was held by the community.

For years Washington had been absorbing the harsh lessons of the soldier; now he was to learn something of the stubborn facts of economics. First of all, there was Mount Vernon itself—during the long war years the plantation had gone to seed. Stock, tools, buildings, fences—all needed repair or replacement. In a letter to an old comrade at arms, Captain Robert Stewart, Washington described the situation:

This, upon my soul, is a genuine account of my [financial] affairs. . . . I doubt not that you will be surprised at the badness of their condition unless you will consider under what terrible management and disadvantages I found my estate when I retired from the public service

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of this colony; and that besides some purchases of land and negroes I was necessitated to make . . . I had provisions of all kinds to buy for the first two or three years; and my plantation to stock, in short with everything; buildings to make, and other matters, which swallowed up, well before I knew where I was, all the money got by marriage, nay more, brought me into debt. . . .

Adding to Washington's growing indebtedness, the soil of Mount Vernon proved unsuited to the culture of tobacco. After repeated poor crops, Washington turned to raising wheat instead.

Whatever the crop, however, the economic relationship between Virginia and the mother country stacked the cards against the planter. Virginia's principal cash crop rapidly wore out the soil. Under existing British laws Virginians could sell only within the British Empire, and could buy manufactured goods only from Britain. Most planters dealt through some British merchant, or factor, who bought their crops and sold them manufactured goods. These London middlemen naturally wanted to pay prices as low as possible for colonial products, and to get prices as high as possible for the English goods they supplied the planter—usually on credit and so with interest added to the price.

The planters themselves compounded their difficulties by their wasteful standard of living, a practice which Washington shared. As Douglas Southall Freeman has written of Virginia society of that day, "Extravagant living was the vice of a class which neither could pay what it owed nor collect what was owing it." Virginians abused their credit with London houses until credit was cut off, and in addition, often could not pass up the opportunity to acquire more and more land in the new world until they had over-extended themselves into bankruptcies which brought other estates tumbling down with their own.

Small wonder, then, that Virginians resisted so resolutely

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the threat of a further strain on their shaky economy, a strain in the form of taxes imposed by a distant parliament. They were a society in imminent jeopardy of a general economic collapse, and the duties of the Stamp Act or Townshend Acts could well be the fatal blow. Although Washington was better off than many of his fellows, he was a prominent leader in organizing as resistance to the new taxes a boycott of British goods. The weapon was a double blessing: besides putting pressure on the British parliament to remove the taxes, non-importation agreements, temporarily at least, prevented Virginia aristocrats from spending themselves further into debt.

Because of his public activity, Washington had expenses above and beyond those of the average planter. Campaigning for election to the legislature consumed not only time but money. In one election alone, Washington treated the voters to 28 gallons of rum, 50 gallons of rum punch, 34 gallons of wine, 46 gallons of beer, and 2 gallons of cider. (Since there were fewer than four hundred voters, and since three other candidates besides Washington also contributed towards quenching the thirst of the electorate, it must have been a joyous election.)

Expense did not stop with the campaign. Even as today, the time and expense of serving in the legislature then was hardly covered by the pay. Washington was approached frequently for loans, especially by former fellow soldiers. It was part of the gentleman's code of the day that Washington should make the loans without interest, security, or even a specified date of repayment. Small wonder the account books of Mount Vernon showed greater and greater debits.

One would hardly expect the former Colonel, however, to be so unresourceful as to meet his economic difficulties passively. As a matter of fact, Washington had thought out a remedy—which was to take him again, after an absence of

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twelve years, back to the Forks of the Ohio. To a neighbor, Captain John Posey, even further in debt than himself, Washington urged the advantages of recouping fortune by buying western lands:

. . . there is a large Field before you, an opening prospect in the back Country for Adventures, where numbers resort to, and where an enterprising Man with very little Money may lay the foundation of a Noble Estate in the New Settlements Upon Monongahela for himself and posterity. The Surplus money which you might save after discharging your Debts, would possibly secure you as much Land as in the course of 20 years would sell for 5 times your present Estate. For proof of which only look to Frederick [County], and see what Fortunes were made . . . ; was it not by taking up and purchasing at very low rates the rich back Lands which were thought nothing of in those days, but are now the most valuable Lands we possess? Undoubtedly it was, and to pursue this plan is the advice I would offer my Brother were he in your situation. . . . I would . . . ask whether it would be better to labor under a load of debt, where you are, which must inevitably keep you in continual Anxiety, and dread of your Creditors; by selling the produce of your labour at under value, (the never failing consequence of necessitous Circumstances) with other evils too obvious to need Inumeration, and which must forever lend a helping hand to keep you low and distressed or to Pluck up resolution at once and disengage yourself of these Incumbrances and Vexations . . . [and] to remove back, where there is a moral certainty of laying the foundation of good Estates to your Children.

Washington was in a much better position to put his own advice into effect than was his neighbor, for he would not have to sell his present holdings to raise money for new lands. Under the terms of the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie in 1754, when the Virginia regiment was first raised, the volunteers of that year were entitled to two hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio Valley as reward for their services. Washington's share of this would be for him a goodly estate indeed.



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Why, then, did Washington wait so long to claim his reward? The answer lay in the troubled nature of the times after 1754. During the ensuing war the French contested with force of arms any claim Virginia might have to the Ohio Valley. When, in 1763, the French finally surrendered the area, the doughty Pontiac and his war-daubed braves took up the struggle. And in that same year, in order to pacify the tribes, the King issued his famous proclamation forbidding English settlement beyond the Appalachians.

But finally, late in 1768, the way was opened for Washington to press his claims under the proclamation of 1754. Two new treaties, negotiated with the Indians in 1768—the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois and the Treaty of Hard Labour with the Cherokee—opened the Ohio Valley to settlement east and south of the river as far as the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Since much of the newly reopened area lay within the boundaries of Virginia, Washington was now in a position to press his claims, as a volunteer of 1754, to land in western Virginia.

At the same time, an opportunity was developing to acquire land in Pennsylvania. For a long time, what is today the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania had remained largely unclaimed because of a boundary dispute between Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Until this dispute was settled, no man could be sure of any title to land there. By 1767, however, it appeared that the area would become part of Pennsylvania. (Later, Virginia disputed the claim of Pennsylvania to the southwestern counties, but in 1767, Washington believed that Pennsylvania's claims would hold good—as, of course, they eventually did.) The Pennsylvania lands were to be sold first come, first served, and Washington, who was already familiar with the area, resolved to be among the first.

Fortunately, a friend of the war years, William Crawford,

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already lived in the Monongahela valley and was a surveyor by trade. Washington wrote to this old friend proposing a partnership to which Crawford agreed. Crawford was to seek out, survey, and claim choice lands. Washington was to supply the necessary funds and give Crawford a share of the lands for his efforts. Washington undertook to raise money sufficient for the project, despite rather pressing debts to creditors in London, because he hoped that future income from the new lands would eventually make it possible for him to discharge the debts.

In the meantime, Washington also pressed the necessary arrangements for making good the Virginia promise of 1754. The current governor, the Baron de Botetourt, was persuaded to grant to the veterans of the Virginia regiment of 1754 the right to take out their two hundred thousand acres in up to twenty separate tracts. Thereupon, newspaper advertisements called the veterans of the regiment together to present their claims. At a meeting in Fredericksburg, late in the summer of 1770, the assembled claimants appointed their former Colonel to act on their behalf in seeking out the land to be claimed. The costs of Washington's journey were to be shared by all.

The trip would also serve another purpose. Crawford had written to announce that he already had acquired some choice acreage for Washington in western Pennsylvania. The journey would make it possible for Washington to view these lands in person.

As the first bright autumnal hues appeared among the forests of the Blue Ridge, in 1770, George Washington set out once more for lands he had fought to win and now hoped to own.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

### *Remarks and Occurs.*

(October) 5th. Began a journey to the Ohio in Company with Doctr. Craik,<sup>1</sup> his Servant, and two of mine with a lead Horse with Baggage. . . .

6th. Fed our Horses on the Top of the Ridge at one Codleys<sup>2</sup> and arrivd at my Brother Samls.<sup>3</sup> on Worthington's Marsh a little after they had dind, the distance being about 30. Miles; from hence I dispatchd a Messenger to Colo. Stephens<sup>4</sup> apprising him of my arrival and Intended journey. . . .

7. My Portmanteau Horse being unable to proceed, I left him at my Brother's and got one of his and proceeded. . . . At Rinkers<sup>5</sup> which appears to be a cleanly House my boy<sup>6</sup> was taken Sick but continued on to Pritchard's.<sup>7</sup> Pritchard's is also a pretty good House, their being fine Pasturage, good fences, and Beds tolerably clean.

8. My Servant being unable to travel, I left him at Pritchard's with Doctr. Craik, and proceedd. my self with Vale. Crawford<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. James Craik, a native of Scotland and graduate of the University of Edinburgh, had been the surgeon with the Virginia regiment on the campaign of 1754, and thus, like Washington, was entitled to receive land under Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation of that year. Craik had also served with Braddock and was to serve later in the Revolutionary War. He was long Washington's personal physician as well as a close friend.

<sup>2</sup> A tavern in what is now Bluemont, Virginia.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Washington, two years younger than George, lived near the present Charles Town, W. Va.

<sup>4</sup> Adam Stephen, another veteran of the Virginia regiment.

<sup>5</sup> Jasper Rinker's house was on the Winchester-Cumberland road.

<sup>6</sup> Billy, or William Lee, a slave purchased from the Lee family, probably knew George Washington as well as any other living man, for he was Washington's manservant throughout these years and throughout the Revolution.

<sup>7</sup> Pritchard's was a tavern on the Cacapon River.

<sup>8</sup> Valentine Crawford was a brother of Captain William Crawford, Washington's western land agent, for whom see note 17 below.

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to Colo. Cresap's,<sup>9</sup> in ord. to learn from him (being just arrivd from England) the particulars of the Grant said to be lately sold to Walpole and others, for a certain Tract of Country on the Ohio.<sup>10</sup> . . .

9. Went up to Rumney<sup>11</sup> in order to buy work Horses, and meet Doctr. Craik and my Baggage; arrivd there abt. 12, distance 16 Miles. In the Afternoon Doctr. Craik and my Servt. (much amended) and the Baggage, arrivd from Pritchard's; said to be 28 Miles.

10. Having purchasd two Horses, and recoverd another which had been gone from me near 3 Years, I dispatchd my boy Giles with my two Riding Horses home, and proceeded on my journey. . . .

11. The Morning being wet and heavy we did not set of[f] till 11 Oclock and arrivd that Night at one, Killam's<sup>12</sup> on a branch of George Ck.<sup>13</sup> distant  $10\frac{1}{2}$  Measurd Miles from the North Branch of Potomack. . . .

<sup>9</sup> Colonel Thomas Cresap had settled in western Maryland on the North Branch of the Potomac at what is now Oldtown, Maryland, by 1740. He was an original member of the Ohio Company, for whom he was in charge of building roads and warehouses in the Ohio Country.

<sup>10</sup> The "Walpole Grant" was a vast land-speculating scheme similar to the Ohio Company. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Wharton, Philadelphia merchant, and Thomas Walpole, brother of a leading British statesman of the day (Horace Walpole), were among the promoters. The associates were attempting to get the approval of the British government for the grant of a tract of land covering what is now southwestern Pennsylvania, western West Virginia, and Kentucky. If approved, the grant would have included lands claimed by Virginia—lands which Washington hoped to get in payment for his military service of 1754. The Walpole project later failed to win the approval of the British government.

<sup>11</sup> The town of Romney is now in West Virginia.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Gillam or Killam was a tavern keeper.

<sup>13</sup> George's Creek was crossed west of Cumberland on Braddock's Road. Braddock's army camped here in 1755.

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12. We left Killam's early in the Morning, breakfasted at the little meadows<sup>14</sup> 10 Miles of, and lodgd at the great Crossings<sup>15</sup> 20 Miles further, which we found a tolerable good days work.

The Country we traveld over to day was very Mountainous and stony, with but very little good Land, and that lying in Spots.

13. Set out about Sunrise, breakfasted at the Great Meadows<sup>16</sup> 13 miles of[f], and reachd Captn. Crawford's<sup>17</sup> about 5 Oclock.

The Lands we travell'd over to day till we had crossd the Laurel Hill (except in small spots) was very mountainous and indifferent, but when we came down the Hill to the Plantation of Mr. Thos. Gist,<sup>18</sup> the Ld. appeard charming; that which lay level being as rich and black as any thing cou'd possibly be; the more Hilly kind, tho of a different complexion must be good, as well from the Crops it produces, as from the beautiful white Oaks that grows thereon, the white Oak in generl. indicates poor Land,<sup>19</sup> yet this does not appear to be of that cold

<sup>14</sup> Washington had stopped at Little Meadows in 1753, 1754, and 1755.

<sup>15</sup> The Great Crossings of the Youghiogeny was a ford near what is now Addison, Pennsylvania.

<sup>16</sup> The Great Meadows was the site of Fort Necessity and Washington's first battle.

<sup>17</sup> William Crawford was originally from Frederick County, Virginia, and was a surveyor by trade. Washington and Crawford surveyed together, perhaps as early as 1749. Crawford served under both Braddock and Forbes, as well as against Pontiac. He was acting as a land agent for Washington as early as 1767, and perhaps before. In 1770, he was residing at his home in what is now Connellsville, Pennsylvania. During the Revolutionary War, he rose to the rank of colonel. After seeing action in many of the principal battles of the war in the East, he was captured while leading an expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1782, and was burned at the stake in what is now Crawford County, Ohio. <sup>18</sup> A son of Christopher Gist.

<sup>19</sup> In Washington's day and for some time later, the quality of land was



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kind. The Land from Gists to Crawford's is very broken, tho not Mountainous; in Spots exceeding Rich, and in general free from Stone. Crawfords is very fine Land; lying on Youghyaughgane at a place commonly called Stewart's Crossing.<sup>20</sup>

*Sunday 14th.* At Captn. Crawford's all day. Went to see a Coal Mine not far from his house on the Banks of the River; the Coal seemd to be of the very best kind, burning freely and abundance of it.

*Monday 15th.* Went to view some Land<sup>21</sup> which Captn. Crawford had taken up for me near the Youghyaughgane distant about 12 miles. This Tract which contains about 1600 Acres Includes some as fine Land as ever I saw, a great deal of Rich Meadow, and in general, is leveller than the Country about it. This Tract is well waterd, and has a valuable Mill Seat<sup>22</sup> (except that the Stream is rather too slight, and it is said not constant more than 7 or 8 months in the Year; but on acct. of the Fall, and other conveniences no place can exceed it).

In going to this Land I passd through two other Tracts which Captn. Crawford had taken up for my Brothers Saml. and John;<sup>23</sup> that belonging to the former, was not so rich as

judged by the type of trees growing on it—hence Washington's interest in various kinds of trees. And how valuable these trees would be today!

<sup>20</sup> Stewart's Crossing of the Youghiogheny is today within the limits of Connellsville, Pennsylvania. Braddock's army used the ford in 1755.

<sup>21</sup> Crawford had had the land surveyed for Washington the previous year. The sixteen hundred odd acres are now the site of Perryopolis, Pennsylvania.

<sup>22</sup> In partnership with a Virginia neighbor, Gilbert Simpson, Washington had a mill erected on the mill site on what came to be known as Washington's Run. Simpson operated the mill, which was begun in 1774 and was in operation by 1776. The mill, which was rebuilt and repaired from time to time, survived until recent decades. The foundation and mill dam may still be seen. The land and mill were sold by Washington to Israel Shreve in 1795.

<sup>23</sup> Samuel, it will be recalled, was two years George's junior; John (Augustine) was the "Jack" to whom George wrote during the French and Indian Wars. He was four years younger than George.

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some I had seen; but very valuable on acct. of its levelness and little Stone, the Soil and Timber being good; that of the latter had some Bottom Land upon sml. runs that was very good (tho narrow) the Hills very rich, but the Land in genl. broken. I intended to have visited the Land which Crawford had procurd for Lund Washington<sup>24</sup> this day also, but time falling short, I was obligd to Postpone it making it in the Night before I got back to Crawfords, where I found Colo. Stephen.

The Lands which I passed over to day were generally Hilly, and the growth chiefly white Oak, but very good notwithstanding; and what is extraordinary, and contrary to the property of all other Lands I ever saw before, the Hills are the richest Land; the Soil upon the Sides and Summits of them, being as black as Coal and the Growth, Walnut, Cherry, Spice Bushes, etca.; the flats are not so rich; and a good deal more mixd with Stone.

*Tuesday 16.* At Captn. Crawford's till the Evening, when I went to Mr. John Stephenson<sup>25</sup> (on my way to Pittsburg) and lodgd. This day was visited by one Mr. Ennis<sup>26</sup> who had travell'd down the little Kanhawa (almost) from the head to the Mouth, on which he says the Lands are broken, the bottoms neither very wide nor rich, but covd. with Beach; at the Mouth the Lands are good, and continue so up the River; and about Weeling<sup>27</sup> and Fishing Ck.<sup>28</sup> is, according to his acct. a

<sup>24</sup> Lund Washington, a distant cousin of George's, was in Washington's employ as the manager of several of Washington's Virginia estates.

<sup>25</sup> John Stephenson, a half-brother of William Crawford, lived on Jacob's Creek in Fayette County.

<sup>26</sup> "Mr. Ennis," to the editor's knowledge, has left no other footprints in the sands of time.

<sup>27</sup> Wheeling Creek, which flows into the Ohio at what is now Wheeling, West Virginia.

<sup>28</sup> Fishing Creek enters the Ohio at New Martinsville, West Virginia.

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body of fine Land. I also saw a Son of Captn. John Hardens<sup>29</sup> who said he had been from the Mouth of little Kanhawa to the big,<sup>30</sup> but his discription of the Lands seemd to be so vague and indeterminate, that it was much doubted whether he ever was there or not. He says however that at the Mouth of the Big Kanhawa there may be abt. 20 or 25,000 Acres of Land had in a Body that is good, that you are not above five or 6 Miles to the Hills, and that the Falls of the Kanhawa<sup>31</sup> are not above 10 Miles up it.

*Wednesday 17.* Doctr. Craik and myself with Captn. Crawford and others arrivd at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing 43½ Measurd Miles. In Riding this distance we pass over a great deal of exceeding fine Land (chiefly White Oak) especially from Sweisley Creek<sup>32</sup> to Turtle Creek, but the whole broken; resembling (as I think all the Lands in this country does) the Loudoun Lands<sup>33</sup> for Hills.

We lodgd in what is calld the Town, distant abt. 300 yards from the Fort at one Mr. Semples<sup>34</sup> who keeps a very good House of Publick Entertainment; these Houses which are built of Logs, and rangd into Streets are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be abt. 20 in Number, and inhabited by Indian Traders, etca.

The Fort is built in the point between the River Alligany and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is 5 sided and regular, two of which (next the Land)

<sup>29</sup> John Harden, of Frederick County, Virginia, had served with Washington on the Virginia frontier in the fall of 1755.

<sup>30</sup> The Big Kanawha.

<sup>31</sup> Kanawha Falls is 39 miles above Charlestown, West Virginia, near the present town of Gauley Bridge, West Virginia.

<sup>32</sup> Sewickley Creek, a tributary of the Youghiogheny.

<sup>33</sup> Loudoun County, Virginia.

<sup>34</sup> Samuel Semple's tavern was at the corner of Water and Ferry Streets.

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are of Brick, the others Stockade. A Mote encompasses it. The Garrison consists of two Companies of Royal Irish Commanded by one Captn. Edmonson.<sup>35</sup>

*Thursday 18th.* Dind in the Fort with Colo. Croghan<sup>36</sup> and the Officers of the Garrison; Supped there also, meeting with great civility from the Gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colo. Croghan the next day at his Seat<sup>37</sup> abt. 4 Miles up the Alligany.

*Friday 19th.* Recd. a Message from Colo. Croghan that the White Mingo<sup>38</sup> and other Chiefs of the 6 Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I woud be at his House abt. 11 (where they were to meet). I went up and receivd a Speech with a String of Wampum from the White Mingo to the following effect:

That as I was a Person who some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of; they were come to bid me welcome to this Country, and to desire that the People of Virginia woud consider them as friends and Brothers linked together in one chain; that I wd. inform the Governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harm[on]y with the white People, and that tho their had been some unhappy differences between them and the People upon our Frontiers, it was all made up, and

<sup>35</sup> Captain Charles Edmonstone served with the 18th, or Royal Irish, Regiment of Foot.

<sup>36</sup> George Croghan, an Indian trader since about 1745, had served with Washington in 1754 as an adviser on Indian affairs and interpreter, as well as a contractor of supplies. In 1756, he had been appointed Deputy Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Sir William Johnson, and in that capacity, had negotiated the final treaty of peace with Pontiac. In his later years, he was engaged in extensive land speculation. For his lands in the Pittsburgh area, see note 47 below.

<sup>37</sup> Croghan's home was on Pine Creek in what is now Etna, Pennsylvania.

<sup>38</sup> White Mingo was a Seneca chief.

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they had forgotten; and concluded with saying, that, their Brothers of Virginia did not come among them and Trade as the Inhabitants of the other Provinces did; from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an Eye as they could wish.

To this I answered (after thanking them for their friendly welcome) that all the Injuries and affronts that had passed on either side was now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the People of Virginia than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a People not so much engaged in Trade as the Pennsylvanians, etc. which was the Reason of their not being so frequently among them; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connections with them, and that I would acquaint the Govr. with their desires.

After dining at Colo. Croghan's we returned to Pittsburg, Colo. Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the Way down the River, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson an Interpreter to attend us the whole Voyage; also a young Indian Warrior.<sup>39</sup>

*Saturday 20.* We embarked in a large Canoe with sufficient store of Provision and Necessaries, and the following Persons (besides Doctr. Craik and myself), to wit: Captn. Crawford, Josh Nicholson, Robt. Bell, William Harrison, Chs. Morgan and Danl. Reardon<sup>40</sup> a boy of Captn. Crawford's, and the Indians who were in a Canoe by themselves.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph Nicholson had visited the Illinois Country and hunted in Kentucky before undertaking this trip. Later, he served under General Daniel Brodhead against the Senecas in 1779, and still later, he was acting as an interpreter to Cornplanter, the Seneca chief. The two Indians, to the editor's knowledge, do not appear again in historical literature.

<sup>40</sup> Bell, Harrison and Morgan were apparently, like Reardon, employees of Crawford.



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From Fort Pitt we sent our Horses and boys back to Captn. Crawford's, w' orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November.

Colo. Croghan, Lieutt. Hamilton<sup>41</sup> and one Mr. Magee<sup>42</sup> set out with us. At two we dind at Mr. Magee's<sup>43</sup> and Incampd 10 Miles below, and 4 above the Logs Town. We passd several large Island(s) which appeard to (be) very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the River, alternately; the Hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seem generally to be abt. 3 and 4 hundred yards wide, and so vice versa.

*Sunday 21.* Left our Incampment abt. 6 O'clock and breakfasted at the Logs Town, where we parted with Colo. Croghan, etca. abt. 9 O'clock. At 11 we came to the Mouth of big Bever Creek,<sup>44</sup> opposite to which is a good Situation for a House,<sup>45</sup> and above it, on the same side (that is the West) there appears to be a body of fine Land. About 5 Miles lower down on the East side comes in Racoon Ck.<sup>46</sup> At the Mouth of which, and up it appears to be a body of good Land also. All the Land between this Creek and the Monongahela and for 15 Miles back, is claimd by Colo. Croghan under a purchase from the Indians (and which Sale he says, is confirmd by his Majesty).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Lieutenant Robert Hamilton was an officer of the Fort Pitt garrison.

<sup>42</sup> Alexander McKee, the deputy Indian agent at Fort Pitt, sided with the British during the Revolution.

<sup>43</sup> Now McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania.

<sup>44</sup> Beaver River, which enters the Ohio from the north in Beaver County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>45</sup> Now Monaca, Pennsylvania.

<sup>46</sup> Racoon Creek enters the Ohio from the southeast.

<sup>47</sup> This tract ran from the mouth of Racoon Creek south to near present Independence, Pennsylvania, and then west to near present Duquesne, Pennsylvania. The northern and western boundaries of the tract were formed by the Ohio and Monongahela rivers. The land was purchased from the Iroquois

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On this Creek where the Branches thereof interlock with the Waters of Shirtees Creek,<sup>48</sup> there is, according to Colo. Croghan's acct. a body of fine Rich level Land; this Tract he wants to sell, and offers at £ 5 Ster'g. pr hundd., with an exemption of Quit rents<sup>49</sup> for 20 years; after which, to be subject to the payment of 4/2 Ster'g pr. Hundd.; provided he can sell it in 10,000 Acre Lots. Note the unsettled State of this Country renders any purchase dangerous.

From Racoon Creek to little Bever Creek<sup>50</sup> appears to me to be little short of 10 Miles, and about 3 Miles below this we Incampd; after hiding a Barrl. of Bisquet in an Island (in Sight) to lighten our Canoe.

*Monday 22d.* As it began to Snow about Midnight, and continued pretty steadily at it, it was about ½ after Seven before we left our Incampment. At the distance of about 8 Miles, we came to the Mouth of Yellow Creek<sup>51</sup> (to the west) apposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good Land, and the Assent to the Hill apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good Land about two or 3 Miles above this. About 11 or 12 Miles from this, and just above what is called the long Island (which tho so distinguished is not very remarkable for length, breadth or

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in 1749 and confirmed at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. In 1775, Croghan sold the land to Bernard Gratz.

<sup>48</sup> Shirtee's Creek was an early name for Chartier's Creek, which enters the Ohio at present McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania.

<sup>49</sup> Quitrents were a survival of feudalism. Originally, they were money paid yearly to great landowners in place of performing labor services. In the British colonies, great landowners attempted to collect these monies even after selling land and passing title to another person. They proved difficult or impossible to collect and disappeared after the Revolution.

<sup>50</sup> Little Beaver Creek enters the Ohio from the north almost at the present Pennsylvania-Ohio border.

<sup>51</sup> Yellow Creek enters the Ohio from the west at Yellow Creek, Ohio.

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goodness) comes in on the east side the River, a small Creek or Run,<sup>52</sup> the name of which I could not learn; and a Mile or two below the Island, on the West Side, comes in big Stony Creek<sup>53</sup> (not larger in appearance than the other); on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms, or body's of good Land. About 7 Miles from the last Mentiond Creek, 28 from our last Incampment, and about 75 from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town;<sup>54</sup> Situate on the West Side the River a little above the Cross Creeks.<sup>55</sup>

This place contains abt. Twenty Cabbins, and 70 Inhabitants of the Six Nations.

Had we set off[f] early, and kept pritty constantly at it, we might have reachd lower than this place to day; as the Water in many places run pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday.

The River from Fort Pitt to the Logs Town has some ugly Rifts, and Shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the Channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say. From the Logs Town to the Mouth of little Bever Creek is much the same kind of Water; that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently in others, and quite still in many. The Water from little Bever Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows; there being some one part or other always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the River in

<sup>52</sup> King Creek, which enters the Ohio from the east, or West Virginia, side.

<sup>53</sup> Known today as Wills Creek.

<sup>54</sup> Mingo Town was on the Ohio side at or near present Mingo Junction, Ohio, which is several miles below Steubenville, Ohio.

<sup>55</sup> Cross Creeks are creeks which enter a river across from each other—that is, one on one side of the river and one on the other. The creek on the Ohio side is today called Indian Cross Creek and the one on the West Virginia side, Virginia Cross Creek.

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all the distance from Fort Pitt to this Town has not widend any at all nor doth the Bottoms appear to be any larger.

The Hills which come close to the River opposite to each bottom are steep: and on the side in view, in many places, Rocky and cragged; but said to abound in good land on the Tops. These are not a range of Hills; but broken and cut in two as if there were frequent water courses running through (which however we did not perceive to be the case, consequently they must be small if any). The River along down abounds in Wild Geese, and severl. kinds of Ducks but in no great quantity. We killd five wild Turkeys to day.

Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town we receivd the disagreeable news of two Traders being killd at a Town calld the Grape Vine Town,<sup>56</sup> 38 miles below this; which causd us to hesitate whether we shoud proceed or not, and wait for further Intelligence.

*Tuesday 23.* Several imperfect accts. coming in, agreeing that only one Person was killd, and the Indians not supposing it to be done by their People, we resolvd to pursue our passage, till we could get some more distinct Acct. of this Transaction. Accordingly abt. 2 Oclock we set out with the two Indians which was to accompany us, in our Canoe, and in about 4 Miles came to the Mouth of a Creek calld Seulf Creek,<sup>57</sup> on the East side; at the Mouth of which is a bottom of very good Land, as I am told there likewise is up it.

The Cross Creeks<sup>58</sup> (as they are calld) are not large, that on the West side however is biggest. At the Mingo Town we

<sup>56</sup> Grape Vine Town, also known as Frank's Town, was a Delaware town on what is now known as Captina Creek, which enters the Ohio in Belmont County, Ohio.

<sup>57</sup> This is known today as Beech Bottom Run and is just south of Wellsburg, West Virginia.

<sup>58</sup> See note 55 above.

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found, and left, 60 odd Warriors of the six Nations going to the Cherokee Country to proceed to war against the Cuttaba's<sup>59</sup> About 10 Miles below the Town we came to two other cross Creeks that on the West side largest, but not so big; and calld by Nicholson, French Creek.<sup>60</sup> About 3 Miles or a little better below this, at the lower point of some Islands<sup>61</sup> which stand contiguous to each other, we were told by the Indians with us that three men from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the People settled upon Red Stone,<sup>62</sup> etca.) had markd the Land from hence all the way to Red Stone; that there was a body of exceeding fine Land lying about this place and up opposite to the Mingo Town, as also down to the Mouth of Fishing Creek.<sup>63</sup> At this Place we Incampd.

*Wednesday 24th.* We left our Incampment before Sunrise, and abt. Six Miles below it, we came to the Mouth of a pretty smart Creek comg. in to the Eastward calld by the Indians Split Island Creek,<sup>64</sup> from its running in against an Island On

<sup>59</sup> The Catawbias, traditional enemies of the Iroquois, sided with the English in the French and Indian War, as the reader will recall.

<sup>60</sup> These cross creeks are known today as Indian Short Creek (on the Ohio side) and Virginia Short Creek (on the West Virginia side). They are north of Tiltonville, Ohio.

<sup>61</sup> Pike Island, Upper Sister Island, and Lower Sister Island, just north of Wheeling, West Virginia.

<sup>62</sup> The reference here is to settlements on Redstone Creek, an eastern tributary of the Monongahela. The three men referred to were probably Ebenezer, Silas, and Jonathon Zane, Virginians, who explored land for what is now Wheeling, West Virginia, in 1769, and settled on it in 1770. Ebenezer Zane later engaged in extensive land speculation in what is now Ohio. Zanesville and Lancaster, Ohio, are situated on lands once owned by Zane. Zane laid out the road from Wheeling to Maysville, Kentucky, known as Zane's Trace. It later became part of the National Road.

<sup>63</sup> Fishing Creek enters the Ohio from the east near New Martinsville, West Virginia.

<sup>64</sup> This was apparently Wheeling Creek, and the island, Wheeling Island.



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this Ck. there is the appearance of good land a distance up it. Six miles below this again, we came to an other Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson, Weeling,<sup>65</sup> and abt. a Mile lower down appears to be an other small Water<sup>66</sup> coming in on the East side; which I remark, because of the Scarcity of them and to shew how badly furnished this Country is with Mill Seats. Two or three Miles below this again, is another Run on the West side;<sup>67</sup> up which is a near way by Land to the Mingo Town; and about 4 Miles lower, comes in another on the East,<sup>68</sup> at which place is a path leading to the settlement at Red Stone. Abt. a Mile and half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek<sup>69</sup> so calld by the Indians from a Stone which is found here out of which they make Pipes; opposite to this (that is on the East side) is a bottom of exceeding Rich Land; but as it seems to lye low, I am apprehensive that it is subject to be overflowd. This Bottom ends where the effects of a hurricane appears by the destruction and havock among the Trees.

Two or three Miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson, Fox Grape Vine,<sup>70</sup> by others Captema Creek, on which, 5 Miles up it, is the Town calld the Grape Vine Town; and at the Mouth of it, is the place where it was said the Traders livd, and the one was killd. To this place we came abt. 3 Oclock in the afternoon, and finding

<sup>65</sup> This would be McMahan Creek in Bellaire, Ohio. Nicholson apparently mistook it for the Wheeling Creek which enters the Ohio at Bridgeport, Ohio. The party would not have seen this smaller Wheeling Creek, as it enters the Ohio behind Wheeling Island.

<sup>66</sup> McMahan Run, near present McMechen, West Virginia.

<sup>67</sup> Weegee Run.

<sup>68</sup> Big Grave Creek, in present Moundsville, West Virginia.

<sup>69</sup> Pipe Creek is in lower Belmont County, Ohio.

<sup>70</sup> Fox Grape Vine Creek is now known as Captina Creek and enters the Ohio from the west just above present Captina, West Virginia.

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no body there, we agreed to Camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the Town, and enquire into the truth of the report concerning the Murder.

*Thursday 25th.* About Seven Oclock Nicholson and the Indian returnd; they found nobody at the Town but two old Indian Women (the Men being a Hunting) from these they learnt that the Trader was not killd, but drownd in attempting to Ford the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the Trader (fathr. to him) being gone for Horses to take home their Skins.

About half an hour after 7 we set out from our Incampment around which, and up the Creek is a body of fine Land. In our Passage down to this, we see innumerable quantities of Turkeys, and many Deer watering, and browsing on the Shore side, some of which we killd. Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any Rifts or very rapid water, the River gliding gently along; nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face of the Country, except that the bottoms seemd to be getting a little longer and wider, as the Bends of the River grew larger.

About 5 Miles from the Vine Creek comes in a very large Creek to the Eastward calld by the Indians Cut Creek,<sup>71</sup> from a Town, or Tribe of Indians which they say was cut of entirely in a very bloody Battle between them and the Six Nations.<sup>72</sup> This Creek empties just at the lower end of an Island, and is 70 or 80 yards wide, and I fancy is the Creek commonly calld by the People of Red Stone, etca., Weeling.<sup>73</sup> It extends accord-

<sup>71</sup> This is today Fish Creek and enters the Ohio from the east at Woodlands, West Virginia.

<sup>72</sup> Whether an Indian town was once wiped out on this creek, and if so, what the details were, is impossible to discover. However, in general, such an event would be entirely in keeping with the history and behavior of the Iroquois.

<sup>73</sup> Washington here mistook Fish Creek Island and Fish Creek for Wheel-

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

ing to the Indians acct. a great way, and Interlocks with the Branches of Split Island Creek; abounding in very fine bottoms, and exceeding good Land. Just below this on the West side, comes in a sml. Run<sup>74</sup> and about 5 Miles below it on the West side also another midling large Creek emptys, calld by the Indians broken Timber Creek;<sup>75</sup> so named from the Timber that is destroyd on it by a Hurricane; on the head of this was a Town of the Delawares, which is now left. Two Miles lower down, on the same side, is another Creek smaller than the last and bearing (according to the Indians) the same name;<sup>76</sup> opposite to these two Creeks (on the East side) appears to be a large bottom of good Land. About 2 Miles below the last mentioned Creek, on the East side, and at the end of the bottom aforementioned, comes in a sml. Creek or large Run.<sup>77</sup> Seven Miles from this comes in Muddy Creek<sup>78</sup> on the East side the River, a pretty large Creek and heads up against, and with, some of the waters of Monongahela (according to the Indians acct). and contains some bottoms of very good Land; but in general the Hills are steep, and Country broken about it. At the Mouth of this Creek is the largest Flat I have seen upon the River; the Bottom extending 2 or 3 Miles up the River above it, and a Mile below, tho it does not seem to be of the Richest kind, and yet is exceeding good upon the whole, if it be not too low and Subject to Freshes.<sup>79</sup>

About half way in the long reach<sup>80</sup> we Incampd, opposite to  
ing Island and Wheeling Creek, which he had already passed.

<sup>74</sup> Johnson's Run in northern Monroe County, Ohio.

<sup>75</sup> Bishop Run in Monroe County, Ohio.

<sup>76</sup> Opossum Creek in Monroe County, Ohio.

<sup>77</sup> Proctor Run, at Proctor, West Virginia.

<sup>78</sup> Fishing Creek, below New Martinsville, West Virginia.

<sup>79</sup> Washington here means *freshets*, or floods.

<sup>80</sup> The "Long Reach" is a straight stretch in the usually winding Ohio,

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

the beginning of a large bottom on the East side of the River. At this place we through out some Lines at Night and found a Cat fish of the size of our largest River Cats hookd to it in the Morning, tho it was of the smallest kind here. We found no Rifts in this days passage, but pretty swift water in some places, and still in others. We found the bottoms increasd in size, both as to length and breadth, and the River more choked up with Fallen Trees, and the bottom of the River next the Shores rather more Muddy but in general stony as it has been all the way down.

*Friday 26th.* Left our Incampment at half an hour after 6 Oclock, and passd a small run<sup>81</sup> on the West side about 4 Miles lower. At the lower end of the long reach, and for some distance up it, on the East side, is a large bottom, but low, and coverd with beach next the River shore, which is no Indication of good Land. The long reach is a strait course of the river for abt. 18 or 20 Miles which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general, is remarkably crooked. There are several Islands in this reach, some containing an 100 or more Acres of Land; but all I apprehend liable to be overflowed.

At the end of this reach we found one, Martin, and Lindsay two Traders; and from them learnt, that the Person drown'd was one Philips attempting in Compa[ny] with Rogers,<sup>82</sup> another Indn. Trader, to Swim the River with their Horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping.

About 12 Miles below the three Islands<sup>83</sup> we Incampd just 

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running from Paden City, West Virginia, to Raven Rock, West Virginia.

<sup>81</sup> Probably Grandview Run, just below New Matamoras, Ohio.

<sup>82</sup> Without first names, it is virtually impossible to discover the exact identity of men with such common names as Martin, Rogers, Phillips, and Lindsay. Even if we knew their names, however, it is unlikely that these obscure merchants of the forest left any other written trace by which they could be identified. <sup>83</sup> Three Brothers Islands, near Eureka, West Virginia.

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

above the Mouth of a Creek<sup>84</sup> which appears pretty large at the Mouth and just above an Island. . . . We met with no Rifts to day, but some pretty strong water, upon the whole tolerable gentle. The sides of the River was a good deal incommoded with old Trees, wch. impeded our passage a little.

This day provd clear and pleasant, the only day since the 18th that it did not Rain or Snow, or threaten the one or other very hard.

*Saturday 27.* Left our Incampment a Quarter before Seven, and after passing the Creek near wch. we lay, and another much the same size and on the same side<sup>85</sup> (West); also an Island abt. 2 Miles in length (but not wide), we came to the Mouth of Muskingham,<sup>86</sup> distant from our Incampment abt. 4 Miles. This River is abt. 150 yards wide at the Mouth; a gentle currant and clear stream runs out of it, and is navigable a great way into the Country for Canoes.

From Muskingham to the little Kanhawa<sup>87</sup> is about 13 Miles. This is about as wide at the Mouth as the Muskingham, but the water much deeper; it runs up towards the Inhabitants of Monongahela, and according to the Indians acct. Forks about 40 or 50 Miles up it; and the Ridge between the two Prongs leads directly to the Settlement. To this Fork, and above, the Water is navigable for Canoes. . . .

About 6 or 7 Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa we came to a small creek on the west side, which the Indns. calld little Hockhocking;<sup>88</sup> . . . About 8 Miles below little Hock-

<sup>84</sup> The Little Muskingum River, which enters the Ohio just above Kerr, or Marietta, Island. <sup>85</sup> Duck Creek, north of Marietta, Ohio.

<sup>86</sup> The Muskingum River enters the Ohio from the north. Marietta, Ohio, later was built on this site.

<sup>87</sup> The Little Kanawha enters the Ohio from the east at what is today Parkersburg, West Virginia.

<sup>88</sup> The Little Hocking River enters the Ohio at Little Hocking, Ohio.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

hocking we Incampd opposite to the Mouth of the great Hockhocking,<sup>89</sup> which tho so calld is not a large Water; tho the Indians say Canoes can go up it 40 or 50 Miles.

Since we left the little Kanhawa the Lands neither appear so level nor good. The Bends of the River and Bottoms are longer indeed but not so rich, as in the upper part of the River.

*Sunday 28th.* Left our Incampment about 7 Oclock. Two Miles below, a sml. run<sup>90</sup> comes in on the East side thro a piece of Land that has a very good appearance, the Bottom beginning above our Incampment, and continuing in appearance wide for 4 Miles down, to a place where there comes in a sml. Run,<sup>91</sup> and to the Hills, and to where we found Kiashuta<sup>92</sup> and his Hunting Party Incampd.

Here we were under a necessity of paying our Compliments, As this person was one of the Six Nation Chiefs, and the head of them upon this River. In the Person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressd a satisfaction in seeing me, and treated us with great kindness; giving us a Quarter of very fine Buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that Night with him, and in order to retard us as little as possible movd his Camp down the River about 3 Miles just below the Mouth

<sup>89</sup> Now known as the Hocking River, this stream enters the Ohio from the west at Hockingport, Ohio.

<sup>90</sup> Lee's Creek, in southern Wood County, West Virginia.

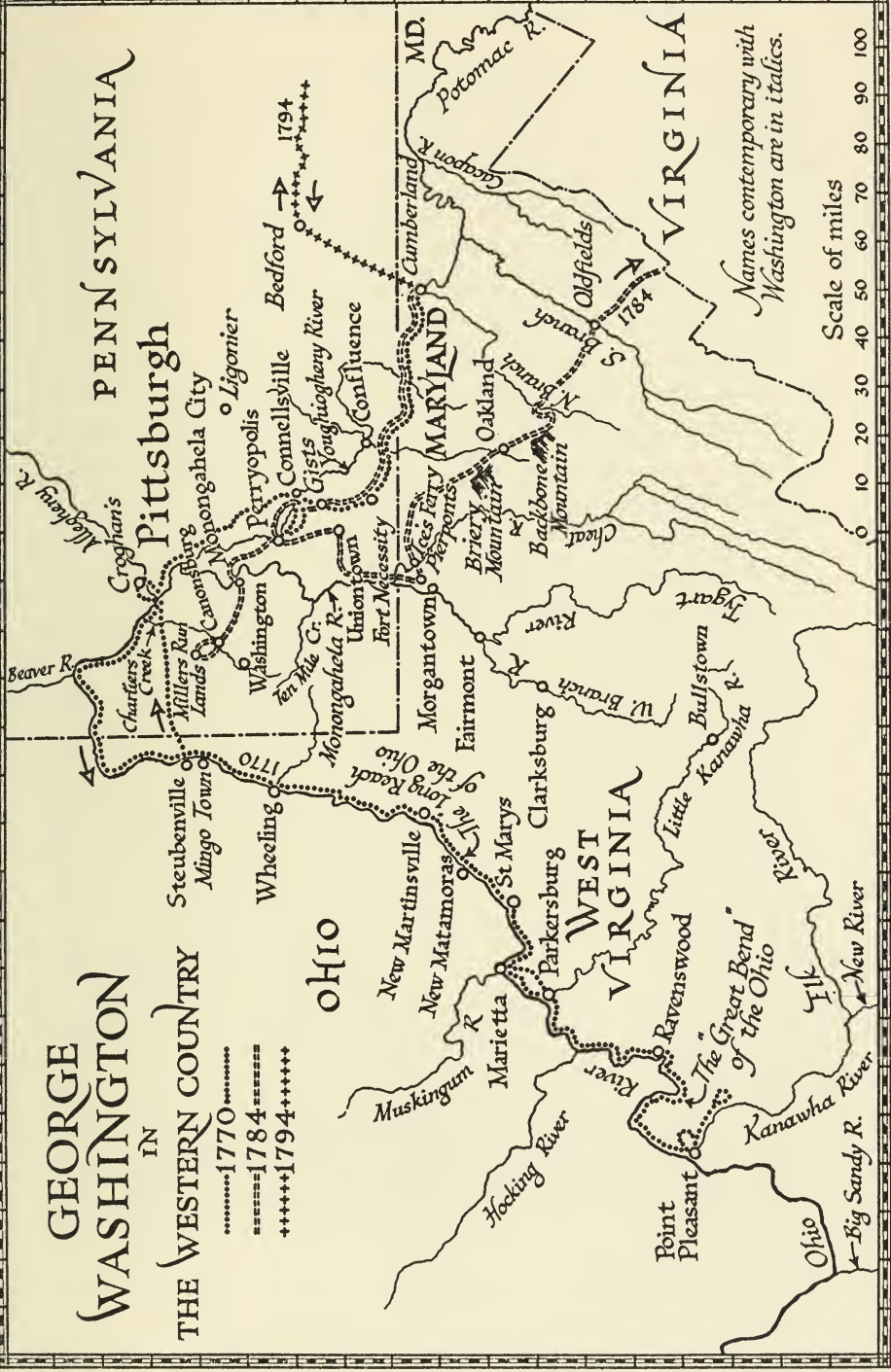
<sup>91</sup> Pond Creek, near the county line between Wood and Jackson Counties, West Virginia.

<sup>92</sup> Kiashuta, or Guyasuta, as a young hunter, had accompanied Washington and two older chiefs on the journey to the French commandant on the Ohio in 1753. Since that time, he had become a great chief. It was believed that during Pontiac's War, in 1763, he directed the siege of Fort Pitt and led the Indians at the battle of Bushy Run. During the Revolutionary War he sided with the British. Among his depredations was the burning of Hannastown, county seat of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, in 1782.

# GEORGE WASHINGTON

IN THE WESTERN COUNTRY

.....1770  
 =====1784  
 ++++++1794+++++



*Names contemporary with Washington are in italics.*

Scale of miles

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

of a Creek,<sup>93</sup> the name of which I could not learn (it not being large); at this place we all Incampd. After much Councelling the overnight, they all came to my fire the next Morning, with great formality; when Kiashuta rehearsing what had passed between me and the Sachems at Colo. Croghan's, thankd me for saying that Peace and friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them) and for recommending it to the Traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a Trade open with Virginia, and that the Governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white People; this I promis'd to do.

*Monday 29th.* The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their Councellings and speeches, detain'd us till 9 O'clock. Opposite to the Creek just below wch. we Incampd, is a pretty long bottom, and I believe tolerable wide; but abt. 8 or 9 Miles below the aforemend. Creek and just below a pavement of Rocks on the West side, comes in a Creek<sup>94</sup> with fallen Timber at the Mouth, on which the Indians say there is wide bottoms, and good Land. The River bottom's above for some distance is very good, and continues for near half a Mile below the Creek; the pavement of Rocks are only to be seen at low Water. Abt. a mile or a little better below the Mouth of the creek is another pavement of Rocks on the East side, in a kind of Sedgely Ground. On this Creek many Buffaloes use[d to be], according to the Indians acct.

*Tuesday 30.* We set out at 50 Minutes passd Seven; the Weather being windy and cloudy (after a Night of Rain.)

. . . The River from this place<sup>95</sup> narrows very considerably,

<sup>93</sup> Either Guyan Run or Shade River in Meigs County, Ohio.

<sup>94</sup> Big Sandy Creek at Ravenswood, West Virginia.

<sup>95</sup> Just below the so-called Great Bend of the Ohio. The center of this U-shaped bend is near Letart, West Virginia.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

and for 5 or 6 Miles or more, is scarcely more than 150 or 200 yards over. . . . About 10 Miles below our Incampment, and a little lower down than the bottom described to lye in the shape of a horse Shoe, comes in a small Creek<sup>96</sup> on the West side, and opposite to this on the East begins a body of flat Land. . . . A Mile or two below this we Landed,<sup>97</sup> . . . We found many shallow Ponds, the sides of which abounding in grass, invited innumerable quantities of Wild fowl among which I saw a Couple of Birds in size between a Swan and a Goose; and in colour somewhat between the two; being darker than the young Swan and of a more suttly Colour: the cry of these was as unusual as the Bird<sup>98</sup> it self, as I never heard any noise resembling it before. . . .

*Wednesday 31st.* I sent the Canoe along down to the junction of the two Rivers abt. 5 Miles, that is the Kanhawa with the Ohio,<sup>99</sup> and set out upon a hunting Party to view the Land. We steerd nearly East for about 8 or 9 Miles, then bore Southwardly, and Westwardly, till we came to our Camp at the confluence of the Rivers, the Land from the Rivers appeared but indifferent and very broken; Whether these ridges might not be those that divide the Waters of the Ohio from the Kanhawa is not certain, but I believe they are, if so the Lands may yet be good; if not, that which lyes of the River bottoms is good for little.

*November 1st.* A little before eight Oclock we set of with our Canoe up the River,<sup>100</sup> to discover what kind of Lands lay upon the Kanhawa. The Land on both sides this River just at

<sup>96</sup> Leading Creek, which enters the Ohio from the west just south of Middleport, Ohio.

<sup>97</sup> Somewhere near Ten Mile Creek on the West Virginia side.

<sup>98</sup> This description could fit a Great Blue Heron or an American Bittern.

<sup>99</sup> The Kanawha enters the Ohio at Point Pleasant, West Virginia.

<sup>100</sup> That is, up the Kanawha, rather than the Ohio.



## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

the Mouth is very fine; but on the East side when you get towards the Hills (which I judge to be about 6 or 700 yards from the River) it appears to be wet, and better adapted for Meadow than tillage. . . . We judgd we went up this River about 10 Miles to day. On the East side appear to be some good bottoms but small, neither long nor wide, and the Hills back of them rather steep and poor.

*Novr. 2d.* We proceeded up the River with the Canoe about 4 Miles more, and then incampd and went a Hunting; killd 5 Buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, etca. This Country abounds in Buffalo and Wild game of all kinds as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the Bottoms a great many small grassy Ponds or Lakes which are full of Swans, Geese, and Ducks of different kinds.

Some of Our People went up the River 4 or 5 Miles higher and found the same kind of bottom on the West side, and we were told by the Indians that it continued to the Falls, which they judgd to be 50 or 60 Miles higher up. This Bottom next the Water (in most places) is very rich; as you approach to the Hills you come (in many) to a thin white Oak Land and poor; the Hills as far as we coud judge were from half a Mile to a Mile from the River; poor and steep in the parts we see, with Pine growing on them; whether they are generally so, or not, we cannot tell but I fear they are.

*Saturday 3.* We set of[f] down the River<sup>101</sup> on our return homewards, and Incampd at the Mouth; at the Beginning of the Bottom above the junction of the Rivers, and at the Mouth of a branch on the East side, I markd two Maples, an Elm, and Hoopwood Tree as a Cornr. of the Soldiers L[an]d<sup>102</sup> (if we

<sup>101</sup> Back down the Kanawha.

<sup>102</sup> The land described here, bottomland on both sides of the Ohio from Point Pleasant to Letart, West Virginia, was used to meet the claims of

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

can get it) intending to take all the bottom from hence to the Rapids in the Great Bend into one Survey. I also markd at the Mouth of another Gut lower down on the West side (at the lower end of the long bottom) an Ash and hoopwood for the Beginning of another of the Soldiers Survey, to extend up so as to Include all the Bottom (in a body) on the West side.

*Sunday 4.* . . . We met a Canoe going to the Illinoies with sheep. . . .

*Monday 5th.* I set off[f] the Canoe with our Baggage and walkd across the Neck<sup>103</sup> on foot with Captn. Crawford, distant according to our walking about 8 Miles, as we kept a strait course under the Foot of the Hills, which run about So. Et. and was two hours and an half walking of it.

This is a good Neck of Land the Soil being generally good; and in places very rich. Their is a large propotion of Meadow Ground, and the land as high, dry, and Level as one coud wish. . . . upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, and I judge the quantity to be about 4000 Acres.

*Tuesday 6th.* We left our Incampment a little after daylight, and in about 5 Miles we came to Kiashutas Hunting Camp which was now removd to the Mouth of that Creek,<sup>104</sup> noted

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other members of the Virginia regiment. Washington did not personally acquire any of this tract. In 1772, however, he did acquire other lands in the area—10,990 acres running for seventeen miles along the south bank of the Kanawha from two miles west of the junction of the Kanawha with the Ohio. The land was selected and surveyed for him by Crawford in 1771.

<sup>103</sup> This neck of land, part of Meigs County, Ohio, extends into the Great Bend, for which see note 95 above. The travellers were now, of course, retracing their steps. Opposite from where Washington walked on this day, on the east side of the Great Bend, Washington later acquired 4,395 acres of bottomland in and around the present Millwood, West Virginia. Here, too, Crawford handled the details.

<sup>104</sup> Big Sandy Creek, at present Ravenswood. In 1772, Washington acquired 2,448 acres on the site of Ravenswood. Crawford was the surveyor.

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

Octr. 29, for having fallen Timber at the Mouth of it. . . .

By the Kindness and Idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detain'd at Kiashutas Camp all the remain'g. part of this day; and having a good deal of conversation with him on the Subject of Land. . . .

(*Friday*) 16th.<sup>105</sup> . . . Here it was for the 2d time the old Indian<sup>106</sup> with me spok of a fine piece of Land and beautiful place for a House, and in order to give me a more lively Idea of it, chalk'd out the situation upon his Deer skin. . . .

*Saturday* 17. By this Morning the River had fallen (in the whole) 2 or 3 and twenty feet, and was still lowering. . . .

<sup>105</sup> The pages of the diary from the 6th to the 16th of November have been chewed by mice. Such of the original manuscript as remains is not coherent and is therefore not reproduced here. It is possible to glean from it that by the 7th, the party reached the Hocking and passed a Delaware hunting party. On the 8th, Washington, Crawford, and one of the Indians went ashore at the mouth of the Little Kanawha and traveled overland almost to the mouth of the Muskingum, noting the character of the land as they went. Washington later acquired a tract of land in the vicinity traversed on this day. This tract of 2,314 acres, since known as Washington Bottom, was on the east side of the river opposite the mouth of the Little Hocking River. It ran from the lower tip of what is now Blennerhassett Island to the lower tip of Newberry Island.

On the ninth the party put ashore to pursue a bear. By the tenth continuous rains had caused the river to rise rapidly, and the same was true on the 11th. By the 12th the current was so fast that progress became almost impossible. Therefore, on the 13th, the young Indian with the party was sent ahead to have horses brought to the Mingo Town. That day, because of the strong current, only five miles was made. Washington estimated that the river had risen twenty feet and recorded that already it was over its banks in some places. During the day the party met two batteaus and a canoe carrying provisions for the garrison at Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country. By the 14th, the river was falling and eleven miles was made. On the 15th, Pipe Creek was passed. By the 16th, the party was in the vicinity of Wheeling. At this point, the diary resumes.

<sup>106</sup> The Pheasant, who had been with the party as a guide since the party left Fort Pitt.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

About 3 O'clock we came to the Town<sup>107</sup> without seeing our Horses the Indian (which was sent express for them) having passd through only the morning before (being detaind by the Creeks which were too high to Ford; without going high up them). Here we resolvd to wait their arrival which was expected tomorrow, and here then will end our Water Voyage along a River, the general course of which from Bever Creek to the Kanhawa is about S Wt. (as near as I could determine); but in its winding thro a narrow vale, extremely serpentine; forming on both sides the River alternately Necks of very good (some exceeding fine) Bottoms; lying for the Most part in the shape of a half Moon, and of various sizes.

There is very little difference in the genl. width of the River from Fort Pitt to the Kanhawa; but in the depth I believe the odds is considerably in favour of the lower parts; as we found no shallows below the Mingo Town, except in one or two places where the River was broad; and there, I do not know but there might have been a deep Channel in some part of it. Every here and there are Islands some larger, and some smaller, which operating in the nature of Locks, or stops, occasion pretty still water above, but for the most part strong and rapid water along side of them; however there is none of these so swift but that a Vessel may be Rowd or set up with Poles. When the River is in its Natural State, large canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight and more, may be workd against stream by 4 hands 20 or 25 Miles a day; and down, a good deal more. The Indians who are very dexterous (even there Women) in the management of Canoes, have there Hunting Camps and Cabins all along the River for the convenience of transporting their skins by Water to Market. In the Fall, so soon as Hunting Season

<sup>107</sup> Mingo Town, where they were to be met with their horses.

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

comes on, they set out with their Familys for this purpose; and in Hunting will move there Camps from place to place till by the Spring they get 2 or 300 or more Miles from there Towns; Then Bever catch it in there way up which frequently brings them into the Month of May, when the women are employd in Plantg. The Men at Market, and in Idleness, till the Fall again; when they pursue the same course again. During the Summer Months they live a poor and perishing life.

The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composed of Shawnas, Delawares, and some of the Mingos, who getting but little part of the consideration that was given for the Lands Eastward of the Ohio, view the Settlement of the People upon this River with an uneasy and jealous Eye, and do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their Right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nation's thereto.<sup>108</sup> On the other hand, the People from Virginia and elsewhere, are exploring and Marking all the Lands that are valuable not only on Redstone and other waters of Monongahela but along down the Ohio as low as the little Kanhawa; and by next Summer I suppose will get to the great Kanhawa, at least; how difficult it may be to contend with these People afterwards is easy to be judgd of from every day's experience of Lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; then which nothing is more probable if the Indians permit them, from the disposition of the People at present. A few Settlements in the midst of some of the large Bottoms, woud render it impractable to get any large qty. of Land Together; as the Hills all the way down the River (as low as

<sup>108</sup> At the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, the Iroquois had ceded rights to the land south of the Allegheny and Ohio—that is, southwestern Pennsylvania, western West Virginia, and Kentucky.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

I went) come pretty close and are steep and broken, incapable of Settlements tho some of them are rich and only fit to support the Bottoms with Timber and Wood. . . .

*Sunday, 18th.* Agreed with two Delaware Indians to carry up our Canoe to Fort Pitt for the doing of which I was to pay 6 Dollars and give them a Quart Tinn Can.

*Monday 19th.* The Delawares set of with the Canoe, and our Horses not arriving, the day appeared exceeding long and tedious. Upon conversing with Nicholson, I found he had been two or three times to Fort Chartres at the Illinois, and got from him the following Acct. of the Lands between this and that; and upon the Shawna River;<sup>109</sup> on which he had been a Hunting.

The Lands down the Ohio grow more and more level as you approach the Falls,<sup>110</sup> and about 150 Miles below them, the Country appears quite Flat, and exceeding rich. On the Shawna River (which comes into the Ohio 400 Miles below the Falls and about 1100 from Pittsburg) up which he had hunted 300 and more Miles the Lands are exceeding Level, rich, and fine, but a good deal intermixd with Cain or Reed, which might render them difficult to clear; that game of all kinds was to be found here in the greatest abundance, especially Buffalo. That from Fort Chartres<sup>111</sup> to Pittsburg by Land, is computed 800 Miles; and in travelling thro the Country from that place he found the Soil very rich, the Ground exceeding level to O Post<sup>112</sup> (a French Settlement) and from Opost to the Lower Shawna Town<sup>113</sup> on Scioto equally flat, that he passd through

<sup>109</sup> An early name for the Cumberland River of Kentucky and Tennessee.

<sup>110</sup> Louisville, Kentucky.

<sup>111</sup> Fort Chartres was north of Kaskaskia on the east side of the Mississippi.

<sup>112</sup> O Post was Ouabache (Wabash) Post, now Vincennes, Indiana.

<sup>113</sup> Lower Shawnee Town was at the juncture of the Scioto and Ohio Rivers.

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

large Planes 30 Miles in length without a Tree except little Islands of Wood, that in these Planes thousands, and 10,000sds. of Buffalo may be seen feeding; that the distance from Fort Chartres to Opost is about 240 Miles and the Country not very well Waterd; from Opost to the lower Shawna Town and about 300 more abounding in good Springs and Rivulets; that the remainder of the way to Fort Pitt is Hilly, and the Hills larger as you approach the Fort, tho the Ld. in general is also good. . . .

*Novr. 20th.* About One Oclock our Horses arrivd, having been prevented getting to Fort Pitt by the freshes.<sup>114</sup> At Two we set<sup>115</sup> out and got about 10 Miles. The Indians travelling along with us.

*Tuesday 21st.* Reach'd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon, distant from our last Incampment about 25 Miles and as near as I can guess 35 from the Mingo Town. . . .

*Thursday 22.* Stayd at Pittsburg all day. Invited the Officers and some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples; among which was one Doctr. Connelly<sup>116</sup> (Nephew to Colo. Croghan) a very sensible Intelligent Man who had travell'd over a good deal of this Western Country both by Land and Water and confirms Nicholson's Acct. of the good Land on the Shawana River up which he had been near 400 Miles.

This Country (I mean the Shawana River) according to Doctr. Connellys Acct. must be exceeding desirable on many Accts. The Climate is exceeding fine, the Soil remarkably good; the Lands well Waterd with good streams, and full level enough for any kind of Cultivation. Besides these advantages from Na-

<sup>114</sup> Freshets, or flooded streams.

<sup>115</sup> The party left the river at Mingo Town and traveled across what is today the West Virginia panhandle to Fort Pitt.

<sup>116</sup> John Connolly, in 1774, during the Pennsylvania-Virginia boundary dispute, occupied for Virginia the then abandoned Fort Pitt. During the Revolutionary War he was a loyalist.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

ture, it has others not less Important to a new settlement, particularly Game which is so plenty as not only to render the Transportation of Provisions there (bread only excepted) altogether unnecessary, but to enrich the Adventurers with the Peltry for which there is a constant and good Market.

Doctr. Connelly is so much delighted with the Lands, and Climate on this River; that he seems to wish for nothing more than to induce 100 families to go there to live that he might be among them. A New and most desirable Government might be established here to be bounded (according to his Acct.) by the Ohio Northward and Westward. The Ridge that divides the Waters of the Tenesee or Cherokee River Southward and Westward and a Line to be Run from the Falls of Ohio, or above so as to cross the Shawana River above the Fork of it.

Doctor Connelly gives much the same Acct. of the Land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, and Post St. Vincent (O Post) that Nicholson does, except in the Article of Water, wch. the Doctr. says is bad, and in the Summer scarce, there being little else than stagnate Water to be met with.

*Friday 23d.* After settling with the Indians and People that attended me down the River and defray the Sundry Expenses accruing at Pittsburg, I set of on my return home and after dining at the Widow Mierss.<sup>117</sup> on Turtle Creek reachd Mr. John Stephenson<sup>118</sup> (two or three hours in the Night).

*Saturday 24th.* When we came to Stewards<sup>119</sup> Crossing at Crawfords, the River was too high to Ford and his Canoe gone a Drift, however after waiting there 2 or three hours a Canoe was got in which we passd and Swam our Horses. The remain-

<sup>117</sup> The Widow Meyers' tavern was a well known stopping place. It is believed to have stood at the present corner of Sycamore and Sixth Streets in Turtle Creek, Pennsylvania.

<sup>118</sup> See note 25 above. <sup>119</sup> Stewart's.

## LAND SCOUT IN THE OHIO COUNTRY

der of this day I spent at Captn. Crawfords, it either Raining or Snowing hard all day.

*Sunday 25th.* I Set out early in order to see Lund Washington's Land, but the Ground and trees being coverd with Snow, I was able to form but an indistinct opinion of it, tho upon the whole it appeard to be a good Tract of Land and as Level as common indeed more so, from this I went to Mr. Thos. Gists, and Dind, and then proceeded on to the Great crossing . . . where I arrivd about Eight Oclock.

*Monday 26th.* Reachd Killiams on George's Creek where we met several Families going over the Mountains to live, some witht. having any places provided. The Snow upon the Alligany Mountains was near knee deep.

*Tuesday 27th.* We got to Colo. Cresaps at the Old Town after calling at Fort Cumberland. . . .

*Wednesday 28th.* The Old Town Gut was so high as to Wet us in crossing it, and when we came to Cox's<sup>120</sup> the River was Impassable; we were obligd therefore to cross in a Canoe and swim our Horses. . . .

*Thursday 29th.* Set out early and reachd my Brothers<sup>121</sup> by one oclock (about 22 or 3 Miles). . . .

*30th.* Reached Charles West's<sup>122</sup> 35 Miles from my Brother's.

[*December*] *1st.* Reachd home from [Charles] West's, after an absence of 9 Weeks and one Day.

<sup>120</sup> Cox's Fort was at the mouth of the Little Cacapon River.

<sup>121</sup> Samuel Washington.

<sup>122</sup> Charles West was a neighbor.







Landlord and Expansionist

1784



*“My Landed property West of the  
Apalachean Mountains”*

George Washington left Western Pennsylvania in 1770, an Englishman, a subject of the King of Great Britain; and Pennsylvania was one of His Majesty's Dominions Beyond the Seas. He returned in 1784, not an Englishman, but an American; and Pennsylvania, like Virginia, was one of the free and sovereign United States. No man had done more than Washington to bring this about.

During the years of fighting the Revolution Washington did not get back to the Ohio Valley where he had first heard the whistle of bullets. As a matter of fact, the war forced him to postpone a trip he had planned to the West in 1775. In the years immediately preceding the Revolution, his employees had been attempting to establish a settlement on Washington's lands in the valley of the Great Kanawha, and Washington had hoped to visit this and his other holdings beyond the mountains. But the call to command of the Continental Army halted any thought of the trip, and the Indian depredations of the war itself forced his people to abandon the Kanawha settlement.

Although the lands beyond the mountains were not the setting for the clash of the main armies, they were an important center of events that led into the war.

The Revolutionary War, like most great historical phenomena, was a complex event. In one sense, at least, it was a continuation of the war that Washington had helped to launch in 1754, the war for the lands of the Ohio watershed. True, the French were gone and the Indians were clearly going, but the struggle for the land was not yet over. There remained the

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

question of whether the development of the vast area would rest with the politicians and courtiers of London, or whether control would be in the hands of colonists—the gentlemen adventurers of Williamsburg and Philadelphia, and the frontier farmers of the Susquehanna, the Mohawk, and the South Branch of the Potomac.

In 1763, a Proclamation by the King had prohibited any settlement west of a line drawn along the top ridges of the Appalachians. The motive of the Crown was to prevent costly friction with the Indians, but the effect was to bar squatter and speculator alike from the new-won lands across the mountains. If this were not galling enough, in 1774, the Quebec Act placed the whole area north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Quebec, thus wiping out at the stroke of a pen thousands of claims held by Virginians, Pennsylvanians, Marylanders, and other residents of the colonies south of Canada. If the British parliament did not realize at the time that these acts could help precipitate a revolution, they came to their senses later—too late. As a matter of fact, one of the charges that British war propaganda made against Washington was that his principal motive in waging war against England was the securing of his vast land claims in the West.

If the transappalachian area did not see the principal fighting, it was not quiet, either. As the weakest of the antagonists contesting for the area, the Indians calculated their best interests lay with the victory of the English; and since they could not enter the field independently, they fought with the King and against the Americans. Again, the fort at the Forks of the Ohio became a bustling military base, although this time the columns which marched out of it went north against the Iroquois and west against Detroit, where they once had moved east against

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

Ligonier or south against Winchester. Wheeling, which had been only the beginning of a clearing when Washington drifted down the Ohio in 1770, now stood Indian siege twice. Washington's associate and friend, William Crawford, was captured in an expedition against the Ohio Indians, and burned at the stake.

And besides fighting on their own ground, the Westerners sent many a rifleman to the battles in the East. At Saratoga, at King's Mountain, at Cowpens, and on other fields the men of the western slopes and valleys fought bravely and with distinction.

As had been true over most of Washington's military career, far from profiting economically from the war, he suffered. Throughout the war, Washington had refused to accept pay for his services. When, late in 1783, he resigned his great command and returned to Mount Vernon, he found his private business affairs in grievous straits. Rents had gone uncollected and now were perhaps uncollectible; even if collected, they had to be paid in inflated currency, worth little. Encouraged by the British, many slaves had run away; the overseer of Mount Vernon had gone unpaid for years; the bookkeeping was a snarl; fences and fields needed repair. And in addition, swarms of guests descended on the plantation to stay perhaps for a meal, perhaps for a month, and all at Washington's expense. As a young man, Washington had yearned for "public honor"; now, like many a man before and since, he tasted the bitter with the sweet.

Need to recoup his fortunes was one of the factors which soon turned Washington's feet westward. He had long felt that economic reverses in the East could be recovered in the West. The situation at Mount Vernon pressed him to see to his western properties, as did the fact that they had been so long neglected. Like many another veteran of many another war, Washington had little time to rest from the trails of war before embarking on the uncertain paths of peace. And for him, the



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paths of peace, like his earliest paths of war, ran to the West.

The paths of peace to the West were also future highways of commerce, and that provided a second reason for Washington's trip. A way had to be found to tie the distant area across the mountains to the seaboard; otherwise what had been won so recently by war and diplomacy might yet be lost to Britain or Spain. And to a states-righter, as Washington still was in 1784, the ties of the hinterland should be not simply with the seaboard, he thought, but with Virginia, too. At the urging of Thomas Jefferson, Virginia's great wartime governor, Washington agreed to investigate on his trip west the possibility of linking, by portage road or canal, the waters of the Potomac with the waters of the Ohio. New York State was also planning such a project, and Washington, who had seen the Mohawk Valley during the war, knew that was possible. If Virginia could lead in facilitating communication and commerce between East and West, she would serve herself as well as the young nation.

And so Washington, former commander in chief and future President, turned his back on the tribulations and losses of the Revolution and lost himself enthusiastically in his first love—surveying the land.

### *The Journal of 1784* *September 1—October 4*

Having found it indispensably necessary to visit my Landed property West of the Apalachean Mountains, and more especially that part of it which I held in Copartnership with Mr. Gilbert Simpson.<sup>1</sup>—Having determined upon a tour into that

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Simpson was a former neighbor of Washington's in Virginia.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

Country, and having made the necessary preparations for it, I did, on the first day of this Month (September) set out on my journey.

Having dispatched my equipage about 9 O'clock A.M., consisting of 3 Servants and 6 horses, three of which carried my Baggage, I set out myself in company with Doctor James Craik<sup>2</sup> . . .

3d. Having business to transact with my Tenants in Berkeley;<sup>3</sup> and others who were directed to meet me at my Brother's (Colo. Charles Washington's),<sup>4</sup> I left Doctr. Craik and the Baggage to follow slowly, and set out myself about Sun Rise for that place . . .

Colo. Warner Washington,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Wormeley,<sup>6</sup> Genl. Morgan,<sup>7</sup> Mr. Trickett<sup>8</sup> and many other Gentlemen came here to see me—and one object of my journey being to obtain information

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In 1773, he went west to build and operate a mill for Washington on the mill-site Crawford had acquired for Washington, and which Washington had inspected in 1770. Washington provided slaves and tools for the project; Simpson was to manage the property as a partner. Washington was disturbed because, ever since the mill had been put in operation, he had received little or no income from Simpson.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Craik, it will be recalled, was Washington's personal physician as well as a neighbor and good friend. Craik had gone west with Washington in 1770 and had served during the Revolution as a medical officer. Also in the party were Washington's nephew Bushrod and Craik's son William.

<sup>3</sup> Berkeley County, now West Virginia.

<sup>4</sup> Charles, Washington's next youngest brother, lived near Charles Town in Berkeley County.

<sup>5</sup> Warner Washington was Washington's first cousin.

<sup>6</sup> The Wormeley (or Wormley as it was also spelled) family were a planting family who were neighbors of Samuel Washington and friends of George. The "Mr. Wormeley" referred to may have been Ralph, or his son, John.

<sup>7</sup> Brigadier General Daniel Morgan had commanded Berkeley County troops in the Revolutionary War.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Trickett does not appear elsewhere in historical literature, to the editor's knowledge.

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of the nearest and best communication between the Eastern<sup>9</sup> and Western Waters; and to facilitate as much as in me lay the Inland Navigation of the Potomack; I conversed a good deal with Genl. Morgan on this subject, who said, a plan was in contemplation to extend a Road from Winchester to the Western Waters, to avoid if possible an interference with any other State. but I could not discover that Either himself, or others, were able to point it out with precision. He seemed to have no doubt but that the Counties of Frederk., Berkeley and Hampshire would contribute freely towards the extension of the Navigation of Potomack; as well as towards opening a Road from East to West.

*4th.* Having finished my business with my Tenants (so far at least as partial payments could put a close to it) and provided a Waggon for the transportation of my Baggage to the Warm springs (or Town of Bath)<sup>10</sup> to give relief to my Horses,<sup>11</sup> which from the extreme heat of the Weather began to Rub and gaul, I set out after dinner, and reached Captn. Stroads<sup>12</sup> a Substantial farmers betwn. Opecken Creek<sup>13</sup> and Martinsburgh<sup>14</sup>—distant by estimation 14 Miles from my Brothers.

Finding the Captn. an intelligent Man, and one who had been several times in the Western Country—tho' not much on the communication between the North Branch of Potomack, and the Waters of Monongahela—I held much conversation with

<sup>9</sup> The term "Eastern Waters" referred to those east of the Appalachians; the "Western Waters" were those west of the mountains.

<sup>10</sup> Bath is now known as Berkeley Springs, West Virginia.

<sup>11</sup> The sentence structure employed here makes it appear that Washington journeyed to Bath to relieve his horses. Actually, of course, he "provided a wagon" to "give relief" to the horses, while he went to Bath.

<sup>12</sup> Captain Stroads is not otherwise identified.

<sup>13</sup> Opequan Creek, a tributary of the Potomac.

<sup>14</sup> Martinsburg, now in West Virginia.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

him—the result of which so far as it respected the object I had in view, was, that there are two Glades which go under the denomination of the Great glades—one, on the Waters of the Yohiogany, the other on those of Cheat River;<sup>15</sup> and distinguished by the name of the Sandy Creek Glades.<sup>16</sup>—that the Road to the first goes by the head of Pattersons Creek<sup>17</sup>—that from the accts. he has had of it, it is rough;—the distance he knows not. That there is a way to the Sandy Creek Glades from the great crossing of Yohiogany (or Braddocks Road) and a very good one; but how far the Waters of Potomack above Fort Cumberland, and the Cheat River from its Mouth are navigable, he professes not to know—and equally ignorant is he of the distance between them.

He says that old Captn. Thos. Swearengen<sup>18</sup> has informed him, that the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa comes within a small distance of the Navigable Waters of the Monongahela, and that a good Road, along the Ridge, may be had between the two and a young Man who we found at his House just (the Evening before) from Kentucke told us, that he left the Ohio River at Wheeling (Colo. David Shepperds)<sup>19</sup> and in about 40 Miles came to Red stone old Fort<sup>20</sup> on the Monongahela, 50 Miles from its Mouth.

<sup>15</sup> The Cheat River rises in West Virginia and enters the Monongahela just north of the Mason-Dixon Line, at Point Marion, Pennsylvania.

<sup>16</sup> Sandy Creek rises just south of the Great Meadows and runs southwest into the Cheat.

<sup>17</sup> Patterson's Creek is a tributary of the Potomac which enters the North Branch of the Potomac from the south.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Swearengen, of a numerous frontier family, was once a burgess from Frederick County; during the French and Indian War, a Militia officer.

<sup>19</sup> Colonel David Shepherd, an early resident of Wheeling, directed the defense of that town when Indians attacked in 1777. Later he was interested in the Potomac Company.

<sup>20</sup> Redstone Old Fort is present Brownsville, Pennsylvania. The route

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Captn. Strodes rout to the Westward having been for the most part by way of New River<sup>21</sup> and the Hd'ston,<sup>22</sup> through (what is called) the Wilderness to Kentucke, he adds that when he went out last fall he passed through Staunton,<sup>23</sup> by the Augusta Springs,<sup>24</sup> the Sweet springs<sup>25</sup> to the New River, 30.—in all, 103 from Staunton to the New River: from this part of the New River to the place called Chissels Mines,<sup>26</sup> is passable for Canoes and Batteaux with little difficulty; and from thence to the Roanoke<sup>27</sup> where it is as large as the Opeckon<sup>28</sup> near his house is only 12 Miles and a tolerably level country.

*5th.* Dispatched my Waggon (with the Baggage) at day light; and at 7 O'clock followed it . . . about 3 Oclock P.M. we arrived at the Springs, or Town of Bath after travelling the whole day through a drizzling Rain, 30 Miles.

*6th.* Remained at Bath all day and was showed the Model described, once known as Catfish Path, eventually became the Cumberland National Road and is today U. S. Route No. 40.

<sup>21</sup> The New River, a tributary of the Big Kanawha, rises near the present Tennessee-Virginia-North Carolina boundary and flows north. The route here described followed the New River south—that is, upstream.

<sup>22</sup> The Holston rises in the same mountainous area as the New River, but whereas the New River flows north into the Big Kanawha, the Holston flows south and west into the Tennessee River.

<sup>23</sup> Staunton, Virginia.

<sup>24</sup> Augusta Springs, Augusta County, Virginia.

<sup>25</sup> Sweet Springs, Monroe County, West Virginia.

<sup>26</sup> A lead mine on the New River near present Radford, Virginia.

<sup>27</sup> The Roanoke River comes within a few miles of the New River near Radford, Virginia.

Since the Roanoke enters the Atlantic and the New River eventually reaches the Ohio, a portage between them would provide an all-water route to the Ohio Valley. However, the New River descends so rapidly that it could not be traversed even by canoes.

<sup>28</sup> See note 13.



## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

of a Boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey,<sup>29</sup> for ascending rapid currents by mechanism; the principles of this were not only shown, and fully explained to me, but to my very great satisfaction, exhibited in practice in private under the injunction of Secresy, untill he saw the effect of an application he was about to Make to the Assembly of this State, for a reward.

The Model, and its operation upon the water, which had been made to run pretty swift, not only convinced me of what I before thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be turned to the greatest possible utility in inland Navigation; and in rapid currents; that are shallow—and what adds vastly to the value of the discovery, is the simplicity of its works; as they may be made by a common boat builder or carpenter, and kept in order as easy as a plow, or any common impliment of husbandry on a farm.

Having obtained a Plan of this Town (Bath) and ascertained the situation of my lots therein, which I examined; it appears that the disposition of a dwelling House, Kitchen and Stable cannot be more advantageously placed than they are marked in the copy I have taken from the plan of the Town; to which I refer for recollection, of my design; and Mr. Rumsey being willing to undertake those Buildings, I have agreed with him to have them finished by the 10th of next July. The dwelling House<sup>30</sup> is to be 36 feet by 24, with a gallery of 7 feet on each side of the House, the whole fronts,—under the House is to be a Cellar half the size of it, walled with Stone, and the whole underpined.—on the first floor are to be 3 rooms; one of them 24 by 20 feet, with a chimney at the end (middle thereof) the

<sup>29</sup> James Rumsey was one of the codevelopers, later, of the steamboat. He was associated with Washington, in later years, in the Potomac Company.

<sup>30</sup> Bath, or Berkeley Springs, was a popular health resort, often visited by the Washington family. The house was intended, no doubt, for that purpose.

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other two to be 12 by 16 feet with corner chimneys.—on the upper Floor there are to be two Rooms of equal sizes, with fire places; the Stair case to go up in the Gallery.—galleries above also. The Kitchen and Stable are to be of the same size—18 by 22; the first with a stone Chimney and good floor above.—the Stable is to be sunk in the ground so as that the floor above it on the North, or side next the dwelling House, shall be level with the Yard.—to have a partition therein.—the West part of which to be for a Carriage, Harness, and Saddles.—the East for Hay or Grain.—all three of the Houses to be shingled with . . .

Meeting with the Revd. Mr. Balmain<sup>31</sup> at this place, he says the distance from Staunton to the Sweet Springs is 95 Miles; that is, 50 to what are commonly called the Augusta Springs and 45 afterwards—this differs widely from Captn. Strodes acct., and both say they have travelled the Road.

From Colo. Bruce<sup>32</sup> whom I also found at this place, I was informed that he had travelled from the North Branch of Potomack to the Waters of Yaughiogany, and Monongahela—that the Potomk. where it may be made Navigable—for instance where McCulloughs path<sup>33</sup> crosses it 40 Miles above the old fort (Cumberland), is but about 6 Miles to a pretty large branch of the Yohiogany, but how far it is practicable to make the latter navigable he knows not, never having explored it any

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Balmaine was an Episcopal clergyman and had been a chaplain during the Revolutionary War.

<sup>32</sup> Colonel Andrew Bruce later became a resident of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and a judge.

<sup>33</sup> McCulloch's Path, named for an obscure early Indian trader, ran from the present Moorefield, Hardy County, West Virginia, on the South Branch of the Potomac, crossed the North Fork near Mount Storm, Grant County, West Virginia, and thence to the Cheat River. It had several alternate routes in the valley of the Cheat.

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length downwards.—that the Waters of Sandy Creek, which is a branch of Cheat River, which is a branch of Monongahela, interlocks with these; and the Country between, flat—that he thinks (in order to avd. passing through the State of Pennsylvania)<sup>34</sup> this would be an eligible Road using the ten Miles Ck.<sup>35</sup> with a portage to the Navigable Waters of the little Kanhawa; which from report he says, are only ten Miles apart—he adds that the distance from the North branch to Cheat Rivr. is great and from the South branch greater; but it is to be observed that most of this information is from report—vague—and not much to be depended upon; I therefore endeavoured to prevail upon Colo. Bruce to explore the Country from the North Branch of Potomack at McCulloughs path, or the highest practicable Navigation on it, to the Nearest Waters of Yohiogany—thence to Sandy Creek<sup>36</sup> and down that to its junction with the Cheat River—laying the whole down by actual surveys and exact measurement; which he has promised to do, if he can accomplish it—on my part I have engaged, if a Surveyor can be obtained, to run the Water of the little Kanhawa from the Mouth to the highest Navigation—thence across to the ten miles Creek on the Monongahela, and up that to the Mo. of Sandy Creek, in order to connect the two Forks together, and form a proper plan with observations—and even to continue

<sup>34</sup> Washington and his fellow Virginians, in 1784, feared that the government of the rival state of Pennsylvania might block any link between the Potomac and the west which fell within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. Due to this sharp commercial rivalry in the period before the adoption of the Constitution, Virginians hoped to find an all-Virginia route to the Ohio.

<sup>35</sup> Ten Mile Creek is a western tributary of the Monongahela, rising in Greene County and Washington County, Pennsylvania. Washington's information is in error in suggesting that Ten Mile Creek approaches the Little Kanawha; perhaps he was thinking of the West Fork of the Monongahela, which does come within a few miles of the Little Kanawha.

<sup>36</sup> See note 16.

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up the Cheat River further, to see if a better communication cannot be had with the Potomack than by Sandy Creek. . . .

*8th.* Set out about 7 O'clock with the Doctr. (Craik) his Son William, and my Nephew Bushrod Washington,<sup>37</sup> who were to make the tour with us.—about ten I parted with them . . . and recrossed the Potomack . . . to a tract of mine<sup>38</sup> on the Virginia Side which I find exceedingly Rich, and must be very valuable—the lower end of the Land is rich white oak in places springey; and in the winter wet.—the upper part is exceedingly rich and covered with Walnut of considerable size many of them. Note—I requested a Mr. McCracken<sup>39</sup> at whose House I fed my horses, and got a snack, and whose land joins mine—to offer mine to any who might apply for £10 the first year, £15 the next, and £25 the third—the Tenant not to remove any of the Walnut timber from off the Land; or to split it into Rails; as I should reserve that for my own use.

After having reviewed this Land I again crossed the River and getting into the Waggon Road pursued my journey to the Old Town where I overtook my Company and baggage—lodged at Colo. Cresaps abt. 35 Miles this day. . . .

*9th.* At this place I met with a Man who lives at the Mouth of ten Miles Creek on Monongahela, who assured me, that this Creek is not navigable for any kind of Craft a Mile from its Mouth; unless the Water of it is swelled by Rain; at which time he has known Batteaux brought 10 or 12 Miles down it. He knows little of the Country betwn. that and the little Kanhawa and not more of that above him, on the Monongahela.

The day proving rainy we remained here.

*10th.* Set off a little after 5 O'clock altho' the morning was

<sup>37</sup> Bushrod was the son of Washington's brother John Augustine, or "Jack."

<sup>38</sup> In present Morgan County, West Virginia, near Fifteen Mile Creek.

<sup>39</sup> Mr. McCracken is not otherwise identified.

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very unpromising—finding from the Rains that had fallen, and description of the Roads, part of which between the old Town and this place (old Fort Cumberland) we had passed, that the progress of my Baggage would be tedious, I resolved (it being necessary) to leave it to follow; and proceed on myself to Gilbert Simpson's to prepare for the Sale I had advertised of my moiety of the property<sup>40</sup> in copartnership with him—and to make arrangements for my trip to the Kanhawa, if the temper and disposition of the Indians should render it advisable to proceed. Accordingly, leaving Doctr. Craik, his Son, and My Nephew with it, I set out with one Servant only . . . and lodged at Tumbersons<sup>41</sup> at the little Meadows 15 Miles further. . . .

*11th.* Set out at half after 5 o'clock from Tumbersons, and in about 1½ Miles came to what is called the little crossing<sup>42</sup> of the Yohiogany—the road is not bad—this is a pretty considerable water and, as it is said to have no fall in it, may, I conceive, be improved into a valuable navigation; and from every acct. I have yet been able to obtain, communicates nearest with the No. Branch of Potomack of any other. . . . Lodged at one Daughertys<sup>43</sup> a Mile and half short of the Great Meadows—a tolerable good House—the Road between the Crossing and Daughertys is in places, tolerable good, but upon the whole indifferent:—distant from the crossing 12 Miles.

*12th.* Left Daughertys about 6 O'clock,—stopped awhile at the Great Meadows<sup>44</sup> and viewed a tenament I have there, which appears to have been but little improved, tho' capable of being

<sup>40</sup> The mill on Washington Run near present Perryopolis, Pennsylvania.

<sup>41</sup> Tumberson's, also known as Tumblestone's and Tomlinson's, was on Braddock's Road at the Little Meadows in northern Garrett County, Maryland, between Frostburg and Grantsville.

<sup>42</sup> Where Braddock's Road crosses Casselman River, a branch of the Youghiogheny, near Grantsville, Maryland.

<sup>43</sup> In the vicinity of present Farmington, Fayette County.



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turned to great advantage, as the whole of the ground called the Meadows may be reclaimed at an easy comparative expence and is a very good stand for a Tavern. Much Hay may be cut here when the ground is laid down in Grass and the upland, East of the Meadow is good for grain.

Dined at Mr. Thomas Gists<sup>45</sup> at the foot of Laurel,<sup>46</sup> distant from the Meadows 12 Miles, and arrived at Gilbert Simpson's about 5 o'clock 12 Miles further. Crossing the Mountains, I found tedious and fatiguing . . . in all parts of the Road that would admit it I endeavoured to ride my usual travelling gate of 5 Miles an hour.

In passing over the Mountains, I met numbers of Persons and Pack horses going in with Ginseng;<sup>47</sup> and for Salt and other articles at the Markets below; from most of whom I made enquiries of the nature of the Country between the little Kanhawa and ten miles Creek (which had been represented as a short and easy portage) and to my surprise found the accts. wch. had been given were so far from the truth that numbers with whom I conversed assured me that the distance was very considerable—that ten Miles Ck. was not navigable even for Canoes more than a Mile from its mouth and few of them, altho I saw many who lived on different parts of this Creek would pretend to guess at the distance.

I endeavoured to get the best acct. I could of the navigation of the Cheat River, and find that the line which divides the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania crosses the Monongahela

<sup>44</sup> The Great Meadows, scene of Washington's first battle, was bought for him by Crawford in 1770.

<sup>45</sup> Son of Christopher Gist.

<sup>46</sup> What Washington here calls Laurel Hill is known today as Chestnut Ridge.

<sup>47</sup> Ginseng, a native American wild herb, is used medicinally and provided an early "cash crop" for frontier farmers.

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above the Mouth of it which gives the command thereof to Pennsylvania—that where the River (Cheat) goes through the Laurel hill, the navigation is difficult; not from shallow or rapid water, but from an immense quantity of large Stones, which stand so thick as to render the passage even of a short Canoe impracticable—but I could meet with no person who seemed to have any accurate knowledge of the Country between the navigable, or such part as could be made so, of this River and the North Branch of Potomack—all seem to agree however that it is rough and a good way not to be found.

The accts. given by those whom I met of the late Murders, and general dissatisfaction of the Indians, occasioned by the attempt of our people to settle on the No. West side of the Ohio, which they claim as their territory;<sup>48</sup> indicative of a hostile temper on our part, makes it rather improper for me to proceed to the Kanhawa agreeably to my original intention, especially as I learnt from some of them (one in particular) who lately left the Settlement of Kentucke that the Indians were generally in arms and gone, or going, to attack some of our Settlements below—and that a Party who had driven Cattle to Detroit had one of their Company and several of their Cattle killed by the Indians—but as these accts. will either be contradicted or confirmed by some whom I may meet at my Sale on the 15th Instt. my final determination shall be postponed till then.

*13th.* I visited my Mill, and the several tenements on this Tract (on which Simpson lives). I do not find the land in *general* equal to my expectation of it—some part indeed is as rich as

<sup>48</sup> The Ohio Indians had sided with the British during the Revolutionary War. When the war ended, the Americans felt that they were entitled to settle in any area ceded by Great Britain; the Indians, however, believed that the old boundary of the Ohio River still held. As a result, there was bad feeling and sporadic raiding by both sides.

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can be, some other part is but indifferent—the levellest is the coldest and of the meanest quality—that which is most broken is the richest; tho' some of the hills are not of the first quality.

The Tenements with respect to the buildings, are but indifferently improved—each have Meadow and are arable, but in no great quantity.—the Mill was quite destitute of water—the works and House appear to be in very bad condition—and no reservoir of water—the stream as it runs, is all the resource it has;—formerly there was a dam to stop the water; but that giving way it is brought in a narrow confined and trifling Race . . . the trunk, which conveys the water to the wheel are in bad order. In a word, little Rent, or good is to be expected from the present aspect of her.

*14th.* Remained at Mr. Gilbert Simpsons all day.—before Noon Colo. Willm. Butler<sup>49</sup> and the officer Commanding the Garrison at Fort Pitt, a Capt. Lucket<sup>50</sup> came here—as they confirmed the reports of the discontented temper of the Indians and the Mischiefs done by some parties of them—and the former advised me not to prosecute my intended trip to the Great Kanahawa, I resolved to decline it.

This day also the People who lives on my land on Millers Run<sup>51</sup> came here to set forth their pretensions to it; and to en-

<sup>49</sup> Colonel William Butler, an early resident of Pittsburgh, had acquired his military title while serving with Pennsylvania troops in the Revolutionary War.

<sup>50</sup> Captain David Lockett, an officer of the Continental Line in the Revolution, had elected to remain in service.

<sup>51</sup> Miller's Run is a branch of Chartiers Creek. Washington's lands on Miller's Run were near present Canonsburg in Washington County, Pennsylvania. Colonel William Crawford, his land agent, had selected a tract of twenty-eight hundred acres for him in 1771. However, George Croghan also claimed the land and proceeded to sell portions of it to settlers. When Washington later took the case to court, the prominent Pittsburgh attorney, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, represented the settlers. Washington won the

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

quire into my Right—after much conversation and attempts in them to discover all the flaws they could in my Deed &ca.—and to establish a fair and upright intention in themselves—and after much counselling which proceeded from a division of opinion among themselves—they resolved (as all who lived on the land were not here) to give me their definite determination when I should come to the land, which I told them would probably happen on Friday or Saturday next.

*15th.* This being the day appointed for the Sale of my moiety of the Co-partnership Stock<sup>52</sup>—many People were gathered (more out of curiosity I believe than from other motives) but no great Sale made. My Mill I could obtain no bid for, altho I offered an exemption from the payment of Rent 15 Months. The Plantation on which Mr. Simpson lives rented well—viz for 500 Bushels of Wheat, payable at any place within the County that I or my Agent might direct.—the little chance of getting a good offer in money, for Rent, induced me to set it up to be bid for in Wheat.

Not meeting with any person who will give me a satisfactory acct. of the Navigation of the Cheat River (tho' they generally agreed it was difficult where it passed thro' the Laurel Hill) nor any acct. of the distance and kind of Country between that, or the Main branch of the Monongahela and the Waters of Potomack—nor of the Country between the little Kanhawa and the Waters of Monongahela tho' all agreed none of the former came near ten miles Creek as had been confidently asserted; I gave up the intention of returning home that way—resolving after settling matters with those Persons who had seated my

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case, however. After his death, the lands were sold by his estate to Alexander Addison, a noted jurist of Washington County.

<sup>52</sup> Washington's half-interest in the mill. Gilbert Simpson, of course, owned the other half.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Lands on Millers Run, to return by the way I came; or by what is commonly called the Turkey foot Road.<sup>53</sup>

*16th.* Continued at Simpsons all day in order to finish the business which was begun yesterday—Gave leases to some of my Ten[an]ts on the Land where I now am.

*17th.* Detained here by a settled Rain the whole day—which gave me time to close my accts. with Gilbert Simpson, and put a final end to my Partnership with him. Agreed this day with a Major Thomas Freeman<sup>54</sup> to superintend my business over the Mountains, upon terms to be inserted in his Instructions.

*18th.* Set out with Doctr. Craik for my Land on Miller's Run (a branch of Shurtees Creek)<sup>55</sup>—crossed the Monongahela at Devoirs Ferry<sup>56</sup>—16 miles from Simpsons—bated at one Hamiltons<sup>57</sup> about 4 Miles from it, in Washington County, and lodged at a Colo. Cannons<sup>58</sup> on the Waters of Shurtees Creek—a kind hospitable Man; and sensible.

Most of the Land over which we passed was hilly—some

<sup>53</sup> The Turkeyfoot Road was a variation of Braddock's Road. Turkey-foot was the name used at the time for the junction of the Youghiogheny, Casselman River and Laurel Hill Creek at present Confluence, Pennsylvania.

<sup>54</sup> Major Freeman had assisted Washington as a clerk at the sale at Simpson's. He became Washington's land agent for the next period.

<sup>55</sup> Chartiers Creek.

<sup>56</sup> Devoir's Ferry, also known as De Bore's and DeVore's, was begun on the Monongahela River by James DeVore as early as 1773 on the site of present Monongahela City, Pennsylvania. Later, it was known as Parkinson's Ferry. During the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, Parkinson's Ferry was the meeting place for the delegates from the western counties involved.

<sup>57</sup> David Hamilton, a justice of the peace, lived at "Ginger Hill" on the road from the river to the town of Washington, Pennsylvania. He was a leader of the moderates in the Whiskey Rebellion.

<sup>58</sup> John Canon, a Virginian, was an early settler in the Chartiers Creek area. His military title was the result of Militia service. Canon operated a flour mill, was a prominent Presbyterian layman, and helped to lay out Canonsburg and to found Canonsburg Academy. In 1787, he succeeded Thomas Freeman as Washington's land agent in Western Pennsylvania.



## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

of it very rich—others thin—between a Colo. Cooks<sup>59</sup> and the Ferry the Land was rich but broken—about Shurtee and from thence to Colo. Cannons, the Soil is very luxurient and very uneven.

*19th.* Being Sunday, and the People living on my Land, *apparently* very religious, it was thought best to postpone going among them till tomorrow—but rode to a Doctr. Johnsons<sup>60</sup> who had the keeping of Colo. Crawford's<sup>61</sup> (surveying) Records—but not finding him at home was disappointed in the business which carried me there.

*20th.* Went early this Morning to view my Land, and to receive the final determination of those who live upon it—having obtained a Pilot near the Land I went first to the plantation of Samuel McBride,<sup>62</sup> who has about 5 Acres of Meadow—and 30 of arable Land under good fencing—a Logged dwelling house with a punchion Roof, and Stable, or small barn, of the same kind—the Land rather hilly, but good, first to the plantation of Samuel McBride, who has about

5 Acres of Meadow—and  
30 of arable Land

under good fencing—a Logged dwelling house with a punchion Roof, and Stable, or small barn, of the same kind—the Land rather hilly, but good, chiefly white oak. next—

<sup>59</sup> Colonel Edward Cook, who lived near present Belle Vernon, Fayette County, had been a member of the Continental Congress of 1776 and of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of the same year.

<sup>60</sup> Dr. Ezekiel Johnson lived northeast of Washington, Pennsylvania.

<sup>61</sup> William Crawford, it will be recalled, had been killed by Indians during the Revolutionary War.

<sup>62</sup> Samuel McBride and his brother James (see note 63 below) had been led to settle on the Miller's Run lands by agents of George Croghan. Croghan disputed Washington's claim to the tract. After the McBrides were ejected, they moved to near-by Robinson Township in Washington County, and still have descendants in the area.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

James McBride<sup>63</sup>

3 or 4 Acres of Meadow

28 Do of arable Land

Pretty good fencing—Land rather broken, but good—white and black oak mixed—a dwelling House and barn (of middling size) with Puncheon Roofs

Thomas Biggart<sup>64</sup>

Robert Walker<sup>65</sup> living thereon as a Tenant.—

No Meadow.—abt.

20 Acres of arable Land

a dwelling House and single Barn—fences tolerable—and Land good.—

William Stewart<sup>66</sup>

2½ Acres of Meadow

20 Do of arable Land

only one house except a kind of building adjoining for common purposes.—good Land and Midling fences—

Matthew Hillast<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> James McBride was the brother of Samuel McBride, above.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Biggart, also written Biggar and Bigger, came to America from Ireland in 1773 and moved to the Monongahela Country in the same year. Like his neighbors, the McBrides, he settled in Robinson Township after his ejection, and has descendants in the region at present.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Walker, like many a simple frontier farmer, has left no other trace in historical literature, to the editor's knowledge. Since he was a tenant of Thomas Biggart's, he would not appear in the land ownership records, the most likely source of identification. Others of the settlers had bought their claims from an earlier claimant, and had never registered the change, thus making identification difficult or impossible.

<sup>66</sup> A man named William Stewart settled at present Brownsville in the early 1750's. The site was once known as Stewart's Crossing. There were many Stewarts in the Monongahela country at this time, however, and it is unlikely that this William Stewart is the one who gave Stewart's Crossing its name in the 1750's.

<sup>67</sup> Matthew Hillast, or Hillis, whose claim only partly infringed on Wash-

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has within my line k abt.

7 Acres of Meadow

3 besides, Arable—also

a small double Barn.—

Brice McGeechen<sup>68</sup>

3 Acres of Meadows

20 Do arable—under

good fencing.—A small new Barn good.—

Duncan McGeechen<sup>69</sup>

2 Acres of Meadow

38 Do Arable Land

A good single Barn, dwelling House spring House and several other Houses.—the Plantation under good fencing.

David Reed<sup>70</sup>

claimed by the last mentioned (Duncan McGeechen)

2 Acres of Meadow

18 Do Arable Land

No body living on this place at present—the dwelling House and fencing in bad order.

John Reed Esquire<sup>71</sup>

4 Acres of Meadow

38 Do Arable Do

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ington's, had the satisfaction of eventually buying ninety-nine acres of the Miller's Run lands in 1802. Hillis bought it from Alexander Addison, who had acquired it from Matthew Ritchie, who had bought it from Washington.

<sup>68</sup> The McGeechens appear in the court records of the ejection suit as McGeechen, but do not appear to be traceable further than that under either name.

<sup>69</sup> See note above.

<sup>70</sup> David and John Reed, brothers, were natives of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. They settled on the Miller's Run lands in 1777. John had become a justice of the peace in 1781, hence the Esquire after his name. They have descendants in the area.

<sup>71</sup> See note above.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

A Small dwelling House—but Logs for a large one, a Still House—good Land—and fencing

David Reed

2 Acres of Meadow

17 Do Arable.

A good logged dwelling House with a bad Roof—several other small Houses and an indifferent Barn, or Stable—bad fences; but very good Land

William Hillas<sup>72</sup>

20 Acres of Arable Land

No Meadow.

But one house, and that indifferent—fences not good

John Glen<sup>73</sup>

2 or 3 Acres of Meadow within my Line—his plantation and the rest of his Land without.—

James Scott.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Probably a relative of Matthew Hillast of note 67 above.

<sup>73</sup> John Glen is not further identified. There were several Glenn families in the area at the time, and it is probable that the man Washington dealt with spelled his name with a second N.

<sup>74</sup> The ejection of James Scott would appear to have had the most far-reaching consequences socially. Crawford had built a cabin on the land as proof of occupancy—a common procedure. Scott was bold enough to live in a house which stood athwart Crawford's cabin door. In 1796, along with many other residents of Washington County, Scott had moved into the newly-opened Beaver Valley. Here, too, the land was claimed by an eastern speculator. In August of 1796, the settlers—or squatters—met at James Scott's to organize an association to protect their claims. The organization launched at that time—which was known as the Actual Settlers—became a potent force in anti-Federalist (and therefore anti-Washington) politics in Western Pennsylvania for many years. The attorney for the Actual Settlers was Hugh Henry Brackenridge, who had earlier represented the Miller's Run settlers. The business agent and organizer of the Actual Settlers, John B. C. Lucas, used the organization as a springboard to the state legislature and eventually Congress. One of the chief opponents of the Actual Settlers was Judge Alexander Addison, who had bought the Miller's Run lands. Addison and Lucas

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Placed on the Land by Thomas Lapsley<sup>75</sup>—has 17 Acres under good fencing—only a dwelling House (which stops the door of a Cabbin built by Captn. Crawford) white oak Land—rather thin—but good bottom *to clear* for Meadow.—

Matthew Johnson<sup>76</sup>

2 Acres of Meadow

24 Do Arable Land

a good logged house—Materials for a dble Barn—very gd. Land, but indifferent fences

James Scott.

a large Plantation—about

70 Acres of Arable Land

4 Do of improved Meadow

Much more may be made into Meadow.—the Land very good, as the fences also are—A Barn dwelling House and some other Houses.—

The foregoing are all the Improvements upon this Tract which contains 2813 Acres

The Land is leveller than is common to be met with in this part of the Country, and good; the principal part of it is white oak, intermixed in many places with black oak; and is esteemed a valuable tract.

Dined at David Reeds, after which Mr. James Scot and Squire Reed began to enquire whether I would part with the Land, and upon what terms; adding, that tho' they did not conceive they could be dispossessed, yet to avoid contention,

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were bitter opponents in a famous political battle which was an important chapter in the downfall of Federalism in Pennsylvania. It is safe to say that the struggle began with the Washington ejection suit.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas Lapsley is not otherwise identified.

<sup>76</sup> Matthew Johnson, or Johnston, had bought his land the previous year from one David Long.



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they would buy, if my terms were Moderate. I told them I had no inclination to sell; however, after hearing a great deal of their hardships, their Religious principles (which had brought them together as a society of Ceeders)<sup>77</sup> and unwillingness to seperate or remove; I told them I would make them a last offer and this was—the whole tract at 25 S. pr. Acre, the money to be paid at 3 annual payments with Interest;—or to become Tenants upon leases of 999 years, at the annual Rent of Ten pounds pr. Ct. pr. Ann.—The former they had a long consultation upon, and asked if I wd. take that price at a longer credit without Interest, and being answered in the Negative they then determined to stand suit for the Land; but it having been suggested that there were among them some who were disposed to relinquish their claim, I told them I would receive their answers individually; and accordingly by calling them as they stood

James Scott	Brice McGeechin	Duncan McGeechin
William Stewart	Thomas Biggar	Matthew Johnson
Thomas Lapsley	David Reed	John Reed and
James McBride	William Hillas	John Glen
	James McBride	

they severally answered, that they meant to stand suit, and abide the Issue of the Law.

This business being thus finished, I returned to Colo. Cannons in Company with himself, Colo. Nevil,<sup>78</sup> Captn. Swear-

<sup>77</sup> It is almost certain that these “seceders,” or Presbyterians, had as their pastor the Reverend John McMillan, a noted pioneer clergyman of the area.

<sup>78</sup> Although Washington later refers to Colonel Neville as “Josh Neville” and Joseph Neville, he must have meant Colonel John Neville. To the editor’s knowledge, there was no Colonel Joseph Neville in the Monongahela Valley in this period. John Neville, however, settled in Western Pennsylvania in the 1770’s after having served under Braddock as a Virginian. He had commanded Fort Pitt during the early period of the Revolutionary War, and then

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ingin<sup>79</sup> (high Sheriff) and a Captn. Richie,<sup>80</sup> who had accompanied me to the Land.

*21st.* Accompanied by Colo. Cannon and Captn. Swearingin who attended me to Debores ferry on the Monongahela which separates the Counties of Fayette and Washington, I returned to Gilbert Simpson's in the afternoon; after dining at one Wickermans<sup>81</sup> Mill near the Monongahela.

Colo. Cannon, Capt. Sweringin and Captn. Richie all promised to hunt up the evidences which could prove my possession and improvement of the Land before any of the present Occu-piers ever saw it.

*22d.* After giving instructions to Major Thomas Freeman respecting his conduct in my busines, and disposing of my Baggage which was left under the care of Mr. Gilbert Simpson

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had served for the duration of the war in the east, where he rose to the rank of Colonel. After holding several state offices during the Confederation period, he eventually became tax collector for the western counties, and, as a consequence, had his home burned during the Whiskey Insurrection. This rebellious act led to a train of events which brought Washington back to the west again in 1794, not as a friendly private citizen, but as the commander of an army prepared for civil war.

<sup>79</sup> Captain Van Swearingen appears at first to have gone throughout life without a first name, until it is discovered that his family name was simply Swearingen and that his given name was Van. "Indian Van," as he was called, was a celebrated Indian fighter and soldier. In the early days of the Revolution, he served with the Westmoreland County Militia against the Indians of the Allegheny Valley. From this post, he went to the 8th Pennsylvania regiment and transferred from it to Morgan's Rifle Corps. He particularly distinguished himself in action at Saratoga. As a returning hero, he had been elected Sheriff of Washington County in 1781. His daughter married the famous Indian fighter and scout, Samuel Brady.

<sup>80</sup> In later years, Matthew Ritchie was Washington's Western Pennsylvania land agent, and, in 1796, bought the Miller's Run lands from George Washington.

<sup>81</sup> Adam Wickerham lived within the boundaries of the present city of Monongahela, Pennsylvania.

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—consisting of two leather and one linnen Valeses with my Marquee and horseman's Tent Tent Poles and Pins—all my bedding except Sheets (which I take home with me) the equipage Trunk containing all that was put into it except the Silver Cups and Spoons—Canteens—two Kegs of Spirits—Horse Shoes &ca. I set out for Beason Town,<sup>82</sup> in order to meet with, and engage Mr. Thos. Smith<sup>83</sup> to bring ejectments, and to prosecute my Suit<sup>84</sup> for the Land in Washington County, on which those, whose names are herein inserted, are settled. Reached Beason Town about dusk about (the way I came) 18 Miles.

Note.—in my equipage Trunk and the Canteens—were Madeira and Port Wine—Cherry bounce—Oyl, Mustard—Vinegar—and Spices of all sorts—Tea, and Sugar in the Camp Kettles (a whole loaf of white sugar broke up about 7 lbs. weight) the Camp Kettles are under a lock, as the Canteens and Trunk also are—My fishing lines are in the Canteens.

At Beason Town I met with Captn Hardin<sup>85</sup> who informed

<sup>82</sup> Beeson's Town was an early name for Uniontown, Pennsylvania. It took its name from Henry Beeson, the founder of the city, who was a mill operator.

<sup>83</sup> Thomas Smith, a native of Scotland who had attended the University of Edinburgh, came to America in 1769 and began the practice of law in Bedford, Pennsylvania. After holding various local offices, he identified himself with the patriot cause in 1775 as a member of a Committee of Correspondence, and in 1776 was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of that year. From 1780 to 1782, he was a member of Congress. In 1784 he was in Beeson's Town "following the circuit"—that is, as a lawyer, he followed the circuit judges who rode from county seat to county seat hearing cases. In 1794, Smith was named to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. In 1804, the Republicans tried to remove him from office, but failed. He continued to serve until 1809.

<sup>84</sup> The suit was won by Smith for Washington before the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in October of 1786.

<sup>85</sup> John Hardin had been born in Virginia about 1753. His father, Martin,

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me, as I had before been informed by others, that the West fork of Monongahela communicates very nearly with the waters of the little Kanhawa—that the Portage does not exceed Nine Miles—and that a very good Waggon Road may be had between—That from the Mouth of the River Cheat to that of the West Fork,<sup>86</sup> is computed to be 30 Miles, and the Navigation good—as it also is up the West fork. that the South or Main branch<sup>87</sup> of the Monongahela has considerable impediments in the Way; and were it otherwise, would not answer the purpose of a communication with the North or South Branch of the Potomack from the westerly direction in which it runs. That the Cheat River, tho' rapid and bad, has been navigated to the Dunkard bottom<sup>88</sup> about 25 Miles from its Mouth and that he has understood a good way may be had from thence to the North branch, which he thinks must be about 30 Miles distant. He also adds, that from the Settlements. on the East of the Alligany,<sup>89</sup> to Monongahela Court House<sup>90</sup> on the West, it is reported a very good Road may be opened, and is already marked; from whence to the Navigable Water of the little Kanhawa is abt. Miles.

had moved to George's Creek in the Monongahela Valley about 1765. Like Swearingen, he had first served with the Militia against the Senecas in 1776 and had then enlisted in the Eighth Pennsylvania and had served with Morgan's Rifle Corps. In 1786 he moved to Kentucky. In 1792, as a brigadier general of the Kentucky Militia, he was killed by Indians in Ohio.

<sup>86</sup> The West Fork of the Monongahela joins the Tygart River (which is the east fork) at Fairmont, West Virginia.

<sup>87</sup> The Tygart River.

<sup>88</sup> Dunkard Bottom, on the Cheat River in Preston County, West Virginia, was settled in 1754 by three brothers named Eckarly, members of the Dunkard sect. Indians wiped out the settlement shortly afterwards, but the name continued.

<sup>89</sup> The reference here is to the Allegheny Mountains, of course, and not to the Allegheny River.

<sup>90</sup> Present Morgantown, West Virginia.

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From this information I resolved to return home that way; and my Baggage under the care of Doctr. Craik and Son, having from Simpsons, taken the Rout by the New (or Turkey foot) Road as it is called (which is said to be 20 Miles near[er] than Braddocks) with a view to make a more minute enquiry into the Navigation of the Yohiogany Waters. My Nephew and I set out about Noon, with one Colo. Philips<sup>91</sup> for Cheat River; after I had engaged Mr. Smith to undertake my business and had given him such information as I was able to do.

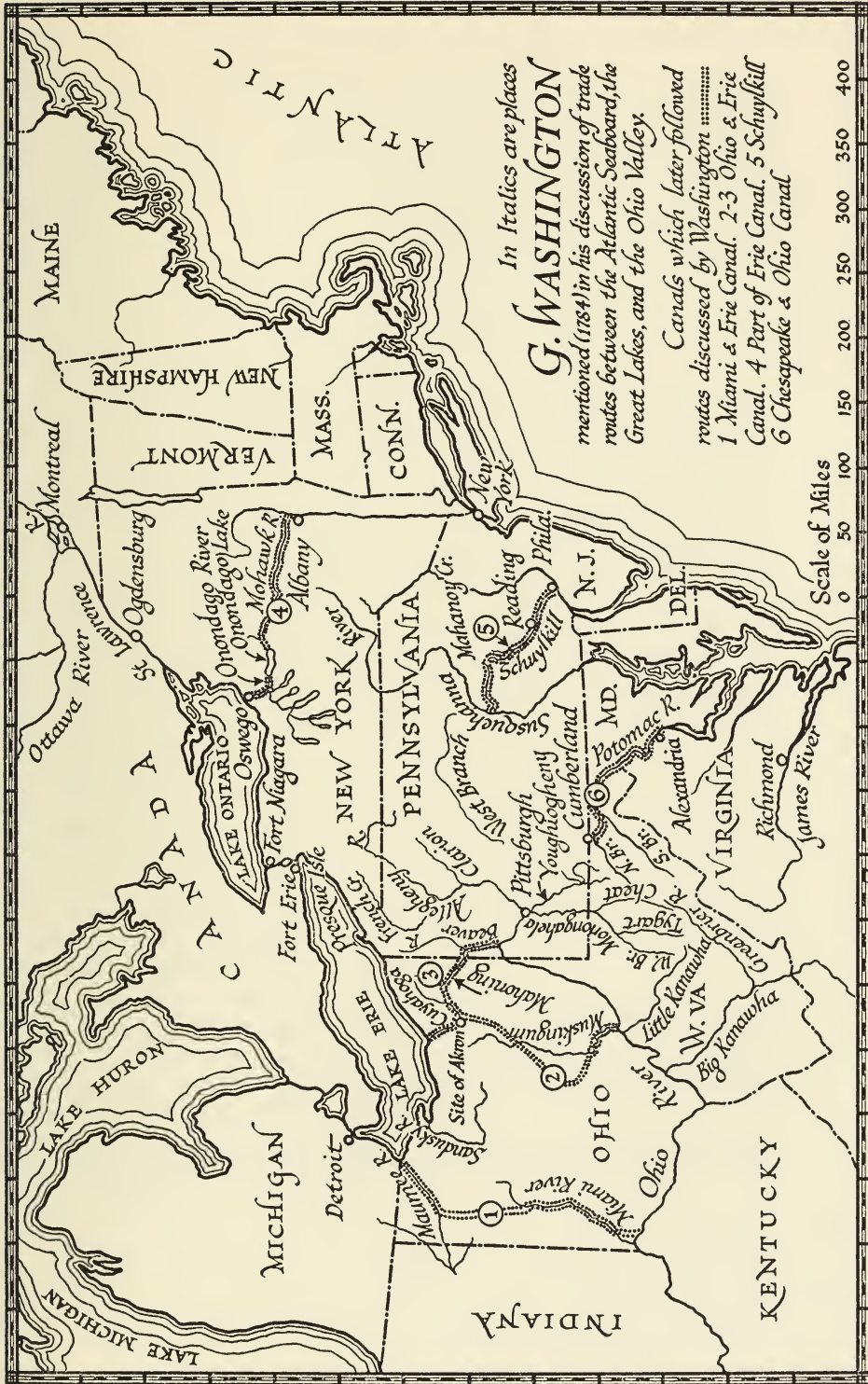
Note, It is adjudged proper to ascertain the date of the Warr[an]t to Captn. Posey<sup>92</sup>—and the identity of his hand writing to his Bond to me; the latter so as to give it authenticity—as also the date of Lewis's<sup>93</sup> return, on which my Patent Issued because if this is antecedent to the settlement of the occupiers of my Land, it will put the matter out of all kind of dispute; as the claim of those people rests upon their possessing the Land before I had any legal Survey of it—not viewing Crawford's as authentic. 'Tis advisable also, to know whether any location of it was ever made in the Land, or Surveyors Office, and the date of such Entry—and likewise, what Ordinance it is Captn. Crawford speaks of in his Letter of the 20th of Sepr. 1776 which passed he says at the last Con-

<sup>91</sup> Colonel Theophilus Phillips lived near present New Geneva, Pennsylvania. For a period, meetings of the Monongahela County Court were held at his home.

<sup>92</sup> Captain John Posey lived adjacent to Washington's Mount Vernon estate. As a veteran of the French and Indian War, Captain Posey was entitled to a grant of land. Washington had bought Posey's rights to such a grant, and had selected the Miller's Run lands.

<sup>93</sup> Thomas Lewis had been the Surveyor of Augusta County, Virginia, at the time Crawford surveyed the Miller's Run lands for Washington. Present Washington County, Pennsylvania, was part of Augusta County, Virginia, at the time.





*In Italics are places mentioned (1784) in his discussion of trade routes between the Atlantic Seaboard, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio Valley.*

# G. WASHINGTON

*Canals which later followed routes discussed by Washington*

- 1 Miami & Erie Canal.
- 2-3 Ohio & Erie Canal.
- 4 Part of Erie Canal.
- 5 Schuylkill
- 6 Chesapeake & Ohio Canal

Scale of Miles  
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400



## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

vention, for saving equitable claims on the Western Waters.<sup>94</sup>

*23d.* Arrived at Colo. Philips abt. five o'clock in the afternoon 16 Miles from Beason Town and near the Mouth of Cheat Rivr. the land thro' wch. I rid was for the most part tolerably level—in some places rich—but in general of a second quality—crossed no water of consequence except Georges Creek.

An Apology made to me from the Court of Fayette (thro' Mr. Smith) for not addressing me;<sup>95</sup> as they found my Horses Saddled and myself on the move.

Finding by enquiries, that the Cheat River had been passed with Canoes thro' those parts which had been represented as impassable—and that a Captn. Hanway<sup>96</sup>—the Surveyor of Monongahela County lived within two or three Miles of it, South side thereof; I resolved to pass it to obtain further information, and accordingly (accompanied by Colo. Philips) set of in the Morning of the

*24th.* And crossed it at the Mouth, as it was thought the River was too much swelled to attempt the ford a little higher up.—the fork was about 2 Miles and half from Colo. Philips and the ground betw. very hilly tho' rich in places.

The Cheat at the Mouth is about 125 yds. wide—the Monongahela near d[ou]ble that—the colour of the two Waters is very differt., that of Cheat is dark (occasioned as is conjectured

<sup>94</sup> The Virginia Convention in the revolutionary year of 1776 had made provisions for legalizing claims in the Western Country which had been established under the former government.

<sup>95</sup> As the late commander in chief, Washington would ordinarily have been "addressed" by the court in a county seat town—that is, ceremonial speeches would have been made and the former general would have had to reply. In his younger days, Washington would have welcomed the honor; now he was no doubt glad to escape it.

<sup>96</sup> Captain Samuel Hanway held the post Washington indicated. His office was at the home of John Pierpont.

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by the Laurel, among which it rises, and through which it runs) the other is clear; and there appears a repugnancy in both to mix, as there is a plain line of division betwn. the two for some distance below the fork; which holds, I am told near a Mile.—the Cheat keeps to the right shore as it descends, and the other the left.

The Line which divides the Commonwealths of Virginia and Pensylvania crosses both these Rivers about two Miles up each from the point of fork and the Land between them is high as the line runs being a ridge which seperates the two Waters—but higher up the fork a good road (it is said) may be had from one River to the other.

From the Fork to the Surveyors Office, which is at the house of one Pierpoint,<sup>97</sup> is about 8 Miles along the dividing Ridge—at this Office I could obtain no information of any Surveys or Entrie made for me by Captn. Wm. Crawford; but from an examination of his books it appeared pretty evident that the 2500 acres which he (Crawford) had surveyed for and offered to me on the little Kanhawa (adjoining the large survey under the proclamation of 1754) he had entered for Mr. Robert Rutherford<sup>98</sup>—and that the other tract in the fork between the Ohio and little Kanhawa had been entered by Doctr. Briscoe<sup>99</sup> and Sons.

Pursuing my enquiries respecting the Navigation of the Western Waters, Captn. Hanway proposed, I would stay all Night, to send to Monongahela Ct. House at Morgan town, for Colo.

<sup>97</sup> John Pierpont lived at present Easton, West Virginia.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Rutherford was an early settler in present Wood County, West Virginia.

<sup>99</sup> Dr. John Briscoe had originally settled on Washington's Round Bottom tract below present Parkersburg, West Virginia. On learning that the land was already claimed, he moved to the tract adjoining.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

Zachl. Morgan<sup>100</sup> and others;<sup>101</sup> who would have it in their power to give the best accts. that were to be obtained, which, assenting to, they were sent for and came, and from them I received the following intelligence viz—

That from the fork of Monongahela and Cheat, to the Court House at Morgan Town, is, by Water, about 11 Miles, and from thence to the West fork of the former is 18 More—from thence to the carrying place between it and a branch of the little Kanhawa, at a place called Bulls town,<sup>102</sup> is about 40 Miles by Land—more by Water—and the Navigation good. The carrying place is nine Miles and an half between the navigable parts of the two Waters; and a good Road between; there being only one hill in the way, and that not bad—hence to ye Mo. of the Kanhawa is 50 Miles.

That from Monongahela Court House 13 Miles along the New Road<sup>103</sup> which leads into Braddock's Road, East of the winding ridge,

<sup>100</sup> Colonel Zackquill Morgan founded Morgantown, West Virginia, in 1768. His military title was earned as a Militia officer during the Revolution, when he saw action against Tories and Indians in the Ohio Valley.

<sup>101</sup> Among the "others" who gathered at the surveyor's office to discuss local geography with Washington was Albert Gallatin, who only that year had settled at the mouth of George's Creek on the Monongahela at present New Geneva, Pennsylvania. Washington had been interrogating the crowd of settlers and hunters gathered in the surveyor's rough log office, and was busily calculating some relative mileages. Young Gallatin, with the gift for mathematical calculation which he later displayed as Secretary of the Treasury under three presidents, brashly volunteered the answer to Washington. Washington replied with what Gallatin considered the most withering look he had ever encountered. But after what must have seemed an eternity to young Gallatin, Washington acknowledged, "You are right, sir." Thus was launched a relationship which was to see, in due time, Gallatin become the leading opponent, as a member of the House of Representatives, of Washington, as President.

<sup>102</sup> Bullstown was an Indian village on the upper reaches of the Little Kanawha in present northern Braxton County, West Virginia.

<sup>103</sup> Roughly, present West Virginia State Route 73 to Bruceton Mills, and West Virginia State Route 26 and Pennsylvania State Route 281 to U. S. Route 40.



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and McCulloch's path, to one Joseph Logston's<sup>104</sup> on the North branch of Potomack is about 40 Miles—that this way passes through Sandy Creek glades, and the glades of Yohiogany, and may be good—but, if the Road should go from Clark's Town<sup>105</sup> on the Western fork of Monongahela, 15 Miles below the carrying place to the aforesaid Logston's it would cross the Tyger Valley River (the largest branch of Monongahela) above the falls therein, go through the glades of Monongahela; cross Cheat River at the Dunkers bottom (25 Miles from its Mouth) and thence through the Glades of Yohiogany—in all fm. ye Kaha. 85 Miles.<sup>106</sup>

That the Cheat River where it runs through the Laurel hill is, in their opinion, so incomodod with large Rock stones, rapid and dashing water from one Rock to another, as to become impassable; especially as they do not think a passage sufficient to admit a Canal can be found between the Hills and the common bed of the River—but of these matters none of them pretended to speak from actual knowledge, or observation; but from Report, and partial views.

That from these rapids to the Dunkers bottom, and four Miles above, the Navigation is very good;—after which for 8 Miles, the River is very foul, and worse to pass than it is through the Laurel hill; but from thence upwards thro' the horse Shoe bottom, and many Miles higher, it is again good, and fit for transportation; but (tho' useful to the Inhabitants thereof) will conduce nothing to the general plan, as it is thought no part of the Cheat River runs nearer to the navigable part of the No. branch of Potomack than the Dunkers bottom does, which they add is about 25 Miles of good road. From the Dunkers bottom to Clarkes Town they estimate 35 Miles, and say the Tyger Valley fork of the Monongahela affords good navigation above the falls<sup>107</sup> which is 7 Miles only from the Mouth, and is a Cateract of 25 feet.

<sup>104</sup> Joseph Logston lived on the Maryland side of the North Branch of the Potomac, roughly opposite present Gormanias, West Virginia.

<sup>105</sup> Present Clarksburg, West Virginia.

<sup>106</sup> The last two routes described, by avoiding the mouth of the Cheat River, would be all-Virginia routes from the Potomac to the Ohio. The mouth of the Cheat is, of course, in Pennsylvania.

<sup>107</sup> The Falls of the Tygart are north of present Grafton, West Virginia.

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25th. Having obtained the foregoing information, and being indeed somewhat discouraged from the acct. given of the passage of the Cheat River through Laurel hill and also from attempting to return by the way of the Dunkers bottom, as the path it is said is very blind and exceedingly grown up with briars, I resolved to try the other Rout, along the New Road to Sandy Creek; and thence by McCullochs path to Logstons; and accordingly set out before Sunrise.

Within 3 Miles I came to the River Cheat abt. 7 Miles from its Mouth—at a ferry kept by one Ice;<sup>108</sup> of whom making enquiry, I learnt that he himself, had passed from the Dunkers bottom both in Canoes and with Rafts. That a new Canoe which I saw at his Landing had come down the day before only, (the owner of which had gone to Sandy Creek)—that the first rapid was about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Miles above his ferry—that it might be between 50 and 100 yards thro' it—that from this to the Next, might be a Mile, of good water—That these 2 Rapids were much alike, and of the same extent;—that to the next rapid, which was the worst of the three, it was about 5 Miles of smooth water. That the difficulty of passing these rapids lies more in the number of large Rocks which choak the River, and occasion the water not only (there being also a greater dissent here than elsewhere) to run swift, but meandering thro' them renders steerage dangerous by the sudden turnings. That from his ferry to the Dunkers bottom, along the River, is about 15 Miles; and in his opinion, there is room on one side or the other of it at each of the Rapids for a Canal.

This acct. being given from the Man's own observation, who seemed to have no other meaning in what he asserted than to tell the truth, tho' he, like others, who for want of competent

<sup>108</sup> Andrew Ice's Ferry is now covered by the waters of Cheat Lake.

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skill in these things cou'd not distinguish between real and imaginary difficulties, left no doubt on my Mind of the practicability of opening an easy passage by Water to the Dunker bottom.—the River at his house may be a hundred or more yards wide, according to his acct. (which I believe is rather large) near a hundred miles by water to Fort Pitt.

The Road from Morgan Town, or Monongahela Ct. House, is said to be good to this ferry—distance abt. 6 Miles—the dissent of the hill to the River is rather Steep and bad—and the ascent from it, on the North side, is steep also tho' short, and may be rendered much better;—from the ferry the Laurel hill is assended by an easy and almost imperceptible slope to its summit thro' dry white Oak Land—along the top of it the Road continues for some distance, but is not so good; as the Soil is richer, deeper and more stony, which inconveniences (for good roads) also attends the dissent on the East side, tho' it is regular, and in no places steep. After crossing this hill the road is very good to the ford of Sandy Creek at one James Spurgeons<sup>109</sup> abt. 15 Miles from Ice's ferry.

At the crossing of this Creek McCullochs path, which owes its origen to Buffaloes, being no other than their tracks from one lick to another and consequently crooked and not well chosen, strikes off from the New road which passes great Yohiogany 15 Miles further on, and enters Braddock Road at the place before mentioned, at the distance of 22 Miles.

From Spurgeon's to one Lemons,<sup>110</sup> which is a little to the right of McCullochs path, is reckoned 9 Miles, and the way not bad; but from Lemons to the entrance of the Yohiogany

<sup>109</sup> James and John Spurgeon settled in Sandy Creek Glades of present Preston County, West Virginia, as early as 1767.

<sup>110</sup> Lemon is not otherwise identified. Since he acted as a guide for Washington for several days, he probably had been in the country for some time.

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glades which is estimated 9 Miles more thro' a deep rich Soil in some places and a very rocky one in others, with steep hills and what is called the briery Mountains<sup>111</sup> to cross is intolerable but these might be eased and a much better way found if a little pains was taken to slant them.

At the entrance of the above glades I lodged this night, with no other shelter or cover than my cloak and was unlucky enough to have a heavy shower of Rain—our horses also were turned loose to cater for themselves having nothing to give them—from this place my guide (Lemon) informed me that the Dunkers bottom was not more than 8 Miles from us.

It may not be amiss to observe, that Sandy Creek has a fall within a few miles of its Mouth of 40 feet, and being rapid besides, affords no navigation at all.

*26th.* Having found our Horses readily (for they nevr. lost sight of our fire) we started at the dawning of day, and passing along a small path much enclosed with weeds and bushes, loaded with Water from the overnights rain and the showers which were continually falling, we had an uncomfortable travel to one Charles friends,<sup>112</sup> about 10 Miles; where we could get nothing for our horses, and only boiled Corn for ourselves.

In this distance, excepting two or three places which abounded in Stone, and no advantage taken of the hills (which were not large) we found the ground would admit an exceedingly good Waggon Road with a little causeying<sup>113</sup> of some parts of the Glades; the Ridges between being chiefly white oak land, intermixed with grit and Stone.

Part of these glades is the property of Govr. Johnson<sup>114</sup> of

<sup>111</sup> Briery Mountain is near present Cranesville, Preston County, W.Va.

<sup>112</sup> Now Oakland, Garrett County, Maryland.

<sup>113</sup> Construction of a raised road through marshy ground.

<sup>114</sup> Governor Thomas Johnson of Maryland, a friend of Washington's and leader of the Revolutionary War.

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Maryland who has settled two or three families of Palatines<sup>115</sup> upon them. These glades have a pretty appearance, resembling cultivated Lands and improved Meadows at a distance; with woods here and there interspersed. Some of them are rich, with black and lively Soil—others are of a stiffer, and colder Nature—all of them feel, very early, the effect of frost—the growth of them, is a grass, not much unlike what is called fancy grass, without the variegated colours of it; much intermixed in places with fern and other weeds, as also with alder and other Shrubs. The Land between these glades is chiefly white oak, on a dry stony Soil. In places there are Walnut and Crab tree bottoms, which are very rich. The glades are not so level as one would imagine—in general they rise from the small water courses which run through all of them to the Ridges which separate one from another—but they are highly beneficial to the circumjacent Country from whence the Cattle are driven to pasture in the Spring and recalled at Autumn.

A Mile before I came to Friends, I crossed the Great branch of Yohiogany, which is about 25 or 30 yards over; and impassable, according to his acct. between that and Braddocks Road on acct. of the Rapidity of the Water, quantity of Stone, and Falls therein—but these difficulties, in the eyes of a proper examiner, might be found altogether imaginary; and if so, the Navigation of the Yohiogany and No. Branch of Potomack may be brought within 10 Miles and a good Waggon Road betwn.; but then, the Yohiogany lyes altogether in the State of Pennsylvania whose inclination (regardless of the interest of that part which lyes West of the Laurel hill) would be opposed to the extension of this navigation, as it would be the

<sup>115</sup> Germans from the region of the Rhine Valley then known as the Palatinate. Their descendants in Pennsylvania are known today as the Pennsylvania Dutch.



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inevitable means of withdrawing from them the trade of all their western territory.

The little Yohiogany from Braddocks Road to the Falls below the Turkey foot, or 3 forks, may, in the opinion of Friend, who is a great Hunter, and well acquainted with all the Waters, as well as hills, having lived in that Country and followed no other occupation for nine years, be made navigable—and this, were it not for the reason just assigned, being within 22 Miles of Fort Cumberland, would open a very important door to the trade of that Country.

He is also of opinion that a very good road may be had from the Dunkers bottom to the No. Branch of Potomack, at or near where McCullochs path crosses it; and that the distance will not exceed 22 Miles, to pass by his house, i.e. 10 to the No. Branch and 12 to the Dunkers bottom—half of which (10 or 11 Miles) will go through the glades, white Oak ridges will separate them.

There will be an intervention of two hills in this road—the back bone<sup>116</sup> near the Branch—and the Briery Mountain near the Bottom, both of which may be easily passed in the lowest parts by judicious slants, and these with some Causeys in the richest and deepest parts of the glades will enable a common team to draw twenty hundred with ease from one place to the other.

From Friends I passed by a spring (distance 3 Miles) . . . crossed the back bone and descended into Ryans glade.<sup>117</sup> Thence by Thos. Logston's<sup>118</sup> (the father of Joseph)—The way

<sup>116</sup> Back Bone Mountain, in southwestern Garrett County, Maryland.

<sup>117</sup> When Archer B. Hulbert retraced Washington's 1784 journey in 1905, Ryan's Glade was on the farm of William Lower, southeast of Oakland, Md.

<sup>118</sup> Washington here means "Thence to Thomas Logston's," his ultimate destination for the day. Thomas Logston lived at the juncture of the North Branch of the Potomac and Stony Creek, four miles down stream from where McCulloch's path crossed the North Branch of the Potomac.

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and distances as follow—to the foot of the back bone, about 5 Miles of very good ground for a Road; being partly glady, and partly white Oak Ridges.—across the Ridge to Ryans glade One Mile and half bad, the hill being steep, and in places Stony—to Joseph Logston's<sup>119</sup> 1½ Miles very good going—to the No. Branch at McCullochs path<sup>120</sup> 2 Miles—infamous road—and to Thos. Logstons<sup>121</sup> 4 more, partly pretty good, and in places very bad but it has been observed before to what fortuitous circumstances<sup>122</sup> the paths of this Country owe their being, and how much the ways may be better chosen by a proper investigation of it; and the distances from place to place reduced. This appear'd evident from my own observation and from young Logston, who makes hunting his chief employment; and according to his own acct. is acquainted with every hill and rivulet between the North Branch and the Dunkers bottom.

He asserts that from Ryan's glade to the No. branch, 2 Miles below the Mouth of Stony River (wch. is about 4 below McCullochs crossing) a very good Road may be traced, and the distance not more than it is from the same place to the crossing last mentioned, which is a circumstance of some importance as the No. Branch above its junction with Stony River (which of the two seems to contain the most water) would hardly afford water for Navigation.

He agrees precisely with Charles Friends respecting the Na-

<sup>119</sup> In 1905, Butler found Joseph Logston's old homestead on the farm of William Willdeson.

<sup>120</sup> Gormanania, West Virginia.

<sup>121</sup> These last four miles would be along the North Branch, which is here not navigable and thus would require extending a portage road to the juncture with Stony Creek. The road Washington is mentally outlining here would connect the Potomac with the Ohio River by way of the Cheat and Monongahela.

<sup>122</sup> They were former Buffalo Paths.

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ture of the Road between the North Branch and the Dunkers bottom; but insists upon it that the distance will not exceed 20 Miles and that Friends ought to be left two Miles to the Westward—this may acct. for their difference of opinion; the latter wanting his House to be introduced as a stage and here it may be well to observe; that however knowing these people are, their accts. are to be received with great caution—compared with each other—and these again with one's own observatns.; as private views are as prevalent in this, as any other Country; and are particularly exemplified in the article of Roads; which (where they have been marked) seem calculated more to promote individual interest, than the public good.

From the reputed distances, as I have given them from place to place between Monongahela Court House and the No. branch at McCulloch's ford, and description of the country over which I travelled, it should seem that Colo, Morgan and those with whom I had the meeting at Captn. Hanway's, are mistaken in two points.—viz—measurement and the goodness of Road—They making the distance between those places only 40 Miles and the way good, whereas by my Acct. the first is computed 55 Miles and a part of the Road very bad—both however are easily accounted for; the rout being circuitous, and beasts instead of Men having traced it out. Altho' I was seldom favored with a sight of the Sun but handsomely besprinkled with Rain the greater part of the way it was evident to me that from Pierpoints (Captn. Hanways Quarters.) to the crossing of Sandy Creek, I rid in a No. Et. direction—from thence for many Miles South—and afterwards South Easterly.

I could obtain no good acct. of the Navigation of the No. Branch between McCulloch's crossing and Will's Creek (or Fort Cumberland) indeed there were scarce any persons of whom enquiries could be made; for, from Lemon's to old Logs-

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tons their is only Friend and young Logston living on the track I came and none on it for 20 Miles below him—but in general I could gather from them, especially from Joseph Logston, who has (he says) hunted along the Water course of the River that there is no fall in it—that from Fort Cumberland to the Mouth of Savage River the water being good is frequently made use of in its present State with Canoes—and from thence upwards, is only rapid in places with loose Rocks which can readily be removed.

From the Mouth of Savage River the State of Maryland (as I was informed) were opening a Road to their western boundary which was to be met by another which the Inhabitants of Monongahela County (in Virginia) were extending to the same place from the Dunker bottom through the glades of Yohiogany making in the aggregate abt. 35 Miles—this Road will leave Friends according to his Acct. a little to the Eastward and will upon the whole be a *good* Road but not *equal* to the *one* which may be traced from the Dunkers bottom to the No. Branch at, or below the fork of it and Stony River.

At this place—viz Mr. Thos. Logston's I met a brother of his, an intelligent man, who informed me that some years ago he had travelled from the Mouth of Carpenters Creek (now more generally known by the name of Dunlaps) a branch of Jackson's,<sup>123</sup> which is the principal prong of James River to the Mouth of Howards Creek wch. empties into the Greenbrier a large branch of New River abe. Great Kanhawa—that

<sup>123</sup> The upper branches of Jackson's Creek, which joins the James at present Covington, Virginia, run parallel to the Greenbrier, a tributary of the New River, which in turn joins the Big Kanawha. A road between the upper branches of Jackson's Creek and the Greenbrier would connect the James River Valley with the Ohio River Valley. The citizens of central Virginia were naturally more interested in this route than in the Potomac route.

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the distance between them does not exceed 20 Miles—and not a hill in the way. If this be fact, and he asserts it positively, a communication with the Western Country that way, if the falls in the Great Kanhawa (thro the gauly Mounn.)<sup>124</sup> Can be rendered navigable will be as ready,—perhaps more direct than any other for all the Inhabitants of the Ohio and its Waters below the little Kanhawa—and that these Falls are not so tremendous as some have represented I am inclined to believe from several Circumstances—one of which, in my mind, is conclusive—so far at least—as they do not amount to a Cataract, and that is that Fish ascend them—it being agreed on all hands that the large Cats and other fish of the Ohio are to be met with in great abundance in the River above them.

*27th.* I left Mr. Logston's a little after daybreak—at 4 Miles thro' bad road, occasioned by Stone, I crossed the Stoney River;<sup>125</sup> which, as hath been before observed, appears larger than the No. Branch—at Ten Miles I had by an imperceptible rise gained the summit of the Alligany Mountain and began to desend it where it is very steep and bad to the Waters of Pattersons Creek<sup>126</sup> which embraces those of New Creek<sup>127</sup>—along the heads of these, and crossing the Main Creek<sup>128</sup> and Mountain bearing the same name<sup>129</sup> . . . I came to . . . Fort pleasant<sup>130</sup> on the South Branch about 35 Miles from Logston a little before the Suns setting. . . .

<sup>124</sup> Present Gauley Bridge, West Virginia.

<sup>125</sup> Washington's route from Thomas Logston's had been along the west bank of Stoney Creek, or River.

<sup>126</sup> Patterson's Creek is a tributary of the North Branch of the Potomac.

<sup>127</sup> Another tributary of the North Branch.

<sup>128</sup> That is, the main branch of Patterson's Creek.

<sup>129</sup> Patterson's Creek Mountain.

<sup>130</sup> Present Old Fields, Hardy County, West Virginia.



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28th. Remained at Colonel Hite's<sup>131</sup> all day to refresh myself and rest my Horses, having had a very fatiguing journey thro' the Mountains, occasioned not more from the want of accomodation and the real necessaries of life than the showers of Rain which were continually falling and wetting the bushes—the passing of which, under these circumstances was very little better than swimming of Rivulets.

From Colo. Hite . . . I understood that the navigation of the South Branch in its present State, is made use of from Fort pleasant to its Mouth—that the most difficult part in it, and that would not take £100 to remove the obstruction (it being only a single rift of rocks across in one place) is 2 Miles below the old Fort<sup>132</sup>—that this, as the Road goes, is 40 Miles; by water more—and that, from any thing they knew, or believe to the contrary, it might at this moment be used 50 Miles higher, if any benefits were to result from it.

29th. Having appointed to join Doctr. Craik and my Baggage at Colo. Warner Washington's,<sup>133</sup> but finding it required only one day more to take the Rout of Mr. Thos. Lewis's<sup>134</sup> (near Stanton)<sup>135</sup> from whose Office I wanted some papers to enable me to prosecute my ejections of those who had possessed themselves of my Land in the County of Washington, State of Pennsylvania; and that I might obtain a more distinct acct. of the Communication between Jackson's River and the

<sup>131</sup> A resident of Fort Pleasant, Abraham Hite is not otherwise identified. The Hite family, descendants of Yost Hite, were very numerous in western Virginia.

<sup>132</sup> Fort Pleasant had been a frontier outpost of Virginia during the French and Indian War. The fact that it was now abandoned shows how far the frontier had moved during Washington's adult lifetime.

<sup>133</sup> Warner Washington, George's first cousin, lived near Winchester.

<sup>134</sup> See note 93, *ante*.

<sup>135</sup> Staunton, Virginia.

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green Brier;—I sent my Nephew Bushrod Washington (who was of my party) to that place to request the Doctr. to proceed—and . . . I set out for Rockingham in which County Mr. Lewis now lives. . . .

*30th.* . . . I arrived at Mr. Lewis's<sup>136</sup> about Sundown, after riding about 40 Miles. . . .

*October 1st.* Dines at Mr. Gabriel Jones's,<sup>137</sup> not half a mile from Mr. Lewis's, but separated by the South Fork of Shannondoah; which is between 80 and a hundred yards wide and makes a respectable appearance. . . .

I had a good deal of conversation with this Gentleman on the Waters, and trade of the Western Country; and particularly with respect to the Navigation of the Great Kanhawa and its communication with James and Roanoke Rivers.

His opinion is, that the easiest and best communication between the Eastern and Western Waters is from the North branch of Potomack to Yohiogany or Cheat River; and ultimately that the Trade between the two Countries will settle in this Channel. That altho James River has an easy and short communication from the Mouth of Carpenters or Dunlaps Creek to the Green brier which in distance and kind of Country is exactly as Logston described them, yet, that the passage of the New River, abe. Kanhawa, thro' the gauly Mountain from every acct. he has had of it, now is, and ever will be attended with considerable difficulty, if it should not prove impracticable. The Fall he has understood, altho' it may be short of a Cateract, or perpendicular tumble, runs with the velocity of a stream descending a Mountain, and is besides very Rocky and closely

<sup>136</sup> Near Staunton, Virginia.

<sup>137</sup> Gabriel Jones had been Lord Fairfax's lawyer. He had also been a Burgess, and later was a member of the Virginia Convention to ratify the Constitution.

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confined between rugged hills. He adds, that from all appearance, a considerable part of the Water with which the River above abounds, sinks at or above this Rapid or fall, as the quantity he says, from report, is greatly diminished, however, as it is not his own observations, but report these acts. are had, the real difficulty in surmounting the obstructions here described may be much less than are apprehended; wch. supposition is well warranted by the ascension of the Fish.

Mr. Lewis is of opinion that if the obstructions in this River can be removed, that the easiest communication of all, would be by the Roanoke, as the New River and it are within 12 Miles, and an excellent Waggon Road between them and no difficulty that ever he heard of, in the former, to hurt the inland Navigation of it. . . .

*4th.* Reached home before Sun down; having travelled on the same horses since the first day of September by the computed distances 680 Miles.

And tho' I was disappointed in one of the objects which induced me to undertake this journey namely to examine into the situation quality and advantages of the Land which I hold upon the Ohio and Great Kanawha—and to take measures for rescuing them from the hands of Land Jobbers and Speculators—who I had been informed regardless of my legal and equitable rights, patents, &ca.; had enclosed them within other Surveys and were offering them for Sale at Philadelphia and in Europe.—I say notwithstanding this disappointment I am well pleased with my journey, as it has been the means of my obtaining a knowledge of facts—coming at the temper and disposition of the Western Inhabitants<sup>138</sup>—and making reflections thereon,

<sup>138</sup> Washington's interest here in "the temper and disposition of the Western Inhabitants" indicated that he was well aware of the growing conflict between the western small farmers, especially beyond the mountains, and

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which, otherwise, must have been as wild, incoherent., or perhaps as foreign from the truth, as the inconsistency of the reports which I had received even from those to whom most credit seemed due, generally were.

These reflections remain to be summed up—

The more then the Navigation of Potomack is investigated, and duly considered, the greater the advantages arising from them appear.

The South or principal branch of Shannondoah at Mr. Lewis's is, to traverse the river, at least 150 Miles from its Mouth; all of which, except the rapids . . . now is, or very easily may be made navigable for inland Craft, and extended 30 Miles higher. The South Branch of Potomack is already navigated from its Mouth to Fort Pleasant; which, as the Road goes, is 40 computed Miles; and the only difficulty in the way (and that a very trifling one) is just below the latter, where the River is hemmed in by the hills or mountains on each side. From hence, . . . it may, at the most trifling expense imaginable, be made navigable 50 Miles higher.

To say nothing then of the smaller Waters, such as Pattersons Creek, Cacapehon, Opekon &ca.; which are more or less Navigable; and of the branches on the Maryland side, these two alone (that is the South Branch and Shannondoah) would afford water transportation for all that fertile Country between the bleu ridge and the Alligany Mountains; which is immense—but how trifling when viewed upon that immeasurable scale, which is inviting our attention!

The Ohio River embraces this Commonwealth<sup>139</sup> from its the wealthier seaboard region. This conflict figured largely in the political events connected with the adoption of the Constitution and with Washington's two administrations. In 1794, Washington was to observe again firsthand a different "temper and disposition of the Western Inhabitants."

<sup>139</sup> Virginia.

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Northern, almost to its Southern limits. It is now, our western boundary and lies nearly parallel to our exterior, and thickest settled Country.

Into this River French Creek,<sup>140</sup> big bever Creek,<sup>141</sup> Muskingham,<sup>142</sup> Hockhocking,<sup>143</sup> Scioto,<sup>144</sup> and the two Miamies<sup>145</sup> (in its upper Region) and many others (in the lower) pour themselves from the westward through one of the most fertile Countries of the Globe; by a long inland navigation; which, in its present state, is passable for Canoes and such other small craft as has, hitherto, been made use of for the Indian trade.

French Creek, down which I have myself come to Venango,<sup>146</sup> from a lake<sup>147</sup> near its source, is 15 Miles from Presque Isle<sup>148</sup> on lake Erie; and the Country betwn. quite level. Both big bever creek and Muskingham, communicates very nearly with Cayahoga;<sup>149</sup> which runs into lake Erie; the portage<sup>150</sup> with the latter (I mean Muskingham) as appears by the Maps, is only one mile; and by many other accts. a very little further;

<sup>140</sup> Since the present Allegheny River was considered, at the time, part of the Ohio, Washington here refers to French Creek in northwestern Pennsylvania.

<sup>141</sup> The Beaver River.

<sup>142</sup> The Muskingum.

<sup>143</sup> The Hocking River.

<sup>144</sup> The Sciota.

<sup>145</sup> The Big and Little Miami Rivers.

<sup>146</sup> Present Franklin, Pennsylvania.

<sup>147</sup> Lake LeBoeuf, near present Waterford, Pennsylvania.

<sup>148</sup> Presque Isle, at present Erie, Pennsylvania.

<sup>149</sup> The Cuyahoga, which enters Lake Erie at Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>150</sup> The upper branches of the Tuscarawas, a tributary of the Muskingum, come within a few miles of the Cuyahoga in the vicinity of Akron, Ohio. The portage Path between the two rivers ran through the present limits of that city. The route that Washington is here outlining later was the route of the Ohio Canal, which linked Lake Erie with the Ohio River through eastern Ohio.



## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

and so level between, that the Indians and Traders, as is affirmed, always drag their Canoes from one River to the other when they go to War—to hunt—or trade. The great Miame,<sup>151</sup> which runs into the Ohio, communicates with a River of the same name,<sup>152</sup> as also with Sandusky,<sup>153</sup> which empty themselves into Lake Erie, by short and east Portages. And all of these are so many channels through which not only the produce of the New States contemplated by Congress, but the trade of *all* the lakes, quite to that of the Wood,<sup>154</sup> may be conducted according to my information, and judgment—at least by one of the Routs—thro' a shorter, easier, and less expensive communication than either of those which are now, or have been used with Canada, New Yk. or New Orleans.

That this may not appear an assertion, or even an opinion unsupported, I will examine matters impartially, and endeavor to state facts.

Detroit is a point, thro' which the Trade of the Lakes Huron, and all those above it, must pass, if it centers in any State of the Union; or goes to Canada; unless it should pass by the River Outawais,<sup>155</sup> which discharges itself into the St. Lawrence at Montreal and which necessity only can compel; as it

<sup>151</sup> The Miami drains southwestern Ohio and enters the Ohio River at the present Ohio-Indiana border.

<sup>152</sup> The Maumee River drains northwestern Ohio and enters Lake Erie at present Toledo, Ohio. Its numerous tributaries mesh with the upper tributaries of the Miami. The Miami Canal from Toledo to Cincinnati later followed the route Washington is here indicating.

<sup>153</sup> The Sandusky River rises in central Ohio and enters Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie.

<sup>154</sup> Lake of the Woods, lying in present Minnesota and Ontario Province, is west of Lake Superior.

<sup>155</sup> The Ottawa River forms the southern boundary between the provinces of Ontario and Quebec before entering the Saint Lawrence west of Montreal.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

is from all accts. longer and of more difficult navigation than the St. Lawrence itself.

To do this, the Waters which empty into the Ohio on the East Side, and which communicate nearest and best with those which run into the Atlantic, must also be delineated.

These are, Monongahela and its branches, viz, Yohiogany and Cheat and the little and great Kanhawas; and Greenbrier which empties into the latter.

The first<sup>156</sup> (unfortunately for us)<sup>157</sup> is within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania from its Mouth to the fork of Cheat, indeed 2 Miles higher—as (which is more to be regretted) the Yohiogany also is, till it crosses the line of Maryland; these Rivers I am persuaded, afford *much* the shortest Routs from the Lakes to the tide water of the Atlantic, but are not under our controul; being subject to a power whose interest is opposed to the extension of their navigation, as it would be the inevitable means of withdrawing from Philadelphia all the trade of that part of its western territory, which lyes beyond the Laurel hill. Though any attempt of that Government<sup>158</sup> to restrain it I am equally well persuaded wd. cause a seperation of their territory; there being sensible men among them who have it in contemplation at this moment<sup>159</sup>—but this by the by. The little Kanhawa, which stands next in order, and by Hutchins's<sup>160</sup> table of dis-

<sup>156</sup> The Monongahela.

<sup>157</sup> Virginians.

<sup>158</sup> The state government of Pennsylvania.

<sup>159</sup> This would seem to indicate that Washington had discussed with some of the many prominent Pennsylvanians with whom he talked in 1784, the possibility of Western Pennsylvania seceding to become independent or join Virginia.

<sup>160</sup> Thomas Hutchins, a former British army engineer, in 1778 published *A Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*. The mileage figures which Washington here quotes are from that work.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

tances (between Fort Pit and the Mouth of the River Ohio) is 184½ Miles below the Monongahela, is navigable between 40 and 50 Miles up, to a place called Bullstown.<sup>161</sup> Thence there is a Portage of 9½ Miles to the West fork of Monongahela—Thence along the same to the Mouth of Cheat River and up it to the Dunker bottom; from whence a portage may be had to the No branch of Potomack.

Next to the little, is the great Kanhawa; which by the above table is 98½ miles still lower down the Ohio. This is a fine Navigable river to the Falls; the practicability of opening which, seems to be little understood; but most assuredly ought to be investigated.

These then are the ways by which the produce of that Country; and the peltry and fur trade of the Lakes may be introduced into this State;<sup>162</sup> and into Maryld.; which stands upon similar ground. There are ways, more difficult and expensive indeed by which they can also be carried to Philadelphia—all of which, with the Rout to Albany, and Montreal, and the distances by Land, and Water, from place to place, as far as can be ascertained by the best Maps now extant—by actual Surveys made since the publication of them—and the information of intelligent persons—will appear as follow—from Detroit—which is a point, as has been observed, as unfavourable for us to compute from (being upon the North Western extremity of the United territory) as any beyond Lake Erie can be.

viz

From Detroit to Alexandria is

To Cayahoga River.....	125 Miles
Up the same to the Portage.....	60
Portage <sup>163</sup> to Bever Ck.....	8

<sup>161</sup> See note 102, *ante*. <sup>162</sup> Virginia.

<sup>163</sup> Between the upper Cuyahoga and the Mahoning Branch of the Beaver, roughly along the present Erie Railroad from Cleveland to Youngstown.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Down Bever Ck. to the Ohio.....	85	
Up the Ohio to Fort Pitt.....	<u>25</u>	303
The Mouth of Yohiogany.....	15	
Falls of Ditto <sup>164</sup> .....	50	
Portage.....	1	
Three forks or Turkey foot.....	8	
Fort Cumberld. or Wills Creek.....	30	
Alexandria.....	<u>200</u>	304
		<u>607</u>
To Fort Pitt as above.....		303
The Mouth of Cheat River.....	75	
Up it, to the Dunker bottom.....	25	
North branch of Potomack.....	20	
Fort Cumberland.....	40	
Alexandria.....	<u>200</u>	360
To Alexanda. by this Rout		<u>663</u>
From Detroit to Alexandria avoiding Pensylvania* <sup>165</sup>		
To the Mo. of Cayahoga.....	125	Miles
The carrying place with Muskingham River.....	54	
The Portage <sup>166</sup> .....	1	
The Mo. of Muskingham <sup>167</sup> .....	192	
The little Kanhawa.....	<u>12</u>	384
Up the same.....	40	
Portage to the West Bra.....	<u>10</u>	50
Down Monongahela to Cheat.....	80	
Up Cheat to the Dunker Botm.....	25	
Portage to the No. bra. Potomk.....	20	
Fort Cumberland.....	40	
Alexandria.....	<u>200</u>	365
Total by this Rout.....		<u>799</u>

\*the mouth of Cheat River and 2 Miles up it is in Pensyla.

<sup>164</sup> Ohiopyle, Pennsylvania.

<sup>165</sup> This footnote is in the original; *i.e.*, it is Washington's.

<sup>166</sup> Present Akron, Ohio. <sup>167</sup> Present Marietta, Ohio.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

### From Detroit to Richmond

To the Mouth of the little Kanhawa as above.....	384 Miles
The Great Kanhawa by Hutchin's Table of Distances..	98½
The Falls of the Kanhawa from information.....	90
A portage (supposedly).....	10
The Mouth of Green brier and up it to the Portage....	50
Portage to James Rr.....	<u>33</u> 281
Richmond.....	<u>175</u>
Total.....	<u>840</u>

Note<sup>168</sup>—This Rout *may be* more incorrect<sup>169</sup> than either of the foregoing, as I had only the Maps, and vague information for the Portages—and for the distances from the Mouth of the Kanhawa to the Carrying place with Jacksons (that is James) River and the length of that River from the Carrying place to Richmond—the length of the carrying place above is also taken from the Map tho' from Information one would have called it not more than 20 Miles.

### From Detroit to Philadelphia is

Miles

To Presque Isle.....	245
Portage to Lebeauf <sup>170</sup> .....	15
Down french Creek to Venango <sup>171</sup> .....	75
Along the Ohio <sup>172</sup> to Toby's Creek <sup>173</sup> .....	<u>25</u> 115
to the head spring of Do.....	<u>45</u>
By a Strait line to the nearest Water <sup>174</sup> of Susquea <sup>175</sup> ... ..	15

<sup>168</sup> This note is Washington's.

<sup>169</sup> As Washington suggests, his information about this route *is* less accurate. Navigation from the Falls of the Kanawha to the mouth of the Green-brier, for example, would be impossible.

<sup>170</sup> Present Waterford, Pennsylvania.

<sup>171</sup> Present Franklin, Pennsylvania.

<sup>172</sup> Here Washington refers to the present Allegheny as the Ohio.

<sup>173</sup> Toby Creek is a branch of the Clarion River in present Elk County, Pennsylvania. In Washington's day, however, the entire Clarion River was referred to as Toby Creek.

<sup>174</sup> Bennett Branch of Sinnemahoning Creek, a tributary of the West Branch of the Susquehanna. <sup>175</sup> The Susquehanna.



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Down the same to the West branch . . . . .	50	
Fort Augusta <sup>176</sup> at the Fork . . . . .	125	
Mackees (or Mackoneys) <sup>177</sup> Ck. . . . .	12	
Up this . . . . .	25	
By a strait line to Schuylk. <sup>178</sup> . . . . .	15	
Reading . . . . .	32	
Philadelphia . . . . .	62	381
Total . . . . .		741

### By another Rout

To Fort Pitt as before <sup>179</sup> . . . . .	303
Up the Ohio to Tobys Ck. . . . .	95
Thence to Phila. as above . . . . .	381
Total . . . . .	779

Note—The distances of places from the Mouth of Tobys Creek to Philada. are taken wholly from a comparative view of Evan's<sup>180</sup> and Sculls Maps<sup>181</sup>—The number, and length of the Portages; are not attempted to be given with greater exactness than these—and for want of more competent knowledge, they are taken by a strait line between the sources of the different Waters which by the Maps have the nearest communication with each other—consequently these Routs, if there is any truth in the Maps, must be longer than the given distances—particularly in the Portages, or Land part of the Transportation, because no Road among Mountns. can be strait—or waters navigable to their fountain heads.

<sup>176</sup> Present Sunbury, Pennsylvania.

<sup>177</sup> Mahanoy Creek rises near present Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, and runs due east to the Susquehanna.

<sup>178</sup> The Schuylkill rises near Pottsville, Pennsylvania, and enters the Delaware at Philadelphia. The route which Washington here describes was later followed by the Schuylkill Canal.

<sup>179</sup> That is, by way of the Cuyahoga and Beaver.

<sup>180</sup> Lewis Evans published a map of the Middle Colonies in 1775.

<sup>181</sup> William Scull, son of the Surveyor-General of Pennsylvania, published a map of Pennsylvania in 1770.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

From Detroit to Albany is

To Fort Erie, <sup>182</sup> at the No. end of Lake Erie.....	350	
Fort Niagara <sup>183</sup> —18 Miles of wch. is Land transpn....	<u>30</u>	380
Oswego.....		175
Fall of Onondaga River <sup>184</sup> .....	12	
Portage.....	1	
Oneida Lake by Water.....	40	
Length of Do. to Wood Ck. <sup>185</sup> .....	18	
Wood Ck. very small and Crooked.....	25	
Portage to Mohawk <sup>186</sup> .....	<u>1</u>	97
Down it to the Portage <sup>187</sup> .....	60	
Portage.....	1	
Schenectady.....	55	
Portage to Albany <sup>188</sup> .....	<u>15</u>	131
In all.....		783
To the City of New York.....		<u>160</u>
Total.....		<u>943</u>

From Detroit to Montreal is

To Fort Niagara as above.....		380
North end of Lake Ontario.....	225	
Oswegatche <sup>189</sup> .....	60	
Montreal—very rapid.....	<u>110</u>	395
In all.....		775
To Quebec.....		<u>180</u>
Total.....		<u>955</u>

<sup>182</sup> Present Fort Erie, Ontario, opposite Buffalo, New York.

<sup>183</sup> Fort Niagara was located on the American side of the Niagara River where it enters Lake Ontario.

<sup>184</sup> The branch of the Oswego River which rises in Oneida Lake.

<sup>185</sup> Wood Creek rises near Rome, New York, and runs into the eastern end of Oneida Lake. The route Washington describes here was later followed by the Erie Canal and today is followed by the New York State Barge Canal.

<sup>186</sup> The Mohawk River.

<sup>187</sup> The portage around the falls of the Mohawk River at present Little Falls, New York.

<sup>188</sup> The portage around Cohoes Falls near the mouth of the Mohawk.

<sup>189</sup> Present Ogdensburg, New York.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

Admitting the preceeding Statement, which as has been observed is given from the best and most authentic Maps and papers in my possession—from information—and partly from observation, to be tolerably just, it would be nugatory to go about to prove that the Country within, and bordering upon the Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan would be more convenient when they came to be settled—or that they would embrace with avidity our Markets, if we should remove the obstructions which are at present in the way to them.

It may be said, because it has been said, and because there are some examples of it in proof, that the Country of Kentucke, about the Falls,<sup>190</sup> and even much higher up the Ohio, have carried flour and other articles to New Orleans—but from whence has it proceeded? Will any one who has ever calculated the difference between Water and Land transportation wonder at this?—especially in an infant settlement where the people are poor and weak handed—and pay more regard to their ease than to loss of time, or any other circumstance?

Hitherto, the people of the Western Country having had no excitements to Industry, labour very little;—the luxuriency of the Soil, with very little culture, produces provisions in abundance—these supplies the wants of the encreasing population—and the Spaniards<sup>191</sup> when pressed by want have given high prices for flour—other articles they reject; and at times, (contrary I think to sound policy) shut their ports against them altogether—but let us open a good communication with the Settlements west of us—extend the inland Navigation as far as it can be done with convenience—and shew them by this means, how easy it is to bring the produce of their Lands to our Markets, and see how astonishingly our exports will be in-

<sup>190</sup> The Falls of the Ohio at Louisville, Kentucky.

<sup>191</sup> Spain controlled New Orleans at the time.

## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

creased; and these States benefitted in a commercial point of view—wch. alone is an object of such Magnitude as to claim our closest attention—but when the subject is considered in a political point of view, it appears of much greater importance.

No well informed Mind need be told, that the flanks and rear of the United territory are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too—nor how necessary it is to apply the cement of interest to bind all parts of it together, by one indissoluble band—particularly the middle States with the Country immediately back of them—for what ties let me ask, should we have upon those people; and how entirely unconnected shod. we be with them if the Spaniards on their right<sup>192</sup> or great Britain on their left,<sup>193</sup> instead of throwing stumbling blocks in their way as they now do; should invite their trade and seek alliances with them? What, when they get strength, which will be sooner than is generally imagined (from the emigration of Foreigners who can have no predeliction for us, as well as from the removal of our own Citizens) may be the consequence of their having formed such connections and alliances; requires no uncommon foresight to predict.

The Western Settlers—from my own observation—stand as it were on a pivot—the touch of a feather would almost incline them any way—they looked down the Mississippi until the Spaniards (very impolitically I think for themselves) threw difficulties in the way, and for no other reason that I can conceive than because they glided gently down the stream, without considering perhaps the tediousness of the voyage back, and the time necessary to perform it in; and because they have no other means of coming to us but by a long land transportation and unimproved Roads.

<sup>192</sup> The Spanish in the Floridas, which at the time extended along the entire Gulf coast to Louisiana. <sup>193</sup> In Canada.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

A combination of circumstances make the present conjuncture more favorable than any other to fix the trade of the Western Country to our Markets. The jealous and untoward disposition of the Spaniards on one side, and the private views of some individuals coinciding with the policy of the Court of G. Britain on the other, to retain the Posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit,<sup>194</sup> &ca. (which tho' done under the letter of the treaty is certainly an infraction of the Spirit of it, and injurious to the Union) may be improved to the greatest advantage by this State if she would open her arms, and embrace the means which are necessary to establish it. The way is plain, and the expence, comparitively speaking deserves not a thought, so great would be the prize. The Western Inhabitants would do their part towards accomplishing it, weak as they now are, they would, I am persuaded meet us half way rather than be *driven* into the arms of, or be in any wise dependent upon, foreigners; the consequence of which would be, a seperation, or a War.

The way to avoid both, happily for us, is easy, and dictated by our clearest interest. It is to open a wide door, and make a smooth way for the produce of that Country to pass to our Markets before the trade may get into another channel—this, in my judgment, would dry up the other Sources; or if any part should flow down the Mississippi, from the Falls of the Ohio, in Vessels which may be built—fitted for Sea—and sold with their Cargoes, the proceeds I have no manner of doubt, will return this way; and that it is better to prevent an evil than to rectify a mistake none can deny—commercial connections of all others, are most difficult to dissolve—if we wanted proof of this, look to the avidity with which we are renewing,

<sup>194</sup> Great Britain retained these and other forts until 1796 as security until the American debts owed to British subjects could be collected.



## LANDLORD AND EXPANSIONIST

after a *total* suspension of Eight years,<sup>195</sup> our correspondence with Great Britain;—So, if we are supine, and suffer without a struggle the Settlers of the Western Country to form commercial connections with the Spaniards, Britons, or with any of the States in the Union we shall find it a difficult matter to dissolve them altho' a better communication should thereafter, be presented to them—time only could effect it; such is the force of habit!

Rumseys<sup>196</sup> discovery of working Boats against stream, by mechanical powers principally, may not only be considered as a fortunate invention for these States in general but as one of those circumstances which have combined to render the present epoche favorable above all others for securing (if we are disposed to avail ourselves of them) a large portion of the produce of the Western Settlements, and of the Fur and Peltry of the Lakes, also—the importation of which alone, if there were no political considerations in the way, is immense.

It may be said perhaps, that as the most direct Routs from the Lakes to the Navigation of Potomack are through the State of Pennsylvania—and the intert[ia] of that State opposed to the extension of the Waters of Monongahela, that a communication cannot be had either by the Yohiogany or Cheat River;—but herein I differ—an application to this purpose would in my opinion, place the Legislature of that Commonwealth in a very delicate situation. That it would not be pleasing I can readily conceive, but that they would refuse their assent, I am by no means clear in. There is in that State, at least 100,000 Souls West of the Laurel hill, who are groaning under the inconveniences of a long land transportation. They are wishing, indeed looking, for the extension of inland Navigation; and if this can not be made easy for them to Philadelphia—at any rate it must

<sup>195</sup> During the Revolutionary War.   <sup>196</sup> See note 29, *ante*.

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be lengthy—they will seek a Mart elsewhere; and none is so convenient as that which offers itself through Yohiogany or Cheat River—the certain consequence therefore of an attempt to restrain the extension of the Navigation of these Rivers, (so consonant with the interest of these people) or to impose any extra duties upon the exports, or imports, to or from another State, would be a seperation of the Western Settlers from the old and more interior government; towards which there is not wanting a disposition at this moment in the former.



President of  
The United States

1794



## *The Whiskey Rebellion*

When Washington returned from a visit to his Western lands in 1784, there was as yet no clearly defined program for the political structure of the United States.

On the one hand, Washington was concerned with tying the lands and peoples beyond the mountains to the eastern seaboard. There he was a nationalist, and there he anticipated the major convictions which were to mark his career as a statesman, a career which still lay ahead of him. On the other hand, he wanted, even more, to tie the West to Virginia rather than to the confederation as a whole, and there he was what he had always been, a states-righter. Indeed, in 1784, he seems to have been contemplating without undue alarm—if not with favor—the possibility that western Pennsylvania might separate from the eastern part of the state.

Ten years later, events had so shaped his philosophy that he took the lead in suppressing the movement of Western protest which he had viewed with equanimity in 1784.

If Washington's views in 1784 were far from what they would be in 1789, when he became the President, or in 1794, when he faced the Western Insurrection, it was because Washington in 1784 had not yet reached his full stature as a national figure. Indeed, he felt then that his service to his country was behind him and that he was permanently retired from public life—a prospect which he found not unpleasing. And so he approached the question of keeping the Ohio Valley tied to the seaboard as a private businessman interested in the commerce of Virginia rather than as a statesman wrestling with political abstractions.

However, even then, when only the Articles of Confedera-



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tion held the states loosely together, the problems of an entrepreneur in a country with thirteen separate and sovereign governments quickly became the political problem of all the states in a new nation.

Washington was enthusiastic over the project of improving the navigation of the Potomac—indeed, when the Potomac Company was organized for that purpose, in 1785, Washington was chosen its president. The Potomac River was not only a beckoning gateway to the interior but also the boundary between Virginia and Maryland. Potomac commerce would be, inescapably, interstate commerce. And beyond the upper reaches of the Potomac, the route to the trade of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes led either by way of the Cheat River or the Youghiogeny River—and both flowed through the sovereign state of Pennsylvania.

In this situation, the stubborn facts of trade which looked upon state boundaries as fetters began to dissolve the old, narrower states-rights' point of view in Washington's mind.

There were, of course, other reasons why men of Washington's place in society were finding the Articles of Confederation inadequate. The weak Congress established under the Articles—really a council of ambassadors from thirteen independent states—did not have the power to levy taxes. Therefore, it could not pay interest or principle on the debt inherited from the Revolution. The Articles provided for no executive or judiciary. And so, citizens of one state could not collect debts easily in another. Creditors were not guarded against repayment in cheap paper money. Interstate business was at the mercy of state tariff barriers. In foreign trade the United States was equally helpless. And many patriots ground their teeth at seeing their new dearly won government so nearly prostrate.

There were, then, various sources which fed the movement

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for the adoption of a strong centralized government. But none led more directly to the movement for a new constitution than the activities of the Potomac Company headed by Washington.

In 1785, Washington, aided by his prestige as former commander in chief, won from the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland approval of the Potomac Company's project for making the river navigable as far as Cumberland. The two states agreed that both the Potomac River and Chesapeake Bay were to be perpetually free to navigation. Further, the two states agreed to meet yearly to discuss their mutual problems. Out of this gathering of commissioners from Virginia and Maryland, meeting at Mount Vernon as Washington's guests, sprang the movement for the Constitution of the United States.

In 1786, the Virginia legislature proposed that the other states be invited to the annual meeting. Five states did attend a meeting at Annapolis: Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. This meeting recommended the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia for the following year, 1787. Washington was persuaded to abandon his retirement to head the distinguished delegation which Virginia sent to the Convention. Once there, he was chosen unanimously the chairman.

A full account of the deliberations of the Convention, of the resulting Constitution, and of the struggle for its ratification cannot be given here. On the whole, the adoption of the new form of government was a victory for the commercial, manufacturing, and planting interests of the coastal area. Nevertheless, as the West came to recognize, although much later, it held out benefits for them, too. A strong government held out the hope of dealing successfully with the Indians, the British garrisons still on American soil, and the Spanish athwart the Mississippi at New Orleans. In spite of these benefits, at the time of its adoption, the settlements beyond the mountains

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in the Western Country viewed the new document with suspicion.

Washington's association with the Constitutional Convention was the chief popular argument advanced for the new document during the struggle over its ratification. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have been put forward from the beginning for the new office of President of the United States. He was genuinely reluctant to leave retirement again for public service, but he also believed in the new Constitution and wanted to help assure its success. Therefore, while he certainly did not seek the office, he accepted it when unanimously offered him.

Washington was already 57 years old when he took office. He was not in the best of health at the time. He was not, of course, a stranger to politics, having served in the Virginia House of Burgesses as well as in the Constitutional Convention. On the other hand, he was now faced, not with fitting easily into an already operating system, but with launching a new and untried one.

Therefore, like any wise executive, to a great extent he relied on subordinates. The chief of these was the able and vigorous young lawyer, Alexander Hamilton. As an aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolution, and as one of the leading figures in the movement for the Constitution, Hamilton was in many ways a happy selection. Although his post was that of Secretary of the Treasury, he was actually a sort of Prime Minister to Washington, and the actual leader of the Federalist Party.

If on the whole, Hamilton's program suited the President, it did not suit the citizens of the Western states. In the first place, the small farmers of the back country had been against the transfer of political power from the state governments—which were close to home—to a national government distant as the one in London had been before the Revolution.

When the Secretary of the Treasury proposed that the new

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government redeem the bonds and notes of the old Congress at face value, the Western Countrymen were further angered. The unpaid notes of the Continental Congress period had long circulated at a fraction of their value and were chiefly in the hands of wealthy Eastern speculators who were often former Tories to boot. It seemed clearly a measure on the part of Hamilton, who was openly contemptuous of democracy, to nurture an aristocratic ruling class.

It was, however, one of the taxes imposed in 1791 to raise money for paying off the old debts which most enraged the husbandmen of the West. This was the excise tax on whiskey. Taxes on imported goods were bad enough, but they could at least be collected from foreigners at the ports and with a minimum of bureaucracy. An excise tax laid on domestic articles and collected from the citizens by an army of snooping revenue-men seemed an invasion of liberty and privacy of the type which had been one of the main grievances against George III. Worst of all excises, from the point of view of the settlements beyond the mountains, was this tax on whiskey. Whiskey was the "cash crop" of the upper Ohio Valley. The grain of the region, its chief product, was all but cut off from a market. The mountains were an effective barrier to the east; and to the west, the Spanish at New Orleans blocked egress to the sea and the world's markets beyond.

The distillery, therefore, took the place of transportation. Distilled into whiskey, Western grain was more easily moved to Eastern markets, as much as did not find an appreciative consuming public among the backwoodsmen themselves.

It is barely possible that the unpopular excise tax might have been enforced without the military action and the President's intervention, however, if it had not been for events abroad. With their own revolution still green in men's memories, there



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came to the back country word of the stirring events in France. Successive dispatches telling of tyranny overturned and the common "citizen" come into his own, kindled the imaginations of the citizens of the back country.

The Whiskey Rebellion—also known as the Western Insurrection—could hardly be compared with events in France, however. The disorders which comprised the "insurrection" subsided as quickly as they had flared—a summer thunderstorm that cleared the air in the Western counties. All but a few of the natural leaders of the region were opposed to violence and direct action. These leaders were able to guide the rebels back to peaceful ways.

President Washington could not know at the moment, however, that the Western Insurrection would die a-borning. He was already sorely taxed by the exasperating intricacies of diplomacy in a world at war. At home, he was beset by a popular development he hated and feared—the rise of political parties. And the events around Pittsburgh seemed ominously similar to Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, which a few years before had helped to convince him that a strong national government was necessary. After all, he himself had written on his last trip to the Ohio Valley in 1784, "The Western Settlers—from my own observation—stand as it were on a pivot—the touch of a feather would almost incline them any way. . . ."

Therefore, Washington acted vigorously in the crisis to uphold the law and the central government to the extent of himself commanding the army sent out to restore order.

History was to demonstrate that the President's actions were in the interests of the very region he marched against, as well as of the nation as a whole. The vital question was still, as it had been since the end of the Revolution, whether diverse regions and interests could be held together in a federal union.



## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Had the West broken away in 1794, American nationhood would have been shattered into a continent of petty and quarreling states, sinking into mutual ruin. The unifying function which Washington and the Federalists performed for the North American states can best be appreciated when compared with the disunity of the Spanish colonies in South America. The South Americans were able to win their independence from Spain, but were unable to remain united afterwards, and have suffered from their disunity ever since.

It was ironic that Washington's last trip towards the scene of his early campaigns should be to quell rebellion. For he understood these Western fellow countrymen well—certainly better than most of the national leaders—and the settlers in turn understood him. He had been among them often, and many a Western rifleman had served under him against the redcoats.

But this was his duty, and duty was the mark of the man. Washington had received his initial impulse to the performance of public duty as part of the code of aristocracy—*noblesse oblige*. And the stern exercise of the public duty—notably absent in too many aristocrats—Washington learned in the Western Country. In the cavernous forests, on his mission to the French commandant in 1753; through the nightmare of Fort Necessity; in the crucible of battle with Braddock; through the painful guerilla warfare on the bleeding Virginia frontier; and on the long march to Fort Duquesne with Forbes in 1758—here was shaped the character which Valley Forge had not found wanting. And now it was this same sense of duty which sent Washington again into the field against the Whiskey Rebels.

It has been said that the American, a new man in the family of nations, was born on the Western frontier. Certainly this was true of the American who was first among his countrymen.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY ALEXANDER HAMILTON  
DESCRIBES TO PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON THE  
OPPOSITION TO THE WHISKEY TAX<sup>1</sup>

Treasury Department,  
Philadelphia, August 5, 1794

Sir:—The disagreeable crisis at which matters have lately arrived in some of the Western counties of Pennsylvania, with regard to the laws laying duties on spirits distilled within the United States and on stills, seems to render proper a review of the circumstances which have attended those laws in that scene, from their commencement to the present time, and of the conduct which has hitherto been observed on the part of the Government, its motives and effect, in order to gain a better judgment of the measures necessary to be pursued in the existing emergency.

The opposition to those laws in the four most western counties of Pennsylvania (Allegheny, Washington, Fayette and Westmoreland,) commenced as early as they were known to have been passed. It has continued, with different degrees of violence, in the different counties and at different periods; but Washington has uniformly distinguished its resistance by a more excessive spirit than has appeared in the other counties, and seems to have been chiefly instrumental in kindling and keeping alive the flame.

The opposition first manifested itself in the milder shape of the circulation of opinions unfavorable to the law, and calculated, by the influence of public dis-esteem, to discourage the accepting or holding offices under it, or the complying with it by those who might be so disposed; to which was added a show of the discontinuance of the business of distilling.

<sup>1</sup> The source of this letter is *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 83-96.

## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

These expedients were shortly after succeeded by private associations to forbear compliance with the law. But it was not long before these mere negative modes of opposition were perceived to be likely to prove ineffectual. And in proportion as this was the case, and as the means of introducing the laws into operation were put into execution, the disposition to resistance became more turbulent, and more inclined to adopt and practice violent expedients; the officers now began to experience marks of contempt and insult; threats against them became more frequent and loud, and after some time these threats were ripened into acts of ill-treatment and outrage.

These acts of violence were preceded by certain meetings of malcontent persons, who entered into resolutions calculated at once to confirm, inflame, and systematize the spirit of opposition.

The first of these meetings was holden at a place called Redstone, (Old Fort,)<sup>2</sup> on the 27th of July, 1791, where it was concerted that county committees should be convened in the four counties, at the respective seats of justice therein. On the 23rd of August, following, one of these committees assembled in the county of Washington.

This meeting passed some intemperate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*,<sup>3</sup> containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted or

<sup>2</sup> Present Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

<sup>3</sup> The *Pittsburgh Gazette*, first newspaper west of the Alleghenies, was founded by John Scull in 1786. It was the only paper published in the four Western counties during 1794.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt and absolutely to refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support or comfort. . . .

On the 6th of . . . September, the opposition broke out in an act of violence upon the person and property of Robert Johnson, collector of the revenue for the counties of Allegheny and Washington.

A party of men, armed and disguised, way-laid him at a place on Pigeon Creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes issued against . . . three of the persons concerned in the outrage. . . .

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred and feathered; and, after having his money and horse taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods, in which condition he remained for five hours. . . .

After much effort, the inspectors of revenue succeeded in procuring the house of William Faulkner,<sup>4</sup> a captain in the army, for an office of inspection in the county of Washington. This took place in August, 1792. The office was attended by the inspector of the revenue in person, till prevented by the following incidents:

Captain Faulkner, being in pursuit of some deserters from the troops, was encountered by a number of people in the same neighborhood where Mr. Johnson had been ill-treated the pre-

<sup>4</sup> Captain William Faulkner was a member of the forces under General Anthony Wayne then stationed near Pittsburgh while training for an expedition against the Ohio Indians.

## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

ceding year, who reproached him with letting his house for an office of inspection, drew a knife upon him, threatened to scalp him, tar and feather him and reduce his house and property to ashes if he did not solemnly promise to prevent the further use of his house for an office. Captain Faulkner was induced to make the promise exacted, and in consequence of the circumstances, wrote a letter to the inspector, dated the 20th of August, countermanding the permission for using his house, and the day following gave a public notice in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* that the office of inspector should be no longer kept there. . . .

In June following, the inspector of the revenue was burnt in effigy in Allegheny county, at a place and on a day of some public election, with much display, in the presence of and without interruption from magistrates and other public officers.

On the night of the 22d of November another party of men, some of them armed and all in disguise, went to the house of the . . . collector of Fayette, . . . broke and entered it and demanded a surrender of the officer's commission and official books; upon his refusing to deliver them up, they presented pistols at him and swore that if he did not comply they would instantly put him to death. At length a surrender of the commission and books was enforced, but not content with this the rioters, before they departed, required of the officer that he should, within two weeks, publish his resignation on pain of another visit and the destruction of his house.

Notwithstanding these excesses, the laws appeared, during the latter periods of this year (1793) to be rather gaining ground. Several principal distillers, who had formerly held out, complied, and others discovered a disposition to comply which was only restrained by the fear of violence. . . .



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM FINDLEY<sup>5</sup> OF WESTMORELAND COUNTY DESCRIBES THE INCIDENT THAT BEGAN THE INSURRECTION: A FEDERAL MARSHAL<sup>6</sup> SERVING SUMMONSES IS FIRED UPON, JULY 15, 1794<sup>7</sup>

When the marshall came to Pittsburgh, he expressed his surprise and satisfaction that he had succeeded in serving the processes without meeting with either injury or insult: what a pity it was that he delayed to serve the last one? . . .

The next day, in company with the inspector,<sup>8</sup> he went to serve the last writ on a distiller named Miller, near Peter's creek.<sup>9</sup> On leaving the place, a number of men were observed as if in pursuit of them and one gun was discharged; not however, it is believed with a design to do execution. It is well known that, if the design had been to shoot one, or either of them, they could not have escaped from so many men, few of whom I suppose would have missed their aim at a pigeon or the head of a squirrel. Appearing, however, to be in bad humour, the marshal and inspector rode off.

DISTILLER WILLIAM MILLER TELLS HOW HE FELT ABOUT THE SUMMONS<sup>10</sup>

I felt myself mad with passion. I thought 250 dollars would ruin me; and to have to go to the federal court, at Philadelphia,

<sup>5</sup> William Findley, a Scotch-Irishman and former schoolteacher, served Westmoreland County as state representative, state senator, or congressman for forty years.

<sup>6</sup> David Lenox.

<sup>7</sup> The source of this passage is William Findley's *History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1796), pp. 77-78.

<sup>8</sup> John Neville, revenue inspector of the Western counties.

<sup>9</sup> Peter's Creek enters the Monongahela at Clairton, Pennsylvania.

<sup>10</sup> This excerpt is from Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Incidents of the Insurrection in the Western Parts of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1795) I, 121.

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would keep me from going to Kentucky this fall, after I had sold my plantation, and was getting ready. I felt my blood boil, at seeing general Neville along, to pilot the sheriff to my very door.

MILLER TELLS A QUESTIONER HOW ENRAGED FARMERS ATTACKED BOWER HILL,<sup>11</sup> THE HOME OF REVENUE INSPECTOR JOHN NEVILLE, ON THE FOLLOWING DAY,

JULY 16, 1794<sup>12</sup>

I desired him to give me the particulars of the attack upon Neville's house, the first day. He did so: he said they had about thirty men, with fifteen guns, six only in order. They found the general just got up; after some words, he fired first.<sup>13</sup> It was from the windows. A horn was blowing in the house, the time of the firing. Was the door open? said I. It was, said he. Why then did you not rush into the entry? We were afraid, said he, that he had a swivel, or a big gun there:

The negroes,<sup>14</sup> continued Miller, by this time, fired out of their cabins upon our backs, and shot several; and we got off as well as we could.

HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE,<sup>15</sup> PITTSBURGH LAWYER, RE-CONSTRUCTS THE SECOND ATTACK ON NEVILLE'S HOME, JULY 17, 1794<sup>16</sup>

In arranging the measures of the enterprise, a committee was appointed; with power like that of the national commissioners

<sup>11</sup> Bower Hill, Neville's home, was on Chartier's Creek, in the present town of Bower Hill, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>12</sup> This excerpt is from Brackenridge's *Incidents*, I, 122.

<sup>13</sup> Other accounts of this action vary in detail.

<sup>14</sup> General Neville, a former Virginian, was a slave owner.

<sup>15</sup> Hugh Henry Brackenridge was a Princeton graduate, author, editor, and lawyer. He later became a leader of the Democratic-Republican Party and a justice of the Supreme Court. He was one of the levelheaded members

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

with the French armies.<sup>17</sup> This committee offered the command to a Benjamin Parkinson;<sup>18</sup> who excused himself, as not being a man of military knowledge. James M'Farlane<sup>19</sup> was then nominated, and accepted it. This was a major M'Farlane of the militia, who had served with reputation, in the rank of a lieutenant, in the war with Great Britain, from the beginning to the end of it; and was a man of good private character; and had acquired a very handsome property, by industry in trade after the expiration of the war.

The body having marched, and approached the house of the inspector, the horses were left with a guard; and arrangements made for an attack, should it be necessary. A flag was sent from the committee, with a demand of the inspector to deliver up his papers. This appears to have been the ultimate object of the rioters. The inspector had withdrawn from the house; having seen the force that was advancing; conceiving, I presume, that a demand might be made of his person; and that, in consequence of the encounter of the preceding morning, and the loss sustained by the assailants, his life would be in danger. In this case, he must have counted on not being able to defend the house. Why then not have given direction to those whom he left in the house, not to attempt a defence? Perhaps he did it; but his

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of the Western Country who put himself at the head of the radical movement in order to try to lead it back into safe paths.

<sup>16</sup> This excerpt is from Brackenridge's *Incidents*, I, 18-19.

<sup>17</sup> The reference here is to the armies of the French Revolution, then in progress. The political events in France after 1789 were copiously reported in America, and served as examples and inspirations to the back-country radicals.

<sup>18</sup> Benjamin Parkinson was a leading citizen of Washington County. He had been a leader of the tax resisters for several years.

<sup>19</sup> James McFarlane was from the Mingo Creek settlement, a hotbed of opposition to the excise tax.

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brother-in-law, Kirkpatrick,<sup>20</sup> a major in the service last war, judging less prudently, entertained the idea of being able to defend it.

It being communicated, on the return of the flag, that the inspector had left the house, a second flag was sent, and a demand made, that six persons should be admitted into the house, to search for his papers, and take them. This was refused; and notice was then given, by a third flag, for the lady of the inspector, and any other female part of the family to withdraw. They did withdraw; and the attack commenced. About fifteen minutes after the commencement, a flag was presented, or was thought to be presented, from the house; upon which, M'Farlane stepping from a tree, behind which he stood, and commanding a cessation of the firing, received a ball in the inside of his thigh, near the groin, and instantly expired. The firing then continued; and a message was sent to the committee, who were sitting at some distance, to know whether the house should not be stormed: But, in the mean time, fire had been set to a barn, and to other buildings adjoining the mansion house; and in a short time, the intenseness of the heat, and the evident communicability of the flame to the house, had struck those in the house, with a sense of immediate danger of life; and they began to call for quarter; on which the firing ceased, and they were desired to come out, and surrender themselves. They came out; and the soldiers,<sup>21</sup> three of whom were said to have been wounded, were suffered to pass by, and go where they thought proper. Major Kirkpatrick himself, had nearly passed through, when he was distinguished from the soldiers, and arrested; and

<sup>20</sup> Abraham Kirkpatrick, later a leading Federalist in Pittsburgh.

<sup>21</sup> The soldiers were from the garrison at Fort Fayette in Pittsburgh. They had come to Bower Hill at Neville's request the previous day. There were about a dozen in the house at the time of the attack.

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ordered to deliver his musket. This he refused; when one presenting a gun to his breast, was about to fire; he dropped upon his knee, and asked quarter. The man took the major's hat from his head, and put it on the muzzle of his gun; but did him no other damage—I depict these incidents merely to give an intimate idea of the manners and spirit of the people.

Fire had been put to an end of the mansion house, before the fire communicated from the barn and other buildings. All were consumed; one small building excepted; to which fire was not put, but a guard set over it, at the suggestion of the negroes, that it contained their bacon.

TOM THE TINKER,<sup>22</sup> MYTHICAL LEADER OF THE TAX-RESISTERS, MARSHALS HIS FORCES THROUGH AN ADVERTISEMENT IN THE *PITTSBURGH GAZETTE*, JULY 19, 1794<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Scull,<sup>24</sup>

I am under the necessity of requesting you to put the following in your next paper—It was found pasted on a tree near my distillery.

John Reed<sup>25</sup>

July 23, 1794

### ADVERTISEMENT

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent exciseman John Neville,

<sup>22</sup> The name "Tom the Tinker" has an interesting history. Tinkers were itinerant menders of metal goods, such as pots and pans. When a farmer-distiller paid the hated tax in the Western counties, his still would be shot full of holes. This was jocularly referred to as "mending" the still, and the mending was said to have been done by "Tom the Tinker." The name came to stand for the radical party generally.

<sup>23</sup> This item is from the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 2, 1794.

<sup>24</sup> John Scull edited the *Pittsburgh Gazette*.

<sup>25</sup> John Reed is identified in the advertisement he was forced to insert.



BY THE PRESIDENT

*Of the United States of America,*

# A Proclamation.

WHEN we review the calamities which afflict so many other nations, the present condition of the United States affords much matter of consolation and satisfaction. Our exemption hitherto from foreign war—an increasing prospect of the continuance of that exemption—the great degree of internal tranquillity we have enjoyed—the recent confirmation of that tranquillity, by the suppression of an insurrection which so wantonly threatened it—the happy course of our public affairs in general—the unexampled prosperity of all classes of our citizens, are circumstances which peculiarly mark our situation with indications of the Divine Benificence towards us. In such a situation it is in an especial manner, our duty as a people, with devout reverence and affectionate gratitude, to acknowledge our many and great obligations to ALMIGHTY GOD, and to implore him to continue and confirm the blessings we experience.

Deeply penetrated with this sentiment, I GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, do recommend to all religious societies and denominations, and to all persons whomsoever within the United States, to set apart and observe Thursday the nineteenth day of February next, as a Day of Public Thanksgiving and Prayer; and on that day to meet together, and render their sincere and hearty thanks to the Great Ruler of Nations, for the manifold and signal mercies, which distinguish our lot as a nation; particularly for the possession of constitutions of government which unite, and by their union establish liberty with order—for the preservation of our peace foreign and domestic—for the reasonable controul which has been given to a spirit of disorder, in the suppression of the late insurrection—and generally, for the prosperous course of our affairs public and private; and at the same time, humbly and fervently to beseech the Kind Author of these blessings, graciously to prolong them to us—to imprint on our hearts a deep and solemn sense of our obligations to him for them—to teach us rightly to estimate their immense value—to preserve us from the arrogance of prosperity, and from hazarding the advantages we enjoy by delusive pursuits—to dispose us to merit the continuance of his favours, by not abusing them, by our gratitude for them, and by a correspondent conduct as citizens and as men—to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries—to extend among us true and useful knowledge—to diffuse and establish habits of sobriety, order, morality and piety; and finally, to impart all the blessings we possess, or ask for ourselves, to the whole family of mankind.

*In testimony whereof, I have caused the SEAL of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of PHILADELPHIA, the first day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the ninetieth.*

By the President,  
EDM: RANDOLPH.

*Geo: Washington.*

Washington's Proclamation of Thanksgiving  
following the suppression of the Western Insurrection



## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

I find there were a great many delinquents, even among those who carry on distilling: it will therefore be observed that, I Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded the service of this my district when notified to attend on any expedition carried on in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law, and obtain a repeal thereof.

And I do declare on my solemn word, that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm, with equipments, and give their assistance as much as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies, and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offence.

And whereas a certain John Reed, now resident in Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburgh, and having a set of stills at said Reedsburgh, entered on the excise docket,<sup>26</sup> contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forward to assist in the suppression of the execution of such law by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, have, by delinquency manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby charged forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, the ensuing week, under the no less penalty than the consumation of his distillery. Given under my hand this 19th day of July, 1794,

TOM THE TINKER

P.S. To prevent a great deal of trouble it will be necessary to repeal the excise law and lay a direct tax on all located and patented land in the United States.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> A still was entered on the excise docket when the tax on it had been paid.

<sup>27</sup> The westerners favored a land tax for two reasons. First, it would fall

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REVENUER ROBERT JOHNSON ANNOUNCES HIS RESIGNATION IN THE *PITTSBURGH GAZETTE*, JULY 20, 1794<sup>28</sup>

Pittsburgh, July 20, 1794

Finding the opposition to the revenue law more violent than I expected, regreting the mischief that has been done, and may from the continuation of measures, seeing the opposition changed from disguised rabble to a respectable party, think it my duty and do resign my commission.

ROBT JOHNSON

ALLEGHENY COUNTY POLITICAL LEADER JOHN LUCAS<sup>29</sup> TELLS HOW THE RESPONSIBLE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY REACTED TO THE EVENTS, JULY, 1794<sup>30</sup>

. . . John Lucas . . . says . . . that on the 12th or 13th day of last July, being lately returned home from a voyage he had undertaken to the Illinois country, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, attorney at law, living in Pittsburgh . . . came to his house, being one or two days before the first riot had taken place at general Neville's house; and as it was the first time this de-

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most heavily on the more populous and wealthy East, where land values were higher. Secondly, if large speculators in Western lands were forced to pay federal taxes on their holdings, they might sell them more quickly and at a more reasonable rate, rather than holding them off the market for a higher price. Westerners were convinced that the excise tax had been passed by easterners to avoid a land tax.

<sup>28</sup> This advertisement appeared in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 2, 1794.

<sup>29</sup> John Lucas, a wealthy young French university graduate, came to America out of sympathy with the ideals of the American Revolution and settled near Pittsburgh in 1784. Like his friends Brackenridge and Albert Gallatin, he did all he could to keep the Western opposition within legal bounds. Lucas later became a state representative, county judge, congressman, and federal judge.

<sup>30</sup> This excerpt is from an affidavit of Lucas in Brackenridge's *Incidents*, III, 104-107.

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ponent had seen Mr. Brackenridge since his arrival, a miscellany of news reciprocally given, soon became the whole topic of their conversation. This deponent perfectly remembers, that amongst other things, he mentioned to Mr. Brackenridge, that while he was passing through Kentucky, he had heard that numbers of people in that state was displeased at the conduct of the federal government towards them;<sup>31</sup> that several committees had been held there, and had already went to a great length; that this said deponent had read a printed paper, pasted up at a public place in Kentucky, containing several resolves of a committee, and especially one by which the people of Kentucky, were invited at large to meet, and take in consideration the circumstances of the country; that some talked of a separation from the union, others thought of other measures to be adopted. Upon which account so given . . . to Mr. Brackenridge, he appeared . . . to be highly displeased. . . .

This deponent declares, that the first opportunity he had of perceiving the disposition of Mr. Brackenridge in the last disturbances, was a few days after the committee held at Mingo meeting house,<sup>32</sup> when Mr. Brackenridge said to this deponent, that on his going to meet with the committee at Mingo meeting house, he fairly expected he would be able to defeat any violent measures that could be proposed there; but to his astonishment, he had met with a numerous assembly of men, respectable by their property, their abilities, and the popularity great many of

<sup>31</sup> Kentuckians were dissatisfied because the federal government did not follow a sufficiently strong policy towards Spain, who controlled New Orleans at the time. The trade of Kentucky went to market down the Ohio and Mississippi through New Orleans. The whiskey rebels looked on Kentucky as a potential ally.

<sup>32</sup> In the meeting at Mingo Creek Church, the leaders of the attack on Bower Hill tried to win the backing of the rest of the area. The moderates tried to prevent further extreme measures.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

them enjoyed; that things seemed to take a more serious turn than he expected; . . .

### THE *PITTSBURGH GAZETTE* ANNOUNCES THE COMING CONVENTION OF THE FOUR WESTERN COUNTIES, JULY 23, 1794<sup>33</sup>

By a respectable number of citizens who met on Wednesday the 23rd inst. at the Meeting-house on Mingo creek,<sup>34</sup> it is recommended to the townships of the four western Pennsylvania counties, and the neighbouring counties of Virginia, to meet and choose not more than five nor less than two representatives, to meet at Parkinson's ferry,<sup>35</sup> on the Monongahela, on Thursday the 14th day of August next, to take into consideration the present situation of the western country.

July 24, 1794

### BRACKENRIDGE TELLS HOW HOTHEADS ROBBED THE MAIL JULY 26, 1794<sup>36</sup>

The post was interrupted on the 26th of July, on the way from Pittsburgh, and near Greensburgh. The packet from Washington and Pittsburgh was taken out. It was carried by Benjamin Parkinson to Washington, and from thence it was accompanied, by Bradford<sup>37</sup> and Marshal,<sup>38</sup> and others, to Cannersburgh, a village seven miles distant. It was there opened.

<sup>33</sup> From the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 2, 1794.

<sup>34</sup> The Mingo Creek settlement was in the area of present Finleyville, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>35</sup> Present Monongahela City, Pennsylvania.

<sup>36</sup> This account is from Brackenridge's *Incidents*, I, 39.

<sup>37</sup> David Bradford was a young lawyer from Maryland who had migrated to Washington, Pennsylvania, where he became deputy attorney general and a member of the state legislature. He became the chief leader of the rebels and was finally forced to flee the country to avoid prosecution.

<sup>38</sup> James Marshall of Washington County had been a leader of the anti-exercise forces ever since the passage of the tax law.

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No letter, on the late affairs, from any individual of Washington: There were letters from individuals of Pittsburgh; these letters gave great offence, and made the writers objects of resentment.

The result of the convention at Canonsburgh, at the opening of the mail, was the issuing circular letters to the officers of the militia, proposing a rendezvous at Braddock's field, for the purpose of a march to Pittsburgh. . . . It was contemplated to take the writers of the letters, and imprison them in the jail of Washington. These were the objects contemplated, according to the information given me:

### FINDLEY DESCRIBES HOW THE EXTREMISTS CALLED OUT THE MILITIA AND MARCHED ON PITTSBURGH AUGUST 1 AND 2, 1794<sup>39</sup>

Bradford reviewed the troops on the ground,<sup>40</sup> and is said to have assumed the powers and to have received the honours of Major-general. There is no doubt but that he received every honour that could be conferred. The infatuated disorganizers idolised him, and those who held him in contempt, and looked on the measures with horror, were many of them most obsequious in their attentions to him. They believed that at that moment expulsion or even more severe punishment depended on his will. His denunciation of cowards and traitors, and holding up Robespierre's<sup>41</sup> system of terror for imitation at the Mingo creek meeting, was well known to them, and spread a temporary panic.

A committee was appointed at the rendezvous, who resolved

<sup>39</sup> From Findley's *History of the Insurrection*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>40</sup> The Militia gathered on the scene of Braddock's defeat of 1755. The present Edgar Thompson Works of U. S. Steel Corporation in Braddock, Pennsylvania, covers the site.

<sup>41</sup> Maximilien Robespierre, a Jacobin leader of the French Revolution.

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that general Gibson<sup>42</sup> and colonel Nevil should be expelled, and authorized the Pittsburgh committee<sup>43</sup> to put this resolution into execution. It was resolved that the army, as it was called, should march to Pittsburgh. On this occasion, the people of Pittsburgh went forward to prepare for giving them the most hospitable reception in their power, that they might pass through it with good humour. Bradford also sent to the commandant of the garrison<sup>44</sup> to inform him that no harm was intended, and to request being permitted to pass peaceably. They marched in, however, by the Monongahela road which did not lead to the garrison, and being furnished with refreshments in Pittsburgh by the towns-people, they crossed the Monongahela without giving any disturbance.

After crossing the river many returned to their homes, and these were no doubt the most orderly. A great number of the well disposed people had previously gone to their homes from Braddock's field. A number, however, stayed over night near Pittsburgh, and in the night burned a small barn, the property of major Kirkpatrick,<sup>45</sup> with the grain it contained, which was then the property of a tenant.

### THE *PITTSBURGH GAZETTE* REPORTS THE MARCH FROM BRADDOCK'S FIELD TO PITTSBURGH, AUGUST 2, 1794<sup>46</sup>

From a Correspondent

The behavior of the column on their march from Braddock's

<sup>42</sup> John Gibson was major general of the local Militia. Gibson had written a letter hostile to the insurgents, which was among the letters seized and read when the mail was robbed.

<sup>43</sup> Pittsburgh had held a town meeting the previous day and elected a committee to negotiate with the Militia.

<sup>44</sup> Fort Fayette, located northeast of the town, was commanded by Major Thomas Butler of the U. S. Army.

<sup>45</sup> Major Abraham Kirkpatrick had earned the popular ill will by helping

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Field to the town of Pittsburgh, and until they left the town, was deserving of the highest praise and commendation. The American or French Armies, on their march through a town during the revolution with Britain, though long formed to order and regularity, never exceeded or perhaps equalled, that of these troops, hastily assembled in the course of 36 hours. This shews that principle supplies the place of discipline, and that it was the cause, not the hope of plunder or rapine that brought them to the field.

The column consisted of about 5400, about 1500 which were on their way, and not joined them. The countermand of orders by mistake towards Racoon and Sawickly prevented the march of about 2000 more.

### SOME OF THE MARCHERS DENOUNCE THE VIOLENCE AUGUST 3, 1794<sup>47</sup>

We, the undersigned, on behalf of ourselves and the great body of the column that marched from Braddock's Field on the 3rd instant, think it necessary to express our disapprobation of the disorderly proceeding of those of the troops who were concerned in setting fire to the barn of Abraham Kirkpatrick on the hill opposite the town of Pittsburgh; also of the attempt made by others of burning his house in town; as these acts was not within the sentence of the committee of the volunteers on Braddock's Field, and therefore there could be no authority for carrying them into effect.

We consider it as a blemish on the good order of the march of the column through the town of Pittsburgh, and their canton-

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defend General Neville's home at Bower Hill. He was Neville's brother-in-law.

<sup>46</sup> From the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 16, 1794.

<sup>47</sup> From the *Pittsburgh Gazette* of August 16, 1794.

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ment in the neighborhood of it. It has been endeavored to be removed as much as possible by repairing the tenant of Kirkpatrick his damage.

Edward Cook, Francis McFarlane, Thomas Stokely, Thomas Sedgewick, David Hamilton, Absalom Baird, James Perry, William McClure, William Nailor, John Hughes, Dixon Huston, Hamilton Huston, William Meetkerke, James Marshel.<sup>48</sup>

### PRESIDENT GEORGE WASHINGTON COMMANDS THE INSURGENTS TO DISPERSE, AUGUST 7, 1794<sup>49</sup>

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas combination to defeat the execution of the laws laying duties upon spirits distilled within the United States and upon stills have from the time of the commencement of those laws existed in some of the western parts of Pennsylvania; and

Whereas the said combinations, proceeding in a manner subversive equally of the just authority of government and of the rights of individuals, have hitherto effected their dangerous and criminal purpose by the influence of certain irregular meetings whose proceedings have tended to encourage and uphold the spirit of opposition by misrepresentations of the laws calculated to render them odious; by endeavors to deter those who might be so disposed from accepting offices under them through fear of public resentment and of injury to person and property, and to compel those who had accepted such offices by actual violence to surrender or forbear the execution of them; by circulating vindicative menaces against all those who should other-

<sup>48</sup> The signers of this advertisement are a partial roster of the responsible leaders of the community who were trying to terminate the disturbances.

<sup>49</sup> From *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1908*, ed. James D. Richardson (Washington, 1909), I, pp. 158-160.



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wise, directly or indirectly, aid in the execution of the said laws, or who, yielding to the dictates of conscience and to a sense of obligation, should themselves comply therewith; by actually injuring and destroying the property of persons who were understood to have so complied; by inflicting cruel and humiliating punishments upon private citizens for no other cause than that of appearing to be the friends of the laws; by intercepting the public officers on the highways, abusing, assaulting, and otherwise ill-treating them; by going to their houses in the night, gaining admittance by force, taking away their papers, and committing other outrages, employing for these unwarrantable purposes the agency of armed banditti disguised in such manner as for the most part to escape discovery; and . . . inso-much that many persons in the said western parts of Pennsylvania have at length been hardy enough to perpetrate acts which I am advised amount to treason, being overt acts of levying war against the United States, the said persons having on the 16th and 17th July last past proceeded in arms (on the second day amounting to several hundreds) to the house of John Neville, inspector of the revenue for the fourth survey of the district of Pennsylvania; having repeatedly attacked the said house with the persons therein, wounding some of them; having seized David Lenox, marshal of the district of Pennsylvania, who previous thereto had been fired upon while in the execution of his duty by a party of armed men, detaining him for some time prisoner, till for the preservation of his life and the obtaining of his liberty he found it necessary to enter into stipulations to forbear the execution of certain official duties touching processes issuing out of a court of the United States; and having finally obliged the said inspector of the said revenue and the said marshal from considerations of personal safety to fly from that part of the country. . . .

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Whereas it is in my judgement necessary under the circumstances of the case to take measures for calling forth the militia in order to suppress the combinations aforesaid, and to cause the laws to be duly executed; and I have accordingly determined so to do, feeling the deepest regret for the occasion, but withal the most solemn conviction that the essential interests of the Union demand it, that the very existence of Government and the fundamental principles of social order are materially involved in the issue, and that the patriotism and firmness of all good citizens are seriously called upon, as occasions may require, to aid in the effectual suppression of so fatal a spirit;

Wherefore, and in pursuance of the proviso above recited, I, George Washington, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons being insurgents as aforesaid, and all others whom it may concern, on or before the 1st day of September next to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. And I do moreover warn all persons whomsoever against aiding, abetting, or comforting the perpetrators of the aforesaid treasonable acts, and do require all officers and other citizens, according to their respective duties and the laws of the land, to exert their utmost endeavors to prevent and suppress such dangerous proceedings.

WASHINGTON SURVEYS THE SITUATION, AUGUST 8, 1794<sup>50</sup>

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE<sup>51</sup>

German town,<sup>52</sup> 2 o'Clock, August 8, 1794

Sir. . . . I request also that all the information that can be

<sup>50</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington* . . . ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, XXXIII, 462.

<sup>51</sup> Edmund Randolph of Virginia had succeeded Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State on January 2, 1794.

<sup>52</sup> The President was staying in Germantown to escape the heat of Philadelphia.

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obtained from the Inspector Neville and the marshal, may be had as soon as they shall have arrived in the City; and wish it to be delivered before yourself and the above gentlemen, that all of you being thoroughly possessed of the facts, and digesting them well, may be ready to meet me at my house in the City tomorrow morning, with your opinions on the propriety of changing any measure already resolved on, or for adding others thereto, according to the information which shall be received from them. It might not be amiss that the Inspector and marshal shou'd be at hand, tomorrow at the hour appointed.

WASHINGTON DISCREETLY INQUIRES ABOUT PUBLIC  
OPINION, AUGUST 8, 1794<sup>53</sup>

TO BURGESS BALL<sup>54</sup>

German Town, August 10, 1794

Dear Sir. . . . What (under the rose I ask it) is said, or thought, as far as it has appeared to you, of the conduct of the People in the Western Counties of this State (Pennsylvania) towards the excise Officers? and does there seem to be a disposition among those with whom you converse, to bring them to a Sense of their duty, and obedience to law, by coercion, if, after they are fully notified by the Proclamation and other expedients, of the consequences of such outrageous proceedings, they do not Submit to the Laws of the United States, and suffer the Collection of the duties upon Spirituous liquors, and Stills, to be made as in other places? In a word, would their be any difficulty, as far as the matter has passed under your observation, in drawing out a part of the Militia of Loudoun, Berkeley and Frederick to quell this rebellious spirit, and to support order and good government? You will readily perceive that

<sup>53</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 463.

<sup>54</sup> Colonel Burgess Ball was Washington's nephew.

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questions of this sort from me to you and your answers are for my private information, and to go no further than ourselves. . . .

WASHINGTON DENOUNCES THE INSURGENTS,  
AUGUST 10, 1794<sup>55</sup>

TO CHARLES MYNN THRUSTON<sup>56</sup>

(Private)

Philadelphia, August 10, 1794

Dear Sir. . . . That . . . attempts to discontent the public mind have been practiced with too much success in some of the Western Counties in this State you are, I am certain, not to learn. Actual rebellion against the Laws of the United States exist at this moment notwithstanding every lenient measure which could comport with the duties of the public Officers have been exercised to reconcile them to the collection of the taxes upon spirituous liquors and Stills. What may be the consequences of such violent and outrageous proceedings is painful in a high degree even in contemplation. But if the Laws are to be so trampled upon, with impunity, and a minority (a small one too) is to dictate to the majority there is an end put, at one stroke, to republican government; and nothing but anarchy and confusion is to be expected thereafter; for Some other man, or society, may dislike another Law and oppose it with equal propriety until all Laws are prostrate, and every one (the strongest I presume) will carve for himself. Yet, there will be found persons I have no doubt, who, although they may not be hardy enough to justify such opposition to the Laws, will, nevertheless, be opposed to coercion even if the proclamation and the other temperate measures which are in train by the Executive to avert the dire necessity of a resort to arms, should

<sup>55</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 465.

<sup>56</sup> Rev. Charles Mynn Thruston was a Virginia neighbor of Washington's.

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fail. How far such people may extend their influence, and what may be the consequences thereof is not easy to decide; but this we know, that it is not difficult by concealment of some facts, and the exaggeration of others, (where there is an influence) to bias a well-meaning mind, at least for a time, truth will ultimately prevail where pains is taken to bring it to light. . . .

AN ANONYMOUS WRITER PRESENTS THE WESTERN CASE  
IN HUMOROUS FORM IN THE *PITTSBURGH GAZETTE*  
AUGUST 20, 1794<sup>57</sup>

### AN INDIAN TREATY

Speeches intended to be spoken at a Treaty now holding with the Six United Nations of White Indians settled on the heads of the Ohio, at the town of Pittsburg, the 20th of August, 1794, by the Commissioners sent from Philadelphia for the purpose.

Captain BLANKET, an Indian Chief, spoke as follows:

BROTHERS:—We welcome you to the old Council Fire at this place. . . . As the proffer of this treaty has originated with your great council<sup>58</sup> at Philadelphia, we therefore expect you have good terms to offer. But you know, Brothers, that it ever has been a custom to pay Indians well for coming to treaties, and you may be assured that unless we are well paid, or *fully satisfied*, your *attempts of any kind*, will not have the least effect. However, we doubt not but the pay is provided, and that you have a sufficiency of blankets and breech clouts, powder and lead and that the waggons are close at hand. You know, brothers, that our neighbours, the British, over the lakes, pay their Indians well, that they have inexhaustible stores of blankets

<sup>57</sup> This article, probably written by Hugh Henry Brackenridge, ran in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* during the late summer of 1794, and is conveniently reprinted in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, IV, 545-549.

<sup>58</sup> The reference is to Congress, which then met at Philadelphia.



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and ammunition, and that if they were offering us a treaty, they would not hesitate a moment to satisfy all our demands.

Captain WHISKEY spoke next:

BROTHERS:—My friend Captain Blanket has indulged himself in a little drollery about blankets, &c., but I must speak to the point. I am told that the people of your great council call us a parcel of drunken raggamuffins, because we indulge ourselves with a bottle of our homespun whiskey, and that we ought to pay well for this extraordinary luxury. What would they think if the same was said of them for drinking beer and cyder? Surely the saying will apply with equal force in both cases. We say that our whiskey shall not be saddled with an unequal tax. You say it shall; and to enforce the collection of three or four thousand dollars per ann. of nett proceeds, you will send an army of 12,950 men or double that number if necessary. This is a new fashioned kind of economy indeed. It is a pity this army had not been employed long ago in assisting your old warrior, Gen. Wayne;<sup>59</sup> or chastising the British about the lakes. However, I presume it is the present policy to guard against offending a nation with a king at their head. But remember, brothers, if we have not a king at our head, we have that powerful monarch, Captain Whiskey, to command us. By the power of his influence, and a love to *his person*, we are compelled to every great and heroic act.

Your know, brothers, that Capt. Whiskey has been a great warrior in all nations and in all armies. He is a descendant of that nation called Ireland; and to use his own phrase, he has peopled three-fourths of this western world with his own hand. We, the Six United Nations of White Indians, are principally his legitimate offspring, and those who are not, have all imbibed

<sup>59</sup> General Anthony Wayne was then in command of an American army in the field against the Indians in Western Ohio.

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his principles and passions—that is a love of whiskey; and will, therefore, fight for our bottle till the last gasp. Brothers, you must not think to frighten us with fine arranged lists of infantry, cavalry and artillery, composed of your water-mellon armies from the Jersey shores; they would cut a much better figure in warring with the crabs and oysters about the Capes of Delaware. It is a common thing for Indians to fight your best armies at the proportion of one to five; therefore, we would not hesitate a moment to attack this army at the rate of one to ten. Our nations can, upon an emergency, produce twenty thousand warriors; you may then calculate what your army ought to be. But I must not forget that I am making an Indian speech; I must, therefore, give you a smack of national tongue—Tongash Getchie—Tongash Getchie—very strong man, me Captain Whiskey.

Capt. ALLIANCE next took the floor:

My friend, Captain Whiskey, has made some fine flourishes about the power of his all conquering monarch, Whiskey, and of the intrepidity of the sons of St. Patrick in defence of their beloved bottle. But we will suppose, when matters are brought to the test, that we should find ourselves unequal to the task of repelling this tremendous army, or that the great council should still persevere in their determination of imposing unequal and oppressive duties upon our whiskey; who knows but some *evil spirit* might prompt us to a separation from the union, and call for the alliance of some more friendly nation. You know that the great nation of Kentucky has already suggested this idea to us. They are at present Mississippi mad, and we are whiskey mad; it is therefore, hard to tell what may be the issue of such united madness. It appears as if the Kentuckians were disposed to bow knee to the Spanish monarch . . . rather than be longer deprived of their Mississippi; and we might be desperate

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enough, rather than submit to an odious excise or unequal taxes, to invite Prince William Henry<sup>60</sup> or some other royal pup, to take us by the hand provided he would guarantee equal taxation and exempt our whiskey.

This would be a pleasing overture to the royal family of England—they would eagerly embrace the favorable moment to add again to their curtailed dominion in America, to accommodate some of their numerous brood with kingdoms and principalities. . . . If the Kentuckians should also take it into their head to withhold supplies from your good old warrior Wayne, who is very often near starving in the wilderness, his army must be immediately annihilated, and your great council might forever bid adieu to their territory west of the mountains. This may seem very improbable indeed; but as great wonders have happened within Europe in the course of three years past.

CAPTAIN PACIFICUS then arose and concluded the business of the day:

BROTHERS:—My friend Alliance has made some very alarming observations, and I confess they have considerable weight with me. A desperate people may be drove to desperate resources, but as I am of a peaceable disposition I shall readily concur in every reasonable proposition which may have a tendency to restore tranquility, and secure our union upon the true principles of equality and justice. It is now time to know the true object of your mission; if you are the messengers of peace and come to offer us a treaty, why attempt to deliver it at the point of the bayonet? If you are only come to grant pardons for past offences, you need not have fatigued yourselves with such extraordinary dispatch on the journey: we have not yet begged your pardon; we are not yet at the gallows or the guillotine, for you will have to catch us first before you bring us

<sup>60</sup> Third son of George III and future William IV.

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there. But as I am rather more of a counsellor than a warrior, I am more disposed to lay hold of the chain<sup>61</sup> than the tomahawk; I shall therefore propose that a total suspension of all hostilities and the *cause* thereof, shall immediately take place on both sides, until the next meeting of our great national council. If your powers are not competent to this agreement, we expect, as your old counsellors and peaceable men, that you will at least report and recommend it to our GOOD OLD FATHER<sup>62</sup> who sits at the helm.

We know it was his duty to make proclamation &c., &c., but we expect everything that can result from his prudence, humanity and benevolence towards his fellow creatures.

A BELT, on which is inscribed,  
*plenty of Whiskey without Excise.*

### JOHN LUCAS DESCRIBES HOW THE PEOPLE WERE PERSUADED TO AGREE TO OBEY THE LAW, AUGUST, 1794<sup>63</sup>

On the 21st of August, when the committee of twelve<sup>64</sup> went to confer at Pittsburgh, with the commissioners in behalf of the executive, the nine deputies from Westmoreland, Washington, and Allegheny counties met together, and while they were waiting for the three deputies from Fayette, who was not yet arrived, Mr. Brackenridge opened the conversation on the momentous subject of resisting or acquiescing in the laws of the United States; and this deponent, who was one of the three

<sup>61</sup> Indians thought of a peace treaty as a chain, with each of the parties holding one end.

<sup>62</sup> Washington.

<sup>63</sup> Brackenridge's *Incidents*, III, pp. 104-107.

<sup>64</sup> The committee, three representatives from each of the four counties concerned, had been elected at the "convention" held at Parkinson's Ferry on August 14. They were chosen to meet with the commissioners sent by the President and the Governor of Pennsylvania.

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deputies from Allegheny county, says, he witnessed Mr. Brackenridge saying openly, before any body had given his opinion, that he thought that submission was the best step to be taken; that for his part, he was fully determined to submit to the laws. The deponent says, that amongst the many that were wishing secretly to see the people returning to obedience to the laws, Mr. Brackenridge is the first man he did hear speaking of submission after the insurrection.

The deponent says further, that he went the best part of the way from Pittsburgh to attend the committee of Redstone,<sup>65</sup> held on the 28th and 29th days of last August; and as they were going along, the deponent saw in Mr. Brackenridge all the tokens of distress at the appearance of so many liberty poles raised through the country, and so little corresponding with the pacific views he (Mr. Brackenridge) was going with his other colleagues to propagate and support, before the standing committee at Redstone.

. . . After the report of the conference held on the 21st, was made on the 28th, to the standing committee, and the said committee having adjourned to meet on the morrow, 29th, Mr. Gallatin<sup>66</sup> came to Mr. Brackenridge in the street, and in presence of this deponent Mr. Gallatin proposed to Mr. Brackenridge to open the matter on the following day, which Mr. Brackenridge declined, devolving the task on Mr. Gallatin, with promise he would support him with all his might. . . . This deponent says, that on the day following he attended the committee

<sup>65</sup> The committee elected to meet with the President's commissioners had recommended submission. However, another "convention" of the four counties was called together at Redstone (Brownsville) to approve or disapprove the action of the committee in agreeing to submit.

<sup>66</sup> Albert Gallatin of Fayette County, later to become successively a congressman, Secretary of the Treasury, and diplomat, was the secretary of the "convention" and one of the moderates.



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as a member of it, and heard Mr. Brackenridge echoing there in his own language, the cogent and powerful arguments first made use of by Mr. Gallatin, and adding new ones of his own; all to the purpose of disposing the committee to submit to the laws, and propagate that disposition among their constituents.

WASHINGTON ANNOUNCES THAT TROOPS ARE MARCHING  
ON WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA, SEPTEMBER 25, 1794<sup>67</sup>

### PROCLAMATION

Philadelphia, September 25, 1794

Whereas, from a hope that the combinations against the Constitution and laws of the United States, in certain of the Western counties of Pennsylvania, would yield to time and reflection, I thought it sufficient, in the first instance, rather to take measures for calling forth the militia than immediately to embody them; but the moment is now come, when the overtures of forgiveness, with no other condition than a submission to law, have been only partially accepted; when every form of conciliation not inconsistent with the being of Government has been adopted, without effect; when the well-disposed in those counties are unable by their influence and example to reclaim the wicked from their fury, and are compelled to associate in their own defence; when the proffered lenity has been perversely misinterpreted into an apprehension that the citizens will march with reluctance; when the opportunity of examining the serious consequences of a treasonable opposition has been employed in propagating principles of anarchy, endeavoring through emissaries to alienate the friends of order from its support, and inviting enemies to perpetrate similar acts of insurrection; when it is manifest, that violence would continue to be exercised upon every attempt to enforce the laws; when,

<sup>67</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 507-509.

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therefore, Government is set at defiance, the contest being whether a small proportion of the United States shall dictate to the whole Union, and, at the expense of those who desire peace, indulge a desperate ambition;

Now, therefore, I, GEORGE WASHINGTON, President of the United States, in obedience to that high and irresistible duty, consigned to me by the Constitution, "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed;" deploring that the American name should be sullied by the outrages of citizens on their own Government; commiserating such as remain obstinate from delusion; but resolved, in perfect reliance on that gracious Providence which so signally displays its goodness towards this country, to reduce the refractory to a due subordination to the laws; do hereby declare and make known, that, with a satisfaction which can be equaled only by the merits of the militia summoned into service from the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, I have received intelligence of their patriotic alacrity, in obeying the call of the present, though painful, yet commanding necessity; that a force, which, according to every reasonable expectation, is adequate to the exigency, is already in motion to the scene of disaffection; that those who have confided or shall confide in the protection of Government, shall meet full succor under the standard and from the arms of the United States; that those who having offended against the laws have since entitled themselves to indemnity, will be treated with the most liberal good faith, if they shall not have forfeited their claim by any subsequent conduct, and that instructions are given accordingly.

And I do, moreover, exhort all individuals, officers, and bodies of men, to contemplate with abhorrence the measures leading directly or indirectly to those crimes, which produce this resort to military coercion; to check, in their respective

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spheres, the efforts of misguided or designing men to substitute their misrepresentation in the place of truth, and their discontents in the place of stable government; and to call to mind, that as the people of the United States have been permitted, under the Divine favor, in perfect freedom, after solemn deliberation, in an enlightened age, to elect their own Government, so will their gratitude for this inestimable blessing be best distinguished by firm exertions to maintain the Constitution and the laws.

And, lastly, I again warn all persons, whomsoever and whosoever, not to abet, aid, or comfort the insurgents aforesaid, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; and I do also require all officers and other citizens, according to their several duties, as far as may be in their power, to bring under the cognizance of the law all offenders in the premises.

WASHINGTON BLAMES THE INSURRECTION ON HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS IN THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES<sup>68</sup>

SEPTEMBER 25, 1794<sup>69</sup>

TO BURGESS BALL

Philadelphia, September 25, 1794.

Dear Sir. . . . I hear with the greatest pleasure of the spirit which so generally pervades the Militia of every State that has been called upon, on the present occasion; and of the decided discountenance the Incendiaries of public peace and order have met with in their attempt to spread their nefarious doctrines, with a view to poison and discontent the minds of the people against the government; particularly by endeavouring to have

<sup>68</sup> The Democratic Societies were forerunners of the anti-Federalist party which, under the leadership of Thomas Jefferson, became the opposition party to the Federalists of Washington and Hamilton. Washington was opposed to political parties, as this letter makes plain.

<sup>69</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 505-507.

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it believed that their liberties were assailed, and that all the wicked and abominable measures that could be devised (under specious guises) are practiced to sap the Constitution, and lay the foundation of future Slavery.

The Insurrection in the Western counties of this State is a striking evidence of this; and may be considered as the first *ripe fruit* of the Democratic Societies. I did not, I must confess; expect their labours would come to maturity so soon; though I never had a doubt, that such conduct would produce some such issue; if it did not meet the frown of those who were well disposed to order and good government, in time; for can any thing be more absurd, more arrogant, or more pernicious to the peace of Society, than for self created bodies, forming themselves into *permanent* Censors, and under the shade of Night in a conclave, resolving that acts of Congress which have undergone the most deliberate, and solemn discussion by the Representatives of the people, chosen for the express purpose, and bringing with them from the different parts of the Union the sense of their Constituents, endeavouring as far as the nature of the thing will admit, to form *that will* into Laws for the government of the whole; I say, under these circumstances, for a self created, *permanent* body, (for no one denies the right of the people to meet occasionally, to petition for, or to remonstrate against, any Act of the Legislature &c) to declare that *this act* is unconstitutional, and *that act* is pregnant of mischief; and that all who vote contrary to their dogmas are actuated by selfish motives, or under foreign influence; nay in plain terms are traiters to their Country, is such a stretch of arrogant presumption as is not to be reconciled with laudable motives; especially when we see the same set of men endeavouring to destroy all confidence in the Administration, by arraigning all its acts, without knowing on what ground, or with what infor-

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mation it preceeds and this without regard to decency or truth. These things were evidently intended, and could not fail without counteraction, to disquiet the public mind; but I hope, and trust, they will work their own cure; especially when it is known, more generally than it is, that the Democratic Society of this place<sup>70</sup> (from which the others have emanated) was instituted by Mr. Genêt<sup>71</sup> for the express purpose of dissention, and to draw a line between the people and the government, after he found the Officers of the latter would not yield to the hostile measures in which he wanted to embroil this Country.

### CAPTAIN DAVID FORD<sup>72</sup> OF THE NEW JERSEY MILITIA DESCRIBES HOW PRESIDENT WASHINGTON REVIEWED THE TROOPS AT CARLISLE, OCTOBER 3, 4, and 5, 1794<sup>73</sup>

Oct. 3d. Orders this day for the troops to turn out early in the morning to receive the President of the United States, who is expected early, having lodged at Harrisburgh this evening.

4th. The greatest vieing between the New Jersey and Pennsylvania horse who should be first on the ground to receive the President. At ten o'clock, the signal for mounting came, and away went the horse. The vanguard of the Phila. horse very improperly pressed by our troops, and took post in front. This was considered as not polite by the New Jersey cavalry, more

<sup>70</sup> Philadelphia, the capital.

<sup>71</sup> Edmund Genêt, first ambassador of revolutionary France to the United States. His political activities on behalf of American aid to France in her current war with Britain forced the United States to decide to ask for his recall.

<sup>72</sup> David Ford, an officer in the New Jersey Militia, rose to the rank of colonel in the War of 1812.

<sup>73</sup> From David Ford's "Journal of an Expedition Made in the Autumn of 1794, with a Detachment of New Jersey Troops, into Western Pennsylvania, to Aid in Surpressing the 'Whiskey Rebellion' " in *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, VIII (1859), 85.



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particularly as we were strangers. The President came on. He was met by a very large train of Generals and other gentlemen, and all the troops that could be mustered. On his approaching the town, he was saluted by a Federal salute, and the ringing of bells; and every heart expands with joy, except the whiskey boys. They made a passage through the town to the Pennsylvania camp, and after receiving them, he took up his quarters in town. He was accompanied by Col. Hamilton as an aid, and a small scout of horse. No army ever received him with more heartfelt joy and satisfaction. I was much mortified that I could not attend the train. I was only a spectator of the cavalcade.

5th. The officers of each line of the army, with the Governor of each State, waited on the President at 12 o'clock, and were introduced to him, and received with that manly dignity which would have won enemies had they been there, unless their hearts were as black as their actions.

### FIFER SAMUEL DEWEESE<sup>74</sup> OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA SALUTES THE PRESIDENT, OCTOBER 4, 1794<sup>75</sup>

Previous to our marching, His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, arrived from his farm near Reading and paid to each man in the corps, the sum of six dollars. This sum, each man was to leave with his family. Whether this was out of his own private purse, or on account of the State of Pennsylvania I do not know, but I recollect that it was said at the time that the Governor had made a present of six dollars to every man for the purpose above stated.

<sup>74</sup> Samuel DeWeese had been a fifer in the Revolution and later was a captain in the War of 1812.

<sup>75</sup> From Samuel DeWeese's *A History of the Life and Services of Captain Samuel DeWeese* (Baltimore, 1844), pp. 294-321.

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Captain Fisher<sup>76</sup> received orders for his company to march on to Carlisle. We all got in readiness, paraded through the principal streets of Harrisburg, and then marched for Carlisle. When we left Harrisburg, we crossed over the Susquehanna river in flats. The banks of the river on the town side were covered with women and children, and there were great weeping and mourning indeed. Our country called, and duty was clearly spread out before our eyes; we had therefore to steel our hearts against the cries of mothers and children, and brave up against the tide of weeping and wailing, by playing and beating up merrily "Charley over the water." This, we continued to do until Harrisburg was partly lost in the distance behind us. . . .

All the officers were at their posts in front of the line in order to receive and salute the Commander-in-Chief and suite.

President Washington, the Governors (of states) then at Carlisle, formed at the head of the line. The brigade and field officers that accompanied the President and Governors, took their positions in that line preparatory to the review.

All things being in readiness, the President and suite moved on to a review of the troops. The method of salute was, each regiment as the Commander-in-Chief and suite drew near, was ordered to "present arms." Field officers, Captains, Lieutenants, &c., in line in advance of the troops saluted by bringing the hilts of their swords to their faces and then throwing the points of their swords towards the ground at some little distance from their bodies on their right side. The musicians at the same time playing and beating a salute. The flag bearers at a certain roll of the drum would also salute by waving their colours to and fro. The musicians in this grand line of military, varied

<sup>76</sup> Fisher commanded the company of Harrisburg volunteers to which DeWeese belonged.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

very much, in their salutes.—Some Drummers no doubt knew what tune was a salute, and could have beaten it well, but their Fifers could not play it, and some Fifers knew how to play it, but their Drummers could not beat it. An acquaintance of mine of the name of SHIPE who played the Fife for a company from Philadelphia could have played it, and well too, (for many a time we had played it together during the Revolution,) but his Drummer knew nothing about it. Some musicians played and beat one thing and some another. One Fifer I recollect (within hearing distance of us,) played Yankee Doodle, and his Drummer no doubt beat it well too, but it was not a salute.

When President Washington and his suite arrived at our regiment, I struck up and Warriour<sup>77</sup> beat “the old British Grenadier’s March,” which was always the music played and beat, and offered to a superior officer as a salute during the revolutionary war. This tune had a great many flams and rolls to it. President Washington eyed us keenly, as he was passing us and continued to do so, even when he had passed to some distance from us.

After this duty was performed, upon the part of the soldiery, President Washington in conversation with the officers, asked Captain Fisher if his musicians (Warriour and myself) had not been in the Continental service, during the Revolution. Captain Fisher informed him that we had been; upon which the President replied that he had thought so, from the manner of playing and beating, and observed that we performed the best of any in the army, and were the only musicians that played and beat the old (or usual) Revolutionary salute, which he said was as well played and beat as he had ever heard it during the Revolution. Captain Fisher was very proud of our having so far excelled as to obtain the just praise of the President, and said to

<sup>77</sup> Warriour (a surname) was DeWeese’s drummer.

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us upon his return, "Boys you have received the praise of President Washington to-day for having excelled all of the musicians in the line in playing and beating up Washington's favorite revolutionary salute, for he says, not a musician in the whole army has played it to-day but yourselves." If Captain Fisher was proud of Washington's commendation of us, my readers may judge that we were not less proud of it than himself . . .

### PRESIDENT WASHINGTON WRITES OF HIS PLANS

OCTOBER 8, 1794<sup>78</sup>

TO MAJOR GENERAL DANIEL MORGAN<sup>79</sup>

Carlisle, October 8, 1794.

Dear Sir: In the moment I was leaving the City of Philadelphia for this place, your letter of the 24th Ult. was put into my hands. Although I regret the occasion which has called you into the field, I rejoice to hear you are there; and because it is probable I may meet you at Fort Cumberland, whither I shall proceed, so soon as I see the Troops at this rendezvous in condition to advance. At that place, or at Bedford, my ulterior resolution must be taken, either to advance with the Troops into the Insurgent Counties of this State, or to return to Philadelphia for the purpose of meeting Congress the 3d. of next month.

Imperious circumstances alone can justify my absence from the Seat of Government whilst Congress are in Session; but if these, from the disposition of the People in the refractory Counties, and the state of the information I expect to receive at the advanced Posts, should appear to exist the lesser must yield to the greater duties of my office and I shall cross the

<sup>78</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 522.

<sup>79</sup> Daniel Morgan rose from captain to general in the Revolution as a commander of frontier Virginia riflemen.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

mountains with the Troops; if not, I shall place the command of the combined force under the orders of Governor Lee<sup>80</sup> of Virginia and repair to the Seat of Government. . . .

WASHINGTON HEARS THAT A CONVENTION OF WESTERN DELEGATES HAS RESOLVED TO SUBMIT TO THE REVENUE LAW, OCTOBER 9, 1794<sup>81</sup>

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
(Private)

Carlisle, Oct 9, 1794.

. . . Little, of moment, has occurred since mine of the 6th. A meeting of the Committee of 60, at Parkinson's ferry the 2d. inst.<sup>82</sup> have resolved that if the signature of the submission,<sup>83</sup> be not universal, it is not so much owing to any existing disposition to oppose the laws as to a want of time or information to operate a corrisponding sentiment &ca. &ca. That *they* the Committee (unanimously) resolve to submit to the Laws of the United States and will support them &ca. &ca. That in the four western Counties of this State, in their opinion, there is a general disposition to submit to all Laws of the U S and a determination to support the Civil authy. in their execution.

<sup>80</sup> Henry Lee, called "Light Horse Harry" as a commander of cavalry during the Revolution, was Governor of Virginia from 1791 to 1794. He coined the phrase that Washington was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Henry Lee was the father of Robert E. Lee, the Confederate military leader.

<sup>81</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIII, 525.

<sup>82</sup> The "Committee of Sixty" was the "convention" of the Western counties. It met at Parkinson's Ferry for a second time on October 2nd to pass resolutions promising submission to the laws and to elect a committee to notify the President of the pacific disposition of the inhabitants.

<sup>83</sup> Under terms worked out by the President's commissioners and the representatives of the Western counties, citizens were to sign a promise to obey the laws in return for an amnesty for the signers.



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That Wm. Findley of Westmoreland County and David Redick<sup>84</sup> of Washington County be Commissioners to wait upon the President of the U. S. and the Governor of Pennsylvania with a copy of these Resolutions: and to explain to Government the present State of that Country that the President may judge whether an armed force be now necessary to support the Civil authority there.

These Commissioners have not made their appearance yet. The Insurgents are alarmed, but not yet brought to their proper senses. Every mean is devised by them and their associates and friends elsewhere to induce a belief that there is no necessity for Troops crossing the mountains; altho' we have information at the same time that part of the people there are obliged to embody themselves to repel the insults, of another part. The troops at this rendezvous will commence their march for Bedford tomorrow; at which time I shall set out for Williamsport, thence to Fort Cumberland, and from thence to Bedford where from the information I shall receive in the interem my ultimate resolution will be taken to proceed, or turn my face towards Philadelphia.

### WASHINGTON RECORDS HIS MEETING WITH THE COMMISSIONERS FROM THE WESTERN COUNTIES OCTOBER 9 and 10, 1794<sup>85</sup>

On the 9th. William Findley and David Redick deputed by the Committee of safety (as it is dissignated) which met on

<sup>84</sup> William Findley, as previously mentioned, was a member of Congress. David Redick, one of the founders of Washington, Pennsylvania, was a veteran of the Revolution, a lawyer, the clerk of courts of Washington County, and had held several state offices.

<sup>85</sup> From *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Boston, 1925), IV, 212-216.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

the 2d of this month at Parkinson Ferry arrived in Camp with the Resolutions of the said Committee;—and to give information of the State of things in the four Western Counties of Pennsylvania to wit Washington, Fayette, West[moreland] and Alleghany in order to see if it would prevent the March of the Army into them.

At 10 oclock I had a meeting with these persons in presence of Govr. Howell (of New Jersey) the Secretary of the Treasury, Colo. Hamilton, and Mr. Dandridge;<sup>86</sup> Govr. Mifflin<sup>87</sup> was invited to be present, but excused himself on acct. of business.

I told the Deputies that by one of the Resolutions it would appear that they were empowered to give information of the disposition and of the existing state of matters in the four Counties abovementione[d]; that I was ready to hear, and would listen patiently, and with candour to what they had to say.

Mr. Findley began. He confined his information to such parts of the four Counties as he was best acquainted with; referring to Mr Redick for a recital of what fell within his knowledge, in the other parts of these Counties.

The substance of Mr. Findleys communications were as follows—viz—That the People in the parts where he was best acquainted, had seen there folly, and he believed were disposed to submit to the Laws; that he thought, but could not undertake to be responsible, for the reestablishment of the public Offices for the collection of the Taxes on distilled spirits and Stills—intimating however, that it might be best for *the present*, and until the peoples minds were a little more tranquilized, to hold the Office of Inspection at Pittsburgh under the protection—or at least under the influence of the Garrison;<sup>88</sup>—That he

<sup>86</sup> Bartholomew Dandridge, Jr., was Washington's private secretary.

<sup>87</sup> Governor Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania.

<sup>88</sup> The garrison of Fort Fayette in Pittsburgh.

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thought the Distillers would either enter their stills<sup>89</sup> or would put them down;—That the Civilian authority was beginning to recover its tone; and enumerated some instances of it;—That the ignorance and general want of information among the people far exceeded any thing he had any conception of; That it was not merely the excise law their opposition was aimed at, but to all law, and Government;—and to the Officers of Government;—and that the situation in which he had been, and the life he had led for sometime, was such, that rather than go through it again, he would prefer quitting this scene altogether.

Mr. Redicks information was similar to the above; except as to the three last recitals on wch I do not recollect that he expressed any sentiment further than that the situation of those who were not in the opposition to government whilst the frenzy was at its height, were obliged to sleep with their Arms by their bed sides every night; not knowing but that before morning they might have occasion to use them in defence of their persons, or their properties—

He added, that for a long time after the riots commenced, and until lately, the distrust of one another was such, that even friends were affraid to communicate their sentiments to each other;—That by whispers this was brought about; and growing bolder as they became more communicative they found their strength, and that there was a general disposition not only to acquiesce under, but to support the Laws—and he gave some instances also of Magistrates enforcing them.

He said the People of those Counties believed that the opposition to the Excise law—or at least that their dereliction to it, in every other part of the U. States was similar to their own, and that no Troops could be got to march against them for the purpose of coercion;—that every acct. until very lately, of

<sup>89</sup> Enter their stills on the tax books.

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Troops marching against them was disbelieved; and supposed to be the fabricated tales of governmental men;—That now they had got alarmed;—That many were disposing of their property at an under rate, in order to leave the Country; and added (I think) that they wd. go to Detroit.<sup>90</sup>—That no person of any consequence, except one, but what had availed themselves of the proffered amnesty; that those who were still in the opposition, and obnoxious to the laws, were men of little or no property, and cared but little where they resided;—That he did not believe there was the least intention in them to oppose the Army;—and that there was not three rounds of ammunition for them in all the Western Country.—He (and I think Mr. Findley also) was apprehensive that the resentments of the Army might be productive of treatment to some of those people that might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and on that account seemed to deprecate the March of it; declaring however, that it was their wish, if the people did not give proofs of unequivocal submission, that it might not stop short of its object—

After hearing what both had to say, I briefly told them—That it had been the earnest wish of governmt. to bring the people of those counties to a sense of their duty, by mild, and lenient means;—That for the purpose of representing to their sober reflection the fatal consequences of such conduct Commissioners had been sent amongst them that they might be warned in time of what must follow, if they persevered in their opposition to the laws; but that coercion wou'd not be resorted to except in the dernier resort:—but, that the season of the year made it indispensable that preparation for it should keep pace with the propositions that had been made;—That it was unnecessary for me to enumerate the transactions of those peo-

<sup>90</sup> Detroit was still in British hands at the time.

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ple (as they related to the proceedings of government) forasmuch as they knew them as well as I did;—(That the measure which they were not witness to the adoption of was not less painful than expensive—was inconvenient and distressing in every point of view;—but as I considered the support of the Laws as an object of the first magnitude, and the greatest part of the expence had already been incurred, that nothing short of the most unequivocal *proofs* of absolute submission should retard the March of the Army into the Western counties, in order to convince them that the government could, and would enforce obedience to the laws not suffering them to be insulted with impunity. Being asked again what proofs would be required, I answered, they knew as well as I did, what was due to justice and example. They understood my meaning—and asked if they might have another interview. I appointed five o'clock in the Afternoon for it.

At this second meeting there was little more than a repetition of what had passed in the forenoon;—and it being again mentioned that all the *principal* characters except one, in the Western counties who had been in the opposition, had submitted to the propositions—I was induced, seeing them in the Shed the next day, to ask Mr. Redick who that one was?—telling him at the same time I required no disclosure that he did not feel himself entirely free to make.—He requesting a little time to think of it, and asked for another meeting which was appointed at 5 o'clock that afternoon—which took place accordingly when he said David Bradford was the person he had alluded to in his former conversations.—

He requested to know if a meeting of the people, by their deputies, would be permitted by the Army at any given point, on their March into that Country (with fresh evidence of the sincerity of their disposition to acquiesce in what ever might



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be required). I replied I saw no objection to it, provided they came unarmed; but to be cautious that not a gun was fired, as there could be no answering for the consequences in this case. —I assured them that every possible care should be taken to keep the Troops from offering them any insult or damage, and that those who always had been subordinate to the Laws and such as had availed themselves of the amnesty, should not be injured in their persons or property; and that the treatment of the rest would depend upon their own conduct. That the Army, unless opposed, did not mean to act as executioners, or bring offenders to a military Tribunal; but merely to aid the civil Magistrates, with whom offences would lye. thus ended the matter. . . .

### FIFER DEWEESE REMEMBERS LIFE IN THE ARMY DURING THE MARCH ON PITTSBURGH, OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, 1794<sup>91</sup>

One day whilst we lay at Bedford, I received a message with orders (I being then Fife Major,) to bring my music up to one of the officer's Marquees,<sup>92</sup> I told the person sent to me to inform the officer that I had no fifer, but that I would go myself. Warriour and myself played and beat up the officer's quarters. We were then placed at the head of two or three file of men and marched off by a Sergeant (who had his orders) to the jail.—When we halted at the jail door our Strawsburg hog thief<sup>93</sup> was brought out and handed over to the Sergeant of the guard who had notified us, that when we should march with our charge we should beat the "Rogue's March." When our prisoner was properly positioned we received the order of

<sup>91</sup> From DeWeese's *Life and Services*, pp. 294-321.

<sup>92</sup> A tent.

<sup>93</sup> A soldier from Strasburg, Pennsylvania, who had been caught stealing a pig from a farmer.

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“forward,” and as we stepped off, we commenced to beat the Rogue’s march after him. He was then conducted through the camp and out of town, about a mile. We then discharged him with several real huzzas loud and long, and then by three cheers or long rolls of the drum. After he had gotten some little distance off from us (far enough to ensure his security providing his heels would prove true to him,) he threw out the challenge of defiance to the whole of us. To have judged of his strength by his words, he could have thrashed the whole army then at Bedford. Besides threatening to “maul” us all, he stated that he was very glad that he was that far upon his road towards home. He then bade us an extremely polite adieu in Billingsgate slang, and then heeled it until he was out of sight. . . .

. . . Nothing of comfort kind could be procured except hardware, alias “good stuff.” I took four canteens (my own among the number,) and went to the sutler’s<sup>94</sup> wagon, and had them filled. For the four canteens full (a little over a gallon) I paid the sutler four silver dollars, and was very well satisfied to get it even at that exorbitant price. Captain Alcohol in this particular instance was of great service to myself and messmates, as also to some of our neighboring messmates. In those days of hardships, sufferings and dangers, we did not single ourselves out, and drink behind the doors and swear “we didn’t taste the creature,” as too many of the people do now-a-days. In this instance we came up to Captain Whiskey with a bold front, in open day and acknowledged his potent spell, and superior worth in our proper use of him. . . .

. . . We continued our march until we arrived on the top of Laurel Hill mountain.—Here a halt was ordered, and each soldier seated himself and partook of a bite of cold victuals.

<sup>94</sup> A sutler was a traveling merchant who followed the army to sell supplies to the troops.

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After we had finished our repast, an officer called out to me, requesting me to bring my Drummer along with me, and play him a few good tunes. Warriour and I then went to where this officer and others were seated taking their cold bite and "good stuff." They invited us to take a little of the creature with them, which we did without making any wry faces about it. They then asked us to give them some of our best tunes. We did so, and in doing it, we of course done our best. As we were thus engaged, some of them joined in a dance, and began to skip about, and trip it as orderly, lively and airy as if they had been in a ball room. . . .

After the officers had done dancing, we were ordered to beat up the long-roll, upon which the men formed, and we moved onwards. We next made a halt at Greensburg in Westmoreland county, and the next halt that we made was not far from the "Bullock Plains," known by many as Braddock's Fields. When we arrived at Braddock's Fields, we formed our camp, and laid there a few days. Whilst there, the soldiers, many of them, amused themselves by climbing up into the trees for the purpose of cutting out leaden bullets, which had been lodged there in 1755, when General Braddock was defeated by the Indians in the campaign of that year.

WASHINGTON INSTRUCTS GENERAL HENRY LEE<sup>95</sup> THAT  
THE SOLDIERS MUST THEMSELVES OBEY THE LAW  
OCTOBER 20, 1794<sup>96</sup>

TO GOVERNOR HENRY LEE

Bedford, October 20, 1794.

Sir: Being about to return to the seat of government, I can-

<sup>95</sup> Governor Lee assumed command of the army upon Washington's return to Philadelphia.

<sup>96</sup> From *The Writings of George Washington*, XXXIV, 6-7.

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not take my departure without conveying through you to the Army under your command the very high sense I entertain of the enlightened and patriotic zeal for the constitution and the laws which has led them cheerfully to quit their families and homes and the comforts of private life to undertake and thus far to perform a long and fatiguing march and to encounter and endure the hardships and privations of a Military life. Their conduct hitherto affords a full assurance that their perseverance will be equal to their zeal and that they will continue to perform with alacrity whatever the full accomplishment of the object of their march shall render necessary. . . .

There is but one point on which I think it proper to add a special recommendation. It is this, that every officer and soldier will constantly bear in mind that he comes to support the laws and that it would be peculiarly unbecoming to him to be in any way the infractor of them; that the essential principles of a free government confine the provinces of the Military to these two objects: 1st: to combat and subdue all who may be found in arms in opposition to the National will and authority; 2ndly to aid and support the civil Magistrate in bringing offenders to justice. The dispensation of this justice belongs to the civil Magistrate and let it ever be our prize and our glory to leave the sacred deposit there unviolated. . . .

### QUARTERMASTER OFFICER WILLIAM MICHAEL<sup>97</sup> OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA DESCRIBES HIS FIRST VIEW OF PITTSBURGH, NOVEMBER 12, 1794<sup>98</sup>

*12th.* This morning we started early. Before breakfasting it

<sup>97</sup> William Michael, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was the son of an officer in the Revolution. He was a hat maker's apprentice when called into service in 1794.

<sup>98</sup> From William Michael's "A Journal of the 'Whiskey Insurrection'"

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began to snow. We traveled about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles and stopt at a little Cabbin wherein lived 4 fresh lively Irish Girls. We Breakfasted here, beside a good Comfortable fire. The Cabbin was very small, not above 12 feet square, wherein dwelt content & Hospitality, with all the perfections of Rosey Health. . . . I waited here until our stores came up with us; gave the waggons direction to come on as fast as they could, and then proceeded on for the long wished for Port, Fort Pitt. I arrived in town about 2 o'clock. The first Beauty that I observed in the situation was that of the Rivers, which I viewed with the greatest delight. I then began to find out Capt. Gamble, the Superintendent of the Stores, but sought him long in vain. I went to the Garrison to find him, he had just left it. I there met with Mr. Vandyke an acquaintance and Physician in the federal Army. He conducted me through and several more, the whole of and every part of the Garrison. I soon after met with Capt. Gamble, and conducted us to our Quarters—Elegant house  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the town. People of the best of Characters Boarded with us; a Mr. Sample,<sup>99</sup> attorney at Law, with his Lady. I was exceedingly disappointed with regard to Society. I vainly anticipated a Country awkward Society. Mr. Sample I found an agreeable informed character, that of his lady handsome, was softness itself, conversant and Informed, . . . Indeed, I never expected so amiable a figure in so rugged an Country; together with 6 or 8 more, in all making agreeable Society. . . .

*13th.* A most beautiful morn, but cold and calm. The rivers looked this morning like glass. Mr. Moderwel and I, after eating a good hearty breakfast, walked down town to view the rivers, the sight of which was truly pleasing. Along the Monon-

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in *Historical Register: Notes and Queries, Historical and Geneological, Relating to Interior Pennsylvania* (January-April, 1883), I, pp. 136-137.

<sup>99</sup> Samuel Semple of Pittsburgh.



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gahela shore were laying boats in numbers, both loaded and unloaded, ready to be wafted to the new world down the grand Ohio, a sight majestic, demonstration of its increasing. From that we walked down the banks to the junction of the Allegheny; the latter is something larger than the former, and much clearer and more beautiful; just on the point is the spot whereon was the old French fort, but has been erased long ago, and there remains nothing but here and there some part of the foundation. Near to that within fifty yards, is part of the old English fort. The labor of the artificers must have been indefatigable; the stockades nearly all extirpated, the ditches that had been digged to form a channel from the Monongahela and the Allegheny is still clear to be seen. The magazine is still a good and strong building. Braddock's<sup>100</sup> fort is not quite in so commanding a situation as the old French fort; but the present garrison<sup>101</sup> now held is in the most inconvenient situation of all them.

### FIFER DEWEESE REMEMBERS THE OCCUPATION OF PITTSBURGH, NOVEMBER, 1794<sup>102</sup>

From Braddock's Fields we moved on to Fort Pitt, (now Pittsburg) and encamped within a mile of the town.

Whilst we laid at Fort Pitt I obtained permission to visit the town every day or two. The old Fort (DuQuesne,) which had been built for the protection of this post, I do not recollect whether it was occupied by any of our troops, but believe it was not. It was so built as to command the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, above, and at their junction, as also the Ohio river below. . . .

<sup>100</sup> The writer errs here in ascribing the building of Fort Pitt to Braddock, who, of course, never reached Pittsburgh.

<sup>101</sup> Fort Fayette.

<sup>102</sup> From DeWeese's *Life and Services*, pp. 294-321.

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Instead of being met as was threatened by a formidable foe, we saw nothing in the form of enemies. The disaffected, (those that organized themselves) had disbanded and gone quietly to their homes.

The insurrectionary spirit was every day growing weaker and weaker, and in proportion as this had manifested itself the insurgent force had diminished. Mustering from 7 to 10,000 men only, and they promiscuously and hastily drawn from their homes, young and old without proper leaders, proper discipline, military stores, &c. &c., they had thought it altogether futile to attempt to resist (or cope with) a well disciplined army of upwards of 15,000 strong.

After a number of the more active leaders were captured and handed over to the proper authorities to be dealt with according to the laws of the land, the expedition was considered at an end.

Whilst at Fort Pitt, my attention was attracted one day by a great crowd of soldiers and citizens. I drew near for the purpose of learning the cause of such a concourse of people. I perceived that the crowd was viewing a tavern sign. The tavern keeper had commenced the business but a short time before, and had put up a sign, upon which was painted "St. Clair's Defeat,"<sup>103</sup> which had occurred on the 4th of November, 1791 — The sign-board upon which this bloody massacre was painted was full twenty feet in length. On both its sides, whites and Indians were painted. Some of the whites were represented as bearing up against the tide of savage ferocity. Others, both whites and Indians, were represented as falling in death. Indians were represented as firing, scalping and tomahawking the whites. General Butler,<sup>104</sup> (under whose command I had been

<sup>103</sup> General Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, was defeated by the Indian leader Little Turtle at the present site of Fort Recovery, Ohio.

<sup>104</sup> Richard Butler, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Foot.

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at York, Pa. during the Revolutionary War,) was represented as wounded and leaning against a tree, and an Indian before him with a tomahawk in one hand, and a scalping-knife in the other, spring towards him to complete the work of death. Indians were represented also as taking aim, and firing from behind trees and logs. Whites were also shown as falling, some one way and some another. On each side of this sign-board, I suppose there were two or three hundred whites and Indians represented. This sign must have cost the landlord a great sum of money, but I suppose our soldiers alone more than paid for it, for there were crowds of them to look at it whilst we were encamped at Pittsburg, and most of them spent their money pretty freely in patronizing his house.

## CONGRESSMAN FINDLEY EXPRESSES HIS SUSPICION THAT ALEXANDER HAMILTON DELIBERATELY PROVOKED THE REVOLT<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps the most mysterious circumstance attending the western expedition, was the character sustained by the secretary of the treasury. . . .

That he was the responsible head of the revenue department, and had the direction of the measures relative to the execution of the excise law, is evident from the powers vested in him by law for that purpose. That he originated not only the excise system, and the other revenue laws, which were enacted by Congress, previous to the insurrection, and the arrangements for carrying them into execution, is evident from the journals of Congress, and his own reports to the House of Representatives. The manner in which the coercive part of the excise law was executed, or rather, in which the execution of it was neglected, and the influence which that neglect had in promoting

<sup>105</sup> From Findley's *History of the Insurrection*, pp. 223-225.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

the opposition to the law, which finally burst forth into an insurrection has been noted. . . .

That a government could never be considered as established, till its power was put to the test by a trial of its military force, is a sentiment that has been often ascribed to him, and never that I heard of contradicted; and that in perfect correspondence with their principle, he even in the cabinet expressed his sorrow that the town of Pittsburgh had not been burned by those who rendezvoused at Braddock's field, that so a trial of the military force of the government might have been rendered the more necessary and justifiable, has been asserted by authority that cannot be reasonably doubted. This assertion, which leaves no doubt of the principle from which it proceeded, perfectly coincides with the manner in which the excise law was executed in the western counties, and fully accounts for not holding special sessions of the court nearer the places where the crimes were committed, after a law had been made for that purpose, and may also without any forced induction account for issuing the processes out of the district court so early. . . . When it was known that a law was about to be passed to vest the state courts with powers for that purpose, and also for delaying the execution of the process, till . . . the state courts were competent to decide on the case, and until the throng of the harvest, which is confessedly the most inconvenient season in the year for farmers to attend at a distance of about 300 miles, and which from other circumstances, was the most likely to excite resistance. It is worthy of remark that when the distillers of Fayette county, without delay, sent to enter their appearance at Philadelphia, the writs were found to be erroneous, and therefore null. What a pity it was, that this had not been discovered before they had been made the instrument of promoting an insurrection.

## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

If all these circumstances happened through inattention, that inattention was highly culpable; if they were the result of cool design, the connection of all the parts of the plan, and its eventual success, while they afforded a striking evidence of dexterity and address, represent the morality of the conductor in a very questionable light.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON SUMS UP THE WESTERN INSURRECTION IN A MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 19, 1794<sup>106</sup>

SIXTH ANNUAL ADDRESS

United States, Nov. 19, 1794

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

When we call to mind the gracious indulgence of Heaven by which the American people became a nation; when we survey the general prosperity of our country, and look forward to the riches, power, and happiness to which it seems destined, with the deepest regret do I announce to you that during your recess some of the citizens of the United States have been found capable of an insurrection. It is due, however, to the character of our Government and to its stability, which can not be shaken by the enemies of order, freely to unfold the course of this event.

During the session of the year 1790 it was expedient to exercise the legislative power granted by the Constitution of the United States "to lay and collect excises." In a majority of the States scarcely an objection was heard to this mode of taxation. In some, indeed, alarms were at first conceived, until they were banished by reason and patriotism. In the four western counties of Pennsylvania a prejudice, fostered and embittered by the artifice of men who labored for an ascendancy over the will of others by the guidance of their passions, produced symptoms of

<sup>106</sup> From Richardson's *Messages and Papers*, I, 162-165.



## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

riot and violence. It is well known that Congress did not hesitate to examine the complaints which were presented, and to relieve them as far as justice dictated or general convenience would permit. But the impression which this moderation made on the discontented did not correspond to the efforts of designing individuals. The very forbearance to press prosecutions was misinterpreted into a fear of urging the execution of the laws, and associations of men began to denounce threats against the officers employed. From a belief that by a more formal concert their operation might be defeated, certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation. Hence, while the greater part of Pennsylvania itself were conforming themselves to the acts of exise, a few counties were resolved to frustrate them. It was now perceived that every expectation from the tenderness which had been hitherto pursued was unavailing, and that further delay could only create an opinion of impotency or irresolution in the Government. Legal process was therefore delivered to the marshal against the rioters and delinquent distillers.

No sooner was he understood to be engaged in this duty than the vengeance of armed men was aimed at *his* person and the person and property of the inspector of the revenue. They fired upon the marshal, arrested him, and detained him for some time as a prisoner. He was obliged, by the jeopardy of his life, to renounce the service of other process on the west side of the Allegheny Mountain, and a deputation was afterwards sent to him to demand a surrender of that which he *had* served.

A numerous body repeatedly attacked the house of the inspector, seized his papers of office, and finally destroyed by fire his buildings and whatsoever they contained. Both of these officers, from a just regard to their safety, fled to the seat of Government, it being avowed that the motives to such outrages were to compel the resignation of the inspector, to withstand

## PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

by force of arms the authority of the United States, and thereby to extort a repeal of the laws of excise and an alteration in the conduct of Government.

Upon the testimony of these facts an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States notified to me that "in the counties of Washington and Allegheny, in Pennsylvania, laws of the United States were opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshal of that district." On this call, momentous in the extreme, I sought and weighed what might best subdue the crisis. . . .

My proclamation of the 7th of August last was accordingly issued, and accompanied by the appointment of commissioners, who were charged to repair to the scene of insurrection. They were authorized to confer with any bodies of men or individuals. They were instructed to be candid and explicit in stating the sensations which had been excited in the Executive, and his earnest wish to avoid a resort to coercion; to represent, however, that, without submission, coercion *must* be the resort; but to invite them, at the same time, to return to the demeanor of faithful citizens, by such accommodations as lay within the sphere of Executive power. Pardon, too, was tendered to them by the Government of the United States and that of Pennsylvania, upon no other condition than a satisfactory assurance of obedience to the laws.

Although the report of the commissioners marks their firmness and abilities, and must unite all virtuous men, by shewing that the means of conciliation have been exhausted, all of those who had committed or abetted the tumults did not subscribe the mild form which was proposed as the atonement, and the indications of a peaceable temper were neither sufficiently gen-

## GEORGE WASHINGTON IN THE OHIO VALLEY

eral nor conclusive to recommend or warrant the further suspension of the march of the militia.

Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 25th of September last.

It was a task too difficult to ascertain with precision the lowest degree of force competent to the quelling of the insurrection. . . . In this uncertainty, therefore, I put into motion 15,000 men, as being an arm which, according to all human calculation, would be prompt and adequate in every view, and might, perhaps, by rendering resistance desparate, prevent the effusion of blood. . . .

As commander in chief of the militia when called into the actual service of the United States, I have visited the places of general rendezvous to obtain more exact information and to direct a plan for ulterior movements. . . . Succeeding intelligence has tended to manifest the necessity of what has been done, it being now confessed by those who were not inclined to exaggerate the ill conduct of the insurgents that their malevolence was not pointed merely to a particular law, but that a spirit inimical to all order had actuated many of the offenders. If the state of things had afforded reason for the continuance of my presence with the army, it would not have been withholden. But every appearance assuring such an issue as will redound to the reputation and strength of the United States, I have judged it most proper to resume my duties at the seat of Government, leaving the chief command with the governor of Virginia.

Still, however, as it is probable that in a commotion like the present, whatsoever may be the pretense, the purposes of mischief and revenge may not be laid aside, the stationing of a small force for a certain period in the four western counties of

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Pennsylvania will be indispensable, whether we contemplate the situation of those who are connected with the execution of the laws or of others who may have exposed themselves by an honorable attachment to them. Thirty days from the commencement of this session being the legal limitation of the employment of the militia, Congress can not be too early occupied with this subject. . . .





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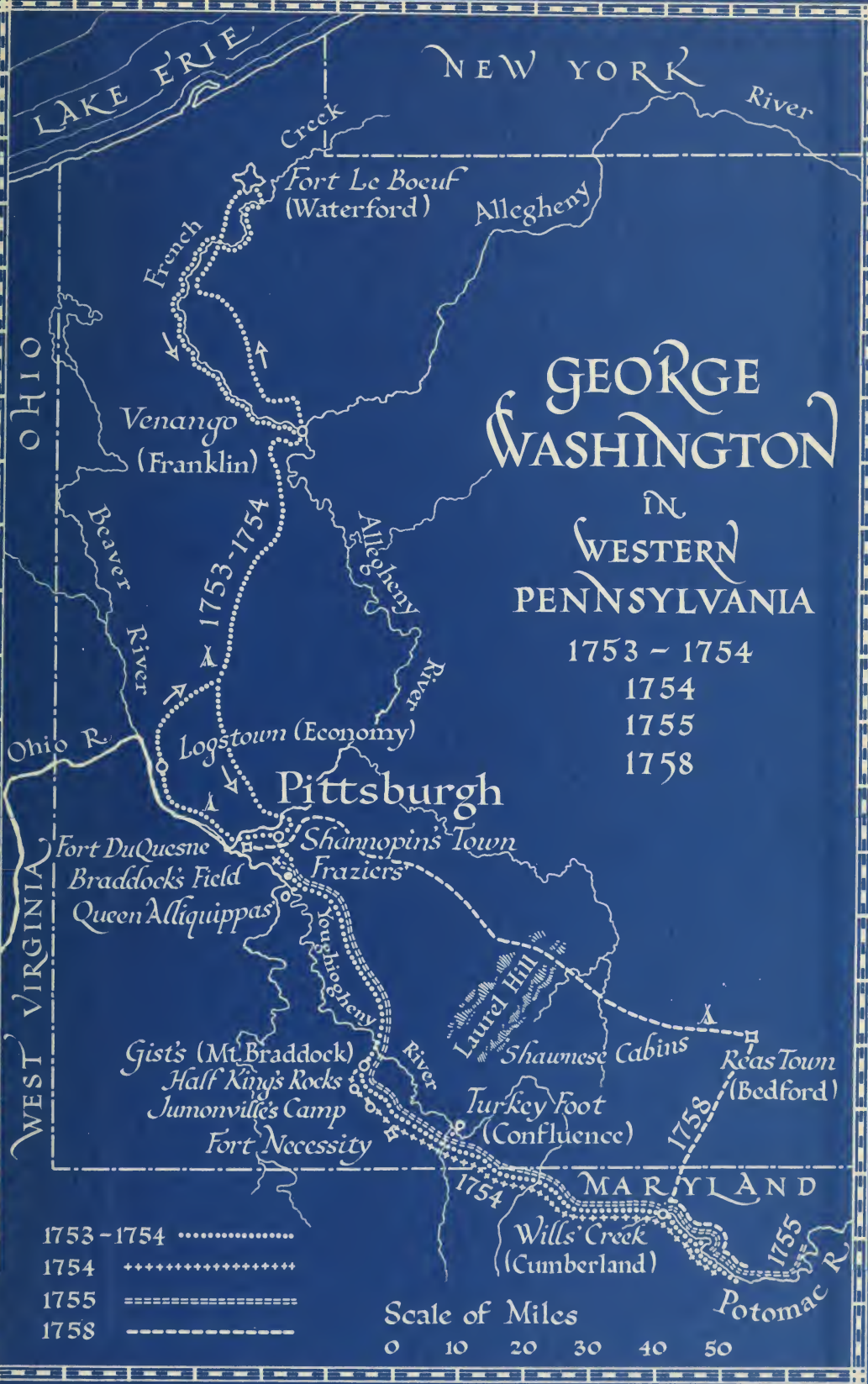








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