

WASHINGTON'S "TOUR TO THE OHIO"
AND
ARTICLES OF THE MISSISSIPPI
COMPANY

by

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Washington's "Tour to the Ohio" and Articles of "The Mississippi Company"

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT

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WASHINGTON'S "TOUR TO THE OHIO" AND ARTICLES OF "THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY."*

Introduction and Notes by Archer Butler Hulbert, Author of "Washington and the West," "Historic Highways," Etc.

It is always interesting to recall that the earliest accurate account of the Ohio Valley is from the pen of Washington. This account is found in two manuscripts, now preserved in the Library of Congress, one of which is entitled "Remarks & Occurr^s in October"; when November came it is noted only by the words "November 1st"; the other manuscript is inscribed "Where & how—my time is—Spent." The former document is the elaborated journal of Washington's tour of 1770 and the latter is a mere outline, such as he always kept, of each day's affairs. The more formal journal was damaged and the entries for about a week have never been published, nor has the journal been edited in any part. The smaller diary of the two has never been published. The two together are here reproduced, together with the articles of the "Mississippi Company," never printed before, which are in Washington's handwriting and are also preserved in the Library of Congress.

The "Remarks" have been printed in part in the *Writings of Washington* by Sparks and Ford; also in the *Old South Leaflets*, as well as independently, under the title of "A Tour to the Ohio." It will be found possible, with the help of the daily account in the lesser record, to fill up quite completely the days which were partially destroyed. As these days included much of the return trip up the Ohio even a fragmentary account of them has its value to many.

As a preface to the reading of this little collection of Washingtonia, relating so intimately to Ohio, it is proper to review:

* In the identification of points mentioned in Washington's journal the editor has been largely assisted by Edgar Chew Sweeney.

Washington's relations to the West and the causes which led to the tour under consideration.

From any standpoint, it must be considered a strange Providence that led Martha Washington to turn her young son's eyes from the sea, where the romance of his brother's career under Admiral Vernon had attracted them, to those darkling forests that stretched illimitably away to the westward of their Virginia home. By no other act could that mother have so fitted her boy to be, in a real sense never appreciated by those who use the expression so often and so flippantly, the "Father of his country"; for there was never a time when Washington was more truly the Father of the young lad of a Republic as in those strange, black twenty-one years between the opening of the old French War at Fort Necessity in 1754, and that day in 1775 when the boy came to man's estate and America stepped forth to take a place among the nations of the world.

For if you could measure in grains and ounces the sum total of Washington's heart-interests, or reckon in actual minutes the time he gave to the consideration of the plans and hopes and dreams that held his heart — omitting the seven years he gave so faithfully to the single thought of emancipation — I believe that next to his family and friends would appear his extraordinary interest in what we may term the Western problem, to which his mother first turned his attention in 1747.

The story of the young surveyor's experiences we have from his own pen; yet there is much to read between the lines of that boyish diary; he learned the Indians, who were to play so important a part in the old French War; he saw the fertility of the glades and river-lands, which were slight but genuine prophecies of the richness of the lands farther west; he saw the rivers themselves which were to become the first commercial highways to bind together distant commonwealths with bands strong as tempered steel in a day when men looked upon the Alleghenies as prohibitive barriers to empire. Then, in rapid order, came the appointment of Washington as one of Virginia's adjutants-general over the portion of his colony he now was beginning to know. The mission to the French forts on the Allegheny River in 1753-4 brought him first into the Mississippi

drainage area — and how little the lad dreamed that this was but one of six visits into that region! The next year he led his little force to Fort Necessity and precipitated the first skirmish in the war by which England should obtain the mastery of the continent. In the next year he came again with the insolent, bulldog Braddock to the ford of the Monongahela and the death-trap beyond. In 1758 he came again with the heroic, dying Forbes to a conquest of Fort Duquesne.

As a result of these military expeditions westward, but one tangible tie can be discovered to bind in any way the future fate of the West with this name of Washington. So slothful was Virginia to furnish men for the Virginia Regiment which Washington was to lead to Fort Necessity in 1754, that Governor Dinwiddie was compelled to offer bounties in western land to all who would enlist for the campaign. Such is the vital connection between the tour of 1770 and this bounty-land offer made in 1754, that it is necessary to quote it in full, as nothing save the reading of the Governor's actual promise can give one a proper conception of the feelings of those, Washington among them, who had the temerity to take him at his word. The proclamation read:

"Virginia ss.

By the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq.; His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of this Dominion

A PROCLAMATION.

For Encouraging *Men* to enlist in His Majesty's Service for the Defense and Security of this Colony.

WHEREAS it is determined that a Fort be immediately built on the River *Ohio*, at the Fork of *Monongahela*, to oppose any further Encroachments, or hostile Attempts of the *French*, and the *Indians* in their interest, and for the Security and Protection of his Majesty's Subjects in this Colony; and as it is absolutely necessary that a sufficient Force should be raised to erect and support the same: For an Encouragement to all who shall voluntarily enter into the said Service, I do hereby notify and promise, by and with the Advice and Consent of his Majesty's Council of this Colony, that over and above their Pay, Two Hundred Thousand Acres of his Majesty's the King of Great *Britains* Lands, on the East Side of the River *Ohio*, within this Dominion, One Hundred Thousand Acres whereof to be contiguous to the said Fort, and the other Hundred Thousand Acres to be on, or near the River (*Ohio*) shall be laid off and

granted to such Persons, who by their voluntary Engagement, and good Behaviour in the said Service, shall deserve the same. And I further promise, that the said Lands shall be divided amongst them immediately after the Performance of the said Service, in a proportion due to their respective merit, as shall be represented to me by their Officers, and held and enjoyed by them without paying any Rights, and also free from the Payment of Quit-rents, for the Term of Fifteen Years. And I do appoint this Proclamation to be read and published at the Court-Houses, Churches and Chapels in each County within this Colony, and that the Sheriffs take Care the same be done accordingly.

Given at the Council Chamber in Williamsburg, on the 19th Day of February, in the 27th Year of his Majesty's Reign, Annoque Domini, 1754.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

GOD SAVE THE KING.*

But it is oftentimes the intangible, rather than the tangible, that awakens and keeps awake interest; I cannot believe Washington's lively interest in the West can be explained wholly by the sordid argument that his heart was where his landed treasure was. This may have been true at first; it was probably true, now, as he retires, seemingly, from public view in 1759 to Mount Vernon and marries, that his inheritance in western bounty forest-land was the cord that bound him to the land where his boyhood battles had been fought. I am sure that it took something more than merely this claim to a few thousand vague acres of land to give the wide-awake man an enthusiastic desire to obtain a larger acreage, especially in a day when most people probably held those bounty claims to be of uncertain, if not trifling, value. It is easy to praise a Boone or Harrod for going romantically westward in those early days to enjoy the fruits of the eager chase and the glimpses of primeval forest, where courage and resourcefulness were needed; it was not quite so romantic to pay cash down for a royal governor's vague promise of a tract of bounty-land. Yet faith in the West, as shown by the purchases Washington soon began to make, was a faith unknown among the land hunters. This belief in the great future of the trans-Allegheny land, now showed itself, this early, in the heart of Washington, and it is vastly more interesting

*N. Y. Col. Mss. LXXVIII, 68.

than any record of his possessions; for in his case it was a marvelously precious inspiration that was contagious; it meant something to have a man of his standing desire to own land in that country of which Thomas Jefferson is said to have remarked that he knew little and cared less.

How rapidly Washington began to acquire land we cannot know with perfect accuracy; his attention must have been devoted very seriously to the western problem, however, throughout those first two or three years of married life, 1760-1761-1762, for, in 1763, we find him chief promotor of what he named the "Mississippi Land Company", which should secure a tract of land on the Ohio or Mississippi Rivers for speculative purposes

The Ohio Company to which Washington's brothers belonged, and which had been a factor in precipitating the French War, was leading a feeble existence; it had not complied with the stipulation of its charter, namely, to place one hundred families on its 200,000-acre grant between the Monongahela and Great Kanawha Rivers. At the close of the war in 1760 a reorganization of the company was unsuccessfully essayed — unsuccessful because of the conflicting claims of parties seeking western lands; the soldiers of the Virginia Regiment had bounty claims that conflicted with the Ohio Company grant; in 1763 a new company which later received what was called the "Walpole Grant" was being promoted; and in the face of all this story of conflicting claims and counter-claims, the British ministry proposed to keep settlers from crossing the mountains at all, a policy that culminated in the burlesque Proclamation of 1763.

It was just four months before this proclamation was promulgated that Washington's Mississippi Company was formed; the result must have been the work of some months, probably years, for it was too comprehensive in character to have been the outgrowth of any impromptu gathering. As the Articles of this Mississippi Company have never been published, and as the document throws an interesting light on Washington's speculations in land, they are here reproduced. Not the least interesting matter touched upon is that which limits the stockholders to residents of Virginia and Maryland, especially to one who recalls the bitter factional fight between Washington, on the one side, and

General Forbes, on the other, in 1758, which led the English general to say with some heat that Washington's behavior "was in no ways like a soldier."* In fact, I do not think it would be difficult to show that the Mississippi Company was the crystallization of the sentiment expressed on the part of Washington and his fellow-Virginians against the opening of that very Pennsylvania Road. "By a very unguarded letter of Col. Washington's that accidentally fell into my hands," wrote Forbes to Col. Bouquet, August 9, 1758, "I am now at the bottom of their scheme against this new road, a scheme that I think was a shame for any officer to be concerned in—but more of this at our meeting."† It is plain on the face of this manuscript that Pennsylvanians or others were to be debarred from controlling the Mississippi Company, which is as interesting, in its way, as the fact that, about a century later Pennsylvania forbade the Baltimore and Ohio Railway to enter the state.

The articles of the Mississippi Company read:

"We whose names are underwritten do agree to form a Body of Adventurers by the name of the Mississippi Company, with a view to explore and settle some Tracts of Land upon the Mississippi and its Waters; and the better to succeed in this design have determined on the following Rules and Regulations

First it is proposed that the Company shall consist of Fifty Members and no more, who are to contribute equally towards the expence of sending an Agent to England to obtain from the Crown a Grant of Lands on the Mississippi aforesaid and its Waters to the amount and upon the terms hereafter mentioned.

- 1st. Every single Adventurer to have 50,000 Acres of Land for a share.
- 2 The Land to lye on the Mississippi and its Waters.
- 3 The Settlement to be protected from the Insults of the Savages, by the assistance of His Majesty's Forces disposed of in such manner as the Ministry shall think proper.
- 4 The Lands to be obtained if possible clear of all Composition, Money, Expences and Quit Rents for the space of twelve Years or longer upon Condition that we settle the same in that time if not interrupted by the Savages.

That the Subscribers begin to solicit the Grant without further

*See the author's *Old Glade Road (Historic Highways, V)* 81-123

† *Id.* 135-6.

delay before the number to be admitted is made up; and the Adventurers who join to be liable for an equal share of all expences incurred.

That the Lands obtained by such Grant be now held in Jointenancy but that every adventurer hold his respective share to himself and his Heirs in Fee simple, any thing in the said Grant to the Contrary notwithstanding.

That a General Meeting of the Company be annually had on the _____ day of _____ at _____, and to consist of a Majority of the Members residing in Virginia and Maryland who shall have power and Authority to determine by a Majority of the Members so met all matters relative to the purposes for which the Company is instituted And to make such Rules and Regulations as they shall from time to time think expedient and for the Interest of the common cause Provided that if any Member of the Company residing in Great Britain or any other part of the World shall at any General Meeting of the Company happen to be present it shall be lawful for such Member to Vote at such Meeting

Whereas it will be highly necessary to preserve Order and Decency at the General Meetings of the said Company; It is agreed that the Majority of the Company shall choose a President who is to preside for that Meeting only and to have the casting Vote in case of a Division And the President so chosen shall collect the Votes of the Members present whose Orders and Resolutions shall be entered in a Book to be kept for that purpose, and shall be absolutely conclusive on the said Company.

That it shall be in the power of the said Company from time to time at a general Meeting as aforesaid to direct and appoint any Sum and Sums of money that they shall judge necessary for the purposes for which this Company is instituted to be paid into the hands of the Treasurer for the time being by every particular Member, which Sum and Sums of Money the Subscribers to bind themselves their Heirs, Executors and Administrators to pay into the hands of such Treasurer at the times to be appointed for the payment of the same Provided that if any Member or Members shall neglect or refuse to pay into the hands of the said Treasurer upon demand or shall fail to pay down to him at the next general Meeting of the Company the full sum with legal Interest thereon from the time of the demand so made the said delinquent shall forfeit all Right Title and Interest in the said Company and be no longer deemed a Member thereof.

The said Company at the first general meeting to be had shall appoint a Treasurer out of their Number who shall immediately on his appointment and before he is admitted to Act in that Office enter into Bond with two or More good and sufficient Securities to the said Company by the name of the Mississippi Company for the just and faithful performance of his Office of Treasurer and shall also make Oath that he will execute the same with justice and punctuality; which said Treasurer shall also Act to the said Company as Clerk or Secretary and shall act in the

Capacity of Clerk and Treasurer one Year and from thence to the next meeting of the Company and no longer And shall be allowed by the said Company for his Services five per Centum for all Moneys that shall pass through his hands.

A Committee of Ten Members to be chosen by the Company five of which shall be a sufficient number to do business who shall meet twice a year (to wit) on the——day of——and on the——day of—— or oftener as the exigencies of the Company shall require upon notice of such extraordinary meeting being published in the Virginia and Maryland Gazette by one or more of the Members of the Committee And it shall be lawful for any Member of the said Company that shall happen to be present at such Committees tho' not nominated as one of the Committee to vote at such Meeting Provided nevertheless that the Treasurer for the time being shall have no Right to vote at ye meeting of such Committees.

Such Committee shall have power to put in Execution such Plans as shall be laid down by a General meeting of the Company and apply the moneys raised by the said Company for the effecting such Plans.

The Treasurer and Secretary of the Company afores^d shall act as Clerk or Secretary to the Committee and shall enter all the Orders of the said Committee in a Book to be kept for that purpose

That no Member shall have a Right to dispose of his share without first acquainting the Company at a General meeting and giving the Company the preference of purchasing

If any of the Members of the said Company shall hereafter sell and dispose of his whole share to divers Persons he shall lose his Right of voting in the said Company and it shall be in the power of the said Company to choose which of the said Purchasers they shall most approve to be a member of the said Company, no more than one Vote being to be allowed for one share But if any member shall dispose of only part of his share he shall not lose his Right of Voting at any meeting of the said Company, any thing to the contrary of this and the foregoing cause seeming to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

It shall not be lawful for any Member of the said Company purchasing the share or shares of any other Member or Member's thereof to have more than one Vote.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands this 3d day of June 1763.

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
J^NO AUG^E WASHINGTON,
ANTHONY STEWART,
RICH^D PARKER,
ROBERT WODDROP,
W^M FLOOD,

ROBERT BRENT,
WILLIAM BEALE JUN^R,
HENRY FITZHUGH,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THO^S LUD: LEE,
ADAM STEPHEN,

WILLIAM LEE,
PRESLEY THORNTON,
WILLIAM BOOTH,
THOS BULLITT,

WILLIAM BROCKENBROUGH,
WILLIAM FITZHUGH,
G^D WASHINGTON.

Four months later the Proclamation of 1763 was issued (October) and seems to have quieted temporarily everything of an organized nature so far as western land speculation was concerned; it could not, however, stop the rush of pioneers across the mountains, nor the activities of favorites who were in a position to speculate, like George Croghan; nor could it abrogate in any way the bounty-land claims held by Washington and his officers and men of the Virginia Regiment. Nor could it stop the explorations of speculators' agents — and it was to one of these enterprising pioneers, who was already located in the West, a comrade of the late war, Captain William Crawford, settled at what is now New Haven, Pa., that Washington now turned to carry out his plan of securing more western land. Washington's original letter to Crawford is dated at Mount Vernon, September 21, 1767. It runs:

"From a sudden hint of your brother's [Valentine Crawford] I wrote you a few days ago in a hurry. Having since had more time for reflection, I write now deliberately, and with greater precision, on the subject of my last letter. I then desired the favor of you (as I understood rights might now be had for the lands which have fallen within the Pennsylvania line) to look me out a tract of about fifteen hundred, two thousand or more acres somewhere in your neighborhood, meaning only by this, that it may be as contiguous to your own settlement as such a body of good land can be found. It will be easy for you to conceive that ordinary or even middling lands would never answer my purpose or expectation, so far from navigation and under such a load of expenses as these lands are incumbered with. No; a tract to please me must be rich (of which no person can be a better judge than yourself), and, if possible, level. Could such a piece of land be found, you would do me a singular favor in falling upon some method of securing it immediately from the attempts of others, as nothing is more certain than that the lands can not remain long ungranted, when once it is known that rights are to be had. The mode of proceeding I am at a loss to point out to you; but, as your own lands are under the same circumstances, self-interest will naturally lead you to an inquiry. I am told that the land or surveyor's office is kept at Carlisle [Pa.]. If so, I am of opinion that Colonel

[John] Armstrong, an acquaintance of mine*, has something to do in the direction of it, and I am persuaded he would readily serve me. I will write to him by the first opportunity on that subject, that the way may be prepared for your application to him, if you find it necessary. For your trouble and expense you may depend on being repaid. It is possible, but I do not know that it really is the case, that the custom in Pennsylvania will not admit so large a quantity of land as I require to be entered together; if so, this may perhaps be arranged by making several entries to the same amount, if the expense of doing it is not too heavy. This I only drop as a hint, leaving the whole to your discretion and good management. If the land can only be secured from others, it is all I want at present. The surveying I would choose to postpone, at least till the spring, when, if you can give me any satisfactory account of this matter, and of what I am next going to propose, I expect to pay you a visit† about the last of April. I offered in my last to join you in attempting to secure some of the most valuable lands in the King's part,‡ which I think may be accomplished after awhile, notwithstanding the proclamation that restrains it at present, and prohibits the settling of them at all; for I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) that as a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands. Any person, therefore, who neglects the present opportunity of hunting out good lands, and in some measure marking and distinguishing them for his own, in order to keep others from settling them, will never regain it. If you will be at the trouble of seeking out the lands, I will take upon me the part of securing them, as soon as there is a possibility of doing it, and will, moreover, be at all the cost and charges of surveying and patenting the same. You shall then have such a reasonable proportion of the whole as we may fix upon at our first meeting; as I shall find it necessary, for the better furthering of the design, to let some of my friends be concerned in the scheme, who must also partake of the advantages. By this time it may be easy for you to discover that my plan is to secure a good deal of land. You will consequently come in for a very handsome quantity; and as you will obtain it without any costs or expenses, I hope you will be encouraged to begin the search in time. I would choose, if it were practicable, to get large tracts together; and it might be desirable to have them as near your settlement or Fort Pitt as they can be obtained of good quality, but not to neglect others at a greater distance, if fine bodies of it lie in one place. It may be worthy of your inquiry to find out how the Maryland back line will run,* and what is said about laying off

*Fellow-officer in the campaign of 1758.

† Postponed, we shall see, until 1770.

‡ Land lying outside of the limits of the colonies.

* Western boundary.

Neale's grant. I will inquire particularly concerning the Ohio Company, that we may know what to apprehend from them. For my own part, I should have no objection to a grant of land upon the Ohio, a good way below Pittsburgh, but would first willingly secure some valuable tracts nearer at hand. I recommend, that you keep this whole matter a secret, or trust it only to those in whom you can confide, and who can assist you in bringing it to bear by their discoveries of land. This advice proceeds from several very good reasons, and, in the first place, because I might be censured for the opinion I have given in respect to the King's proclamation, and then, if the scheme I am now proposing to you were known, it might give the alarm to others, and, by putting them upon a plan of the same nature, before we could lay a proper foundation for success ourselves, set the different interests clashing, and, probably, in the end, overturn the whole. All this may be avoided by a silent management, and the operation carried on by you under the guise of hunting game, which you may, I presume, effectually do, at the same time you are in pursuit of land. When this is fully discovered, advise me of it, and if there appears but a possibility of succeeding at any time hence, I will have the lands immediately surveyed, to keep others off, and leave the rest to time and my own assiduity. If this letter should reach your hands before you set out, I should be glad to have your thoughts fully expressed on the plan here proposed, or as soon afterwards as convenient; for I am desirous of knowing in due time how you approve of the scheme."*

Many questions of interest arise in reading this characteristic letter. The one perhaps of primary importance is, was the writer thinking of private investment when he proposed this "scheme" to Crawford or was he keeping in mind the Mississippi Company when he refers to allowing some of his "friends be concerned in the scheme"; or did he have in mind securing this land for the soldiers who held bounty land claims? Although four years had elapsed since the issuing of the Proclamation of 1763 (which reconfirmed, it must be remembered, the bounty-lands to the heroes of the Virginia Regiment) it is not at all certain that Washington did not still hope to organize a company; at least I know of no other body of men with whom Washington suggested uniting in land speculation save those associated with him in the Mississippi Company. And if he did not have in mind the large acreage called for per stockholder in the articles of that Company, for whom was he planning to acquire the evident immense tract that he was desiring Crawford to locate?

*C. W. Butterworth, *Washington-Crawford Letters*, 1-5.

It seems evident, to a degree at least, that now, in 1767, Washington was still working along the lines laid down in the articles of his Company. While the West was securely under the rule of the Crown—was still unquestionably the “King’s part”—he could hope for such a grant as the Mississippi Company had prayed for; but the moment the region south of Pennsylvania and west of Virginia and Maryland in any wise passed out of the Crown’s hands, the Mississippi Company could have no hope of a grant.

And this is exactly what happened. In the very next year, 1768, occurred the memorable Treaty of Fort Stanwix at Rome, N. Y. By a shrewd piece of diplomacy Dr. Walker of Virginia defeated the plan of Lord Hillsborough, who was intent on fixing a hard-and-fast western boundary line for the colonies by extending the western line of Georgia straight northward, and “purchased” of the Six Nations—for Virginia—all that territory now occupied by Kentucky and West Virginia.* This treaty quite sounded the death knell of the companies then lobbying at London for grants of land by the Crown. And, in proof, we find that almost immediately Washington is taking up the matter of the bounty claims with Governors Botetourt and Dunmore of Virginia, instead of sending agents to London. True, this does not explain the strength of the Walpole grant, for, as late as 1773, we find Washington preparing to send Crawford “below the Scioto” to survey the bounty lands. The Revolution put a final end to all these companies, the soldiers having bounty claims, only, realizing anything from all these years of planning and intriguing.

Washington did not visit Crawford in 1767 as he proposed. That the visit was delayed until 1770 probably may be taken as additional proof of the change in his plans occasioned by the collapse of his Mississippi bubble. But all this did not mitigate against Washington, who personally profited by Crawford’s activity, as he seems to have been ready to take over all the land for himself that Crawford had secured for Washington and “his friends”. This was not an excessive amount, and Crawford soon

*See the author’s *Boone’s Wilderness Road (Historic Highways VI)* 20-23.

found it was more difficult to keep interlopers off the land than to locate and "acquire" possession of it.*

At last, in the fall of 1770, Washington was ready to make the long-postponed western tour. From what has gone before, we can believe that his Mississippi Company had been forgotten; that his specific interests now were (a) to see the tracts of land Crawford had secured for him at Great Meadows, near Stewart's Crossing (New Haven, Pa.), and on Chartier's Creek; (b) to look over the best unoccupied tracts along the Ohio for personal purchase; and (c) "make a beginning" in actually securing the bounty lands for the soldiers of his Virginia Regiment. The most light to be had on the situation at the time of his departure is probably to be gained from his letter of April 15th to Governor Botetourt which reads:

"Being fully persuaded of your Excellency's inclination to render every just and reasonable service to the people you govern—and being encouraged—to believe that your Lordship is desirous of being fully informed how far the grant of land solicited by Mr. Walpole and others will affect the interest of this country in general, or individuals in particular, I shall take the liberty (as I am pretty intimately acquainted with the situation of the frontier of this dominion) to inform your Lordship, that the bounds of that grant, if obtained upon the extensive plan proposed, will comprehend at least four-fifths of the land, for the purchase and survey of which this government has lately voted two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. It must, therefore, destroy the well grounded hopes of those, (if no reservation is made in their favor,) who have had the strongest assurances, that the government could give, of enjoying a certain portion of the lands, which have cost this country so much blood and treasure to secure. By the extracts, which your Excellency did me the honor to enclose, I perceive, that the petitioners propose to begin opposite to the mouth of the Scioto River, which is at least seventy or seventy-five miles below the Great Kanawha, and more than three hundred from Pittsburg, and to extend from thence in a southwardly direction through the pass of the Ouasioto [Cumberland] Mountain, which, by Evans's map, and the best accounts I have been able to get from persons who have explored that country, will bring them near the latitude of North Carolina. Thence they proceed northeastwardly to the Kanawha, at the junction of New River and Green Briar, upon both of which waters we have many settlers upon lands actually patented. From that point they

*For the interesting story of Washington's lands on Miller's Run, and his quarrel and suit-at-law with his Scotch-Irish squatters see the author's *Washington and the West*, 144-159.

go up the Green Briar to the head of its northeasterly branch, thence easterly to the Alleghany Mountains, thence along these mountains to the line of Lord Fairfax, and thence with his line, and the lines of Maryland and Pennsylvania, till the west boundary of the latter intersects the Ohio, and finally down that river to the place of beginning. These, my Lord, are the bounds of a grant prayed for, and which, if obtained, will give a fatal blow, in my humble opinion, to the interests of this country. But these are my sentiments as a member of the community at large. I now beg leave to offer myself to your Excellency's notice, in a more interested point of view, as an individual, and as a person, who considers himself in some degree the representative of the officers and soldiers, who claim a right to two hundred thousand acres of this very land, under a solemn act of government, adopted at a period very important and critical to his Majesty's affairs in this part of the world. I shall, therefore, rely on your Lordship's accustomed goodness and candor, whilst I add a few words in support of the equity of our pretensions, although, in truth, I have very little to say on this subject now, which I have not heretofore taken the liberty of observing to your Excellency. The first letter I ever did myself the honor of writing to you, on the subject of this land, and to which I beg leave to refer, contained a kind of historical account of our claim; but as there requires nothing more to elucidate a right, than to offer a candid exhibition of the case, supported by facts, I shall beg leave to refer your Lordship to an order of Council, of the 18th of February, 1754, and to Governor Dinwiddie's proclamation, which issued in consequence of that order, both of which are enclosed. I will next add, that these troops not only enlisted agreeably to the proclamation, but behaved so much to the satisfaction of the country, as to be honored with the most public acknowledgments of it by the Assembly. Would it not be hard, then, my Lord, to deprive men under these circumstances, or their representatives, of the just reward of their toils? Was not this act of the Governor and Council offered to the soldiers, and accepted by them, as an absolute compact? And though the exigency of affairs, or the policy of government, made it necessary to continue these lands in a dormant state for some time, ought not their claim to be considered, in preference to all others? When the causes cease, we fain would hope so. We flatter ourselves, that it will also appear to your Lordship in this point of view, and that, by your kind interposition, and favorable representation of the case, his Majesty will be graciously pleased to confirm this land to us, agreeably to a petition presented to your Excellency in Council on the 15th of last December; with this difference only, that, instead of Sandy Creek (one of the place allotted for the location of our grant, and which we now certainly know will not be comprehended within the ministerial line, as it is called). We may be allowed to lay a part of our grant between the west boundary of Pennsylvania and the river Ohio, which will be expressly agreeable to the words of Governor Dinwiddie's

proclamation, inasmuch as it is contiguous to the Fork of the Monongahela."

An interesting query arises spontaneously in reading this letter, taken in connection with certain others written about this time, especially that to George Mason, April 5, 1769, as to whether the long delay on the part of the British ministry to requite the just claims of the officers and soldiers of the Virginia Regiment did not exert a powerful influence on the heart of this keen-eyed, just man in favor of the need of emancipation of the Colonies from the mother-country. Is there not a double meaning to his words (if one has in mind Washington's endless succession of appeals for justice in this cause), when he writes: "At a time, when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty, which we have derived from our ancestors. . . . We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried. . . . The more I consider a scheme of this sort, the more ardently I wish success to it." In his own peculiar way this man, who was to lead the Colonies in their great conflict, was now coming face to face with the spirit of those "lordly masters in Great Britain" — to a degree that was true of few other Americans. Never had men a fairer, clearer title to ministerial consideration than these Virginia bounty-land claimants, and for almost ten years now, even with the commander of Fort Necessity and heroic aide to Braddock as their patient, diplomatic spokesman, they had not been able to get satisfaction — while prime favorites and satellites close to the King's ear were able, seemingly, to secure vast tracts of land. However the outcome, is it possible that this vexatious experience of the unwillingness of the ministry to keep a notoriously worthy promise of a colonial governor made no firm impression on Washington's mind?

Such was the situation, then, in the summer of 1770. The

veterans of the Virginia Regiment were fully organized in the attempt to secure their rights. On the 15th of December, 1769, the petition, mentioned above, was presented to Governor Botetourt, praying for definite action. What satisfaction, if any, Washington had been able to secure before leaving Mount Vernon for the West, October 5th, we do not know. He probably had no new assurance, either from London or Winchester.

In view of the fact, noted before, that the more formal *Journal* of this tour was mutilated and is partly illegible, the other briefer record has an added importance. It has not been published heretofore and is accordingly included here. Points mentioned in the Ohio Valley can be identified by the foot-notes in the formal *Journal*:

Oct. 1. Rid to my Mill and the Ditchers with Mr Warn Washington.—Col^o Fairfax dined here—the Doctr (Rumney still here)—Mr Carr came in ye Even^g—

2. At home all day—John Savage formerly a Lieut.^t in the Virga Service & one W^m Carnes came here to enter their claim to a share in ye 200,000 Acres of Land Mr Washington & Doctr Rumney here—

3. At home all day—Mr Washington—Mr Carr—Savage & Carnes went away after Breakfast—the Doctr still here

4. In the Afternoon Doctr Rumney went away & Doctr Craik came.—

5. Set out in Company with Doctr Craik for the Settlement on Redstone &c.^a dind at Mr Bryan Fairfax's & lodged at Leesburg ———

6. Bated at old Codeys—Dind and lodgd at my Brother Sam's—

7. Dind at Rinkers and lodged at Sam^l Pritchards.—

8. Vale Crawford joined us, & he and I went to Col^o Cresaps leaving the Doctr at Pritchards with my boy Billy who was taken sick

9. Went from Col^o Cresaps to Rumney where in the Afternoon the Doctr my Servant & Baggage arrivd

10. Bought two Horses & sent one of my Servants (Giles) home with those I rid up—proceeded on our journey and lodged at one Wise (now Turners) Mill—

11. Set out about 11 Oclock and arrived at one Gillams on George Creek 10½ Miles d from the North Branch & same dist^e from F C

12. Oct. — Started from Gillams between Sun rising & Day Break and arrivd at the Great crossing of Yaugh.^a about Sun set or before—

13. left this place early in the Morning and arrivd at Captⁿ Crawfords (known by the name of Stewarts crossing) abt ½ after four Oclock.—

14. at Captⁿ Crawfords all day
 15. Rid to see the Land he got for me & my Brother's ——
 16. At Captⁿ Crawfords till the Evening — then went to Mr John Stephenson's
 17. Arrivd at Fort — dining at one Widow Miers at Turtle Creek
 18. Dined in the Fort at the Officers Club.
 19. Dined at Colo Croghans abt 4 Miles from Pittsburg & Returnd
 20. Set out for the Big Kanhawa with Dr Craik Captⁿ Crawford & others — Incampd abt 14 Miles off
 21. Got abt 32 Miles further and Incampd abt 3 Miles below Little Bever Ck
 22. Reachd the Mingo Town abt 29 Miles by my Computation
 23. Stayd at this place till one Clock in the Afternoon & padled abt 12 Miles down the River & Incampd
 24. We reachd the Mouth of a Creek calld Fox Grape vine Creek (10 Miles up which is a Town of Delawares calld Franks Town) abt 3 Oclock in the Afternoon — distant from our last Camp abt 26 Miles
 25. Incampd in the long reach abt 30 Miles from our last lodge according to my Computation
 26. Incampd at the Mouth of a Creek about 4 Miles above the Mouth of Muskingum distant abt 32 Miles
 27. Incampd at the Mouth of great Hockhocking distant from our last Incampment abt 32 Miles
 28. Meeting with Kiashuta & other Indian Hunters we proceeded only 10 Miles to day, & Incampd below the Mouth of a Ck on the West the name of wch I know not
 29. Went round what is calld the Great Bent & Campd two Miles below it distant from our last Incampment abt 29 Miles
 30. Incampd Early Just by the old Shawnee Town distant from our last no more than 15 Miles
 31. Went out a Hunting & met the Canoe at the Mouth of the big Kanhawa distant only 5 Miles mak's ye whole distance from Fort Pitt accordg to my Acct 266 Miles
- [Nov.r] 1. Went up the Great Kanhawa abt 10 Miles with the People that were with me ——
2. Hunting the most part of the day the Canoe went up abt 5 Miles further
 3. Returned down the River again and Incampd at the Mouth ——
 4. Proceeded up the Ohio on our return to Fort Pitt Incampd abt 9 Miles below the rapid at the Grt Bent
 5. Walk'd across a Neck of Land to the Rapid and Incampd about Miles above it
 6. In about 5 Miles we came to Kiashutas Camp & there Halted
 7. Reached the Mouth of Hockhocking — distant abt 20 Miles
 8. Came within a Mile of the Mouth of Muskingum 27 Miles

9. Got to the 3 Islands in the 2^d long reach about 17 Miles
- 10 Arrivd at the lower end of the long reach abt 12 Miles — not setting of till 12 Oclock
11. Came about 18 Miles after hard working the greatest part of the day
12. Only got about 5 Miles the Curr^t being very strong against us
- Nov^r 13th Reachd the uppermost broken Timber Creek distant about 7 Miles — contending with a violent Curr^t the whole day —
- 14 Came to the Captening of Fox Grape Vine Creek distant about 10 Miles
- 15 Reachd Wheeling (on the West) where there had been an Indian Town & where some of the Shawnes are going to settle in the Spring distant from our last Incampment 12 Miles —
- 16 Got within 13 Miles of the lower cross Creeks — 13 Miles
- 17 Reached the Mingo Town about 13 Miles more —
- 18 At this place all day waiting for Horses which did not arrive
- 19 At the same place, & in the same Situation as yesterday —
- 20 Our Horses arriving about One Oclock at 2 we set out for Fort Pitt and got about 10 Miles
- 21 Reachd Fort Pitt in the Afternoon & lodgd at Samples
- 22 Invited the Officers of the Fort and other Gentlemen to dine with me at Samples
- 23 Left Fort Pitt and reachd Mr John Stephensons
- 24 Got to Captⁿ Crawfords — the Riv^r Yaughyaughgane being very high.
- 25 Reachd Hoglands at the great crossing
- Nov^r 26 Came to Killams on Georges Creek —
- 27 Got to the Old Town — to Col^o Cresaps distant from Killams about 25 Miles
- 28 Reached Jasper Rinkers about 38¹/₂ Miles from Cresaps & 30 from Cox's — not long ones —
- 29 Came to my Brothers (distant about 25 Miles) to Dinner —
- 30 Reachd Charles Wests 35 Miles from my Brother's

Reaching home at the close of November,* it is probable that the patient man went at once to work circulating the infor-

*As a specimen of Washington's tireless attention to details note his further record, made on this western trip, of the weather. It is entitled "Acct of the Weather — in October":

- "Octr 1st Wind Southwardly and Warm with flying Clouds. —
2. Raining, Hailing, or Snowing the whole day — with the Wind Northerly Cold & exceeding disagreeable —
3. Clear but cold — Wind being very high from the Northwest —
4. Clear and pleasant — Wind being fresh. — and very fresh. —

mation he had secured first-hand from the land in question. But it is clear that there was no measurable progress, and in June of the next year we find the Governor of Virginia proposing to

5. Clear, Warm, & remarkably pleasant with very little or no Wind
- 6 Again clear pleasant and still
- 7 As pleasant as the two preceding days
- 8 Pleasant forenoon—but the Wind Rising about Noon it clouded & threatned hard for Rain—towards Night it rained a little & ceased but cont^d Cloudy
9. Exceeding Cloudy & heavy in the forenoon & constant Rain in the Afternoon
- 10 Cloudy with Rain & sunshine alternately
- 11 Wet Morning with flying Cloud afterwards—towards the Evening the Wind sprung out at N^o West—
12. Rain in the Night with flying Cloud accompanied with a little Rain nw and then all day—cold & Raw—
- 13 Clear and pleasant Wind tolerably fresh from the Westward all day
- 14 Very pleasant but Wind fresh in the Afternoon.
- 15 Exceeding Cloudy & sometimes droppg. Rain but afterw^{ds} clear
- 16 Frosty Morning—but clear and pleasant afterwards
- 17 Exceeding warm & very pleasant till the Evening then lowering
18. Misty & Cloudy in the Evening the Forepart of the day being very warm
- 19 Misty & cloudy all day
- 20 Misty—but the Evening clear tho somewhat Cool—
21. Cloudy & very raw & cold in the forenoon—about Mid-night it began to Snow & cont^d to do so—more or less all the remaing part of the Night & next day
- 22 Very raw & cold—Cloudy & sometimes Snowing. & sometimes Raining
23. Exceeding Cloudy & like for Snow—& sometimes really doing so—
- 24 Clear & pleasant Morning but Cloudy & Cold afterwards
25. Rain in the Night but clear & warm till abt Noon—then Windy & Cloudy
26. Clear and pleasant all day
27. A little Gloomy in the Morning but clear, still, & pleast afterwards
28. Much such a day as the preceding one
- 29th Pleasant forenoon & clear but Cloudy and Wet afternoon.—
30. Raining in the Night—Raw cold & cloudy forenoon but clear & pleasant afternoon—
- 31 Remarkably clear & pleasant with but little wind——"

postpone the matter further.* By the fall of 1771 appreciable progress had been made, for Washington was able to write George Mercer on November 7th, that while affairs were not in "that forwardness, which I could wish, owing, I believe I may say, to other causes as well as to a lukewarmness in those from whom we seek redress", yet "the claims are now all given in, and the

*Washington's reply, dated 15 June 1771 reads: "The very obliging offer your Lordship was pleased to make, the day I left Williamsburg, in behalf of the officers and soldiers, who, under the faith of government, lay claim to two hundred thousand acres of land, on the waters of the Ohio, promised them by proclamation in 1754, I did not embrace, because it is evident to me, who am in some degree acquainted with the situation of that country, and the rapid progress now making in the settlement of it, that delay at this time would amount to the loss of the land, inasmuch as emigrants are daily and hourly settling on the choice spots, and waiting a favorable opportunity to solicit legal titles, on the ground of pre-occupancy, when the [land] office shall be opened. I therefore hoped, and the officers and soldiers, who have suffered in the cause of their country, still hope, that, although your Lordship was of opinion you could not at that time vest them with an absolute and *bona fide* grant of the land, yet that you will permit them to take such steps, at their own expense and risk, as others do, to secure their lands agreeably to proclamation, especially as their claim is prior to any other, and better founded, they having a solemn act of government and the general voice of the country in their favor. This is the light, my Lord, in which the matter appeared to me, and in this light it is also considered by the officers with whom I have lately had a meeting. The report gains ground, that a large tract of country on the Ohio, including every foot of land to the westward of the Alleghany Mountains is granted to a company of gentlemen in England, to be formed into a separate government. If this report is really well founded, there can be no doubt of your Lordship's having the earliest and most authentic accounts of it, since it so essentially interferes with the interests and expectations of this country. To request the favor of your Lordship to inform me whether this report be true, and, if true, whether any attention has been or probably will be paid to the order of Council and proclamation of 1754, may be presumptuous; but, as the officers and soldiers confide in me to transact this business for me, and as it would be a real advantage to them to know the truth of this report, and how largely it is likely to affect them, there needs no other apology for my taking the liberty of addressing you this request, in the hope that your Lordship will condescend to do me the honor of writing a line on the subject by the next post to Alexandria, which will be acknowledged as a peculiar obligation conferred on, my Lord, by your Lordship's most obedient servant."

Governor and Council have determined, that each officer shall share according to the rank in which he entered the service, and that the land shall be distributed in the following manner, namely, to each field-officer fifteen thousand acres, to each captain nine thousand, to each subaltern six thousand, to the cadets two thousand five hundred each, six hundred to a sergeant, five hundred to a corporal, and four hundred to each private soldier." The basis of Washington's expectation is undoubtedly explained in the letter of December 6th to William Crawford, in which he says: "I believe, from what I have lately heard, that there is no doubt now of the charter [Virginia] government taking place on the Ohio; but upon what terms, or how the lands will be granted to the people, I have not been able to learn."

The Revolution temporarily put an end to all land speculation in western lands. Washington was able to secure in all about thirty thousand acres, which proved, according to his own melancholy words, more a source of anxiety than profit.

THE JOURNAL OF 1770.

Oct^r 5th. Began a journey to the Ohio in Company with Doct^r Craik his Servant & two of mine with a lead Horse with Baggage — Dind at Towlston and lodgd at Leesburg distant from Mount Vernon ab^t 45 Miles — here my Portmanteau horse faild in his Stomach —

6. Fed our Horses on the Top of the Ridge at one Codleys & arrivd at my Brother Sam^{ls} on Worthingtons Marsh a little after they had dind, the distance being about 30 Miles — from hence I dispatchd a Messenger to Col^o Stephen apprising him of my arrival and Intended journey —

7. My Portmanteau Horse being unable to proceed, I left him at my Brothers, & got one of his & proceed^d by Jolliffs & Jasper Rinkers to Sam^l Pritchards on Cacapehon; distant according to Acc^t 39 Miles; but by my Computation 42 thus reckond 15 to Jolliffs, 14 to Rinkers; & 13 to Pritchards — At Rinkers which appears to be a cleanly House my boy was taken Sick but continued on to Pritchards — Pritchards is also a pretty good House, their being fine Pasturage, good fences, & Beds tolerably clean —

8. My Servant being unable to Travel, I left him at Pritchards with Doct^r Craik & proceed^d my self with Val^e Crawford to Col^o Cresaps in ord^r to learn from him (being just arrivd from England) the particulars of the Grant said to be lately sold to Walpole & others, for a certain Tract of Country on the Ohio— The distance from Pritchards to Cresaps according to Computation is 26 Miles, thus reckond; to the Fort at Henry Enoch's 8 Miles (road exceed^{er} bad) 12 to Cox's at the Mouth of little Cacapehon— and 6 afterwards

9. Went up to Rumney in order to buy Work Horses, & meet Doct^r Craik and my Baggage— arrivd there ab^t 12 distance 16 Miles.— in the Afternoon Doct^r Craik and my Serv^t (much amended) and the Baggage, arrivd from Pritchards; said to be 28 Miles

10. Having purchased two Horses, and recoverd another which had been gone from me near 3 Years, I dispatched my boy Giles with my two Riding Horses home & proceeded on my journey; arriving at one Wises (now Turners) Mill about 22 Miles it being Reckond Seven to the place where Cox's Fort formerly stood; 10 to one Parkers; & five Afterwards——the Road from the South Branch to Pattersons C^k is Hilly— down the C^k on which is good Land, sloppy to Parkers— & from Parkers to Turners Hilly again

11. The Morning being wet & heavy we did not set of till 11 O'clock & arrivd that Night at one Killams on a branch of George Ck, distant 10 1/2 Measured Miles from the North Branch of Potomack where we cross^d at the lower end of my Dec^d Brother Aug^s Bottom, known by the name of Pendergrasses— this Crossing is two Miles from the aforesaid Mill & the Road bad as it likewise is to Killams, the Country being very Hilly & Stony.—

From Killams to Fort Cumberland is the same distance that it is to the Crossing above mentioned & the Road from thence to Jolliffs by the old Town much better.

12. We left Killams early in the Morning— breakfasted at the little Meadows 10 Miles of, and lodgd at the great Crossings 20 Miles further, which we found a tolerable good days work.—

The Country we travelld over to day was very Mountainous & Stony, with but very little good Land, & that lying in Spots—

13. Set out about Sunrise, breakfasted at the Great Meadows 13 Miles of, & reachd Captⁿ Crawfords about 5 O'clock—

The Lands we travelld over to day till we had crossd the Laurel Hill (except in small spots) was very Mountainous & indifferent—but when we came down the Hill to the Plantation of M^r Tho^s Gist the L^d appeared charming; that which lay level being as rich & black as any thing coud 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 grow thereon—the white Oak in gener^l indicates poor Land, yet this does not appear to be of that cold kind—The Land from Gists to Crawfords is very broken tho not Mountainous—in Spots exceeding Rich, & in general free from Stone—Crawfords is very fine Land, lying on Yaughyaughgane at a place commonly calld Stewarts Crossing—

Sunday 14th. At Captⁿ Crawfords 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 & abundance of it—

Monday 15th. Went to view some Land which Captⁿ Crawford had taken up for me near the Yaughyaughgane 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 leveler than the Country about it—this Tract is well Water^d, and has a valuable Mill Seat (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 Acc^t of the Fall, & other conveniences, no place can exceed it)—

—In going to this Land I passed through two other Tracts which Captⁿ Crawford had taken up for my Brothers Saml. and John—that belonging to the former was not so rich as some I had seen; but very valuable on Acc^t of its levelness and little Stone, the Soil & Timber being good—that of the latter, had some Bottom Land up on sm^l 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 procured for Lund Washington 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 Col^o Stephen

The Lands which I passd over to day were generally Hilly, and the growth chiefly White Oak, but very good notwithstanding; & what is extraordinary, & 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 a Coal, & the Growth Walnut, Cherry, Spice Bushes &c^a the flats are not so rich; & a good deal more mixd with Stone

Tuesday 16. At Captⁿ Crawfords till the Evening, when I went to M^r. John Stephenson (on my way to Pittsburg) & lodgd—this day was visited by one M^r. Ennis who had traveld 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 cov^d with Beach—at the Mouth the Lands are good, & continue so up the River; & about Weeling & Fishing C^k, is according to his Acc^t. a body of fine Land—I also saw a Son of Captⁿ John Hardens who said he had been from the Mouth of little Kanhawa to the big, but his description of the Lands seemed 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 ab^t 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, & that the Falls of the Kanhawa are not above 10 Miles up it—

Wednesday 17. Doct^r Craik & myself with Captⁿ Crawford and others arrivd at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing 43½ Meas'urd Miles—In Riding this distance we pass^d over a great deal of exceeding fine Land (chiefly White Oak) especially from Sweigley Creek to Turtle Creek but the whole broken; resembling (as I think as all the Lands in the Country does) the Loudoun Lands for Hills.

We lodgd in what is calld the Town—distant ab^t 300 yards from the Fort at one M^r. Semples who keeps a very good House of Publick Entertainment—these Houses which are built of Logs. & rangd into Streets are on the Mononahela, & I suppose may be ab^t 20 in Number—and inhabited by Indian Traders &c^a.

The Fort is built in the point between the Rivers Alligany & Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood—it is 5 Sided & Regular, two of which (next the Land) are of Brick; the others Stockade—a Mote incompasses it. The Garrison consists of two Companies of Royal Irish Comanded by one Captⁿ Edmonson.

Thursday 18th Dind in the Fort with Col^o Croghan & the Officers of the Garrison—Supped there also, meeting with great Civility from the Gentlemen, & engaged to dine with Col^o Croghan the next day at his Seat ab^t 4 Miles up the Alligany.

Friday 19th Rec^d a Message from Col^o Croghan, that the White Mingo & other Chiefs of the 6 Nations had something to say to me, & desiring that I woud be at his House ab^t 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 desir that the People of Virginia would consider them as friends & Brothers linked together in one chain—that I w^d inform the Governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harm^y with the white People & that tho their had been some unhappy differences between them and the People upon our Frontiers, it was all made up, and they hopd 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 affraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an Eye as they coud wish

To this I answerd (after thanking them for their friendly welcome) that all the Injuries & Affronts that had passed on either side was now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wisd and desird by the People of Virginia than to liv in the strictest friendship with them—that the Virginians were a People not so much engagd in Trade as the Pennsylvanians, &c^a; w^{ch} was the Reason of their not being so fre-

quently 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 Gov^r with their desires.

After dining at Col^o Croghans we returnd to Pittsburg— Col^o Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the River, having engagd an Indian calld the Pheasant & one Joseph Nicholson an Interpreter to attend us the whole Voyage.—also a young Indⁿ Warrior

Saturday 20th. We Imbarkd in a large Canoe with sufficient store of Provision & Necessaries, & the following Persons (besides Doct^r Craik & myself) to wit—Captⁿ Crawford Jos^h Nicholson Rob^t Bell—William Harrison—Ch^s Morgan & Dan^l Reardon a boy of Captⁿ Crawfords, & the Indians who were in a Canoe by themselves.

From Fort Pitt we sent our Horses & boys back to Captⁿ Crawfords w' orders to meet us there again the 14th day of November——

Col^o Croghan, Lieut^t Hamilton and one M^r Magee set out with us — at two we dind at M^r Magees¹, & Incampd 10 Miles below, & 4 above the Logs Town² — we passd several large Islands³ which appeared 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 ab^t 3 and 4 hundred yards wide, & so vice versa

Sunday 21. Left our Incampment ab^t 6 O'clock & breakfasted at the Logs Town,⁴ where we parted with Col^o Croghan & C^a ab^t 9 O'clock — at 11 we came to the Mouth of Big Bever Creek,⁵ opposite to which is a good Situation for a House & 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 Ck⁶ At the Mouth of which, & up it, appears to be a body of good Land also — All the Land be-

¹ McKees?

² Near Dead Man's Island.

³ Irvin's, Hog etc.

⁴ Economy, Pa.

⁵ Beaver River.

⁶ Same.

tween this Creek & the Monongahela & for 15 Miles back, is claimed by Col^o Croghan under a purchase from the Indians (and which Sale he says, is confirmed by his Majesty)⁷—— On this Creek where the Branches thereof interlock with the Waters of Shirtees Creek there is, according to Col^o Croghans Acc^t a body of fine Rich level Land—— this Tract he wants to sell, & offers it at £5 Ster^g p^r hund^d with an exemption of Quit rents for 20 years; after which, to be subject to the payment of 4/2 Ster^g p^r Hund^d, 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 appears to me to be little short of 10 Miles,⁸ & about 3 Miles below this we Incampd; after hiding a Barrel of Bisquet in an Island⁹ (in Sight) to lighten our Canoe——

Monday 22^d—— As it began to Snow about Midnight, & continued pretty steadily at it, it was about 1/2 after Seven before we left our Incampment—— at the distance of about 8 Miles we came to the Mouth of Yellow Creek¹⁰ (to the West) opposite to, or rather below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good Land, and the Assent to the Hills 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, & just above what is calld the long Island¹¹ (which tho so distinguished is not very remarkable for length breadth or goodness) comes in on the East side the River, a small Creek or Run¹² the name of which I could not learn; and a Mile or two below the Island, on the West Side, comes in big Stony Creek¹³ (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 Mentioned Creek, 28 from our last Incampment, and about 75 from

⁷ See A. B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West*, 146-7.

⁸ 14 miles.

⁹ Baker's Island?

¹⁰ Same.

¹¹ Brown's Island?

¹² Crockton's Run.

¹³ Will's Creek?

Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town¹⁴ Situate on the West Side the River a little above the Cross Creeks ———

This place contains ab Twenty Cabbins, & 70 Inhabitants of the Six Nations ———

Had we set of early, & 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 & 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 along 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 preceeding day, & without any Shallows; there being some one part or other always deep, which is a natural consequence as the River in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this Town has not widened any at all. nor both the bottoms appear to be any larger ———

The Hills which come close to the River opposite to each bottom are Steep; & on the side in view, in many places, Rocky & cragged; but said to abound in good land on the Tops ———

————— These are not a range of Hills; but broken, & 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 sever^l 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, 38. Miles below this; which causd us to hesitate whether we shoud proceed or not, & wait for further intelligence;

Tuesday 23 Several imperfect Acc^{ts} coming in, agreeing that only one Person was killd, & the Indians not supposing it to be done by their People, we resolvd to pursue our passage, till we could get some more distinct Acc^t of this Transaction —

¹⁴Two miles below Steubenville, O.

Accordingly ab^t 2 O'clock 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 Sculp Creek,¹⁵ on the East side; at the Mouth of which is a bottom of very good Land, as I am told there like wise is up it.

The Cross Creeks¹⁶ (as they are calld) are not large, that on the West Side however is biggest——At the Mingo Town we found, and left, 60 odd Warriors of the Six Nations going to the Cherokee Country to proceed to War against the Cuttawba's——About 10 Miles below the Town we came to two other cross Creeks¹⁷ that on the West side largest, but not big; & calld by Nicholson French Creek——About 3 Miles or a little better below this, at the lower point of some Islands which stand contiguous to each other¹⁸ we were told by the Indians with us that three Men ¹⁹ from Virginia (by Virginians they mean all the People settled upon Red Stone &c^a) 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—at this place we Incampd

Wednesday 24th We left our Incampment before Sun rise, and ab^t Six Miles below it, we came to the Mouth of a pretty smart Creek com^g in to the Eastward calld by the Indians Split Island Creek, from its running in against an Island²⁰——On this C^k there is the appearance of good land a distance up it——Six Miles below this again, we came to another Creek on the West side, calld by Nicholson Weeling²¹—and ab^t a Mile lower down appears to be another small Water²² coming in on the East side; which I remark, because of the Scarcity of them; & to shew how badly furnishd this Country is with Mill Seats—

¹⁵ Not identified.

¹⁶ Indian and Virginian Cross Creeks.

¹⁷ Indian Short Creek (West) Virginia Short Creek (East).

¹⁸ Pike Island?

¹⁹ The Zanes? They were at Wheeling in 1769, the year previous.

²⁰ Glenn's Run and Twin Islands?

²¹ Wheeling Creek.

²² Little Grave Creek.

two or three Miles below this again, is another Run on the West Side²³; up which is a near way by Land to the Mingo Town²⁴; and about 4 Miles lower comes in another on y^c East at which place is a path leading to the Settlement at Red Stone——Ab^t a Mile & half below this again, comes in the Pipe Creek²⁵ 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 & havock among the Trees——

Two or three Miles below the Pipe Creek is a pretty large Creek on the West side called by Nicholson Fox Grape Vine by others Captewa Creek on which, 8 Miles up it, is the Town calld the Grape Vine Town; & at the Mouth of it, is the place where it was said the Traders livd, & the one was killed——to this place we came ab^t 3 Oclock in the Afternoon, & find^s no body there, we agreed to Camp; that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the Town, & enquire into the truth of the report concerning the Murder²⁶——

Thursday 25th About Seven Oclock Nicholson & the Indian returnd; they found no body at the Town but two old Indian Women (the Men being a Hunting) from these they learnt that the Trader was not killd, but drown'd in attempting to Ford the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the Traders was in these parts; the Trader (fath^r 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, & many Deer watering, & browsing on the Shore side, some of which we killd——Neither yesterday nor the day before did we pass any Rift or very rapid Water—the River gliding gently along——nor did we perceive any alteration in the general face

²³ Big Grave Creek.

²⁴ Early path from present Moundsville to Mingo Bottom.

²⁵ Same?

²⁶ Mouth of Captina Creek.

of the Country, except that the bottoms seemd to be getting a little longer & 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 Creek²⁷, 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—this Creek empties Just at the lower end of an Island,²⁸ and is 70 or 80 yards wide—And I fancy is the Creek commonly calld by the People of Red stone &c^a Weeling——It extends according to the Indians acc^t a great way, & 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 sm^l Run²⁹; & about 5 Miles below it on the West side also another midling large Creek³⁰ emptys, calld by the Indians broken Timber Creek; so named from the Timber that is destroyed 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 & bearing (according to the Indians) the same name—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, & at the end of y^e bottom aforementioned, comes in a sm^l Creek or large Run——Seven Miles from this comes in Muddy Creek on the East Side the River—a pretty large Creek and heads up against, & with some of the Waters of Monongahela (according to the Indians Acc^t) & contains some bottoms of very good Land; but in general the Hills are steep, & 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, & 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 & Subject to Freshet

²⁷ Fish Creek.

²⁸ Wood Island.

²⁹ ?

³⁰ Fishing Creek.

About half way in the long reach³¹ we Incampd, opposite to the beginning of a bottom on the East side of the River — At this place we throug out some Lines at Night & 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, & still in others — We found the bottom increased in size, both as to length & breadth & the River more Chokd up with Fallen Trees, & 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 & passd a small run³² on the West side about 4 Miles lower — At the lower end of the long reach & for some distance up it, on the East side, is a large bottom, but low, & covered with beach next the River shore, which is no Indication of good Land — The long reach is a strait course of the River for ab^t 18 or 20 Miles which appears the more extraordinary as the Ohio in general, is remarkably crooked — there are several Islands³³ 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 & Lindsay two Traders; & from them learnt that the Person drown'd was one Philips attempting in Comp^a with Rogers another Indⁿ Trader, to Swim the River with their Horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping — five Miles lower down, comes in a large Creek from the Eastward,³⁴ right against an Island of good land, at least a Mile or two in length — at the Mouth of this Creek (the name of w^{ch}) could not learn except that it was call'd by some Bulls Creek from one Bull that hunted on it, is a bottom of good Land, tho rather too much mixd with Beach — opposite to this Island the Indiãns show'd us a Buffalo Path, the Tracks of which we see

Five or Six Miles below the last mentioned Creek we came

³¹ Long Reach.

³² Opposite Wilson's Island.

³³ Five Islands.

³⁴ This creek cannot be identified.

to the three Island³⁵ (before w^{ch}) we observd a small Run on each side coming in——below these Islands is a large body of flat land, with a water course running through it on the East Side, and the Hills back, neither so high; nor steep in appearance as they are up the River——On the other hand, the bottoms do not appear so rich, tho much longer & wider—the bottom last mentioned is upon a strait reach of the River, I suppose 6 or 8 Miles in length; at the lower end of which, on the East side comes in a pretty large Run³⁶ from the size of the Mouth——About this, above—below—& back, there seems to be a very large Body of flat Land with some little risings on it.

About 12 Miles below the three Islands we Incampd just above the Mouth of a Creek³⁷ which appears pretty large at the Mouth and just above an Island³⁸—All the Lands from a little below the Creek which I have distinguished by the name of Bull Creek, appears to be level, with some small Hillocks intermixd, as far as we coud see into the Country——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, w^{ch} impeded our passage a little.

This day provd clear & 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 w^{ch} we lay & another much the same size & on the same side (West);³⁹ also an Island⁴⁰ ab^t 2 Miles in length (but not wide) we came to the Mouth of Muskingum,⁴¹ distant from our Incampment ab^t 4 Miles——This River is ab^t 150 yards wide at the Mouth; a gentle currant

³⁵ Three Brothers.

³⁶ Bull Creek.

³⁷ Little Muskingum.

³⁸ Not identified.

³⁹ Duck Creek.

⁴⁰ Kerr's Island.

⁴¹ Muskingum River.

& clear stream runs out of it; & is navigable a great way into the Country for Canoes

From Muskingham to the little Kanhawa 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 Acc^t Forks about 40 or 50 Miles up it, and the Ridge between the two Prongs leads directly to the Settlement — to this Fork, & above, the Water is navigable for Canoes — On the upper side of this River there appears to be a bottom of exceeding rich Land and the Country from hence quite up to the 3 Islands level & in appearance fine — the River (Ohio) running round it in the nature of a horse shoe, forms a Neck of flat Land w^{ch} added to that run^g up the 2^d long reach (aforementioned) cannot contain less than 50,000 Acres in view

About 6 or 7 Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa we came to a small Creek on the West Side, which the Ind^{ns} calld little Hockhocking;⁴² but before we did this, we passed another sm^l Creek on the same side near the Mouth of the River & a cluster of Islands⁴³ afterwards — the lands for two or three Miles below the Mouth of the Canhawa on both sides the Ohio, appear broken & indifferent; but opposite to the little hockhocking there is a bottom of exceeding good Land, through w^{ch} there runs a small water course. I suppose there may be of this bottom & flat Land together, two or three thousand Acres — the lower end of this bottom is opposite to 2 small Island w^{ch} I dare say little of it is to be seen when the River is high⁴⁴ — About 8 Miles below little Hockhocking we Incampd opposite to the Mouth of the great Hockhocking, 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 & Bottoms are longer indeed but not so rich, as in the upper part of the River —

⁴²Little Hockhocking. It is noticeable that Washington does not mention "Blennerhassetts Island."

⁴³Below Blennerhassetts Island.

⁴⁴As today.

Sunday 28th/

Left our Incampment about 7 O'clock—two Miles below, a sm^l run⁴⁵ comes in on the East side, thro a piece of Land that has a very good appearance, the Bottom beginning above our Incampment, & continuing in appearance wide for 4 Miles down, to a place where there comes in a sm^l Run⁴⁶ & to the Hills——and to where we found Kiasluta 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, & the head of them upon this River——In the Person of Kiasluta 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 6 Miles just below the Mouth of a Creek⁴⁷ 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 Kiasluta rehearsing what had passd between me & the Sachems at Col^o Croghan's thankd me for saying that Peace & friendship was the wish of the People of Virginia (with them) & for recommending it to the Traders to deal with them upon a fair & equitable footing; and then again expressd their desire of having a Trade open with Virginia, & that the Governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but of their friendly disposition towards the white People——this I promisd to do—

Monday 29th/

The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe in their Counselling's & speeches, detaind us till 9 O'clock——Opposite to the Creek just below w^{ch} we Incampd, is a pretty long bottom, & I believe tolerable wide; but ab^t 8 or 9 Miles below the aforemen^d Creek, & just below a pavement of

⁴⁵ Lee's Creek.

⁴⁶ Pond Creek.

⁴⁷ Shade River?

Rocks⁴⁸ on the West side, comes in a Creek⁴⁹ with fallen Timber at the Mouth, on which the Indians say there is wide bottom's, & good Land. ———the River bottom's above for some distance is very good, & continue for near half a Mile below the Creek——the pavement of Rocks⁵⁰ are only to be seen at low Water——ab^t a Mile, or a little better below the Mouth of the creek there is another pavement of Rocks⁵¹ on the East side in a kind of Sedgely Ground——On this Creek many Buffaloes use according to the Indians Acc^t——Six Miles below this comes in a small Creek⁵² on y^e west side at the end of a small naked Island, and just above another pavement of Rocks—this creek comes thro a Bottom of fine Land, & opposite to it (on the East side the River) appears to be a large bottom of very fine Land also——at this place begins what they call the great Bent——5 Miles below this again, on the East side comes in (ab^t 200 y^{'ds} above a little stream or Gut) another Creek⁵³; which is just below an Island,⁵⁴ on the upper point of which are some dead standing trees, & a parcel of white bodied Sycamores—In the Mouth of this Creek lyes a Sycamore blown down by the Wind—from hence an East line may be run 3 or 4 Miles; thence a North Line till it strikes the River, which I apprehend would Include about 3 or 4000 Acres of exceeding valuable Land—at the Mouth of this C^k which is 3 or 4 Miles above two Islands⁵⁵ (at the lower end of the last is a Rapid, & the Point of the Bend) is the Warriors Path to the Cherokee Country—for two miles & an half below this the River Runs a N^o E^t Course & finishes what they call the Great Bent—two Miles & an half below this again we Incampd——

Tuesday 30th/

We set out at 50 Minutes passed Seven—the

⁴⁸ See Cramer's *Navigator* (1811), 93 for mention of these rocks.

⁴⁹ Buffalo Creek?

⁵⁰ See 48.

⁵¹ See 48.

⁵² Oldtown Creek.

⁵³ Big Mill Creek?

⁵⁴ George's Island?

⁵⁵ Letarts Falls, Islands 44 and 45.

Weather being Windy & Cloudy (after a Night of Rain)——
 In about 2 Miles we came to the head of a bottom (in the shape of a horse Shoe) which I judge to be about 6 Miles r^d; the beginning of the bottom appeared to be very good Land, but the lower part (from the Growth) did not seem so friendly——
 An East course from the lower end would strike the River again above, about the Begin^g of the bottom.

The upper part of the bottom we Incampd in was an exceeding good one, but the lower part rather thin Land & covered with Beach—— in it is some clear Meadow Land and a Pond or Lake——this bottom begins just below the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent, from whence a N NW^t Course would answer to run a parrallel to the next turn of the River

The River from this place narrows very considerably & for 5 or 6 Miles or more is scarcely more than 150 or 200 yards over⁵⁶——The Water yesterday, except the Rapid at the Great Bent, & some swift places about the Islands was quite Dead, & as easily passed one way as the other; the Land in general appeared level & good——About 10 Miles below our Incampment & a little lower down than the bottom described to lye in the shape of a horse Shoe comes in a small Creek on the West side, and opposite to this on the East begins a body of flat Land which the Indians tells us runs quite across the Fork to the Falls in the Kanhawa,⁵⁷ and must at least be 3 days walk across—if so the Flat Land containd therein must be very considerable.——A Mile or two below this we Landed, and after getting a little distance from the River we came (without any rising) to a pretty lively kind of Land grown up with Hick^y & Oaks of different kinds, intermixd with Walnut & c^a here & there——We also 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 & Goose; & in colour some what between the two; being darker than the young Swan and of a more suttly Colour—the

⁵⁶ The Ohio begins to narrow as far up as Big Sandy Creek and Amberson's Island.

⁵⁷ Above Charleston, W. Va. about seventy-five miles up the river.

cry of these was as unusual as the Bird itself, as I never heard any noise resembling it before—Ab^t 5 Miles below this we In-campd in a bottom of Good Land which holds tolerably flat & rich for some distance out—

Wednesday 31st

I sent the Canoe along down to the Junction of the two Rivers ab^t 5 Miles that is the Kanhawa wth the Ohio—and set out upon a hunting Party to view the Land—— We steerd nearly East for about 8 or 9 Miles then bore Southwardly, & Westwardly, till we came to our Camp at the confluence of the Rivers⁵⁸——the Land from the Rivers appear but indifferent, & 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, to discover what kind of Lands lay upon the Kanhawa——The Land on both sides this River just at 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, & better adapted for Meadow than tillage——this bottom continues up the East side for about 2 Miles, & by going up the Ohio a good Tract might be got of bottom Land Including the old Shawna⁵⁹ Town, which is about 3 Miles up the Ohio just above y^e Mouth of a C^k——where the aforementioned bottom ends on the East side the Kanhawa which extends up it at least 50 Miles by y^e Indⁿ Ac^t and of great width (to be ascertained as we come down) in many places very rich; in others somewhat wet & pondy; fit for Meadow; but upon the whole exceeding valuable, as the Land after you get out of the Rich bottom is very good for Grain tho not rich.——We judgd we went up this River about 10

⁵⁸ Point Pleasant, W. Va.

⁵⁹The Shawanese occupied the portion of Ohio lying opposite the Ohio River here.

Miles to day——On the East side appear to be some good bottoms but small—neither long nor wide, & the Hills back of them rather steep & poor—

Nov^r 2^d/

We proceeded up the River with the Canoe about 4 Miles more, & then incampd & went a Hunting; killd 5 Buf-faloes & wounded some others—three deer &c^a——this Country abounds in Buffalo & Wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, ther being in the Bottoms a great many small grassy Ponds or Lakes which are full of Swans, Geese, & Ducks of different kinds. —

Some of our People went up the River 4 or 5 Miles higher & found the same kind of bottom on the West side, & 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, & poor——the Hills as far as we coud judge were from half a Mile to a Mile from the River; poor & 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^d/ We set of down the River 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,⁶⁰ I markd two Maples, an Elm, & Hoop wood Tree as A Corn^r of the Soldiers L^d (if we can get it) intending to take all the bottom from hence to the Rapids in the Great Bent 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——

In coming from our last Incampment up the Kanhawa I endeavoured to take the courses & distances of the River by a Pocket Compass, & guessing (which I make thus.—— (N by W. 2 Mile—— N NW 1 1/2 D^o N W 1/2 D^o to y^e Mouth of a pretty smart Creek to the Eastward—N^oW. 2 D^o to an-

⁶⁰ See 73.

other Creek of the same size on the same side — West $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile — W NW $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile — NW^t/ D^o W NW 2 D^o W by N 2 D^o — NW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ D^o W NW $\frac{1}{2}$ D^o to the Mouth
Sunday 4/

The Ohio from the Mouth of the Kanhawa runs thus — North 2 Miles — 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ — to the Mouth of a Creek old Shawna Town N^bW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles — N E^t 1 D^o — N E by E^t 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ N NE^t 4 D^o — E NE $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile to y^e Mouth of a Ck^{o1} on the West side, & to the Hills, w^{ch} the Indians say is always a fire to which the Bottom from the Mouth of the Kanhawa continues & then ends — after passing these Hills (which may run on the River near a Mile) there appears to be another pretty good Bottom on the East side — At this place we met a Canoe going to the Illinoises with Sheep — and at this place also, that is at the end of the Bottom from the Kanhawa, just as we came to the Hills, we met with a Sycamore ab^t 60 yards from the River of a most extraordinary size it measuring (3 feet from the g^d) 45 feet round, lacking two Inches & not 50 yards from it was another 31.4 round (3 feet from the G^d also)

The 2^d Bottom hinted at the other side (that is the one lying above the Bottom that reaches from the Kanhawa) is that taken notice of the 30th Ult^o to lye in the shape of a Horse Shoe, & must from its situation, & quantity of level Ground be very valuable, if the Land is but tolerably good. —

After passing this bottom & ab^t a Mile of Hills we entered into the 3^d Bottom and Incampd — This bottom reaches within about half a Mile of the Rapid at the point of the Great Bent. —
Monday 5th/

I set of the Canoe with our Baggage & Walkd a cross the Neck^{o2} on foot with Captⁿ Crawford distance according to our Walking about 8 Miles as we kept a strait course under the Foot of the Hills which ran about S^o E^t & was two hours & an half walking of it

This is a good Neck of Land the Soil being generally good; & in places very rich — their is a large proportion of Meadow

^{o1} Campaign Creek?

^{o2} "The Big Bent."

Ground, and the Land as high, dry & Level as one could wish — the growth in most places is beach intermixd with Walnut &c^a but more especially with Poplar (of which there are numbers very large) — the Land towards the upper end is black Oak, & very good — upon the whole a valuable Tract might be had here, & I judge the quantity to be about 4000 Acres

After passing this Bottom & the Rapid, as also some Hills w^{ch} jut pretty close to the River, we came to that Bottom before remarkd the 29th Ult^o; which being well describd, there needs no further remark except that the Bottom within view appears to be exceeding rich; but as I was not out upon it, I cannot tell how it is back from the River — a little above this Bottom, we Incampd — the Afternoon being Rainy & night wet —

Tuesday 6th

We left our Incampment a little after day light, & in about 5 Miles we came to Kiashute Hunting Camp which was now removd to the Mouth of that Creek noted Oct^o 29 for having fallen Timber at the Mouth of it, in a bottom of good land — between the Bottom last describd, & this bottom, there is nothing but Hills on the East side; except a little flat of a 100 Acres or so, between — this Bottom thro which the Creek comes may be about 4 or 5 Miles in length & tolerably wide. — grown up pretty much with Beach tho the Soil is good —

By the kindness, and Idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detained 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, He informd me that, it was further from the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa to the Fall of that River than it was between the two Kanhawas — that the Bottom on the West side (which begins near the Mouth of the Kanhawa) continues all the way to the Falls without the Interposition of Hills, and widens as it goes, especially from a pretty large Creek that comes in ab^t 10 or 15 Miles higher up than where we were — that in the Fork there is a body of good Land — and at some pretty considera[ble] distance above this, the River forks again at an Island, & there begin the Reed or Cain to grow — that the Bottoms on the East side of the River are also very good, but

broken with Hills, and that the River is easily passd with Canoes to the Falls w^{ch} cannot be less than 100 Mil but further it is not possible to go with them and that there is but one ridge fr thence to the Settlements upon the [New] River above, that it is possible for a Man to travel; the Country betw[een] being so much broken with steep Hills & precipices.

Unfortunately, the picture is now marred because of some kind of an accident which happened to the original manuscript; very likely it fell into the muddy flood-tide which its author described, and as a result the portions of the record from November 6th to November 17th are missing in every reprint extant.

The foot-note in Sparks's *Writings of Washington* relative to the hiatus reads: "For the succeeding ten days, the manuscript journal has been so much injured by accident that it is impossible to transcribe it. The route, however, continued up the Ohio River, which was very much swollen by the rains."⁶³

The facts of the case are that the margin of the pages containing the entries for the dates mentioned are slightly mutilated. The meaning of the writer is quite evident in most instances. The record runs:

He further informd (which seemd to be corroborated by all [of those] with whom I conversd) that the [land] Back of the short broken Hills th [in and level] but down upon the Rivers are uneven, & not rich, except the [land] upon Creeks, till you come toward heads of the Creeks; then the La grows leveller, and the Soil rich

Wednesday 7th/ We set out 1/2 an hour after Seven and a ing the Bottom through which

Creek with the Fallen Timber at the Mouth Runs — & which I believe is calld Buffalo Creek, we came to a

⁶³ Id. II, 529.

range of Hills for a Mile or more in length upon the River (East side) then comes in the Bottom opposite to w^{ch} the Creek below w^{ch} we lodgd at with the Indians the 28th Ult^o, empties

—— this also appears to be a bottom f 4 or 5 Miles in length, and tolera[ble] le good from the River—— when we [p]ass this Bottom the Hills (rather [T]aller & flatter than usual) comes [clo]se to the River (East side for 4 or miles) then begins another Bottom above, or opposite to a small [isla]nd; but before we came to this mile or two, we passd a good smart on the East side — this Bottom opposite to Great Hockhocking above which, & opposite to Dela[ware] Hunting Party, we Incampd [Wedn]sday 8th/

We left our Incamp as soon as we coud clearly dish the Rocks; and after pass Bottom which neither ap to be long, wide nor very came to a Second Bottom

noticed the 27th Ult^o opposite to a Creek on the West side calld by the Indians little hockhocking, but may easily be distinguished by having a larg Stone⁶⁴ just at its Mouth (the upper side —— this bottom is about 7 in length and appears to be very wide, and go and must be very valuable if it not liable to be overflowd, some pa of it appearing low —— the lower

⁶⁴ Still standing today.

part of this bottom (as was obser
 the 27th Ult^o) is opposite to a smal
 barren Island with only a few bu[shes]
 on it—— the upper part of it begi[ning]
 at much such another place a
 side (and part of a pretty long [isl]
 and⁶⁵ at a drain or small run tha[t]
 comes out of the Hills—— this is
 in a Mile or two of the Mouth
 Kanawha, & the next Bottom
 except a little narrow slipe
 at the foot of the Hills below the

At the Mouth of the Kan[awha]
 Captⁿ Crawford, one of the In[dians]
 and myself, left the Canoe, in[ten]-
 ding to meet it again at the [mouth]
 of the Muskingum about 13 M
 above, but the Indian by
 brought us to the River

Miles below it—— In this
 excursion we passd over various kinds
 of Land some tolerable good white
 oak Ground level, & meadowey — some
 ery Hilly, & broken with stone; and
 one black Oak, thinly timbered but
 good for Farming—— And others ab^t

Mile before we came to the River
 which was at a place where there
 [wa]s no bottom)⁶⁶ exceeding good, full
 el enough & well timbered with
 & black Oak; but in all the G^d
 passd over to day, & I suppose
 coud not have walkd less than
 miles there was no Water — this
 part of the Land where I thought

⁶⁵ Blennerhassett's Island?

⁶⁶ A mile below Williamstown, W. Va.

Oct^r 27⁶⁷ 30,000 Acres might [be had]
; but it does not answer my
[expe]ctations: how ever by falling [down]
the River too low, I apprehend
the worst of it; as we were [on]
the Ridges that divide the Wa[ters]
[of] Ohio from the Kenhawa; &
up, towards the 3 Islands, has
appearance——
[Ju]st below the Mouth of Mus[kingum]
Incampd.⁶⁸

Friday 9th

The Nigh proving very
Rainy & Morning wet we did
set out till 1/2 after 10 Oclock, &
Incampd by the 3 Islands——⁶⁹
Seeing a Bear upon the shore
we landed, and followed it about
half a Mile from the Rive^r w[hich]
gave us an opportunity of s[eeing]
a little of the Land, which was
hilly but rich
Saturday 10th

After a Nig[ht]
of incessant Thunder & Light-
ning, attended with heavy
stant Rain till 11 Oclock t
day, we set of about Twelve
(the Rain then ceasing) and [proceeded]
to the lower end of the long [reach]
distant about 12 miles——[every]
little stream, imperceptable [to]
the view in our passage do
now pouring in her Mite,

⁶⁷ P. —.

⁶⁸ Opposite the suburbs of Marietta, O.

⁶⁹ See 35.

River raising very fast
 grown so muddy as to ren[der]
 Water i^tksome to drink

[Su]nday 11th

The last Night proved
 Night of incessant Rain attended
 ith thunder and lightning —— the
 [ri]ver by this Morning had raised ab^t
 feet perpendicular and was
 falling fast —— The Rain seeming
 abate a little and the wind spring[ing]
 up in our favour we were
 [te]mpted to set of; but were deceived [by]
 both; for the Wind soon ceasd, &
 Rain continued without inter[mis-]
 sion till about 4 Oclock, when
 moderated —— However tho we
 [did] not sit of till Eleven we got
 head of the long reach ab^t
 [mi]les the Rive^r continuing to
 fast, & much choakd with
 Wood ——

[Mon]nday 12th/

There fell a little
 [rain] in the Night tho nothing to [speak]
 of — ab^t Sun rise we left our
 [encam]pment to encounter a very [swift]
 [st]ream which by this time had [risen]
 2 [?] feet perpendicular & running [with]
 [grea]t velocity —— After contending
 whole day we were
 not able to get mo^re than about [5]
 Miles — The Water still rising, a[nd]
 the Curr^t if possible running w[ith]
 more violence, we came to a res[olu]
 tion of ordering our Horses (which

by appointment were to be at [Pitts]⁷⁰
 burg the 14th Inst.) to meet us a
 Mingo Town — accordingly
 Tuesday 13th/

We dispatch
 young Indian express to Val[entine]
 Crawfo^rd who had the charge of
 them to proceed on
 that place, where we purp[osed]
 if possible to get the Canoe
 being about 50 Miles below
 In pursuance of this resolu[tion]
 we Imbarkd again, and with [diffi]
 culty got about 5 Miles furth
 to the Mouth of the Upp[er] m
 broken timber Creek ——— In[stead of falling]
 of[f] last night the River raisd
 perpendicular, and in the n[ight]
 with what it rose in the day [it]
 must be now 4 or 5 & twenty feet [above]
 its usual height, & not a gr^eat [way]
 below its banks ——— in low pl[aces over]
 them ———

this day about 3 In the After
 [noon] we met two Battoes & a large
 [canoë] going (at a very fast rate) to
 Illinois with Provisions for the
 [garrison] at Fort Chartres
 Wednesday 14th/

The River began [to
 [be] at a stand between Sunset & dark
 t night, & continu'd for some
 rs so; falling only 2 feet by Sun
 [rise] ——— about an hour by Sun we [left]
 ou^r Incampment and reachd a

⁷⁰ P. —.

above the Captening⁵⁶ (or Fox grape
Creek) about 11 Miles; not finding
water quite so strong as yesterday,
[trav]eling with a little assistant from [the]
wind——About 2 or 3 Miles below
[Capte]ning I got out (on the West side)
[wa]kd through a Neck of as good [land]
as ever I saw, between that &
[?]k; the Land on the Hill sides
as rich as the bottoms; than
nothing can exceed——the bottom [at]
the Mouth of Captening appears
[of] equal goodness with the one below
[Thu]rsday 15th/

The Canoe set of[f] at
[su]n rise, as I did to view that
opposite to the Mouth
of Pipe Cree ——In p[a]ssing
Neck I foun[d] the lower par
not very ri[ch] [u]po[n] the Ri
ve^r towards the Hills, with
well Timberd; and not
only in places—the mid
back of the Rich bottom is
black & white Oak Land [good for
[far]ming, or any purpose w
& intermixd with Meadow
——the upper end is as rich
quite to the Hills (which a
as I ever saw, but subject
to freshes——of this Bottom,
Timbered Land adjoining, I
may be 12 or 1500 Acres got
in this manner—Beginn[ing]
the Hills juts down to the
1/2 a Mile above Pipe Creek
West) & a Mile or more

ⁿ See 26.

of another C^k on the East,
Bottom above the Capten[ing]
East side the River, & ju[st where the]
destruction of Timber oc[curred by a]
Hurricane of Wind —— from
this bottom there is a run
ab^t a Mile —— then comes in
mentio^d (which I cou^d g
on which & up the River
there appears to be a

rich at
e is a run [?]
— the bottom
is pretty long but narrow[?]
Creek (on the West side (call^d
Nicholson the 24th Ult^o
the River having fallen at
16th

Di^recting the Canoe
& me at the Mouth of the
by the Indians split Island
which I have since found
s one distinguished by the
of Redstone &c^a by the
eling; I set out with Capt
n foot, to take a view
a little distance from the
doing this we ascended Hills
to be almost impassable,
the River with stone &
Timber — back of these
[fou]und is very uneven, &c^a
[sma]ll spots, not very good;
ly well Timberd — as far
see into the Country the
his kind —— Coming on
[s]plit Island Creek) some

on the Mouth, we had
 nity of observing from
 which are very high

Saturday 17th. By this Morning the River had fallen (in the whole) 2 or 3 & twenty feet, & was still lowering ——— Ab^t 3 O'clock we set out, & passing the lower cross Creeks we came to a pretty long, & tolerable wide & good bottom on the East side the River; then comes in the Hills, just above which, is Buffalo Creek (a Creek I neither see nor remarkd in going down) upon which, and above it, between y^t & the cross Creeks near the Mingo Town (distant 3 or 4 Miles) is a Bottom of exceeding fine Land, but not very large, unless it extends up the Creek.

About 3 O'clock we came to the Town 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 there arrival which was expected to morrow & here then will end our water Voyage along a River the general course of which from Bever Creek to the Kanhawa is about S W^t (as near as I coud determine); but in its winding thro a narrow Vale, extreemely 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, & of various sizes — there is very little difference in the gen^l 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; & 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, & some smaller, which operating in the nature of Locks, or steps, occasion pretty still water above but for the most part strong & rapid water along side of them — however there is none of these so swift but that a Vessel may be Rowed or set up with Poles — When the River is in its Natural State, large canoes that will carry 5 or 6000 weight & more, may be workd against stream by 4 hands 20 & 25 Miles a day; & down, a good deal

more — The Indians who are very dexterous (even there women) in the management of Canoes have there Hunting Camp's & Cabins all along the River for the convenience of transporting their Skins by water to Market — In the Fall, so soon as the Hunting Season comes on, they set out with their Familys for this purpose; & In Hunting will move there Camps from place to place till by the Spring they get 2 or 300 or more Miles from there Town's; Then Bever catch it in there way up which frequently brings them into the Month of May, when the Women are employd in Plant^s — the Men at Market & in Idleness, till the Fall again; when they pursue the same course again — during the Summer Months they live a poor & perishing life —

The Indians who live upon the Ohio (the upper parts of it at least) are composed of Shawnas, Delawares, & 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 & jealous Eye; & do not scruple to say that they must be compensated for their Right if the People settle thereon, notwithstanding the Cession of the Six Nations thereto — On the other hand, the People from Virginia & elsewhere, are exploring and Marking all the Lands that are valuable not only on Redstone & other Waters of Monongehela but along down the Ohio as low as the little Kanhawa; & 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 days experience of Lands actually settled, supposing these to be made; than 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 impracticable to get any large q^{ty} of Land Together; as the Hills all the way down the River (as low as I went) come pretty close and are steep & broken incapable of settlements tho some of them are rich and only fit to support the Bottoms with Timber and Wood —

The Land back of the Bottoms, as far as I have been able to judge, either from my own observations or from information, is nearly the same, that is exceeding uneven & Hilly; & I do

presume that there is no body's of Flat rich Land to be found one gets far enough from the River to head the little runs & drains that comes through the Hills; & to the Sources (or near it) of the Creeks & there Branches——this it seems is the case of the Lands upon Monongahela and Yaugh^a & I fancy holds good upon this River till you get into the Flat Lands (or near them) below the Falls——

The Bottom Land differs a good deal in quality——that highest up the River in general is richest; tho the Bottoms are neither so wide or long, as those below——Walnut, H[ickory] Cherry, & some other Woods that grow snarly, & neither Tall nor large, but coverd with Grape Vines (with the Fruit of which this Country at this Instant abounds) are the growth of the richest Bottoms, but on the other hand these Bottoms appear to me to be the lowest and most subject to Floods. Sugar Tree and Ash, mixd with Walnut &^{ca} compose the growth of the next richest low grounds——and Beach Poplar Oaks &^{ca} the last——the Soil of this is also good but inferior to either of the other kinds & beach Bottoms are excepted against on acct of the difficulty of clearing them there Root's spreading over a large surface of ground & being hard to kill.

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 & give them a Quart Tinn Can——

Monday 19th The Delawares set of with the Canoe——and our Horses not arriving, the day appeard exceeding long & 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 & that; & upon the Shawna River;⁷² on which he had been a Hunting.

The Lands down the Ohio grow more and more level as you approach the Falls and about 150 Miles below them, the Country appears quite Flat, & exceeding rich,——On the Shawna' River (which comes into the Ohio 400 Miles below the Falls & about 1100 from Pittsburg) up which he had hunted 300 & more Miles the Lands are exceeding Level, rich, & fine, but a good deal intermixed with Cain or Reed, which might

⁷² Cumberland River.

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 to Pittsburg by Land, is computed 800 Miles; & in travelling thro the Country from that place he found the soil very rich —— the Ground exceeding level to OPost⁷³ (a French Settlement & from Opost to the Lower Shawna Town on Scioto equally flat —— that he passd through large Planes 30 miles in length without a Tree except little Islands of Wood —— that in these Planes thousands & 10,000 of Buffalo may be seen feeding —— That the distance from Fort Chartres to Opost is about 240 Miles & the Country not very well waterd —— from Opost to the lower Shawna Town about 300 more abounding in good Springs & Rivulets —— that the remainder of the way to Fort Pitt is Hilly; and the Hills larger as you approach the Fort tho the L^d in general is also good.

At Fort Pitt I got the distances from place to place down the Ohio as taken by one Mr Hutchins & which are as follows —— whⁿ some corrections of mine

From Fort Pitt to		Miles
Logs Town	W	18½
Big Bever Creek	W	29¼
Racoon Creek	GW E	34
Little Bever Creek	W	44
Yellow Creek	W	52
Big Stony Creek	GW W	66
Mingo Town	W	73
Cross Creeks		74
Buffalo Creek or Sculp Ck	GW E	78
Second Cross Creeks	GW	84
Weeling or Split Island Ck	GW E	94
Sculp Creek	GW W	100
Path to Redstone	GW E	108
Pipe Creek	GW W	110
Captening	GW W	113
Cut Creek	GW E	118
Broken Timber Creek	GW W	123
2 ^d Broken Timber Ck	GW W	125
Muddy Creek	GW E	134
Begins of ye long reach		137
End of Ditto		155

⁷³ Vincennes, Ind.

			Miles.
Bull Creek	GW	E	160
A Pretty large Ck on ye West			178
Muskingham		W	182
Little Kanhawa		E	195
Little Hockhocking		W	202
Hockhocking		W	210
Creek with fallen Timber at the Mouth		E	230
A smal Creek on the West & beging of ye Great Bent		W	236
Another sm ^l Ck on the East just above a Gut		E	241
Rapid ^d at the point of ye Great Bent			245
Big Kanhawa		E	272
			<hr/>
The distance by Hutchings is			266¼
Big Guyendot		E	308
Big Sandy Creek		E	321
Scioto River		W	366
Big Buffalo Lick-A Mile Eastward of the River		W	390
Large Island divided by a gravelly Creek			410¼
Little Mineamie River River		W	492¼
Licking Creek		E	500¼
Great Mineamie River		W	527½
Where the Elephants Bones were found		E	560¼
Kentucke River		E	604½
The Falls			682
To where the low Country begins			837¾
Begins of the 5 Islands			875¼
Large River on the East side			902¼
Verry large Islands in the middle of the River			960¼
Ouabache River			999½
Big Rock, & Cave on the West side			1042¼
Shawano River ⁷⁴			1094
Cherokee River ⁷⁵			1107

⁷⁴ The Cumberland River.⁷⁵ Tennessee River.

	Miles.
Fort Massiac	1118¾
Mouth of Ohio	1164
in all	1164

The Distances from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa as set down agreeable to my own Computation, but from thence to the Mouth of River Ohio are strictly according to Hutchings^s Acc^t which Acc^t I take to be erroneous inasmuch as it appears that the Miles in the upper parts of the River are very long, & those towards the Canhawa short, which I attribute to his setting off in a falling fresh & running slower as they proceeded on.⁷⁶

The letters E and W signifie w^{ch} side of the River the respective Waters come in on, that is, whether on the East or West Side.

Nov^r 20th. About One Oclock our Horses arrivd, having been prevented getting to Fort Pitt by the freshes ——— at Two we set out & 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 & as near as I can guess 35 from the Mingo Town ———

The Land between the Mingo Town & Pittsburg is of different kinds for 4 or 5 Miles after leaving the first mentiond

⁷⁶ It will be interesting to compare this table of distances with a later table; the one we chose is from *The Western Pilot* of 1829:

Big Beaver Creek.....	28½
Raccoon Cr.	32
Little Beaver Cr.....	43
Wheeling	92
Captina Cr.	112½
Bull Cr.	165
Muskingum	174
Great Kanawha	261½
Big Guyandot	300
Scioto	350½
Great Miami	477½
Cumberland	900
Mouth of the Ohio.....	959

place we passd over Steep Hilly ground, hurt with stone; coverd with White Oak; & a thin shallow Soil. This was succeeded by a lively White Oak Land, less broken; & this again by rich Land the growth of which was chiefly white & red Oak, mixd; which lasted with some Intervals of indifferent ridges all the way to Pittsburg.

It was very observable that as we left the River, the Land grew better, which is a confirmation of the Acc^{ts} I had before received, that the good Bodies of Land lay upon the heads of the Runs & Creeks but in all my Travels through this Country, I have seen no large body of Level Land. On the Branches of Racoon Creek there appears to be good Meadow Ground and on Shirtees Creek⁷⁶ (over both which we passed) the Land Looks well. The Country between the Mingo Town and Fort Pitt appears to be well supplied with Springs.

Tuesday 22.

Stayd at Pittsburg all day ——— Invited the Officers & some other Gentlemen to dinner with me at Samples — among which was one Doct^r Connelly (nephew to Col^o Croghan) a very sensible Intelligent Man who had travelled over a good deal of this Western Country both by Land & Water & confirms Nicholsons Acc^t of the good Land on the Shawana River up which he had been near 400 Miles ———

This Country (I mean on the Shawana River) according to Doct^r Connellys Acc^t must be exceeding desirable on many Acc^{ts} ——— the Climate is exceeding fine ——— the Soil remarkably good. the Lands well waterd with good streams & full level enough for any kind of Cultivation ——— Besides these Advantages from Nature, 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 & good Market.⁷⁷

Doct^r Connelly is so much delighted with the Lands, & Climate on this River; that he seems to wish for nothing more

⁷⁶ Chartiers Creek, Pa.

⁷⁷ For Dr. Connelly's operations in Kentucky see *Filson Club Publications* No. 7, 31 *seq.*, and No. 8, 26 *seq.*

than to induce 100 families to go there to live that he might be among them.— A New & most desirable Government might be establishd here to be bounded (according to his Acc^t) by the Ohio Northward & Westward — The Ridge that divides the Waters of the Tenesee or Cherokee River Southward & Westward & 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 Acc^t of the Land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois Country, and Post St. Vincent (OPost) that Nicholson does, except in the Article of Water, wch the Doct^r says is bad & in the Summer Scarce. there being little else than stagnant Water to be met with.

Friday 23^d

After settling with the Indians & People that attended me down the River & defray the sundry Expences accruing at Pittsburg, I set of on my return home and after dining at the Widow Miers' on Turtle Creek reachd M^r John Stephenson) two or three hours in the Night) —

Saturday 24th.

When we came to Stewards 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 remainder 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 & 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 Tho^s Gists and Dind, & then proceeded on to the Great crossing at Hoglands where I arrivd about Eight Oclock —

Munday 26th Reachd Killams on George's Creek where we met several Families going over the Mountains to live — some with^t having any places provided.

The Snow upon the Alligany Mountains was near knee deep.

Tuesday 27th. We got to Col^o Cresaps at the Old Town

after calling at Fort Cumberland & breakfasting with one M^r Innis at the New store opposite. ——— 25 Miles.

Wednesday 28th. The Old Town Gut was so high as to Wet us in crossing it, and when we came to Cox' the River was Impassable; we were obligd therefore to cross in a Canoe & swim our Horses ——— At Henry Enochs at the Forks of Cacapehon we dind, & lodgd at Rinkers the distances thus Computed ——— from the Old Town to Cox^s 8 Miles ——— from thence to Caca-pehron 12 ——— and 18 afterwards in all 38 Miles ——— the last 18 I do not think long ones.

Thursday 29th. Set out early & reachd my Brothers by one Oclock (about 22 or 3 Miles). ——— Doct^r Craik having business by Winchester went that way to meet at Snickers to morrow by 10 Oclock ———

Friday 30th. According to Appointment the Doct^r and I met & after Breakfasting at Snickers proceeded on to Wests where we arrivd at or about Sun set.

December

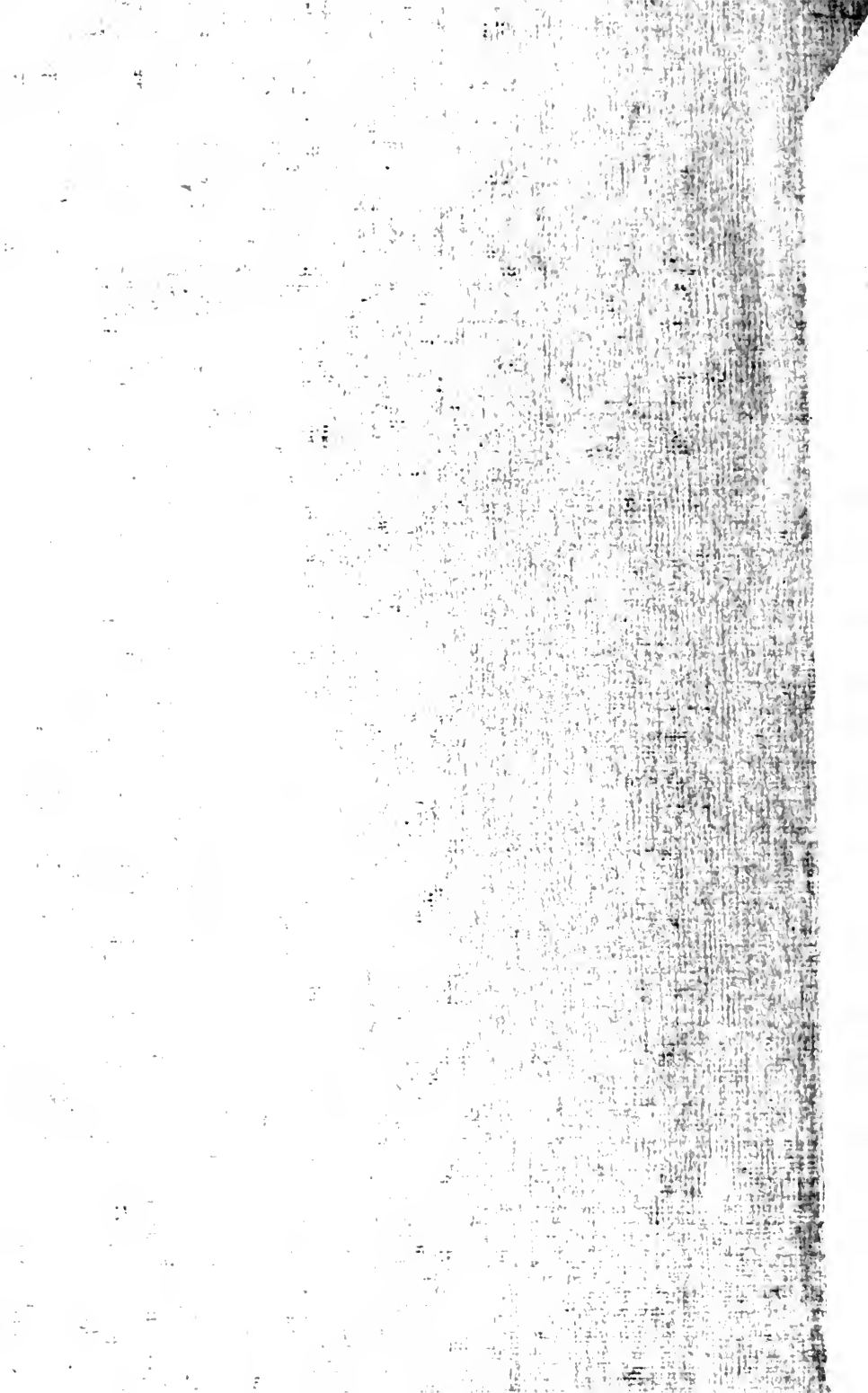
Saturday 1st. Reachd home being absent from it Nine weeks and one day.











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