THE FRENCH

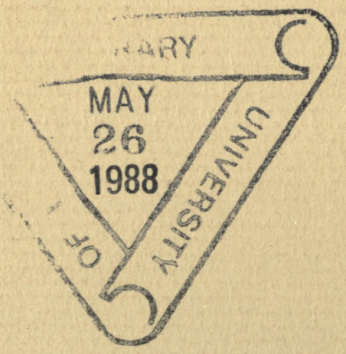
IN THE

ALLEGHENY VALLEY.

BY

T. J. CHAPMAN, M. A.

CLEVELAND, O.:
W. W. WILLIAMS, PUBLISHER.



TO THE TWO GOOD WOMEN

WHO LIVE WITH ME,

MY WIFE AND DAUGHTER,

—ON WHOM BE PEACE!—

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS LOVINGLY INSCRIBED.

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PREFACE.

A number of the following sketches have already appeared as contributions to the *Magazine of American History* of New York, and the *Magazine of Western History* of Cleveland. These sketches have been brought together, and a number of others have been added, to fill out the story of the French occupation of the Allegheny Valley. We think they will be found to make a complete and consistent history of the matter in hand.

The information presented in this little book has been culled from many sources. It is the only monograph on the subject that has yet been published. The original sources of information have been used as far as possible, and in all cases only the best authorities, as an inspection of our abundant foot-notes and references will show.

It is hoped that this little work will supply a gap in our local annals, and that it will be received in the spirit in which it has been written. We have grown to be a great nation, and the end is not yet. It is well to preserve from oblivion the history of our humble beginnings, that future generations may continue to revere the memory of the brave men by whose labors and sufferings the wilderness was redeemed and the foundations of our liberties were laid.

T. J. CHAPMAN.

Pittsburg, Feb. 3, 1887.

CELORON'S VOYAGE DOWN THE ALLEGHENY.

THE French and the English were both intent on acquiring possession of the Ohio valley.* The Indians formed a third party in interest, and were in occupancy of the ground. The French based their claim to the territory on the voyage of La Salle in 1682; the English, on the discoveries made by the Cabots long previously. It was not until about the middle of the last century, however, that any decided steps were taken by either nation to occupy the coveted region.† In the year 1748, a number of gentlemen, mostly English colonists, formed themselves into an association, with a view to making settlements west of the Alleghany mountains, and carrying on trade

*The Allegheny and Ohio rivers were generally regarded by the early explorers as one stream. The French called it *La Belle Riviere.*

†As early as 1716, Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, set out on an expedition towards this region. "That beautiful unknown land held out arms of welcome, and the governor, who had in his character much of the spirit of the hunter and adventurer, resolved to go and explore it."—John Esten Cooke's *Virginia* p. 314. The governor, however, proceeded only as far as the Shenandoah valley.

with the natives. The leader in the enterprise was Thomas Lee, one of His Majesty's Council in Virginia. The association was called "The Ohio Company." Among the stockholders were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, brothers of George Washington. The English government favored the design of the company, and a tract of five hundred thousand acres of land was granted it. This land lay chiefly on the left bank of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and the Kenawha rivers. A large quantity of goods suitable for the Indian trade was ordered from London; and it was determined to make roads, erect such buildings as might be thought desirable, and particularly cultivate a good understanding with the Indians. Christopher Gist, a borderer of remarkable energy, intelligence, and courage, was employed to traverse the region lying within the Ohio valley, and make a report on the lands in the company's grant. He at once set about the work, and spent several months in this arduous duty.*

The French at this time also determined to take an advanced step in the same direction. They had settlements not only in Canada, but in Louisiana, and at various points along the Mississippi and its tributaries. Apart from other considerations, it was highly desir-

* See Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. Appendix No. VI.

able to possess the Ohio as a convenient line of communication between these widely separated settlements. Accordingly in the summer of the year 1749, Captain Celoron, knight of the Order of St. Louis, was despatched by Gallissoniere, governor-general of Canada, to take constructive possession of the Ohio valley, by passing down the river, and depositing leaden plates suitably engraved, at such points as he might think proper, as was the custom of explorers at that time.*

Celoron left La Chine, near Montreal, on the fifteenth of June, 1749. He had a detachment consisting of one captain, M. de Contrecœur, afterwards the commandant at Fort Duquesne—eight subaltern officers, six cadets, one chaplain, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians.†

Celoron proceeded by water up the St. Lawrence and through the great lakes. On the sixteenth of July he reached the point where the Chautauqua

* Celoron's Journal of his expedition has been lately given to the public in an English translation published in the *Catholic Historical Researches*, begining with the number for October, 1885.

† The first intimation the English seem to have had of the expedition was in a letter from Captain Marshall to Governor Clinton, dated Albany, June 23, 1749. He says that a certain party had "seen an army of near a thousand men march in different bodies from Canada, this day three weeks, steering their way for Belle river."—*Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. II. p. 29. This was perhaps as near the truth as could be expected at second hand.

creek flows into Lake Erie. He at first had some thought of establishing a post here, but upon observing the situation more narrowly he concluded that it was not suitable. "I found nothing there of advantage," he writes, "either for navigation of the lake, or for the situation of the post; the lake is so shallow on the side of the south, that ships could not approach the portage but at more than a league's distance. There is no island or harbor where they could be moored and put under protection; they must needs remain at anchor and have boats for unloading them; the gales of wind are so frequent there that I think they would be in danger."

At this point Celoron left the lake, and turned his course toward the south. At dawn of the seventeenth of July, they began their ascent of the Chautauqua creek. The stream was not navigable, and the labor of transporting the canoes, provisions, and so forth, was extremely arduous, and their progress was very slow. On the twenty-second they entered Lake Chautauqua. They remained at the lake over the twenty-third, and on the morning of the twenty-fourth they entered the Conewango creek. This stream connects the lake with the Allegheny river, and flows into the latter at the town of Warren. The water in the creek was low, and the greater part of

the baggage had to be transported by hand. Their progress was very tedious. The Indians who lived along the route were frightened, and fled from their cabins, leaving behind them "a part of their utensils, their canoes, and even their provisions, to seek the woods." As the object of the expedition was partly to secure the friendship and allegiance of the natives to the French authority, and besides they might combine in considerable force and embarrass the expedition, it was determined to send Lieutenant Joncaire* and five Indians of the party, with belts of wampum, "and induce them to take courage, that their father came only to treat with them of good things." So great were the difficulties of the passage down the Conewango, that it was not until noon of the twenty-ninth of July, that they entered the Allegheny. Rowing across the latter stream, they landed on the southern bank. Here they resolved to bury the first of the leaden plates. By some inadvertence, the first plate they prepared was spoiled

* Chabert de Joncaire was a half-breed, the son of a French officer and a Seneca woman.—Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chap. II. He was eloquent, crafty, and brave, and figured prominently in the affairs of the French in the Allegheny valley. The elder Joncaire, the father of Chabert, had been taken prisoner by the Indians some time prior to the year 1700. As a preliminary torment, a chief attempted to burn the captive's finger in his pipe, but Joncaire promptly knocked him down. This display of spirit delighted the Indians, and they spared his life, and adopted him into their tribe.—Parkman's *Frontenac and New France*, Chap. XXI.

by inserting the name of the Chautauqua creek instead of the Conewango. This plate was no doubt thrown aside as useless, and another was prepared. The spoiled plate afterwards fell into the hands of some Senecas, who gave it to Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent. They represented that they had stolen it from Joncaire; but it is much more likely they found it where it had been thrown aside.* A leaden plate was buried here "at the foot of a red oak." A plate of sheet iron, bearing the arms of the French king, was also affixed to a tree. This leaden plate has never been found; the plate of sheet iron was soon afterwards torn down by the Indians.

Leaving this point, they proceeded the same day to an Indian village not far off, named Kanaouagon. As Joncaire had been sent ahead to notify the inhabitants, they were on the watch to receive the expedition. Celoron treated them to brandy and tobacco, and in return they gave him maize and squashes. A few miles below was the village of Cut Straw, at the mouth of what is now called Broken-straw creek. Celoron invited the chiefs of Kanaouagon to meet him there, as he wished to address the Indians at that place. The next day, the thirtieth,

* See this question of "The Stolen Plate" discussed at the end of this volume.

he went to Cut Straw. Joncaire had preceded him, and had prevailed upon the people of the village to remain, as they were about to flee to the woods. Upon the arrival of Celoron the Indians presented him with two belts of wampum and made a speech, in which they professed great joy at his arrival among them "in good health." Celoron replied to this speech, and presented them with three belts of wampum, in order to "open their ears" that they might hear well what he had to say on the part of their father, the governor-general of Canada. He assured them of the kindness and good will of the French; cautioned them against favoring or harboring the English among them; and urged them to drive them away. "Pay serious attention to the message which I send you," said he. "Listen to it well; follow it; it is the means of always seeing over your villages a beautiful and serene sky. I am surprised, my children," he continued, "to see raised in your village a cabin destined to receive English traders. If you look upon yourselves as my children, you will not continue this work; far from it, you will destroy it, and will no longer receive the English at your homes." In reply the Indians promised that they would not suffer the English among them any more; "and this house," said they, "which is nearly fin-

ished, will serve only as a recreation place for the youth."

Celoron remained at Cut Straw over the thirty-first of July, because of a heavy rain. The next day he proceeded on down the river. Some ten miles below he came to a village of about a dozen cabins, but all the people except one man had fled. The following day, at a larger town some ten or twelve miles farther down the stream, he again addressed the Indians in the same strain as at Cut Straw. There was, perhaps, a considerable gathering of natives here, as he had invited the inhabitants of several villages that he had passed on the way, to meet him at this place, which they did.

On the third of August he again set out, and went down to the mouth of French creek, called by him the River aux Bœufs, where was a village of eight or ten cabins. There were living here an English trader, whose name we do not know, and an English gunsmith, John Frazier, a person whose name often appears in the history of the border. The Indians, in the meeting of the previous day, had complained to Celoron that if he drove the English away, and "in particular the blacksmith," who mended their guns and hatchets, they feared they should be left to perish of "hunger and misery on the Beautiful river;" and

they begged that the English, at least "the blacksmith," might be allowed to remain over winter, or until they could go hunting, and they promised that by spring the English should all retire. Celoron confesses that their representations embarrassed him very much. But when he got to the village at the mouth of the River aux Bœufs, or, as it was afterwards called, Le Bœuf, he found that "the English, as well as the Indians, had gained the woods." Only five or six Indians of the Iroquois nation, remained, who fired a salute of welcome. He did not tarry at this place, but again embarked, and proceeded about seven or eight miles farther on his way, where he stopped for the night. At the place of encampment was a large rock, the face of which bore a number of figures, "rudely enough carved." This rock, which is known as the "Indian God," still remains as Celoron found it, and marks the site of his encampment. The inscription on the rock, says Schoolcraft, appears distinctly to record, in symbols, the triumphs in hunting and war.* Here Celoron buried the second of the leaden plates, "directly opposite a naked mountain," and near this carved rock. This plate has never been found.

* See description of this famous rock, with illustrative plate, in Schoolcraft's *Indian Antiquities*, Part IV. p. 172.

On the following morning it was determined that Joncaire should precede the party to Attique, a considerable village some distance down the river, and assure the inhabitants of the amicable intentions of the expedition. By Attique was meant the town generally called by the English, Kittanning.† It occupied the site of the present town of this name, the capital of Armstrong county. Joncaire at once set out. Celoron followed more leisurely. The latter went that day about thirty-five miles. The next day they started pretty early. They passed several streams, of which Celoron makes note, and he observes that on the higher grounds by the river were villages of Loups and Iroquois of the Five Nations. They encamped that day at an early hour, "in order to give M. de Joncaire time to reach the village of Attique." The next morning, after going eight or ten miles, they arrived at Attique. They found Joncaire awaiting them there, but the inhabitants of the town had fled. The place contained twenty-two cabins. The Indians who lived here were Loups. A chief with two young warriors had tarried to observe what should be done. Seeing Joncaire but slenderly accompanied, he had ap-

† This has been conclusively shown by the editor of the *Historical Researches*. See Vol. I. pp. 26-30, and Vol. II. pp. 105-107.

proached him, and demanded to know what he wanted. This man Joncaire attempted to conciliate with fair speeches, and induced him to carry some belts of wampum to the villages farther down the river, and urge the people to remain at their homes, and not run away upon the approach of the expedition. If the chief executed his mission, he does not seem to have been eminently successful.

Celoron remained at Attique but a short time, and then proceeded on his way. Some hours afterwards he reached Chartier's town, which stood on the right bank of the Allegheny not far below the site of the present town of Freeport. Here he found six English soldiers, as he calls them, more probably traders, with fifty horses and about one hundred and fifty bales of furs, on their way to the east. Chartier's town was a well known place. It was the point of departure from the Allegheny on the Kiskiminetas route between the east and west. The town had been abandoned for some years, and was generally called Chartier's old town. Celoron does not seem to have known the name, and terms it simply "an old village of the Shawanese." He warned the English whom he found here, against intruding upon what he claimed was the territory of the French king,

and by them sent a letter to the governor of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. This letter has been preserved in the archives of the state.* Governor Hamilton informs the assembly that he had received three letters from one signing himself "Celoron," laying claim to the back parts of the colony in the name of the French king. One of these letters, as we have just seen, was written at Chartier's town; one was written the next day at a village which Celoron calls Written Rock, which was no doubt Shannopin's town, which stood on the bank of the Allegheny river, within the present limits of the city of Pittsburg. From this latter village the Indians had all fled. They were ruled, says Celoron, by an old woman "who looks upon herself as a queen, and is entirely devoted to the English." The old woman was no doubt Queen Aliquippa. Here he found six English traders, who came "all trembling" before him when he landed. He gave them the same warning as the others, and by them sent a letter to the governor. Where the third letter was written we do

* For the want of proper information on the subject, our local antiquaries have had a good deal of difficulty to harmonize the date of this letter, August 6, with the movements of Celoron; but in the light of Celoron's Journal the difficulty has vanished.

not know—most likely at Logstown.* The traders at Written Rock told him they would withdraw; "that they knew well they had no right to trade, but not having encountered any obstacles up to the present, they had sought to gain their livelihood; and the more so, as the Indians had attracted them thither, but that henceforward they would not return." Celoron describes the place as the most attractive that he had yet seen on the Beautiful river. He calls it Written Rock, no doubt from the circumstance that a short distance below he passed a rock on which were "certain writings." The writings, upon investigation, turned out to be only some English names written with charcoal. He encamped on the evening of the seventh of August about three leagues below the forks of the Ohio. It is worthy of remark that Celoron makes no mention of the Monongahela river; why the omission, it is impossible to conceive. It is the more surprising, as the Monongahela was then, even more than at present, more noticeable than the Allegheny, to one looking back in de-

* At Logstown also he summoned the English traders before him, and gave them the same warning as the others. He adds, "I wrote to the governor of Carolina in terms similar to those I had employed in writing to the governor at Philadelphia"—whether he means just then or before, we cannot say.

scending the Ohio.* The next day early, Celoron arrived at Chiningue, or Logstown, on the right bank of the Ohio, eighteen miles below the village of Written Rock.

* "Upon looking back you see at some distance directly up the Monongahela, but the point of the two banks only, that form the mouth of the Allegheny, is visible, none of its waters."—*Arthur Lee's Journal*, December 17, 1784.

FRENCH MOVEMENTS IN 1753.

The letter written by Celoron to the governor of Pennsylvania, from Chartier's town, has been preserved.* It is dated at "an ancient village" of the Shawanese on the Belle river, August the sixth—*le sixieme Aoust.* In his letter, Celoron proceeds to say:

Having been sent with a detachment into these quarters to reconcile among themselves certain savage nations, who are ever at a variance on account of the war just terminated, I have been much surprised to find some traders of your government in a country to which England never had any pretensions. · · · · Those whom I just fell in with, and by whom I write you, I have treated with all mildness possible, although I would have been justified in treating them as interlopers and men without design, their enterprise being contrary to the preliminaries of peace signed five months ago. I hope, sir, you will carefully prohibit for the future this trade, which is contrary to treaties; and give notice to your traders that they will expose themselves to great risks in returning to these countries, and that they must impute only to themselves the misfortunes that they may meet with.

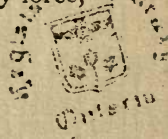
However, notwithstanding Celoron's warnings, we find that George Croghan, a famous trader with the

*Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. V. p. 425.

Indians, some months later ventured again into the forbidden "countries." In December, 1750, he writes to Governor Hamilton from Logstown, that he had been informed by some Indians there that they had seen Joncaire at an Indian town about one hundred and fifty miles up the river, where he intended to build a fort, if the Indians would give their consent. The place was, no doubt, at the mouth of French Creek. "He has five canoes loaded with goods," continues Croghan, "and is very generous in making presents to all the chiefs of the Indians that he meets with."

On the eighteenth of the following May, Croghan again arrived at Logstown. He was accompanied by Andrew Montour, a half-breed, who was widely known on the border. They went to Logstown to deliver the goods presented by the provincial government to the Indians on the Ohio. Only two days afterwards Joncaire and another Frenchman, with forty warriors of the Six Nations, came to Logstown "from the heads of the Ohio." The next day Joncaire summoned a council of all the Indians in the place, and made a speech to them. He desired to know what answer they had to give to the speech of Celoron nearly two years before. "Their father, the governor of Canada," Joncaire assured them, "de-

sired his children on the Ohio to turn away the English traders from among them, and to discharge them from ever coming to trade there again, or any of the branches, on pain of incurring his displeasure." To this speech one of the chiefs made instant answer: "You desire we may turn our brothers, the English, away," said he, "and not suffer them to trade with us again. I now tell you, from our hearts, we will not, for we ourselves brought them here to trade with us, and they shall live among us as long as there is one of us alive. You are always threatening our brothers what you will do to them, and in particular that man," (pointing to Croghan); "now if you have anything to say to our brothers, tell it to him, if you are a man, as you Frenchmen always say you are, and the head of all nations. Our brothers are the people we will trade with, and not you." A few days after this Croghan had a conference with Joncaire, in which the latter desired he would excuse him, and not think hard of the speeches he made to the Indians requesting them to turn the English traders away, and not suffer them to trade, for he was only obeying his orders, although he was sensible which way the Indians would receive them. He was sure, he added, that the French could not accomplish their design with the Six Nations, unless it could be done by force;



and this he believed would be found to be as difficult as the method they had just tried, and would meet with no better success.

At a council held by Croghan with the Indians on the twenty-ninth of May, the speaker of the Six Nations said:

> Now, brothers, we have been considering what the French mean by their behavior, and we believe they want to cheat us out of our country; but we will stop them. And, brother, you must help us; we expect that you will build a strong house on the River Ohio, so that if we should be obliged to engage in a war, we should have a place to secure our wives and children, as well as our brothers that come to trade with us. We will take two months to consider and choose out a place fit for that purpose, and then we will send you word. We hope, brothers, as soon as you receive our message you will order such house to be built.

Meanwhile the French had been far from satisfied with the mere formal possession of the country as taken by Celoron. They at first confined their efforts to cultivating a good understanding with the natives and setting them against the English. For this purpose no better man could have been found than the wily Joncaire, and hence we find his presence in all the movements of those times. In 1752 the Marquis Duquesne succeeded to the governor-generalship of Canada, and under his rule more decided steps were taken. He determined to substantiate the French claims to the Ohio valley by taking

actual possession of it. In pursuance of this design, in the beginning of the year 1753, a force of three hundred men, under the command of Monsieur Babier, was sent out to establish military posts in the disputed region.

It was at first decided to build a fortification at the mouth of the Chautauqua creek, but before anything was done Monsieur Morin arrived with a large reinforcement and took the command. This officer concluded to abandon the position at the mouth of the Chautauqua, and proceeded along the lake coast southwest to the peninsula (in French, *presque isle*), where the city of Erie now stands. Here they built a fort, known in subsequent history as Fort Presqu' Isle. This fort was visited by Thomas Bull, an English spy, in the latter part of the year 1759. He thus describes it:

The fort is square with four bastions, square log work; no platform raised yet, so that they can't be used; only a small platform in each bastion for a sentinel; no guns upon the walk, but four pounders in one of the bastions not mounted on carriages. The wall only single logs · no bank within or ditch without; two gates of one equal size, about ten feet wide; one fronts the lake, about three hundred yards' distance, the other the road to Le Bœuf. The magazine is a stone house covered with shingles, and not sunk in the ground, standing in the right bastion, next the lake, going to Presqu' Isle from Le Bœuf. The other houses square logs.*

* Colonial Records, Vol. viii, p. 312.

About fifteen miles south of Presqu' Isle they built another fort on the site of the present town of Waterford, in Erie county, which they named Fort Le Bœuf. The English sometimes called it Buffalo Fort. A road was opened from Presqu' Isle to Le Bœuf. Washington visited Fort Le Bœuf late in the year 1753, and thus describes it in his journal:

It is situated on the south, or west, fork of French Creek, near the water, and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pounds before the gate. In the bastions are a guard house, chapel, doctor's lodging and the commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort for the soldiers' dwellings, covered some with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smiths' shops, etc.

As a further step in the same direction the French desired to build another fort at an Indian town called Ganagarahare, at the mouth of French Creek, the site of the present city of Franklin, but the Indians were jealous of them and long refused their consent. As early as 1750, as we have just seen from George Croghan's letter to Governor Hamilton, Joncaire was scheming to that end. The fort at Le Bœuf being

finished, a party of fifty men under Monsieur Bite were sent to Ganagarahare to construct the desired work, but they could not overcome the scruples of the Indians, and were compelled to leave the work unperformed. In the month of October, the French expedition, after leaving a small garrison in the two forts they had built, returned to Canada. But if the Indians would not permit a fort to be built at that point, the French effected a lodgment there nevertheless, and a small military post under the command of the ever active Joncaire was established upon the spot. Such was the posture of the French affairs in the Allegheny valley at the close of 1753.

FORT LE BŒUF.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST PUBLIC SERVICE.

Late in the year 1753, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia determined to send an envoy into the Ohio valley to ascertain the precise condition of affairs there. He had learned that the French had effected a lodgment in the valley, a region to which the Virginians laid claim. The governor chose for his messenger George Washington, a youth of only twenty-one years, yet one whose genius, fortitude, and experience in woodcraft pointed out as peculiarly well adapted to such a service. Already he was an adjutant-general of the Virginia soldiery, and had given intimations of that spirit which in after years was to raise him to an altitude never yet approached by any other man.

In his "Instructions" Washington was directed to proceed to Logstown, and there inform himself as to the whereabouts of the French. Having gained this

information, he was to proceed to the French posts, and deliver a letter from the governor to the chief commanding officer, and demand an answer thereto. At Logstown he was to address himself to the sachems of the Six Nations there, acquainting them with his orders, and desiring of them a sufficient escort for his enterprise. He was particularly to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio, their resources, and the means of communication between the different points. He was further to take care to be truly informed what forts the French had erected, and where; how they were garrisoned and appointed, and what was their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and from the best information possible he was to learn what gave occasion to these inroads of the French; how they were likely to be supported, and what were their pretensions.

On the very day that he received his commission, Washington set out on his arduous journey. The next day he arrived at Fredericksburg, where he engaged Jacob Vanbraam as French interpreter, and with him proceeded to Alexandria, where he provided such things as he thought would be necessary. From Alexandria he proceeded to Winchester, where he procured baggage horses, and then took the road to Wills Creek, where he arrived on the fourteenth of

November. At this place he engaged that redoubtable backwoodsman, Christopher Gist, to act as guide to the expedition, and hired four other men, Barnaby Currin and John McQuire, Indian traders, and Henry Steward and William Jenkins, to assist in the expedition. With this small party of six men, Washington "left the inhabitants the next day," November 15.

Already a great deal of snow had fallen, and this, with the excessive rain, rendered their progress so slow that they did not reach Frazier's house, at the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela river, till Thursday, the twenty-second of November. The streams had now become quite impassable, except by causing the horses to swim; hence the animals were relieved of the baggage, which was sent on by water in a canoe that they borrowed from Frazier. The canoe was put in charge of Currin and Steward; the rest of the party set forward with the horses. They had appointed to meet at the forks of the Ohio, about ten miles distant, the site of the present city of Pittsburg.

The party with the horses arrived at the rendezvous first. While awaiting the arrival of the canoe, Washington employed his leisure in making a careful observation of the place. He came to the conclusion that the land in the fork was "extremely well situated

for a fort," as it had command of both rivers. "The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water," he writes in his Journal, "and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it very convenient for building." Two miles below the point, on the left bank of the Ohio river, at what is now called McKee's Rocks, lived Shingiss, the king of the Delawares. The Ohio Company had determined to build a fort here. Washington called upon Shingiss, and invited him to the council at Logstown. The chief complied with the invitation. While here, Washington made a thorough examination of the place with a view to its military importance. He concluded that it was greatly inferior, "either for defense or advantage," to the point. "A fort at the fork," he observes, "would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the fork might be built at much less expense than at the other place. Nature has well contrived this lower place for water defence," he continues, "but the hill whereon it must stand, being a quarter of a mile in length, and then descending gradually on the land side, will render it difficult and very expen-

sive to make a sufficient fortification there. The whole flat upon the hill must be taken in, the side next the descent made extremely high, or else the hill itself must be cut away; otherwise, the enemy may raise batteries within that distance without being exposed to a single shot from the fort."

Accompanied by Shingiss, Washington arrived at Logstown about five o'clock in the evening, November 24. Upon inquiring he found that the Half-King* was absent at his hunting cabin on Little Beaver creek, about fifteen miles distant. Washington then at once called upon the chief, Monakatoocha. By means of John Davidson, an Indian interpreter, whom he probably found at Logstown, as he is not mentioned before, he informed the chief of his mission, and that he had been ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations and acquaint them with it. He then made the chief a present of a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King and other sachems, which he promised to do in the morning. Consequently, about three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the Half-King came to town. Washington at

* The Half-King, sometimes called Tanacharison, was a warm friend of the English, and, if he had lived, would no doubt have proved a valuable ally in the troubles with the French. He died October 4, 1754.

once went up and invited him privately, with Davidson, to his tent. The Half-King had recently made a journey to the French commandant, and Washington desired him to give the particulars of his visit, and an account of the ways and distance. He reported that his reception by the French commandant had been rather stern. In his speech to that officer the Half-King said: "We kindled a fire a long time ago, at a place called Montreal, where we desired you to stay, and not to come and intrude upon our land. I now desire you may dispatch to that place; for be it known to you, fathers, that this is our land and not yours." To this speech the French officer replied: "You need not put yourself to the trouble of speaking, for I will not hear you. I am not afraid of flies or mosquitoes, for Indians are such as those; I tell you, that down that river I will go, and build upon it, according to my command. If the river was blocked up, I have forces sufficient to burst it open and tread under my feet all that stand in opposition, together with their alliances; for my force is as the sand upon the seashore; therefore, here is your wampum; I sling it at you." The Half-King informed Washington that the nearest and most level way to the French fort was now impassable, by reason of many great swamps; that he would be obliged

to go by way of Venango, and that he would not reach the nearest fort in less than five or six days' good traveling. Washington was very eager to set forward; but his Indian escort could not get off, and it was the thirtieth of the month when he finally left Logstown for the French fort. The Half-King at first proposed to send a guard of Mingoes, Shawanese, and Delawares, in order, as he said, "that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them;" but this design was afterward changed, and Washington set off under a convoy of only three chiefs and one hunter. "The reason they gave," says Washington, "for not sending more, after what had been proposed at council, was, that a greater number might give the French suspicions of some bad design, and cause them to be treated rudely; but I rather think they could not get their hunters in."

However, about nine o'clock of the thirtieth, he started in company with the three chiefs, the Half-King, Jeskakake, White Thunder, and the hunter. Their way lay mainly in a diagonal line, more or less direct, through the present counties of Butler and Venango. In their way they were obliged to cross the Connoquenessing, Muddy Creek, Slippery Rock Creek, and Sandy Creek. It was the beginning of December. The weather was extremely rough, and

the hardships of the journey must have been very great. One cannot but wonder at the hardihood, the resolution, and the courage of a young man of less than twenty-two years, who would face a journey through the wilderness at such a season, and we can find an equal to these high qualities only in the prudence, wisdom, and tact which characterized his dealings alike with the cautious Indian and the wily Frenchman. On the fourth of December the party arrived at Venango. Washington describes it as "an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on Ohio; and lies near north about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go."

Here Washington met Captain Joncaire. He found him and two other French officers at a house upon which the French colors were flying. This house was one from which John Frazier, the English trader and gunsmith, had fled at the approach of Celoron, in 1749. Washington immediately repaired to this house to inquire where the French commander resided. Joncaire treated him very affably; told him that he, Joncaire, had command of the Ohio, but that there was a general officer at the near fort—Fort Le Bœuf—and advised him to apply there or an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter; and

ended by inviting him to sup with him and his brother officers. "The wine" says Washington, "as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely." They told him, among other things, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and they vowed their determination to do it; for though they were sensible the English could raise two men to their one, yet they knew the motions of the English were too slow and dilatory to prevent any enterprise that the French might undertake.

The next day it rained excessively, and Washington was prevented from resuming his journey. Meantime Joncaire had learned that the Half-King had come to the town in Washington's party, and pretended to be much concerned that Washington had not made free to bring him and the other sachems to the house. "I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable," says Washington, "and told him I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general. But another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company. I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of great influence

among the Indians, and had lately used all possible means to draw then over to his interest, therefore I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided." However, Joncaire sent for the chiefs, and when they came in he expressed great pleasure at seeing them. He wondered, he said, how they could be so near without coming to visit him. He was quite effusive over them. He made them several trifling presents and treated them so abundantly with fire-water that in a short time they were as drunk as possible, in spite of Washington's advice.

The artifices of Joncaire so influenced the chiefs that it was with great difficulty Washington could prevail upon them to proceed with him to the fort, and it was not until noon of the seventh that he finally induced them to set out. Monsieur La Force, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, accompanied the party. The weather continued extremely unfavorable, and the way was through "mires and swamps," so that they did not arrive at Fort Le Bœuf until the eleventh of December. Washington at once waited upon the commandant. The officer was an elderly man, a knight of the Order of St. Louis. His name was Legardeur de St. Pierre. He had been in command at the fort but

a few days when Washington arrived. To him Washington delivered his commission and letter.

As the snow continued to increase very fast, and the horses were every day becoming weaker from want of proper forage, on the fourteenth of the month Washington sent them off under the care of Currin and two others to Venango, with orders to await there the return of the party, if there should be a prospect of the river's freezing; if not, then to proceed to Shannopin's town, at the forks of the Ohio, and wait there for the party, who would go down by water. At the fort, as at Venango, every scheme was resorted to to detain the Indians and prevent them from returning with Washington. On the evening of the fourteenth, Washington received an answer to Governor Dinwiddie's letter, and he prepared to depart the next morning. The commandant had furnished him with canoes, and the next day ordered a plentiful store of liquor, provisions, etc., to be put on board. He appeared extremely complaisant, "though," says Washington, "he was exerting every artifice which he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, to prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and everything which could be suggested by him or his officers." Washington went to St. Pierre and remonstrated with him, and complained

of ill-treatment; that detaining the Indians, since they were part of his company, was detaining him. St. Pierre protested he did not keep them, but that he was ignorant of the cause of their delay. The cause was not difficult to learn—he had promised them a present of guns, etc., if they would wait until the next morning. As the Indians were very desirous of remaining, Washington consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.

The next day, the sixteenth, the French renewed their attempts to detain the Indians still longer; but Washington held the Half-King so closely to his word that he at length set off as he had promised. The passage down the creek was very tedious and fatiguing. A number of times the canoes came near being staved against the rocks, and frequently all hands were obliged to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. Such had been the difficulties of the voyage that they did not reach Venango until the twenty-second. Here they found the horses waiting for them.

The next day Washington resumed his journey. "When I got things ready to set off," he says, "I sent for the Half-King to know whether he intended to go with us or by water. He told me that White

Thunder had hurt himself much, and was sick, and unable to walk; therefore he was obliged to carry him down in a canoe. As I found he intended to stay here a day or two, and knew that Monsieur Joncaire would employ every scheme to set him against the English, as he had before done, I told him I hoped he would guard against his flattery, and let no fine speeches influence him in their favor. He desired I might not be concerned, for he knew the French too well for anything to engage him in their favor; and that though he could not go down with us, he yet would endeavor to meet at the forks with Joseph Campbell, to deliver a speech for me to carry to his honor the governor. He told me he would order the Young Hunter to attend us, and get provisions, etc., if wanted.

"Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore myself and the others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in reasonable time. The horses became

less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow, continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honor, the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly I left Mr. Vanbraam in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries from place to place for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in traveling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed.* We took this fellow into

* The scene of this attempt upon the life of Washington is believed to have been in the present Forward township, in Butler county, Pennsylvania.

custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stops, that we might get the start, so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day, since we were well assured they would follow our tracks as soon as it was light. The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunsetting. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off, but before we were half-way over we were jammed in the ice in such a manner that we expected every moment our raft to sink and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting pole to try and stop the raft that the ice might pass by, when

Mr. Gist, who also kept a journal of the trip, says that Murdering town was "on the South-east Fork of Beaver creek," by which he most likely means the Connoquenessing. "Traces of an Indian village were plainly visible upon this stream in the vicinity of Buhl's Mill, Forward township, when the country was settled, and many years later."—*History of Butler County.* p. 14. *note.*

the rapidity of the stream threw it with such violence against the pole that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it. The cold was so extremely severe that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen, and the water was shut up so hard that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's."

The island upon which Washington and Mr. Gist spent that cold winter night is thought to have been a small island afterward called Wainwright's island. Mr. N. B. Craig, the historian of Pittsburg, investigated this point, and satisfied himself that it was not Herr's island, as some have thought. Wainwright's island lay near the left bank of the river, and the narrow channel between that and the shore might freeze in one night; but the wider passage between Herr's island and the left bank of the river could scarcely freeze over in the manner described in one night. Wainwright's island has long since entirely disappeared.

Washington was detained for some time at Mr. Frazier's, while waiting for horses with which to con-

tinue his journey; in the meantime he went up to the mouth of the Youghiogheny, where McKeesport now stands, to visit Aliquippa, the Indian queen, who had removed from her former residence at Shannopin's town. The old lady expressed great concern that Washington had passed her without calling on his way to the Ohio. Washington placated her with a present of a watch-coat and a bottle of rum, "which latter," says he, "was thought much the better present of the two."

On Thursday, the first day of January, 1754, a year ever since memorable as that in which began the long and bloody French and Indian war, Washington left Frazier's house, and on the seventh he arrived at Wills Creek, after an absence of fifty-three days in the wilderness. The weather throughout had been bad, and the toils, dangers, and hardships of the expedition had been almost inconceivable. On the sixteenth of January he arrived at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia, and waited upon the governor, with the letter from the French commandant, and to give an account of his journey.

GREAT MEADOWS.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN.

At the beginning of the year 1754, the Virginia authorities determined to take possession of the point of land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Accordingly, two companies of one hundred men each were raised, and put under the command of Major George Washington. Of one of the companies William Trent was captain. On the meeting of the Virginia Assembly, a large sum was voted for the defense of the colony, and the force increased to six companies. Colonel Joshua Fry was put in the chief command, and Washington, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was made second. About the middle of February, an advance party of Trent's men, forty-one in number, had gone forward, and were busily engaged in building a fort on the site of the present city of Pittsburg, when on the seventeenth of April, their operations were suddenly

checked by the descent of a large force of French and Indians from Venango. They were reported to be a thousand strong. Their commander was Captain de Contrecœur. Though their numbers were not so great as reported, it was still a formidable force, and outnumbered the Virginia detachment nearly twenty to one. De Contrecœur at once sent in an order for the surrender of the place. As it happened, the superior officers of the company were absent at the time, and the command for the moment devolved upon the ensign, whose name was Ward. He was allowed but one hour in which to consider de Contrecœur's demand. He begged for time to confer with his superiors, but the request was refused. The English, the French officer claimed, had no authority in the valley of the Ohio, and consequently it could not be necessary to consult about it. They were clearly intruders, and must depart at once. As all thought of resistance to such numbers was out of the question, Ensign Ward had nothing to do but to deliver up the unfinished fortification, and betake himself elsewhere. The French were not otherwise severe in their terms, and Ward was allowed to bring away all his men, arms, and working tools.* The French at once completed the fort on a larger scale than the

* Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, Vol. II. p. 12.

English had contemplated, and called it Fort Duquesne, in compliment to the governor of Canada.

Meantime Washington was on his way westward with two companies of about seventy-five men each. He arrived at Wills Creek on the twentieth of April. On the twenty-fifth, he was met there by Ensign Ward, who recounted the affair at the forks of the Ohio. Upon this intelligence, he resolved not to proceed to the forks until sufficient reinforcements should be received, but to direct his course to the Monongahela, at the mouth of the Redstone. There were at that place storehouses that had been erected by the Ohio Company, and there he could deposit his munitions and supplies. Besides, from that point there would be water-carriage for the heavy artillery, whenever it should be determined to proceed to the forks of the Ohio. An additional reason was, that it was desirable to keep the troops employed, in order to prevent the demoralization that would ensue from an inactive camp life, and to encourage the Indians in their allegiance.* Washington had received some small accessions to his force, and had now about two hundred and fifty men. The work of making a road through the wilderness was exceedingly difficult, and his progress was slow and tedious.

*Sparks, Vol. II. p. 15, *note.*

At the Youghiogheny he received word from his old friend, the Half-King, who had been his companion the preceding winter in his trip to Fort Le Bœuf, that a party of French were on the march to meet him. Washington proceeded immediately to a favorable spot called the Great Meadows, where he threw up a breastwork, and put himself in the best possible state of defence.

The Great Meadows was a narrow glade beyond the Great Crossing of the Youghiogheny, and about four miles from the eastern base of the Laurel Hill. Washington at once sent out scouts, but they returned without having seen any signs of the enemy. Mr. Gist, however, now made his appearance, and reported that a party of French had been at his house, thirteen miles distant, the day before, and that he had just seen the tracks of the enemy within five miles of the camp.* This was in the morning of the twenty-seventh of May. The following night Washington received word from the Half-King, who was encamped with a number of warriors about six miles off, that the enemy was close at hand. Washington with forty men immediately set out for the camp of the Half-King. The night was extremely dark. The rain poured down in torrents.

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 25.

The path was obscure and difficult. "We were frequently tumbling over one another," says Washington, "and often so lost, that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again." It was daylight before Washington had joined the Half-King. A council was held, and it was determined to march together, hand in hand, "and strike the French." Two Indians who had been sent out to ascertain the position of the enemy, discovered them in an almost inaccessible retreat at a short distance. A plan of attack was agreed upon, and the movement was at once begun. The French discovered their approach, however, and flew to arms. Firing immediately began on both sides, and was continued with vigor for a quarter of an hour, when the French gave up. Their commander, M. de Jumonville, and nine of his men were killed, twenty-two men were taken prisoners, and one man, a Canadian, made his escape at the beginning of the affray. This man, whose name was Mouceau, returned safe to Fort Duquesne. He gave to de Contrecœur an entirely untruthful account of the affair up to the moment of his escape, which has been perpetuated by the French historians, much to the prejudice of Washington's good name. In the skirmish, Washington had

one man killed, and two or three wounded. The Indians escaped unharmed.

Among the prisoners were two principal officers, M. Drouillon and M. La Force, and two cadets, M. de Boucherville and M. du Sablé. With La Force, Washington had some acquaintance. He had accompanied Washington a few months before on his journey from Venango to Fort Le Bœuf. He was a dangerous enemy. Washington represents him as "a bold, enterprising man, and a person of great subtlety and cunning." "These officers pretend they were coming on an embassy," writes Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, "but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. Their instructions were to reconnoiter the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do. . . . This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly that they were sent as spies, rather than anything else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors."* Washington treated these officers with great kindness, and forwarded them with a letter bespeak-

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 33.

ing the favor of the governor; but the history of La Force was such that it was deemed proper to keep him in confinement. He was accordingly put in jail at Williamsburg. About two years afterward, he managed to escape from durance, but was captured before he had proceeded far in his flight, and returned to prison, loaded with chains.* M. Drouillon was sent to England.

Colonel Fry, when on his way to join Washington, died suddenly at Wills Creek, on the thirty-first of May, and the chief command devolved upon Washington. Some reinforcements had been sent forward, and he now found himself at the head of about four hundred men. The principal part of these reinforcements was a company of independent troops from South Carolina, under Captain Mackay. As Washington apprehended that as soon as the news of the recent skirmish should reach Fort Duquesne, a stronger party would be sent out against him, he at once set to work to enlarge and strengthen the slight fortification that he had made at Great Meadows. The work was called Fort Necessity.

Washington now renewed his attempt to reach the mouth of the Redstone. Captain Mackay and his company of South Carolinians were left as a guard at

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 178, *note*.

the fort, and Washington and his men moved forward. They cleared the path, and made a road as they proceeded, for the passage of artillery and wagons. But the labor was so arduous, that in two weeks they had advanced only as far as Mr. Gist's place, at the second crossing of the Youghiogheny. Here Washington was informed that a very large force of French and Indians were on the march to oppose him. It was determined at first to make a stand at Mr. Gist's; accordingly intrenchments were made, and Captain Mackay was ordered to bring his company forward. At a council of war, however, it was resolved to retire eastward, and the retrograde movement was begun. It was not the intention to remain at Fort Necessity, but when they reached that point the men were found to be so fatigued, and so exhausted from the want of food, that it was thought advisable to confront the enemy there. The works were accordingly further strengthened, the ground cleared of trees and bushes, and preparations made for the expected conflict.

They had not long to wait. Early in the morning of July 3, Washington received word that the enemy, nine hundred strong, was in his near neighborhood. Their commander was M. de Villiers, brother of the unfortunate Jumonville. By eleven o'clock the

whole body approached the fort, and began a brisk firing at some little distance, with the object of drawing Washington away from his defenses. But Washington collected his men within the fort, and an interchange of firing was kept up all day, but with no great effect on either side. The rain poured down nearly constantly. The trenches were filled with water, and many of the arms were rendered unserviceable. At the close of the day the French asked for a parley, and that an officer might be sent out to them for that purpose, engaging at the same time for his safety. The request was at first refused, as Washington suspected it to be only a ruse to discover his condition; but upon being repeated Captain Vanbraam, a Dutchman, who professed to have some knowledge of the French language, was sent out. He returned with certain articles of capitulation, which he pretended to interpret. The terms, as they were explained to Washington, were not rigorous. The English were to be allowed to retire without molestation, with colors flying and drums beating, and to take everything with them except their artillery.* Washington's force in the battle of Fort Necessity was about four hundred men. Twelve of the Virginia troops were killed, and about forty-

*Sparks, Vol. I. p. 56.

three were wounded. The loss to Captain Mackay's company is not known. The next morning the English marched out, taking their wounded with them. The men were in a very weak and enfeebled condition from long exposure, hard labor, and insufficient food, and were much encumbered with the baggage and wounded. There was some pilfering of the departing soldiery by the Indians, and some danger of such a horrible tragedy as a few years later took place at Fort William Henry; but this calamity was providentially averted, and the English retired without any serious embarrassment.

Two points in the articles of stipulation afterward involved Washington in some adverse criticism and personal odium. The loyalty of Vanbraam has been suspected; besides, his knowledge of both English and French was very deficient. Washington did not understand the French language; also, it must be remembered that at this time he was but a youth of barely twenty-two years. One of these points was to the effect that the English should not attempt to make any establishments at that place or west of the mountains for the space of one year.* The language

* The language of the article was, "Dans ce lieu-ci, ni deça de la hauteur des terres, pendant une année à compter de ce jour."—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, Vol. II., Appendix, *note*.

of the article was explained to Washington by Vanbraam to mean that the English would "not attempt buildings or improvements on the lands of his Most Christian Majesty." As Washington denied the right of the French king to the country in the Ohio valley, he very readily assented to the proposition. He was afterward somewhat criticised by his countrymen for granting this stipulation.

Again, the language of one of the articles referred to the death of Jumonville as an assassination. The language used was, "l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville." This was misread and misconstrued by Vanbraam. An officer of the regiment afterward declared that no such word as "assassination" was mentioned. As the article was interpreted, it read, "the death of Jumonville." As it stood, it brought upon Washington a great deal of odium with the French. "We made the English consent to sign," said de Villiers, "that they had assassinated my brother in his camp." The French claimed that Jumonville was proceeding as a peaceful ambassador, and that he had been ruthlessly assassinated by Washington. The French nation grew very warm over it. It was made the subject of an epic by M. Thomas, a somewhat distinguished French poet. We have seen the character of Jumonville. He came with a large retinue of

armed men. He secreted himself as well as he could in an obscure retreat. He ran to arms immediately on the approach of the Virginians. He made no amicable demonstration whatever. "They pretend that they called to us," says Washington, "as soon as we were discovered, which is absolutely false, for I was at the head of the party in approaching them, and can affirm, that, as soon as they saw us, they ran to their arms without calling, which I should have heard if they had done so." The character of Jumonville was very dubious, to say the least. While generally just and generous toward Washington, the French have always held up their hands in horror at this act, and have excused it only on account of the youth and inexperience of Washington, and the violence of his men. Captains Vanbraam and Stobo were given as hostages to the French for the return of the prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville. The cartel was not recognized by the authorities. These officers were taken first to Fort Duquesne and afterward sent to Canada. After some time Captain Stobo made his escape. Vanbraam disappears from the history.* The conduct of

* He is said to have returned to Williamsburg, Virginia, in the fall of 1760, after a confinement of six years in Canada. See *History of Western Pennsylvania*, p. 81, *note*.

Washington and the Virginia troops was highly approved by the governor and council, and met with the almost unqualified praise of the people. Washington and his officers received a vote of thanks of the house of burgesses for their brave and gallant service in defence of their country, while a pistole was granted from the public treasury to each of the soldiers.

The affair of Great Meadows was not a great thing in itself, but it is memorable as the first conflict of arms in the long and bitter war that followed, and as the scene of the first unsheathing of the sword of Washington—a sword that afterward pointed out the path that led his country to liberty and independence.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

In the winter of 1754 the British government resolved upon more energetic measures in the struggle with France in America. As one part of the general plan, it was resolved to send two regiments of regulars, the Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth, of about five hundred men each, to act against Fort Duquesne. These regiments were under Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, the whole expedition being under the command of Major-General Edward Braddock, a veteran officer of approved skill, courage and integrity. He had entered the service as an ensign in the famous Coldstream Guards in the year 1710, and had risen step by step to his present position.* As the event proved, he was not well suited

* His father, whose name he bore, had been an officer of high rank in the same regiment, "and it may be worth noting that the total period of service in this regiment of father and son did not fall short of seventy years, during all which period the name of Edward Braddock appeared on its roster."—Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 123.

for an enterprise like that in which he was now engaged; but "whatever were his failings," says Parkman, "he feared nothing, and his fidelity and honor in the discharge of public trusts were never questioned."

In January, 1755, the two designated regiments embarked at Cork, and in the following March arrived at Hampton, in Virginia. From Hampton they proceeded to Alexandria, where a camp was formed. Braddock experienced great difficulty in procuring wagons to convey the baggage and stores of his army. By the influence mainly of Dr. Franklin, among the farmers of Pennsylvania, a sufficient number of horses and wagons was at length obtained. In May, Braddock reached Fort Cumberland, at Wills Creek, on the very frontier of western civilization. He had been joined by a number of provincial troops, so that his entire force was now about twenty-two hundred men. Among the Virginians who had flocked to his standard was the youthful George Washington, already somewhat known to fame for his gallant conduct in the border troubles. Braddock made Washington his aide-de-camp, and in this position he did invaluable service in the ensuing campaign. By the tenth of June, Braddock had his army in motion from Fort Cumberland. But the cumbrousness of his baggage

and the difficulties of the march were such that by the eighteenth of the month he had only reached the Little Meadows, a distance of thirty miles. A road had to be cut through the wilderness; and not only that, but Braddock seemed to think it necessary to bridge every little stream, and level every mole-hill in his way. All this disgusted Washington, who at length prevailed upon Braddock to leave the heavy baggage under the care of Colonel Dunbar, and push forward. But their progress was still extremely slow, so that it was not until the evening of the eighth of July that they reached the Monongahela river, a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny. Braddock had with him about fifteen hundred men, the rest having been left with Colonel Dunbar in charge of the baggage.

On the morning of the ninth of July, Braddock crossed to the left bank of the Monongahela, to avoid some hills that ran down to the water's edge. His route then lay along the flat lands on the left bank for about three miles, when he re-crossed the river at a point a short distance below the mouth of Turtle Creek. A house stood here which belonged to John Frazier, the Indian trader. Washington knew the place well, as he had stopped at Frazier's, both when going and coming on his famous trip to

Fort Le Bœuf, some eighteen months before. This house was within nine miles of Fort Duquesne. Braddock and his men no doubt felt that their long march was about ended, and the object of the expedition almost realized. The idea of any serious opposition being offered them never entered the head of the over-confident Braddock. Washington from the first had predicted otherwise. "We shall have more to do," said he, "than to march up hill and then down again."

It was about one o'clock in the afternoon of a sunny summer day, when Braddock's army crossed, and halted in a narrow plain on the right bank of the Monongahela, and then re-formed for the march. A rough path led from Frazier's house to Fort Duquesne, and along this the army began to move slowly. This path ran inland for a little, then curved to the left and followed a course parallel to the river, along the base of a line of steep hills that bordered the valley.* But meantime let us note what is taking place at Fort Duquesne. James Smith, an intelligent young man of eighteen, gives us some information on this point.† He had been one of Braddock's road-

* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chapter VII.

† Smith's *Narrative* has been several times reprinted; it may be found in Drake's *Indian Captivities*, pp. 178–264.

cutters, and had been captured by the Indians a short time before. He had been carried prisoner to Fort Duquesne, and compelled to run the gauntlet, according to their custom, and was very severely handled. "On the ninth day of July, 1755, in the morning," he says, "I heard a great stir in the fort. As I could then walk with a staff in my hand, I went out of the door, which was just by the wall of the fort, and stood upon the wall, and viewed the Indians in a huddle before the gate, where there were barrels of powder, bullets, flints, etc., and every one taking what suited. I saw the Indians also march off in rank entire; likewise the French Canadians and some regulars." Though the Indians now went off with some alacrity, only a short time before they had been slow enough. As the large force of Braddock drew near, De Contrecœur, the commandant, was filled with alarm. He did not feel that he was able to defend the fort. Captain Beaujeu, a man of great courage and enterprise, had recently arrived with some re-enforcements. He had been designated to relieve De Contrecœur, and in a few days would have assumed command of the fort.* He now appealed to

*The claim has been made that Beaujeu was in command of the fort at this time, but Parkman very conclusively shows that De Contrecœur was in the chief command. See the matter discussed in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Appendix D.

the Indians to go out with him and meet the enemy. From this appeal they recoiled in alarm. "I am determined to go out against the enemy," said Beaujeu. "I am certain of victory. What!" he exclaimed, "will you suffer your father to depart alone?" The Indians at length consented to go. Beaujeu's party consisted of six hundred and thirty-seven Indians, thirty-six French officers and cadets, seventy-two regulars, and one hundred and forty-six Canadians, or about nine hundred men in all.* It had been Beaujeu's intention to contest the passage of the Monongahela at the second ford, but dissensions among his Indians, and other obstacles, had interfered somewhat with his march, and he met the van of Braddock's army about half a mile from the river. But the ground was favorable to his purpose, being covered with a thick growth of trees and bushes, and intersected with shallow ravines.

It has been generally represented that Braddock fell into an ambuscade; but, as Parkman says, there was no ambuscade; on the contrary, except that he did not reconnoiter the woods very far in advance of the head of the column, Braddock had made "elaborate dispositions to prevent surprise." The vanguard, with the road-cutters, had proceeded some

* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chapter VII.

distance up the slope, when Mr. Gordon, one of the engineers who were in front marking out the road, perceived the enemy bounding forward. Before them, with long leaps, came Beaujeu, in Indian costume, but wearing a silver gorget on his bosom, which bespoke his leadership. He suddenly halted when he came in sight of the British, and waved his hat above his head. At this signal his party instantly dispersed to the right and left, and secreted themselves behind rocks and trees, and in the convenient ravines. If the earth had opened and swallowed them up they could not have more completely disappeared from view.* At once a volley of musketry assailed the vanguard. The troops promptly faced about, and discharged their arms; but as no enemy was visible, their fire was of little effect. Volley after volley was poured into their ranks. Re-enforcements were hurried forward, and the fire of the unseen enemy was returned with spirit. At the third fire, the gallant Beaujeu fell dead. Dumas succeeded to the command. The leaden hail continued to pour upon the British ranks, and men were falling thick and fast on every side. The troops became demoralized and fell back, abandoning the two guns that had been hauled in front. Courage was not wanting, but it

*Sargent's *History of Braddock's Expedition*, p. 227.

seemed impossible to contend successfully against an invisible foe. The work of carnage went on, the British firing at random, often into the air, and sometimes into their own ranks. The Provincial troops would have taken to the trees, and fought the Indians in their own way, but this Braddock would not allow. To him it seemed cowardice to skulk behind trees. He knew of but one way to fight, and that was to stand up to the work like men. As for himself, Braddock was the impersonation of intrepidity. The old warrior galloped through all parts of the field, ordering, exhorting, and swearing. He had four horses shot under him, and had mounted a fifth when a ball pierced his side. Already the order for retreat had been sounded; but with the fall of Braddock, the retreat became a rout. The dreadful work of carnage had gone on for more than two hours, and all discipline and regard for military authority had now merged into an instinctive desire to preserve life by escape from the bloody scene. The soldiers rushed pellmell down the hill and across the river, leaving everything behind them. Every effort to stop them or to make another stand, was unavailing. Braddock was borne from the field by a few of his officers, and Washington, with a handful of his gallant Virginians, covered the retreat. The destruction of Braddock's

force was almost complete. Of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or disabled; and of one thousand three hundred and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and privates, only four hundred and fifty-nine came off unharmed.* The wounded were left on the field, and the imagination shudders at the thought of the barbarities of the savages, whose tender mercies even are cruel. The loss to the French and Indians was but forty or fifty in all.

Young James Smith, as he saw the party of Beaujeu file off that morning toward the forest, was in high hopes that he would soon see them flying before the British, and that General Braddock would take the fort and rescue him. "I remained anxious to know the event of this day," he says, "and, in the afternoon, I again observed a great noise and commotion in the fort, and though at that time I could not understand French, yet I found that it was the voice of joy and triumph, and feared that they had received what I called bad news. I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch I went to one of them and asked him what was the news. He told me that a runner had just arrived,

*These figures are given a little differently by different authorities; the above are adopted by Parkman on the authority of Patrick Mackellar, who was chief engineer of the expedition.

who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English; and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take to the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters, so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

"About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked,

with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked; these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of the Allegheny river, opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screamed in a most doleful manner; the Indians, in the meantime, yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry." But there was one note of regret in the midst of the rejoicing at Fort Duquesne: the brave Beaujeu had fallen. His body was brought back to the fort, and buried on the twelfth "in the cemetery of Fort Duquesne, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin at the Beautiful river."*

Dunbar's camp was forty miles in the rear. Braddock reached the camp on the eleventh. With the news of Braddock's defeat, a wanton and useless destruction of stores and arms was made, and a retreat to Fort Cumberland begun. Braddock lingered in great agony, of both body and mind,

* See the *Register of Baptisms and Interments at Fort Duquesne.* An excellent edition, with a translation of this work, has been published by Rev. A. A. Lambing, A. M.

until the evening of Sunday, the thirteenth of July, when he died. His last words were, "We shall better know how to deal with them another time." He died at the Great Meadows, and was buried the next day in the road, and the wagons were drawn over his grave so that it might not be discovered by the Indians.

Bad news flies fast. At ten o'clock the next day after the battle, a teamster, covered with dust and perspiration, and mounted on a weary horse, rode into Dunbar's camp with the news of the defeat; at noon the following day it was known at Fort Cumberland; on the fifteenth at Carlisle; by the eighteenth of the month at Philadelphia,* and soon everywhere. The news of the defeat caused a great revulsion of feeling. The highest hopes had been built on Braddock's expedition. All over the

* I give this date on the authority of Mr. H. P. Cochran of Richmond, Virginia, who writes me as follows: "I find in a manuscript diary in the Virginia State Library, kept by a gentleman of this State during the year 1755, the following entry written in Philadelphia: 'Friday, July 18. This afternoon about three o'clock we were terribly alarmed by an express by way of Maryland, from Colonel Innis, dated at Wills Creek or Fort Cumberland, July 11, giving an account that the forces under General Braddock were entirely defeated by the French, on the ninth, on the river Monongahela.'"

country that summer people had been singing a patriotic song, one stanza of which ran thus:

"March on, march on, brave Braddock leads the foremost;
The battle is begun, as you may fairly see;
Stand firm, be bold, and it will soon be over,
We'll soon gain the field from our proud enemy." †

From this height of expectation men were suddenly plunged into the yawning gulf of gloom and alarm. The whole frontier lay exposed to the hatchet and the torch of the remorseless red man. "By this event," says Graydon, "every obstacle to their incursions being removed, in the minds of the timid they were to be looked for everywhere. From the consternation that prevailed, I can still recollect that the horrors of a discomfiture by such a foe were among my most early and lively impressions. To the terror of the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, the imagination adds the savage yells, the gloomy woods and dismal swamps, which are their usual accompaniments." ‡

† This song is printed in *Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition*, Appendix No. 5.

‡ *Memoirs of his Own Time*, by Alexander Graydon, p. 23.

DESTRUCTION OF KITTANNING.

THE apprehensions of the border settlers were soon fully justified. Dumas, who shortly succeeded de Contrecœur in the command at Fort Duquesne, set vigorously to work to put the Indians on the war-path against the defenceless settlements. "M. de Contrecœur had not been gone a week," he writes, "before I had six or seven different war parties in the field at once, always accompanied by Frenchmen. Thus far, we have lost only two officers and a few soldiers; but the Indian villages are full of prisoners of every age and sex. The enemy has lost far more since the battle than on the day of his defeat."*

All along the frontier the murderous work went on. At Mahahony, in Union county, the Indians killed and captured about twenty-five persons and burned and destroyed the buildings. The settlement was abandoned. The settlements of the Great Cove were

* Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chapter X.

attacked, the houses were burned, a number of people were killed, and seventeen were carried off. In December, 1755, the Indians entered Northampton county, burned fifty houses, murdered over one hundred persons, and laid waste a great part of that county. The next spring the savages attacked and burned McCord's fort, in Conococheague, and killed or captured twenty-seven persons. In July, 1756, they made their appearance in Sherman's valley. They captured Fort Granville, and took a number of prisoners whom they carried to Kittanning.* Fear prevailed throughout the community. "The alarmed colonists," says Fenimore Cooper, referring to those times, "believed that the yells of the savages mingled with every fitful gust of wind that issued from the interminable forests of the west. The terrific character of their merciless enemies increased immeasurably the natural horrors of warfare. Numberless recent massacres were still vivid in their recollections; nor was there any ear in the provinces so deaf as not to have drunk in with avidity the narrative of some fearful tale of midnight murder, in which the natives of the forests were the principal and barbarous actors. †

* See the *History of Western Pennsylvania*, pp. 119, 120, and the references there.

† The Last of the Mohicans, Chapter I.

It was in the thick of this gloomy period that Colonel John Armstrong determined to strike a blow at the enemy. Armstrong was living at the time at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania. He has been described as "one of the most remarkable men of his time. To fearless intrepidity of the highest cast was united in his character a strong sense of religious responsibility, that rarely blends with military sentiment."* He did much valuable service during our troubles with the French, and afterward served as a brigadier-general in the Continental army. On the thirtieth of August, 1756, Armstrong marched from Fort Shirley in Huntingdon county, with an army of only three hundred and seven men, against the famous Indian town of Kittanning, on the Allegheny river. The French called the place Attique. Celoron, it will be remembered, stopped at this point on his way down the Allegheny in 1749. He described it as a Loup village, and says it contained twenty-two cabins. The Loups were a branch of the Delawares, and were called Munceys by the English. A few days after Braddock's defeat, James Smith was taken from Fort Duquesne to this town, where he says he remained about three weeks, but he does not give any description of it, more than to say that it stood "on the

* Washington and the Generals of the American Revolution, page 218.

north side of the river." From Kittanning there was a well known trail called the "Kittanning Path," which led across the mountains to the headwaters of the Juniata. It was much traveled by the Indians, being in fact their main thoroughfare between the eastern and western sides of the Allegheny mountains. Kittanning was the headquarters of Captain Jacobs, a noted Delaware chief. The history of the affair is best told by Armstrong himself, in his official report to Governor Denny:

FORT LITTLETON, September 14, 1756.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:—Agreeable to mine of the 29th ult., we marched from Fort Shirley the day following, and on Wednesday, the third instant, joined our advance party at the Beaver Dams, a few miles from Frankstown, on the north branch of Juniata. We were there informed that some of our men having been out upon a scout, had discovered the tracks of two Indians on this side of the Allegheny mountains, and but a few miles from the camp. From the freshness of the tracks, their killing of a cub bear, and the marks of their fires, it seemed evident that they were not twenty-four hours before us, which might be looked upon as a particular providence in our favor that we were not discovered. Next morning we decamped, and in two days came within fifty miles of the Kittanning. It was then adjudged necessary to send some persons to reconnoiter the town, and to get the best intelligence they could concerning the situation and position of the enemy. Whereupon an officer, with one of the pilots and two soldiers, were sent off for that purpose.

The day following, we met them on their return, and they informed us that the road was entirely clear of the enemy, and that they had the greatest reason to believe they were not discovered; but from the rest of the intelligence they gave, it appears they had not been nigh enough the

town, either to perceive the true situation of it, the number of the enemy, or what way it might be most advantageously attacked.

We continued our march, intending to get as near the town as possible that night, so as to be able to attack it next morning about day-light; but to our great dissatisfaction, about nine or ten o'clock at night, one of our guides came and told us that he perceived a fire by the road-side, at which he saw two or three Indians, a few perches distant from our front. Whereupon, with all possible silence, I ordered the rear to retreat about one hundred perches, in order to make way for the front, that we might consult how we could best proceed without being discovered by the enemy.

Sometime after, the pilot returned the second time, and assured us from the best observation he could make, there were not above three or four Indians at the fire. On which it was proposed that we should immediately surround, and cut them off; but this was thought too hazardous; for, if but one of the enemy had escaped, it would have been the means of discovering the whole design, and the light of the moon, on which depended our advantageously posting our men, and attacking the town, would not admit of our staying until the Indians fell asleep. On which it was agreed to have Lieutenant Hogg go with twelve men and the person who first discovered the fire, with orders to watch the enemy, but not to attack them till break of day, and then, if possible, to cut them off.

It was also agreed (we believing ourselves to be about six miles from the town), to leave the horses, many of them being tired, with what blankets and other baggage we then had, and take a circuit off of the road, which was very rough and incommodious, on account of the stones and fallen timber, in order to prevent our being heard by the enemy at the fire-place.

This interruption much retarded our march; but a still greater loss arose from the ignorance of our pilots, who neither knew the true situation of the town, nor the best paths that led thereto; by which means, after crossing a number of hills and valleys, our front reached the river Allegheny, about one hundred perches below the main body of the town, a little before the setting of the moon; to which place, rather than by pilots, we were guided by the beating of the drum and the whooping of the warriors at their dances.

It then became us to make the best use of the remaining moonlight; but ere we were aware, an Indian whistled in a very singular manner, about thirty perches from our front in the foot of a corn-field; upon which we immediately sat down, and after passing silence to the rear, I asked one Baker, a soldier, who was our best assistant, whether that was not a signal to the warriors of our approach. He answered, no; and said it was the manner of a young fellow's calling a squaw, after he had done his dance, who accordingly kindled a fire, cleaned his gun and shot it off before he went to sleep.

All this time we were obliged to lay quiet and hush, till the moon was faintly set. Immediately after a number of fires appeared in different parts of the corn-field, by which, Baker said, the Indians lay, the night being warm, and that the fires would immediately be out, as they were only designed to disperse the gnats.

By this time it was break of day, and the men having marched thirty miles, were mostly asleep; the line being long, the three companies of the rear were not yet brought over the last precipice. For these some proper hands were immediately dispatched, and the weary soldiers being roused to their feet, a proper number under sundry officers were ordered to take the end of the hill, at which we then lay, and march along the top of the said hill, at least one hundred perches, and so much farther, it then being daylight, as would carry them opposite the upper part, or at least the body of the town, for the lower part thereof, and the corn-field, presuming the warriors were there, I kept rather the larger part of the men, promising to postpone the attack in that part for eighteen or twenty minutes, until the detachment along the hill should have time to advance to the place assigned them. In doing of which they were a little unfortunate.

The time being elapsed the attack was begun in the cornfield, and the men with all expedition possible dispatched through the several parts thereof; a party being also dispatched to the houses which were then discovered by the light of the day. Captain Jacobs immediately then gave the war-whoop, and with sundry other Indians, as the English prisoners afterwards told us, cried, "The white men were at last come, they would

then have scalps enough ;" but at the same time ordered their squaws and children to flee to the woods.

Our men, with great earnestness, passed through and fired in the corn-field, where they had several returns from the enemy, as they also had from the opposite side of the river. Presently, after a brisk fire began among the houses, which from the house of Captain Jacobs was returned with a great deal of resolution , to which place I immediately repaired, and found that from the advantages from the houses and port-holes, sundry of our people were wounded and some killed, and finding that returning the fire upon the house was ineffectual, ordered the contiguous houses to be set on fire, which was performed with a great deal of activity—the Indians always firing whenever an object presented itself, and seldom missed of wounding or killing some of our people, from which house, in moving about and giving necessary directions, I received a wound with a large musket ball in the shoulder. Sundry persons during the action, were ordered to tell the Indians to surrender themselves prisoners, but one of the Indians in particular, answered and said: "He was a man, and would not be a prisoner." Upon which he was told, in Indian, that he would be burnt. To this he answered, he did not care, for he would kill four or five before he did ; and had we not desisted from exposing ourselves, they would have killed a great many more—they having a number of loaded guns there. As the fire began to approach, and the smoke grew thick, one of the Indian fellows, to show his manhood, began to sing. A squaw in the same house, at the same time, was heard to cry and make a noise, but for so doing she was severely rebuked by the men ; but by and by, the fire being too hot for them, two Indian fellows and a squaw sprung out and made for the corn-field, who were immediately shot down by our people ; then surrounding the houses, it was thought Captain Jacobs tumbled himself out at the garret or cock-loft window, at which he was shot—our prisoners offering to be qualified to the powder horn and pouch there taken off him, which they say he had lately got from a French officer in exchange for Lieutenant Armstrong's boots, which he carried from Fort Granville, where the lieutenant was killed. The same prisoners say they are perfectly assured of his scalp, as no other Indians there wore their hair in the same

manner. They also say they know his squaw's scalp by a peculiar bob, and also know the scalp of a young Indian called the *King's Son*. Before this time, Captain Hugh Mercer, who early in the action was wounded in the arm, had been taken to the top of the hill above the town, to where a number of the men and some of the officers were gathered, from whence they had discovered some Indians cross the river and taken the hill, with an intention, they thought, to surround us and cut us and our retreat off, from whom I had sundry pressing messages to leave the house and retreat to the hill, or we should all be cut off; but to this I could by no means consent, until all the houses were set on fire; though our spreading upon the hill appeared very necessary, yet it did prevent our researches of the cornfield and riverside, by which sundry scalps were left behind, and doubtless some squaws, children, and English prisoners, that otherwise might have been got.

During the burning of the houses, which were nearly thirty in number, we were agreeably entertained with a quick succession of charged guns gradually firing off, as they were reached by the fire; but more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded. The prisoners afterwards informing that the Indians had frequently said, they had a sufficient stock of ammunition for ten years war with the English. With the roof of Captain Jacob's house, where the powder blew up, was thrown the leg and thigh of an Indian, with a child of three or four years old, such a height, that they appeared as nothing, and fell into the adjacent cornfield.

There was also a great quantity of goods burnt, which the Indians had received but ten days before from the French.

By this time, I had proceeded to the hill, to have my wound tied up, and the blood stopped, where the prisoners, who in the morning had come to our people, informed me that that very day two batteaux of Frenchmen with a large party of Delawares and French Indians were to join Captain Jacobs at Kittanning, and to set out early next morning to take Fort Shirley, or as they called it *George Croghan's Fort*, and that twenty-four warriors, who had lately come to town, were sent out before them the evening before, for what purpose they did not know, whether to prepare meat, to

spy the fort, or to make an attack upon some of our back inhabitants.

Soon after, upon a little reflection, we were convinced these warriors were all at the fire we had discovered but the night before, and began to doubt the fate of Lieutenant Hogg and his party. From this intelligence of the prisoners, our provisions being scaffolded some thirty miles back, except what were in the men's haversacks which were left with the horses and blankets with Lieutenant Hogg and his party, and a number of wounded people then on hand, by the advice of the officers it was thought imprudent then to wait for the cutting down of the cornfield, (which was before designed), but immediately to collect our wounded and force our march back, in the best manner we could, which we did by collecting a few Indian horses to carry off our wounded.

From the apprehension of being waylaid and surrounded, especially by some of the woodsmen, it was difficult to keep the men together; our march for sundry miles, not exceeding two miles an hour; which apprehensions were heightened by the attempt of a few Indians, who, for some time after the march, fired upon each wing, and immediately ran off, from whom we received no other damage but one of our men being wounded through both legs. Captain Mercer being wounded, was induced, as we had reason to believe, by some of his men, to leave the main body with his ensign, John Scott, and ten or twelve men, they being heard tell him that we were in great danger, and that they could take him into the road a nigh way, is probably lost, there being yet no account of him, and most of the men have come in. A detachment was sent back to bring him in, but could not find him; upon the return of the detachment, it was generally reported he was seen with the above number of men, take a different road.

Upon our return to the place where the Indian fire had been discovered the night before, we met with a sergeant of Captain Mercer's company and two or three others of his men, who had deserted us that morning immediately after the action at the Kittanning. These men on running away had met Lieutenant Hogg, who lay wounded in two different parts of his body, by the roadside. He there told them of the fatal mistake of the pilot, who had assured us there were three Indians at the most at the fireplace, but when he came to attack them that morning, according to orders,

he found a number considerably superior to his, and believes they killed, or mortally wounded, three of them at the first fire. After which a warm engagement began, and continued for about an hour, when three of his best men were killed, and himself twice wounded, the residue fleeing off—he was obliged to squat in a thicket, where he might have lain securely until the main body had come up, if this cowardly sergeant, and others that fled with him, had not taken him away.

They had marched but a short space when four Indians appeared, on which these deserters began to flee. The lieutenant, then, nothwithstanding his wounds, as a brave soldier, urging and commanding them to stand and fight, which they all refused. The Indians pursued, killing one man, and wounding the lieutenant a third time in the belly, of which he died in a few hours ; but he having some time before been put on horseback, rode some miles from the place of action ; but this last attack of the Indians upon Lieutenant Hogg and the deserters, was by the before mentioned sergeant, represented to us in quite a different light : he telling us that there was a far larger number of the Indians there than appeared to them, and that he and the men had fought five rounds. That he had there seen the lieutenant and sundry others killed and scalped, and had also discovered a number of Indians throwing themselves before us, and insinuated a great deal of such stuff as threw us into much confusion. So that the officers had a great deal to do to keep the men together, but could not prevail with them to collect what horses and other baggage the Indians had left, after their conquest of Lieutenant Hogg and the party under his command in the morning, except a few of the horses, which some of the bravest of the men were prevailed on to collect. So that from the mistake of the pilot who spied the Indians at the fire, and the cowardice of the said sergeant and other deserters, we have sustained a considerable loss of our horses and baggage.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of the enemy killed in the action, as some were destroyed by fire, and others in different parts of the cornfield ; but upon a moderate computation, it is generally believed there cannot be less than thirty or forty killed and mortally wounded, as much blood was found in sundry parts of the cornfield, and Indians seen in several places crawl into the woods on hands and feet, whom the soldiers, in

pursuit of others, then overlooked, expecting to find and scalp them afterwards, and also several killed and wounded in crossing the river.

On beginning our march back, we had about a dozen of scalps, and eleven English prisoners, but now find that four or five of the scalps are missing; part of which were lost on the road and part in possession of the men with Captain Mercer, separated from the main body, with whom also went four prisoners; the other seven being now at this place, where we arrived on Sunday night, not being attacked through our whole march by the enemy, though we expected it every day. Upon the whole, had our pilots understood the situation of the town, and the paths leading to it, so as to have posted us at a convenient place, where the disposition of the men and the duty assigned them could have been performed with greater advantage, we had, with Divine assistance, destroyed a much greater number of the enemy, recovered more prisoners, and sustained less damage, than what we at present have. But the advantage gained over these, our common enemies, is far from being satisfactory to us, yet we must not despise the smallest degree of success that God is pleased to give, especially at a time when the attempts of our enemies have been so prevalent and successful. I am sure there was the greatest inclination to do more, had it been in our power, as the officers and most of the soldiers, throughout the whole action, exerted themselves with as much activity and resolution as could possibly be expected.

Our prisoners inform us the Indians have for some time past talked of fortifying at the Kittanning and other towns. That the number of French at Fort Duquesne is about four hundred. That the principal part of their provisions came up the river, from the Mississippi; and that in the three other forts, which the French have on the Ohio, there are not more men, taken together, that what there are at Fort Duquesne.

I hope as soon as possible to receive your Honor's instructions with regard to the distribution or stationing of the sundry companies, in this battalion; and as a number of the men are now wanting in each of the companies, whether or no they should be immediately recruited, and if the sundry officers are to be recruited, that money be speedily sent for that purpose.

I beg the favor of your Honor, as soon as possible, to furnish Governor Morris with a copy of this letter, and the gentlemen commissioners for the Province another, as my present indisposition neither admits me to write, or dictate any more at this time.

In case a quantity of ammunition is not already sent to Carlisle, it should be sent as soon as possible; and also, if the companies are to be recruited and completed, there must be an immediate supply of about three hundred blankets, as there have been a great many lost in the present expedition. Enclosed is a list of the killed, wounded, and missing of the several companies. I expect to get to Carlisle in about four days.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

To Hon. W. Denny.*

Armstrong's losses were seventeen killed, thirteen wounded, and nineteen missing. The prisoners recovered were Mrs. Anna McCord, Martha Thorn, Barbara Hicks, Catherine Smith, Margaret Hood, Thomas Girty, and Sarah Kelly, besides one woman, a boy, and two little girls who had separated with Captain Mercer's party from the main body, and had not yet arrived at Fort Littleton at the date of Armstrong's report. As Captain Mercer afterwards got in safe, it it presumed these prisoners were also returned to their friends.

Colonel Armstrong's successful assault upon one of the enemy's strongholds, filled the colony with

* Armstrong's letter is here copied from the *History of Western Pennsylvania*, pp. 121-128. It may also be found in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 11, where it is printed from the original.

great rejoicing. The corporation of the city of Philadelphia voted him and his gallant officers their thanks, and ordered the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds to be paid out in pieces of plate, swords, or other things suitable for presents to the said officers and towards the relief of the widows and children of those who had fallen.* Armstrong also received a silver medal commemorative of the event. The Indians who escaped fled to Fort Duquesne, where they related the disaster that had befallen them. M. Dumas at once reported the affair to Vaudreuil, the governor-general. His report is interesting, as showing the character that Washington had already acquired with the enemy. The next day after the attack on Kittanning, Dumas writes that "le General Wachinton" with three or four hundred men on horseback attacked Attique; that the Indians gave way, but under the lead of five or six Frenchmen who were in the town, they were soon rallied; that Washington and his men then took to flight, and would have been pursued, but for the loss of some barrels of gunpowder that had been exploded during the action.† How nearly the report of Dumas corresponded to the facts in the

* History of Western Pennsylvania, p. 129.

† Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chapter XIII.

case, the reader can perceive for himself. As Parkman observes, Dumas, "like other officers of the day, would admit nothing but success in the department under his command."

THE FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE.

After the unfortunate expedition of General Braddock, no further attempt was made against Fort Duquesne until 1758. In the summer of that year a new expedition was set on foot. The enterprise was put under the command of General John Forbes, a gallant Scotch officer. Immediately subordinate to him were Colonel Henry Bouquet and Colonel George Washington. Forbes' force consisted of nearly 7,000 men, of whom 1,200 were Highlanders, 350 Royal Americans, 2,700 Pennsylvanians, about 1,600 Virginians, and smaller contingents from Maryland and North Carolina.*

The southern troops were ordered to assemble at Winchester, Virginina, under Colonel Washington, the Pennsylvanians at Raystown, now Bedford. To this latter place also Colonel Bouquet marched the

*Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. II. p. 289, *note*.

regulars, in advance of Forbes.* The general was in ill health, and came after by slow stages. In July, Bouquet was at Raystown; Washington with the main body of his troops, arrived at about the same time at Fort Cumberland, where he remained several weeks engaged in cutting and repairing roads, and taking such steps as were thought necessary to the success of the enterprise.

Forbes, for some reason, determined to cut a new road across the mountains, instead of proceeding by the road that had been made with such labor a few years before by General Braddock. Washington strenuously opposed the making of a new road, for the reasons, as he urged, "of the advanced season, the difficulty of cutting a new road over the mountains, the short time left for the service, the moral certainty of its obstructing our march, and the consequent miscarriage of the expedition." † But notwithstanding Washington's earnest opposition, the new road was made. The southern troops were as much opposed as their leader to the new road. A soldier, Robert Mumford, writes from the camp near Fort Cumberland, August 4, 1758:

*History of Western Pennsylvania, p. 135.

† Sparks, Vol. II, p. 311.

A few hearty prayers are every minute offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians who endeavor to prevail on our general to cut a road for their convenience, from Raystown to Fort Duquesne, that a trifling good to particulars should retard what would conduce to the general welfare! 'Tis a set of *dirty Dutchmen*, they say, that keeps us here. It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must think our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that have even dared to scalp our men before our eyes.†

Washington has been charged with having favored the old road only through sectional prejudice; but in a letter to his old friend, Major Halket, of General Forbes' staff, in speaking of this very matter, he says: "I am uninfluenced by prejudice, having no hopes or fears but for the general good. Of this you may be assured, and that my sincere sentiments are spoken on this occasion." We presume Washington's word is sufficient. His stand was the correct one from a military point of view. The delay in the long run may have proved an advantage to Forbes in the way of exhausting the patience of the enemy, and causing the withdrawal of the red men to their homes; but that was clearly only incidental, and could not have formed any part of his plan. Though the expedition was finally successful, it had well nigh failed, just as Washington feared it would; and it was saved from failure almost entirely through

† See *The Olden Time*, Vol. I. p. 285.

his exertions. The new road had no point of contact with Braddock's. Forbes' road proceeded right along in a generally northwestern direction from Raystown to Fort Duquesne; Braddock's road was far south of this, and they approached nearest at Turtle Creek, where they came within five or six miles of each other.

The news of Forbes' expedition was early and widely diffused through the western wilds. The Indians were still faithful to their French allies. James Smith, who had been adopted by them, was at Detroit at this time. He relates that upon receiving the news of the expedition, the French commander at Detroit sent off runners to apprise the tribes, and urge them to repair to Fort Duquesne. In July a general rendezvous of Indians—Ottawas, Jibewas, Potawatomies, and Wyandots was made at Detroit, and shortly afterwards they marched off to Fort Duquesne.*

Forbes' movements were very slow, and he did not reach Raystown until the middle of September. Washington came up from Fort Cumberland with his command and joined him here. From Raystown to Loyalhanna, where Ligonier now stands, a distance

* See Colonel James Smith's *Narrative* in Drake's *Indian Captivities*, p. 233.

of about fifty miles, the road had been opened by Colonel James Burd. Upon his arrival at Loyalhanna, Colonel Burd built a small stockade fort, which was afterward called Fort Ligonier. Forbes' health continued to decline, and he had to be carried through the wilderness in a litter. He was fifty days in getting from Raystown to Loyalhanna. Meantime, Washington chafed with impatience. "We shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter," he writes, "but not to gather *laurels*, except of the kind that covers the mountains." † The season had advanced into the month of November before Forbes had arrived at Loyalhanna. There remained still fifty miles of wilderness to be traversed before he could reach Fort Duquesne. The rigor of an early winter was already setting in. The forebodings of Washington seemed on the eve of realization. The expedition was to be a failure. At a council of war that was called, upon Forbes' arrival at Loyalhanna, it was determined to go into winter quarters at that point. A circumstance, slight in itself, shortly afterward caused this decision to be recalled, and an advance movement to be made.

Before the arrival of Forbes at Loyalhanna, Colonel Bouquet had sent forward Major Grant with a

† Sparks, Vol. II. p. 301.

detachment of eight hundred men, mostly Highlanders* of Montgomery's division, and Virginians of Colonel Washington's regiment, to make a reconnoisance of the fort. Grant conducted the movement very successfully, and in the night of the thirteenth of September he reached the hill just back of Fort Duquesne. His approach had not been discovered by the enemy. He had been informed that the garrison was in a very feeble condition ; he did not know that large reinforcements under D'Aubry had very recently arrived from the west. Grant was inflamed with the thought of capturing the place himself. At daybreak of the fourteenth of September, he stood on the hill which is still called by his name, in plain view of the fort. Instead, however, of concentrating his troops to make an assault or withstand an attack, he dispersed them in bodies in a most unaccountable manner, to different parts of the neighborhood. Captain Thomas Bullitt had been left with a party of Virginians two miles in the rear, to guard the baggage. Colonel Lewis was now sent back with a detachment to join Bullitt. A party of Pennsyl-

* The Highlanders in the King's service in the French and Indian war were almost exterminated. "Of the old Highland regiment, consisting of twelve hundred, only seventy-six survived to see their country again." Dr. Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland:* "Ostig in Sky."

vanians were posted away off on the right towards the Allegheny; Captain Mackenzie, with a body of Highlanders, was sent off towards the left, while Captain Macdonald, with another party of Highlanders, was ordered into the open plain in front of the fort. Grant himself remained on the hill with a small portion of his own regiment and a company of Maryland men.* The party under Captain Macdonald approached the fort with the bag-pipes in full blast and the drums beating, as an invitation to the enemy to come out of his stronghold. The enemy accepted the invitation very readily, and swarmed out in overwhelming numbers. They fell upon one detachment of Grant's army after another, killing and wounding a great many, and utterly defeating them. A number in attempting to make their escape were drowned in the river. Grant himself was taken prisoner. Colonel Lewis, hearing the state of affairs, now hurried forward to the assistance of Grant, but only to share the same fate. Grant's men fell rapidly back to where Captain Bullitt was guarding the baggage. But for the gallant stand made by the Virginians under his command, Grant's army would

*Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Chapter XXII. For Grant's conduct at Fort Duquesne, see also a letter dated at Annapolis, October, 5, 1758, reprinted from the Pennsylvania Gazette in *The Olden Time*, Volume I. p. 179.

have been annihilated. The Virginians covered the retreat, and brought the exultant enemy to bay. "Our officers and men," wrote Washington to Governor Fauquier, "have gained very great applause for their gallant behavior during the action. I had the honor to be publicly complimented yesterday by the general on the occasion. Bullitt's behavior is matter for great admiration." Grant's loss was 273 men. Of the prisoners, five were surrendered by the French officers to the savages to be burned at the stake, and others were cruelly tomahawked on the spot.*

The Indians had boasted that they would bag Forbes' army as they had done Braddock's, and they were much mortified when they found that they had permitted Grant to reach the fort unperceived. But his peculiar tactics in front of the fort puzzled them, and they could account for his conduct in only one way. "When Tecaughretanego had heard the particulars of Grant's defeat," says James Smith, "he said that he could not well acount for his contradictory and inconsistent conduct. He said, as the art of war consists in ambushing and surprising our enemies, and in preventing them from ambushing and surprising us, Grant, in the first place, acted like a wise and

* Captain Haslet to Rev. Dr. Alison, November 26, 1758.

experienced warrior in artfully approaching in the night without being discovered; but when he came to the place, and the Indians were lying asleep outside of the fort, between him and the Allegheny river, in place of slipping up quietly and falling upon them with their broadswords, they beat the drums and played upon the bagpipes. He said he could account for this inconsistent conduct in no other way than by supposing that he had made too free with spirituous liquors during the night, and became intoxicated about daylight."*

The French promptly retaliated Grant's attempt upon Fort Duquesne, by appearing before the camp at Loyalhanna. On the twelfth of October they attacked the place. They were about fourteen hundred strong, and were commanded by De Vetri. The assault upon the post was continued for about four hours, with great fury and determination; but the enemy was at length compelled to retire with considerable loss. After nightfall the attack was renewed, but a few well directed shells thrown among them had the effect of dispersing them. Bouquet's loss was sixty-seven men killed and wounded.†

* Colonel James Smith's *Narrative*, p. 234.

† History of Western Pennsylvania, pp. 138, 139, *note*.

After this unsuccessful affair, the Indians gave up the idea of destroying the army of Forbes as they had destroyed that of Braddock. They said that the enemy was beginning to understand the art of war, that there were a great many American riflemen along with the red-coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen. The French tried to prevail upon them to remain and try another battle, but they refused. "The Indians said if it was only the red-coats they had to do with," says Colonel Smith, "they could soon subdue them, but they could not withstand *Ashalecoa*, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians."

The slight circumstance that caused Forbes to reconsider his determination to winter at Loyalhanna, and decide to make an onward movement, was the capture of three prisoners. These prisoners confirmed the report of the feeble condition of the garrison at Fort Duquesne. The western Indians had returned to their homes. The Indians of the neighborhood had been shaken in their loyalty to the French, mainly through the efforts of Christian Frederick Post. The French reinforcements had also returned to their former quarters. De Ligneris, at Fort Duquesne, found himself reduced to but about five hundred men.

Forbes determined upon a rapid movement. On the eighteenth of November a picked force of 2500 men set forward. The baggage, stores, wagons, and all the artillery except a few light pieces, were left behind. The soldiers carried only their knapsacks and blankets. Washington solicited for his Virginians the place of danger and honor in the front. "If any argument is needed to obtain this favor," he urged, "I hope without vanity I may be allowed to say, that, from long intimacy with these woods, and frequent scouting in them, my men are at least as well acquainted with all the passes and difficulties as any troops that will be employed."* His request was granted, and he led his regiment forward to open the road, and act as pioneers to the main body of the army.

On the twenty-fourth of November the army reached Turtle Creek, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne, where they encamped. In the night a violent explosion was heard to the westward, which indicated either some serious accident, or some desperate step on the part of the enemy. The spirits of the men revived, and they looked forward eagerly to the consummation of their arduous toils the next day. In the morning a dense cloud of smoke in the direction of

* Sparks, Vol, I, p. 99.

Fort Duquesne indicated that the enemy had set the buildings on fire, and a party of horsemen were sent on in advance to extinguish the flames. The army also resumed its march, but it was not until evening that they emerged from the forests upon the open plain in front of Fort Duquense. Instead of a frowning fortress they found only a smoking ruin. The enemy had fled. The magazine had been exploded the evening before, and the buildings set on fire.* Only blackened and smoking ruins were left to welcome them. But that was enough. The cheers of the rejoicing soldiers woke the echoes, and the hand of the gallant Colonel Armstrong, the hero of Kittanning, raised the banner of King George upon the staff from which had long floated the ensign of France. Three days later Washington wrote to Governor Fauquier: I have the pleasure to inform you that Fort Duquesne, or the ground rather on which it stood, was possessed by his majesty's troops on the 24th instant. The enemy, after letting us get within a day's march of the place, burnt the fort

* Three days before this the French had uncovered the houses at Fort Duquesne, and laid the roofs around the fort to set it on fire, and made ready to go off.—See Post's *Second Journal*, November 22, 1758.

and ran away by the light of it, at night, going down the Ohio by water.†

The fall of Fort Duquesne caused great rejoicing on the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia. It was impossible that there should be peace or security on the frontier so long as it remained in the hands of the enemy. "The great advantages that will attend this success of his majesty's arms," wrote Governor Denny of Pennsylvania, "will be sensibly felt by all the British colonies, but none so much as this province, whose inhabitants have been the most exposed to the incursions and cruelties of the French and their allies, from that quarter." The fall of this renowned stronghold destroyed the influence of the French in that region, and secured to the Anglo-Saxon race the domination of the Ohio valley for all time to come.

† Sparks, Vol. II., p. 320.

FORT PITT.

THE day following the fall of Fort Duquesne was observed by Forbes' army as a day of public thanksgiving for their success. Two days later, a detachment proceeded to the field that had witnessed Braddock's defeat, to inter the remains of those who had fallen in the great disaster. The field presented a ghastly appearance. "Here and there," says Bancroft, "a skeleton was found resting on the trunk of a fallen tree, as if a wounded man had sunk down in the attempt to fly. In some places wolves and crows had left signs of their ravages; in others, the blackness of ashes marked the scene of the revelry of cannibals. The trees still showed branches rent by cannon; trunks dotted with musket balls. Where the havoc had been the fiercest, bones lay whitening in confusion. None could be recognized, except that the son of Sir Peter Halket was called by the shrill whistle of a savage to the great

tree near which his father and his brother had been seen to fall together; and while Benjamin West and a company of Pennsylvanians formed a circle around, the Indians removed the thick covering of leaves till they bared the relics of the youth lying across those of the older officer. The frames of the two thus united in death were wrapped in a Highland plaid and consigned to one separate grave, amidst the ceremonies that belong to the burial of the brave. The bones of the undistinguished multitude, more than four hundred and fifty in number, were indiscriminately cast into the ground, no one knowing for whom specially to weep. The chilling gloom of the forest at the coming of winter, the religious awe that mastered the savages, the grief of the son fainting at the fearful recognition of his father, the group of soldiers sorrowing over the ghastly ruins of an army, formed a sombre scene of desolation."†

The first necessity of the time was a place of shelter and defence for the troops. Accordingly, a small stockade fort was built near the bank of the Monongahela, several hundred yards above the ruins of Fort Duquesne. This fortification was named Fort Pitt, and the place was named Pittsburg. It took this

† Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. IV. p. 312.

name from the start, as we find Christian Frederick Post referring to it by this designation within a few days after the English occupation.* Two hundred Virginia troops were directed to remain as a garrison, by the express orders of General Forbes. Washington opposed this on the ground that his men had already done their full share of duty in the campaign; but Forbes said he had no authority to leave any of his majesty's troops for this purpose, and, as the site of the fort was then generally believed to be within the borders of Virginia, it was only proper that Virginia troops should hold the place.† Colonel Hugh Mercer, of Virginia, a Scotchman by birth, who afterward laid down his life at Princeton, during the Revolutionary war, was left in command of the garrison at Fort Pitt. General Forbes shortly afterwards set out on his return to the east. His health continued very feeble, and he was borne in a litter, as he had come. He arrived in Philadelphia on the seventeenth of January, 1759, and died there on the eleventh of the following March. His remains were interred in the chancel of Christ Church.‡ He had been bred a physician; but afterward turned his attention to

* "We came within eight miles of Pittsburg, where we lodged on a hill in the open air."—*Post's Journal*, December 2, 1758.

† Sparks' Writings of Washington, Vol. I. p. 102.

‡ Craig's History of Pittsburg, p. 79.

military affairs, and rose to the position of brigadier-general in his majesty's service. He was brave and capable; but in the campaign against Fort Duquesne he had labored throughout under a painful disease, which rendered it almost impossible at times for him to move at all, and under which almost any other man would have resigned the toils and responsibilities of so grave a duty.

The fall of Fort Duquesne had an immediate effect upon the Indians. The Delawares at once began to sue for peace. Washington, writing from the camp, November 28, says: "A trade, free, open, and on equitable terms, is what they seem much to desire." About the beginning of December, Washington set out on his return to Virginia, and he writes to Governor Fauquier, from Loyalhanna, December 2, that "unless the most effectual means shall be taken early in the spring to reinforce the garrison, the place will inevitably be lost, and then our frontiers will fall into the same distressed condition as heretofore. I can very confidently assert that we never can secure them properly, if we again lose our footing on the Ohio, since we shall thereby lose the interest of the Indians."* Washington proceeded to Mt. Vernon and thence to Williamsburg, while his troops marched to

* Sparks, Vol. II. p. 323.

Winchester, where they went into winter quarters. Washington received unqualified praise from all sources for his services and soldierly conduct during this campaign.

Colonel Bouquet was appointed to the charge of affairs on the border. He established and maintained posts at Raystown, Loyalhanna, and Fort Pitt, and later extended the line on westward to Sandusky and Detroit. The original Fort Pitt was finished about the first of January, 1759. It was but a temporary structure. The French and Indians had not retreated far: some had gone down the river to the villages on the Beaver, and the rest had retired to the posts at Venango and LeBœuf. They maintained a threatening attitude towards Fort Pitt, and the little garrison crouching behind the feeble bulwarks, were in daily apprehension of attack. Only the inclemency of the season saved them.

Upon the death of General Forbes, General John Stanwix was appointed as his successor. General Stanwix arrived at Fort Pitt in the early summer of 1759. Under his direction a more secure fortification was made—a fort was erected which, in the language of a letter of that day, would, "to latest posterity, secure the British empire on the Ohio." This work is said to have cost the government the sum of sixty

thousand pounds sterling. This is manifestly greatly exaggerated.

Many Indians of different nations came in during that summer, to confirm the peace with the English. They "confessed the errors they had been led into by the perfidy of the French; showed the deepest contrition for their past conduct, and promised not only to remain fast friends to the English, but to assist us in distressing the common enemy whenever we should call on them to do it."*

From a letter dated at Pittsburg, March 21, 1760, we learn that the new and more formidable Fort Pitt was by that time "perfected." The works extended "from the Ohio to the Monongahela, and eighteen pieces of artillery mounted on the bastions that cover the isthmus; and casements, barracks, and store-houses are also completed for a garrison of one thousand men and officers, so that it may now be asserted with very great truth, that the British dominion is established on the Ohio." To describe the fort more particularly, it was a five-sided work, though the sides were not all equal. The earth around the proposed work was dug and thrown up so as to enclose the selected position with a rampart of earth. On the two sides facing the country, this rampart

* Craig's History of Pittsburg, p. 84.

was supported by what military men call a *revetment* —a brick work, nearly perpendicular, supporting the rampart on the outside, and thus presenting an obstacle to the enemy not easily overcome. On the other three sides, the earth in the rampart had no support, and of course it presented a more inclined surface to the enemy—one which could readily be ascended. To remedy, in some degree, this defect in the work, a line of pickets was fixed on the outside of the foot of the slope of the rampart. Around the whole work was a wide ditch which would of course be filled with water when the river was at a moderate stage.* In April, 1760, General Stanwix returned to Philadelphia. The garrison then at Fort Pitt consisted of one hundred and fifty Virginians, one hundred and fifty Pennsylvanians, and four hundred Royal Americans, all commanded by Major Tulikens.

While the work of building Fort Pitt was going on, the garrison there had not been assailed by the French. But they had been in great danger of an attack. In the summer of 1759 all the necessary preparations had been made at Venango for a descent upon Fort Pitt. Two Indian spies, who had returned from Venango on the fifteenth of July, reported to Colonel Mercer that there were at Venango

* The Olden Time, Vol. I. p. 196.

about seven hundred French and four hundred Indians. Six hundred more Indians were expected very soon. In fact, these reinforcements had mostly arrived, artillery and provisions were collected, and all the preparations were completed for the descent, when a message from the north caused a stop to be put to the proceedings. "I have had bad news," said the commandant to the Indians; "the English have gone against Niagara. We must give over thoughts of going down the river till we have cleared that place of the enemy. If it is taken, our road to you is stopped and you must become poor."

This expected attack filled the feeble garrison at Fort Pitt with great forebodings. "I must own," wrote Mr. John Ormsby, one of the garrison, "I made my sincere application to the Almighty to pardon my sins and extricate us from this deplorable dilemma. Our prayers were heard, and we extricated from the dreadful massacre; for the day before the expected attack an Indian fellow arrived from Niagara, informing Colonel Mercer that General Johnson laid siege to Niagara with a formidable English army, so that the attack upon Fort Pitt was countermanded, and the French and Indians ordered to return towards Niagara with the utmost haste."*

* See Craig's *History of Pittsburg*, p. 83.

This investment of Niagara was made by the English under General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson. D'Aubry collected a force of about twelve hundred men from Detroit, Erie, LeBœuf, and Venango, and hurried off to the aid of the French; but they were met by the English, beaten in a severe battle and dispersed. On the twenty-fifth of July, Fort Niagara was surrendered to the English, and the French power in western New York and the Ohio valley was destroyed. Thereafter there was no danger to Fort Duquesne from that source. The victory of the British at Niagara was so decisive that the officer and troops sent by General Stanwix from Pittsburg took possession of the French posts as far as Erie without resistance.* One point after another was lost by the French, until their authority in North America was laid prostrate in the dust. Finally, in February, 1763, a treaty of peace was made at Paris. By this treaty it was stipulated: "That France shall cede to Great Britain, Canada in its utmost extent, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and all that part of Louisiana which lies on this side of the Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and its territory."†

* Bancroft's U. S., Vol. IV, p. 322.

† Russell's Modern Europe, Vol. II, p. 576.

The garrison at Fort Pitt was continued until the year 1772. "As the difficulties between the mother country and the colonies increased," says Craig, "the British government deemed it advisable to order the abandonment of Fort Pitt, and the withdrawal of the troops from this place." Consequently, in October, 1772, Major Charles Edmonston, in behalf of the Crown, "for and in consideration of the sum of fifty pounds, New York currency, to him in hand paid," sold to Alexander Ross and William Thompson, "all the pickets, bricks, stones, timber, and iron, which are now in the buildings or walls of the said fort, and in the redoubts." * After the sale and abandoment of Fort Pitt, a corporal and three men remained for some time to take care of the boats and batteaux intended to keep up communication with the Illinois country. The fort being thus abandoned, one John Connolly, a man of much energy and talent, but without principle, came up from Virginia, about the end of the year 1773 or beginning of 1774, having authority from Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, and took possession of the fort, calling it Fort Dunmore; and as captain commandant of the militia, he issued his proclamation, summoning the people to assemble as

*The Olden Time, Vol. I. p. 95.

a militia at Pittsburg, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1774.*

No vestige of Fort Pitt now remains upon the ground except a redoubt built by Colonel Bouquet in 1764. This is a small brick building about sixteen feet square, which still stands at the Point. It is shamefully neglected, whereas it should be cherished as the most interesting and the only historic building in Pittsburg. It is the sole surviving relic of British rule in western Pennsylvania. It formerly bore a tablet attesting its builder and its date, but this plate has been removed, and has been placed in the wall of the City Hall, just at the top of the first flight of stairs. The inscription reads:

"A. D. 1764. Coll. Bouquet."

* The Olden Time, Vol. I. p. 437; Colonial Records, Vol. X. p. 144.

THE SIEGE OF FORT PITT.

The western Indians were far from satisfied with the result of the French war; and Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, set about forming an Indian confederacy against the English. He had conceived a profound contempt for the British soldiery, and believed that by a united effort the English could be driven east of the Alleghenies, if not expelled entirely from the continent. He was shrewd, eloquent, and brave, and by the spring of the year 1763, he had succeeded in uniting no less than eighteen powerful tribes against the enemy. His proceedings were conducted with the most complete secrecy, and with three exceptions—Detroit, Fort Pitt, and Niagara—all the English posts on the frontier fell into the hands of the Indians with little or no resistance. Yet this dreadful uprising of the savages had not come altogether unheralded, if we are to believe the ancient chronicler. At Detroit and through the surrounding

country, in July, 1762, it rained "a sulphureous water" of the color and consistency of ink, and which, being collected in bottles, "answered every purpose of that useful liquid." "Soon after," continues this ingenuous writer, "the Indian wars already spoken of broke out in these parts. I mean not to say that this incident was ominous of them, notwithstanding it is well known that innumerable well attested instances of extraordinary phenomena, happening before extraordinary events, have been recorded in almost every age by historians of veracity. I only relate the circumstance as a fact, of which I was informed by many persons of undoubted probity, and leave my readers to draw their own conclusions from it."*

Captain Simeon Ecuyer, a gallant Swiss, was in charge at Fort Pitt. In the beginning of May, 1763, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet, saying that Major Gladwyn, at Detroit, had sent him notice that Fort Pitt was surrounded by rascally Indians. Complaint was specially made of the Delawares and Shawanese. "It is this *canaille*," writes Gladwyn, "who stir up the rest to mischief." In the course of the month, the conduct of the Indians in the vicinity of the fort be-

* *Three Years' Travels*, etc., by Captain Jonathan Carver, page 96. Carver's visit to Detroit was in the summer of 1768.

came suspicious. On the evening of the twenty-seventh, Ecuyer was informed by Mr. McKee that the Mingoes and Delawares were in motion, and that they had sold skins to the value of £300, with which they had purchased a large supply of powder and lead. On the twenty-eighth, McKee was sent to the Indian towns to gather information, but he found them entirely abandoned. On the twenty-ninth, just as he was finishing his letter—the last letter that he was able to get through the lines for more than two months—Ecuyer says that three men who had been working near Clapham's, in the neighborhood of the fort, had just got in with the sad news that the Indians had "murdered Clapham and everybody in his house."* On the heels of this bad news came in such traders as had escaped the violence of the savages, with reports of the murder and pillage of many of their brethren.

Ecuyer at once set to work to put the fort in the best possible state of defence. The families living about the fort were gathered within its walls, and the houses outside were destroyed. A fire-engine was constructed. A hospital was fitted up under the draw-bridge. Provisions were collected, and everybody capable of handling a musket was armed for

* Letter of Captain Ecuyer to Colonel Bouquet, May 29, 1763.

the conflict. Ecuyer's force consisted of three hundred and thirty men — soldiers, traders, and backwoodsmen. There were in the fort also about one hundred women and a still greater number of children. "We have plenty of provisions," writes one from the fort, "and the fort is in such a good posture of defence, that, with God's assistance, we can defend it against a thousand Indians."

For some days after actual hostilities began, the Indians contented themselves with skulking in the neighborhood, and shooting any person who might be rash enough to expose himself, and in this way several persons were slain. In the afternoon of the twenty-third of June, a general fire was opened on the fort from all sides, and two men were killed. A discharge of large guns among the savages put a stop to the assault, but a desultory fire was kept up all night. The next morning several Indians approached the fort, and one of them named Turtle Heart, addressed the garrison in terms of the greatest friendliness. He informed them that six great nations of Indians had taken up the hatchet. "You must leave this fort," said he, "with all your women and children, and go down to the English settlements, where you will be safe. There are many bad Indians already here," he continued, "but

we will protect you from them." The purpose of this cajollery was too evident; and Captain Ecuyer replied: "We have plenty of provisions, and are able to keep the fort against all the nations of Indians that may dare to attack it. We are very well off in this place, and mean to stay here." There was now a lull of some weeks in the proceedings, though the fort was still watched by the enemy with the utmost vigilance, and all communication with the outside world was entirely cut off. Several messengers who had attempted to pass through were killed or compelled to return wounded. It was not until towards the close of July that any serious attempt was again made upon the fort. On the twenty-sixth of that month, a delegation of chiefs came to the fort with a flag, and were admitted. They made a long recital of their grievances, represented the dangers to which the English were exposed, and again urged them to depart. "If you leave this place immediately," said they, "and go home to your wives and children, no harm will come of it; but if you stay, you must blame yourselves alone for what may happen." To this Ecuyer replied: "I have warriors, provisions, and ammunition to defend the fort three years against all the Indians in the woods; and we shall never abandon it as long as a white man lives

in America. Moreover, I tell you that if any of you appear again about this fort, I will throw bomb shells which will burst and blow you to atoms, and fire cannon among you loaded with a whole bag full of bullets. Therefore, take care, for I don't want to hurt you."

This bravado on the part of Ecuyer was all well enough, as a fair offset to the bluster of the Indians; but the chiefs retired from the fort very much displeased. That night a fierce attack was made on the fort. The savages secreted themselves in burrows which they made under the banks of the river, in which they were entirely protected from the fire of the garrison. From their hiding-places they kept up a constant fire for several days. They also discharged burning arrows, in hopes of setting the buildings on fire; but in this they failed. Their incessant yelling filled the women and children with terror. Their fire was not very damaging. No one was killed; seven men were wounded, among them Ecuyer himself, who received a wound in the leg from an arrow. On the side of the Indians were twenty killed and wounded to the certain knowledge of Ecuyer, besides, as he believed, a number whom he could not see. Ecuyer's men behaved well. "I am fortunate to have the honor of commanding such brave

men," he said. The garrison was safe from the attack; but if the siege should be long continued, starvation must compel them to capitulate at last, or attempt the desperate chance of cutting their way through the savage host. It was impossible to communicate with the outer world, and the brave officer must at times have felt alarm at his isolated position and the number and pertinacity of his foes.

But relief, unknown to him, was on its way. Colonel Bouquet, in command of a small army, was moving slowly forward to the relief of the beleagured garrison. The whole frontier had been thrown into a state of confusion and alarm. The savage marauders had swept over the country almost unchecked, marking their path with slaughter and fire. July thirteenth Bouquet writes: "The list of the people known to be killed increases very fast." The terrified survivors crowded into the small frontier towns, where they suffered greatly from hunger and exposure.

Bouquet set out on his march from Carlisle with a force of about five hundred men, consisting mainly of the Royal Highlanders, Montgomery's Highlanders, and a company of Royal Americans. The Highlanders had just landed from the West Indies, where they had suffered severely from the climate,

and were in a very enfeebled condition. Sixty of them were so ill that they were not able to march, and were taken along in wagons. While they could not be of service in the field, it was thought they might perform garrison duty. On the twenty-fifth of July, Bouquet reached Fort Bedford. On the second of August he arrived at Fort Ligonier. This place was about fifty miles from Fort Pitt. It had been repeatedly assailed by the savages within the last few weeks, but the garrison, with the aid of the settlers who had fled to it for protection, had been able to hold the place. Bouquet had been very anxious about Fort Ligonier, as upon its safety depended largely the success of his expedition. Some Indians had been hanging about the fort, but upon the approach of Bouquet they disappeared in the forest.

Bouquet determined to lighten his march by leaving here his oxen and wagons, and push forward for Fort Pitt. On the fourth of August he left Fort Ligonier, and marched about twelve miles, when he encamped for the night. The next day he resumed his march, and in the early afternoon he reached a point within half a mile of Bushy Run, where he intended to halt until evening. He had marched seventeen miles. The day had been extremely hot,

and the weary and thirsty men were looking forward eagerly to the much needed rest and refreshment which they had been promised. All at once the horrid war-whoop and the crack of numerous rifles in front startled the unsuspecting column.

The silence at Fort Pitt on the fifth day of August was ominous. Not an Indian was to be seen. No sounds broke the stillness of the summer air. Ecuyer closely beleagured for weeks, had received no intelligence of Bouquet's march, and was at a loss to account for the abandonment of the siege. He had no notion, however, that it boded any good to the garrison, and so was not elated or thrown off his guard. He looked for the storm to burst upon him again with redoubled fury.

The savages had indeed raised the siege, at least for the time being, and had gone off to intercept the march of Bouquet. They were no doubt animated by the recollection of Braddock's defeat a few years before, and anticipated as certain a victory now. Bouquet was marching over the road made by General Forbes in 1758. Although he had left at Fort Ligonier all the *impedimenta* possible, he still had with him a train of three hundred and forty pack horses laden with flour and other supplies for Fort Pitt. By a little after noon on the fifth of August,

as we have seen, he had reached a point within half a mile of Bushy Run, and about twenty-four miles from the place of his destination.

At once upon the opening of the firing on his front, Bouquet pushed forward reinforcements. The Indians kept themselves well hidden behind the trees, and did not expose themselves to the fire of the soldiers. The troops fell thick and fast. Only a dozen miles away the bones of Braddock's unfortunate men were moldering into dust, and apprehensions of a similar fate chilled the blood of Bouquet's bravest. The soldiers made frequent charges upon the enemy, but the latter fled into the woods and eluded the glittering bayonet. As soon as the troops fell back to their positions, the Indians again encircled them with their deadly fire. Hour after hour elapsed, and the unequal contest went on. The fierce yells of the Indians and the cries of the wounded mingled with the continuous rattle of arms. The pack horses were unloaded, and a rampart was formed of the sacks of flour, behind which were placed the wounded. To the oppressive heat of the day, wounds, and alarm, were added the tortures of thirst. The hillsides around them were bursting with springs of delicious water, but the savages guarded them closely and cut off all access to them. Night at length enveloped

the scene, and put a temporary stop to the fierce conflict. More than sixty men had been killed and wounded, among them several officers. The wearied soldiers could get but little rest or sleep. All around them were the blood-thirsty savages, hemming them in, and only waiting for day to renew the slaughter. The frightful war-whoop, and the report of the murderous rifle, whenever the sleepless red man perceived in the gloom the object of his hate, rang through the forest, and kept the panting host in a state of alarm and wakefulness. If the Indians counted upon an easy victory, they reckoned falsely. Bouquet was a different man from Braddock. He understood thoroughly the Indian character, and was as brave as the bravest. That night, by the dim and half-hidden light, he wrote to Sir Jeffery Amherst an account of the day's conflict. How he got or proposed to get the letter through the cordon of savages, we do not know. "Whatever our fate may be," he wrote, "I thought it necessary to give your excellency this early information, that you may at all events take such measures as you think proper with the provinces, for their own safety and effectual relief of Fort Pitt, as in case of another engagement, I fear insurmountable difficulties in protecting and transporting our provisions, being already so weakened by the losses

of this day in men and horses, besides the additional necessity of carrying the wounded, whose situation is truly deplorable."

With the early dawn the unequal combat was resumed. The savages resorted to the same tactics as on the day before. "They would never stand their ground when attacked," says Parkman, "but vanish at the first gleam of the leveled bayonet, only to appear again the moment the danger was past." Thus the troops, wearied with the toils of the preceding day, maddened with thirst, and unable to fix the object of attack, were discouraged and almost in despair. Bouquet perceived that some different method must be taken. He believed that if he could but get the Indians to stand their ground he could defeat them. It was now pointed out to him where, by a certain movement, a large body of the boldest of the savages could be taken at advantage. Accordingly, he ordered two companies of Highlanders to retire from the line and fall back within the circle. The wings then extended themselves across the intervening space, as if to cover the apparent retreat. The savages, thinking that a retreat was really taking place, and now sure of their prey, rushed upon the weakened part of the line with shouts and yells, but

were stubbornly resisted. At the same moment, the two companies of Highlanders, under Major Campbell, who for that purpose had been sent around the hill unobserved by the enemy, fell furiously upon their flank. "They resolutely returned the fire," says Bouquet, "but could not stand the irresistible shock of our men, who, rushing in among them, killed many of them and put the rest to flight." They were pursued by the infuriated troops, and completely broken up and chased away.

No time was lost. The wounded were at once carried forward to Bushy Run and their necessities as carefully attended to as possible. Here, however, ten of the wounded died. Many of the pack horses having broken away during the battle, Bouquet was compelled to destroy a large part of the supplies which he was taking to the fort. At Bushy Run the Indians again attempted an attack, but they were soon dispersed. Except a few scattered shots along the way, Bouquet was no further molested by them. After the fight, sixty Indian corpses were counted upon the ground. Bouquet's loss had been one hundred and fifteen men in killed, wounded, and missing. After night the Indians returned to the battle-field and scalped the dead. The next day the screeching mul-

titude marched past Fort Pitt, shaking the gory trophies at the walls.*

After resting and recruiting their strength at Bushy Run, the army set forward again, and on the tenth of August arrived at Fort Pitt. We may easily conceive the rejoicing that their arrival must have caused among the people who had so long been confined to the narrow limits of their walls, and, no doubt, had nearly given themselves up for lost.†

* Colonel Henry Bouquet and his Campaigns, by Rev. Cyrus Cort; p. 43.

† The scene of Bouquet's hard won victory is on what is called the Harrison City road, about two miles north of Penn Station, on the Pennsylvania Railroad. The one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the battle was celebrated on the ground with suitable ceremonies on the sixth of August, 1883.

THE NORTHERN POSTS.

NORTH of Fort Pitt, within the bounds of Pennsylvania, were three British forts—Venango, Le Bœuf, and Presqu' Isle. These had all been established by the French, but had come into the hands of the English soon after the fall of Fort Duquesne, and were confirmed to them by the treaty of Paris. They were all small affairs, and but little able to sustain any very serious attempt of an enemy.

Fort Venango was at the mouth of French Creek, about seventy-five miles north of Fort Pitt. Fort Le Bœuf was some forty miles a little west of north from Venango, and Fort Presqu' Isle was about fifteen miles due north of Le Bœuf. Of the three posts, Presqu' Isle was the most formidable. The latter and Fort Le Bœuf had been built by Monsieur Morin in the summer of 1753. The Indians for some time strenuously objected to the building of a fort at the mouth of French Creek, but the blandish-

ments of the crafty Joncaire at length prevailed. On the return of the French forces to Canada in the fall of 1753, he was allowed to remain upon the spot with a few soldiers. Washington, in his famous visit to the northern posts in the winter of that year, found him there ensconced in the house from which John Frazier, the Indian trader, had fled upon the approach of Celoron some years before. The Indians seem to have eventually withdrawn their objections, for in the early spring of 1754 the French constructed a small fort upon the coveted spot, which they named Fort Machault. This fort the English called Venango. Still later another military work occupied the same site, which was named Fort Franklin.

In the month of June, 1763, Ensign Christie was in command at Presqu' Isle, Ensign Price at Le Bœuf, and Lieutenant Gordon at Venango. The garrison at Presqu' Isle consisted of twenty-seven men. Early in the morning of June 15, about two hundred Indians appeared before the fort. The garrison immediately betook themselves to the block-house, which was large and well adapted to resist an ordinary Indian attack. The savages at once assailed the building. The assault was fierce and persistent, and carried on with more than usual skill, as the

savages seem to have been directed by a soldier who had been made prisoner early in the French and Indian war, "and had since lived among the savages, and now espoused their cause, fighting with them against his own countrymen."* Ensign Christie resisted bravely the assaults of the Indians. The block-house was repeatedly set on fire, but as often the flames were extinguished. The savages now approached the block-house by a trench which they dug, and prepared to undermine and blow up the building. Christie saw that all hope of further successful resistance was vain, and he agreed to terms of capitulation on the morning of the seventeenth. The Indians promised that the garrison should retire unmolested; but no sooner were the soldiers in their hands, than they began to plunder them, "and they had good cause to be thankful," says Parkman, "that they were not butchered on the spot." They were detained several days at Presqu' Isle and then taken to Detroit. Ensign Christie here had the good fortune to escape from the hands of his savage captors, and find his way into the fort at that place.

Two of Christie's men, at the capitulation, darted

* Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Chap. XIII. No one can write upon the history of those times without owning an indebtedness to the masterly volumes of Parkman.

into the forest and disappeared. One of them, a Scotch soldier named Benjamin Gray, arrived, haggard and worn, at Fort Pitt on the twenty-sixth of the month. He had been eight days on the way. Fortunately for him he arrived just in a lull of the tempest that had raged around Fort Pitt. The savages who had been investing that post had gone off to meet a large body of their allies who were coming from the west, and thus Gray entered its gates unharmed. He reported the attack on Fort Presqu' Isle, and the capitulation; but having heard a woman scream out, he said, he suspected they were murdering her, and he had hastened away.* He had no doubt the entire garrison had been put to death. What their fate really was we have seen above. The next morning after the capitulation of Presqu' Isle, a band of Indians appeared before Fort Le Bœuf. They were a part of the force that had attacked Presqu' Isle. They at first professed to be friendly, but very soon their true character revealed itself. Ensign Price's force consisted of two corporals and eleven privates. He rejected all the overtures of the savages and repelled their onslaught with the

* See a letter dated Fort Pitt, June 26, 1763. The letter is printed in Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Chapter XVIII. This letter also gives the history of the attack on Fort Le Bœuf.

greatest courage. The attack was continued all day. At night the Indians succeeded in setting the fort on fire. While they were in front, watching the door, shouting and leaping about, fancying the garrison were perishing in the flames, the latter were making their escape quietly from the burning building through a window on the other side. They then ran for the woods, which they reached unperceived by the exultant savages. Several of the men strayed away from their companions in the darkness; but on the same day that Gray arrived at Fort Pitt, Ensign Price with two corporals and four private soldiers reached the same place. Afterward all the garrison except two men returned in safety to their friends.

The fate of Venango had been still more tragical. On his way to Fort Pitt, Ensign Price had passed Venango and found the fort burned to the ground, and saw one of the expresses lying dead in the road. Not a man had escaped to tell the story. Many years afterwards an Indian who had been present, informed Sir William Johnson that a large body of Senecas had been admitted to the fort under the guise of friendship, when they fell on the unsuspecting garrison, and killed them all except Lieutenant Gordon. Him they compelled to write out a statement of the wrongs which they suffered from the white

men, and afterwards tortured him for several nights in succession, until death came at length to his release.* Long afterwards, ashes and charred wood, pieces of melted glass and iron, and rusted fragments of firearms, among which were mingled broken and decaying bones, marked the site of this scene of Indian treachery and cruelty.

Further to the south, a whooping multitude were holding Fort Pitt in their cruel embrace, and antici pating the hour when they should glut their savage hate in the blood of those behind its sheltering walls. Fort Ligonier, some fifty-five miles east of Fort Pitt, had sustained several attacks from the Indians, the most determined on the twenty-first of June, but made a successful resistance. The whole frontier lay exposed to the inroads of the savages. Fire and slaughter marked their tracks in every direction. "I have been at Fort Cumberland several days," writes one on the twenty-first of June, "but the Indians having killed nine people and burnt several houses near Fort Bedford, made me think it prudent to remove from those parts, from which, I suppose, near five hundred families have run away within this week." The number of killed increased daily. The terror-stricken people fled for their lives. Happily

* Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, Chapter XVIII.

the march of Bouquet and the decisive victory of Bushy Run at length broke the power of the red men, and sent them howling into the wilds west of the Allegheny.

FORT DUQUESNE.

For nearly five years Fort Duquesne stood on the western border of civilization as a menace to the English colonists. The desire among them for its destruction was much like that which, on a larger scale, nearly a century later, found expression in the cry, "On to Richmond." There could be no peace or safety on the frontier so long as the French flag waved over the bastions of Fort Duquesne. We have traced the history of two expeditions that were fitted out for its overthrow; we have seen how the first of these was destroyed through the contumacy and bigotry of its leader; we have seen how the second, though only missing failure, resulted in acquiring possession of the long-coveted spot. From the prominence which so long attached to Fort Duquesne, we think that reboubtable stronghold deserves more than the passing notice that we have hitherto given it.

It was on the sixteenth day of April, 1754, as has been stated, that a large fleet of boats and batteaux carrying a powerful force of French and Indians, descended the Allegheny from Venango, and landed at the forks of the Ohio. They were under the command of M. de Contrecœur, a captain of infantry in the French army. De Contrecœur knew the place; he had been here with Celoron nearly five years before. He now found upon the spot a handful of men under Ensign Ward, engaged in building a fort. At Contrecœur's demand, Ward surrendered the unfinished work into his hands. The French at once set about fortifying the place.

The designer of the fort which the French built at the forks of the Ohio, was M. de Mercier, a captain of artillery, a skillful and experienced engineer. The fort was built on a larger plan than the modest stockade upon which Ensign Ward had been at work. The French had come to stay; and the fort which they built was one link in the chain of military posts which they intended to stretch from Quebec to New Orleans. The fort was named Duquesne, in compliment to the Marquis de Duquesne, the governor-general of Canada.

The first account we have of Fort Duquesne is by Captain Robert Stobo, one of the hostages, given

by Washington to the French at Fort Necessity. July twenty-eighth, 1754, he writes to Washington. He gives no verbal description of the fort in his letter, but he enclosed a well-drawn plan of the works, with explanations, "such as time and opportunity would admit of." The letter was conveyed by an Indian, "a worthy fellow," though Stobo was in great danger in writing such information. "The garrison," he says, "consists of two hundred workmen, and all the rest went in several detachments, to the number of one thousand, two days hence. Mercier, a fine soldier, goes; so that Contrecœur, with a few young officers and cadets, remains here. A lieutenant went off some days ago, with two hundred men, for provisions. He is daily expected. When he arrives the garrison will be four hundred men." "When we engaged to serve the country" he adds, "it was expected we were to do it with our lives. Let them not be disappointed. Consider the good of the expedition, without the least regard for us. For my part, I would die a thousand deaths to have the pleasure of possessing this fort but one day."

It is easy to be brave when danger is far off; this man was brave when danger was imminent. Indeed, no brighter example of self-devotion and moral courage shines on the page of history than

this of Captain Stobo at Fort Duquesne, and it well entitles him to further notice at our hands.*

Robert Stobo was born at Glasgow, Scotland, in the year 1727. While yet very young, he came to Virginia, where he was engaged in mercantile pursuits; but possessing a "natural openness and freedom of temper, joined with a turn for gaiety," his affairs as a merchant did not prosper. When, in 1754, the Assembly of Virginia determined to raise a force to oppose the progress of the French, Stobo was one of the first to offer his services. From Great Meadows Captain Stobo was taken to Fort Duquesne, where he remained for some months, just how long we do not know; but some time before the date of Braddock's expedition he had been transferred from Duquesne to Quebec. All this time he had been well treated, and was quite a favorite, especially with the French ladies, who, indeed, "never thought any company complete unless Monsieur Stobo made one of it."

When General Braddock arrived at Wills Creek on his way to Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington put

* In 1854, Neville B. Craig, the historian of Pittsburg, after much trouble secured in England a manuscript copy of the "Memoirs of Robert Stobo," which he published in a neat little volume. The Memoirs bring the life of Stobo down only to the early part of the year 1760. To this little work we are indebted mainly for the facts in this notice of that brave and patriotic man.

into his hands the letter he had received from Stobo, and in the battle of the Monongahela these letters, among other effects of Braddock's, fell into the hands of the French. Very soon a change was made in the treatment of Stobo; he was committed a close prisoner, and by an order from Paris, the governor-general of Canada was directed to try him for his life as a spy. This was in 1756. Some chance offering itself, Stobo escaped from prison, but was speedily recaptured. In November of the same year he was brought up for trial, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The execution was delayed, and meantime, on the night of the thirtieth day of April, 1757, he again escaped from confinement. Better fortune awaited him this time, and after a series of "remarkable adventures" and hair-breadth escapes, he arrived at Louisburg in the early part of the following June. His subsequent career, so far as it has been related, was no less patriotic and adventurous. He continued in the service of his adopted country until the close of the French and Indian war. When or where he died, we are not informed.

Captain Vanbraam, it will be remembered, was Stobo's companion in captivity. A cloud of suspicion has always rested on the fame of Vanbraam—perhaps unjustly. We know of no grounds for this

suspicion, except the misinterpretation of the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity. This was no doubt the result of insufficient knowledge of the French language. He was taken with Stobo to Quebec, where he was detained a prisoner for many years. The distinguished historian, Dr. Lyman C. Draper, has made a thorough examination of the history of Vanbraam, so far as it is ascertainable, and he defends the character of that unfortunate officer. "It is a burning shame," he remarks, "that services and sufferings like his should have been so long and so ungratefully stigmatized and misrepresented."*

In the month of June, 1755, young James Smith, who has been mentioned several times already in the course of these sketches, was captured by the Indians and taken to Fort Duquesne. His reception there was somewhat rough. He says: "The next morning we continued our march, and in the afternoon we came in full view of the fort, which stood on the point, near where Fort Pitt now stands. We then made a halt on the bank of the Allegheny, and repeated the scalp halloo, which was answered by the firing of all the firelocks in the hands of both Indians and French who were in and about the fort, and also the great guns, which were followed by the

* See The Olden Time, Vol. I. pp. 370-384.

continued shouts and yells of the different savage tribes who were then collected there. As I was at this time unacquainted with this mode of firing and yelling of the savages, I concluded there were thousands of Indians there ready to receive General Braddock; but what added to my surprise, I saw numbers running towards me, stripped naked, except breechclouts, and painted in the most hideous manner, of various colors, though the principal color was vermilion, or a bright red; yet there was annexed to this black, brown, blue, etc. As they approached, they formed themselves into two long ranks, about two or three rods apart. I was told by an Indian that could speak English, that I must run betwixt these ranks, and that they would flog me all the way as I ran; and if I ran quick, it would be so much the better, as they would quit when I got to the end of the ranks. There appeared to be a general rejoicing about me, yet I could find nothing like joy in my breast; but I started to the race with all the resolution and vigor I was capable of exerting, and found that it was as I had been told, for I was flogged the whole way. When I had got near the end of the lines, I was struck with something that appeared to me to be a stick or the handle of a tomahawk, which caused me to fall to the ground. On my recovering

my senses, I endeavored to renew my race; but as I arose some one cast sand into my eyes, which blinded me so that I could not see where to run. They continued beating me most intolerably, until I was at length insensible; but before I lost my senses, I remember my wishing them to strike the fatal blow, for I thought they intended killing me, but apprehended they were too long about it."* Smith was adopted into the Caughnewago tribe, and lived with them for several years. He escaped from them near Montreal, in July, 1759.

John McKinney was a prisoner at Fort Duquesne in the fall of the year 1756, and has given a very full description of the place as it then was, from which we extract the following:

Fort Duquesne is situated on the east side of the Monongahela, in the fork between that and the Ohio [*i. e.* the Allegheny]. It is four square; has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards long and about forty yards wide. . . . . About half the fort is made of square logs, and the other half next the water of stockadoes; there are intrenchments cast up all around the fort, about seven feet high, which consist of stockadoes drove into the ground near to each other and wattled with poles like basket-work, against which earth is thrown up in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the fort, and has three steps all along the intrenchment for the men to go up and down to fire at the enemy; these intrenchments are about four rods from the fort and go all around, as well on the side of

* Colonel James Smith's *Narrative*, in *Drake's Indian Captivities*, p. 182.

the water as the land ; the outside of the intrenchment next the water joins to the water ; the fort has two gates, one of which opens on the land-side and the other to the water-side, where the magazine is built ; that to the land side is in fact a draw-bridge, which in daytime serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by iron chains and levers. . . . . The water sometimes rises so high as that the whole fort is surrounded with it, so that canoes may go around it. . . . . The stockadoes are round logs better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high ; the joints are secured by split logs ; in the stockadoes are loop-holes, made so as to fire slanting towards the ground. The bastions are filled with earth, solid, about eight feet high ; each bastion has four carriage guns, about four pound ; no swivel nor any mortars that he knows of ; they have no cannon but at the bastions. . . . . There are no pickets nor palisades on the top of the fort to defend it against scaling ; the eaves of the houses in the fort are about even with the top of the logs or wall of the fort ; . . . . . there are about twenty or thirty ordinary Indian cabins about the fort.*

"While it might suffice for the general historian," says the Rev. Mr. Lambing, "to say that Fort Duquesne stood on the point of land at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, it should be the study of the local annalist to fix its site with precision. And on this point, as might be expected, there is considerable difference of opinion." After a very careful discussion of the question, he says : "We must conclude that the fort was located within a square, bounded by Water street, Duquesne way, Point alley, and a line drawn parallel with, and a

* The Olden Time, Vol. I. p. 39.

hundred feet from, Penn Avenue, on the Allegheny river side ; and that it covered the ground occupied at present by Rice's Castle, the Pittsburg Plow works, part of Hugh M. Bole's machine shop and the other small buildings that stand between."*

Captain John Haslet, who came with Forbes' army, wrote to Rev. Dr. Alison of Philadelphia a final description of Fort Duquesne, from which it will be seen that some changes had been made in the works subsequent to the time of John McKinney. He says: "We arrived at six last night, November 25, 1758, and found it in a great measure destroyed. There are two forts about two hundred yards distant; the one built with immense labor, small, but a great deal of very strong works collected into very little room, and stands on the point of a narrow neck of land at the confluence of the two rivers. 'Tis square and has two ravelins, gabions at each corner, etc. The other fort stands on the bank of the Allegheny, in form of a parallelogram, but nothing so strong as the other; several of the outworks are lately begun and still unfinished. There are, I think, thirty stacks of chimneys standing, the houses all burnt down. . . . . They went

* Historical Researches, Vol. I. p. 49.

off in such haste that they could not make quite the havoc of their works they intended."*

It must be observed that wherever the French armies went, there went along the ministers of their religion; wherever the French made a lodgment in the wilderness, there the cross was erected and there mass was said.

"No lofty turrets upward spring
From massive ancient piles;
No soothing chimes their echoes ring
Through dim cathedral aisles;
But high above, God's ample arch
Bends o'er their simple shrines,
Displayed beneath the towering larch
'Mid aisles of sighing pines!"†

Father Bonnechamps had accompanied Celoron on his expedition down the Ohio; and so now with de Contrecœur came the good Father Denys Barron. Somewhere near the walls of the fort a small church was speedily erected, and above its lowly roof the cross held out its arms. One's heart bleeds when he pictures to himself that group of prisoners brought in at the close of Braddock's dreadful day—naked, bleeding, footsore, weary, thirsty, with no hope, and only to meet a dreadful death at the stake—and it is

* The Olden Time, Vol. I. p. 184.

† A Tribute to Kane, and other Poems, by George W. Chapman, p. 52.

sweet to think that perhaps in that supreme moment of pain and terror some dying man may have caught a glimpse of the cross through the smoke of his torment, and a hope not of this world may have sprung up in his heart.

That very morning the gallant Beaujeu had knelt at the altar rail in the little church to receive the holy communion. His body was now brought back from the fatal field, his gorget stained with blood, to lie a brief space before the same altar rail ere it should be consigned to its long-since forgotten resting place.

Fort Duquesne underwent several changes of commandant. The first chief was, as we have seen, M. de Contrecœur. He continued in command until the early fall of 1755. M. Dumas, who had succeeded to the command of the French and Indians at the battle of the Monongahela, upon the death of Beaujeu, was appointed to the command of the fort upon the withdrawal of M. de Contrecœur. He styles himself "Commander-in-chief of Fort Duquesne and its dependencies." M. Dumas was succeeded by M. de Ligneris. Just how long M. Dumas held the command we do not know; but under date of December 27, 1756, we find him mentioned in the *Baptismal Register* as "commander of Fort Duquesne." M. de Ligneris continued in that position until the

abandonment of the fort by the French in November, 1758.

We owe much to the *Baptismal Register*, lately made accessible to the general reader, for our glimpses of still-life at Fort Duquesne. The *Register* records the baptisms and sepultures at Fort Duquesne for the years from 1754 to 1756 inclusive, as also for the year 1753 at the other French forts on the Allegheny. The *Register* was kept mainly by the Rev. Denys Barron, *Aumonier du Roy*—"the chaplain of the king." Many interesting facts, unimportant in themselves, and yet interesting as connected with the history of this famous French post, may be gleaned from its pages. The first record at Fort Duquesne is that of the interment of Toussaint Boyer, "styled the gentleman," a young man of about twenty-two years, who died in the fort on the twentieth of June, 1754, "after he had received the sacraments of penance, the viaticum, and extreme unction." He was followed in death, on the fifteenth of July, by De Jardin, aged about twenty-three years; on August the third by Joseph Delisle, aged about twenty-six years; and so on.

As echoes from Braddock's field, we find the record of the interment in "the cemetery of Fort Duquesne," of John Baptist Talion, who was wounded

in the battle and died the same day in the fort; of M. de Carqueville, a lieutenant of marines, who was killed in the battle; of John Baptist La Perade, "ensign in the troops of the Isle Royale," who died of wounds the next day after the battle; of "M. Lienard Daniel, Esquire, Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain in the Infantry, Commander of Fort Duquesne and of the army," who was buried on the twelfth of July; and of John Baptist Depuis, who lingered until the twenty-ninth, when he died.

The first white child born on the site of the city of Pittsburg seems to have been John Daniel Norment, born on the eighteenth of September, 1755, the son of John Gasper Norment and of Mary Joseph Chainier, "his father and mother being united in lawful wedlock." The father is described as "merchant trader at the Beautiful River." The child had for his god-father no less a character than "Monsieur John Daniel, Esquire, Sieur Dumas, Captain of Infantry, Commander-in-Chief of the forts of Presqu' Isle, French Creek, and Duquesne, at the Beautiful River." The babe did not live long to enjoy the distinction, as the very next entry in the *Register* is that of his death, which took place on the twenty-fourth of the same month."

These are specimens of the entries in this valuable old document, and its pages are well worth perusal by those who are interested in the early annals of our country.

WEISER'S MISSION TO THE OHIO.

One of the earliest expeditions to the Ohio Indians, of which we have any definite knowledge is that of Conrad Weiser, in the summer of 1748. Weiser was sent by the government of Pennsylvania with a present of goods of considerable value. He was accompanied by George Croghan, a trader, who was well acquainted in the Indian country and "the best roads to Ohio." In his "Instructions" from the government, Weiser is directed as follows:

> You are to use the utmost diligence to acquire a perfect knowledge of the number, situation, disposition, and strength of all the Indians in or near those parts, whether they be friends, neutrals, or enemies, and be very particular in knowing the temper and influence of the tribes of Indians who send deputies to receive you; for by the knowledge of these matters you are to regulate the distribution of the goods which are to be divided amongst them in as equal and just a manner as possible, that all may go away satisfied, and none receive the least cause of disgust at any undue preference given to others.

Conrad Weiser was a German by birth, and was at this time in his fifty-second year. In 1710 his

father emigrated to America, and settled at Scoharie, in New York. Here the family was frequently visited by a Mohawk chief named Quagnant, and at the solicitation of this chief young Conrad went into the Mohawk country, where he devoted himself to learning the language of the Indians. In 1729, he married and moved to Berks county, Pennsylvania. He was frequently employed by the colonial authorities as interpreter, agent, etc., for the Indians. During the French and Indian war, Weiser was colonel of a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers. After a busy and useful life he died in June, 1760.

Weiser, upon the occasion above described, came over into the Indian country by the Kiskiminetas route. His course from his starting point in Berks county was almost due west by the Black Log sleeping place and the Standing Stone, to the ancient settlement at Frankstown, at the foot of the mountains, in Blair county. The distances, as he gives them in his itinerary, foot up considerably more than the distance measured in a straight line, but perhaps not more than the tortuous windings of what were considered "the best roads" required. At Frankstown he says he "saw no houses or cabin." We do not understand this; perhaps the place had been destroyed or abandoned, or perhaps he did not

enter the settlement itself, but came only into the neighborhood of it.* At this point he made a detour to the right, "crossed the Allegheny hills," no doubt by the Kittanning path, and at the distance of sixteen miles from Frankstown reached a point called "the Clear Fields," where he remained over night. This place was in the northeastern part of Cambria county, in the township that is still called Clearfield. Here he turned, and traveling a little west of south, he came that day, August 23, to the 'Showonese cabbins." This was the point where Johnstown now stands. It is well known that a Shawanese village, afterwards call Kekkeknepalin, occupied this spot.

From the Shawanese cabins Weiser proceeded northwest a distance of fifty-two miles to "Ten Mile lick," as he calls it. This was somewhere in the neighborhood of the present town of Apollo. From here, next day, he traveled about due west, crossed the Kiskiminetas near its mouth and came to the Ohio, as he calls it, meaning the Allegheny, twenty-six miles from his starting place in the morning. Here

* This old town occupied about the same site as the modern Frankstown in Blair county. "It was named after an old German Indian trader named Stephen Franks, who lived contemporaneously with old Hart, and whose post was at this old Indian town."—Jones' *Juniata Valley*, p. 324.

he hired a canoe for one thousand black wampum, to convey himself and Croghan to Logstown. The horses were tired, and were to come afterwards.

The point on the Allegheny where they took the water was the old Shawanese town, commonly called Chartier's town. Peter Chartier was a French Indian half-breed, a very stirring spirit and well known character in the western country in those times. In 1745 he went to the Wabash country, and the Indian town at or near the mouth of Buffalo creek, on the Allegheny, was abandoned; hence it was sometimes called the "Old Showonese town," and sometimes "Chartier's town" or "Chartier's Old town." Weiser says it was "above sixty miles by water" from Logstown; but in this he was in error, as the distance was not more than fifty miles at the farthest. The first evening after leaving the old Shawanese town they came to a Delaware village, where the Indians treated them very kindly. Next day they set off in the morning early. They dined, he says, in a Seneca town, in the house of an old Seneca woman, who reigned "with great authority." This place was Shannopin's town, which stood on the left bank of the Allegheny, about two miles above the forks of the Ohio, within the present limits of Pittsburg. The "old Seneca woman" was doubtless Queen Ali-

quippa, a personage not unknown to early local fame. The evening of the same day Weiser arrived at Logstown, which was the objective point of his journey.

Logstown was situated on the right bank of the Ohio, at a distance of eighteen miles from the point at Pittsburg.* It was an important Indian town, and is of frequent mention in the annals of the last century. At the time of which we write it consisted of some sixty or seventy cabins, inhabited by a number of confederated tribes—Senecas, Shawanese, Delawares, Wyandotts, etc. The year previous to this time a delegation from the Indian tribes on the Ohio had requested of the government of Pennsylvania that an agent should be sent to them at Logstown for the purpose of holding a council. It was in pursuance of this request that Weiser had now come. He had been here but a few days when he received a message from Coscosky, an Indian town on the Big Beaver river, at no great distance, desiring him to hold the council at their town; but very much to the gratification of the inhabitants of Logstown, he refused to hold the council at any other place than the latter town.

The horses that carried the goods had preceded

* Morse's American Gazetter, 1884.

Weiser, but he overtook them at Frankstown, as they had been delayed by the illness of some of the men. The goods were brought along but slowly. At the Shawanese cabins Weiser met twenty of Croghan's horses on the way to convey the goods from Frankstown. On the second day after Weiser's arrival at Logstown, the Indians set off in their canoes, very cheerily, no doubt, to bring in the goods. Weiser expected that they would be at Chartier's town by the time the canoes would get there; but they had not come. September eleventh the goods had not yet arrived, and Weiser began to be uneasy, as he feared that they might have fallen into the hands of enemies. He desired the Indians to send some of their young men out to meet the people with the goods, and not to come back until they had intelligence of them, if they had to go all the way to Frankstown, where he had last seen them. Accordingly, two Indians and a white man were sent on this expedition, but they failed to obey orders, as in two days they were back, having been only as far as Chartier's town, and having seen nothing of the goods. Two days afterwards, however, the goods arrived, very much to the relief of Weiser and the satisfaction of the red men. They had been detained on account of the floods in the

creeks, and because one of the sick men had to be sent back from Frankstown to the settlements.

Weiser being informed that the Wyandotts and Delawares were contemplating a return to the French, sent a messenger to the Delawares at Beaver Creek with a string of wampum, to learn the truth of the matter. The Delawares returned him a string of wampum, with the assurance that the report was false. He then held a council with the chiefs of the Wyandotts and inquired into their number, their reasons for abandoning the French, what correspondence they had with the Six Nations, etc. "They informed me," he says, "their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against the enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves; and their goods were so dear that they (the Indians) could not buy them; that there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English, seventy were left behind at another town a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them; that they had a very good correspondence with the Six Nations for many years, and were one people with them; that they could wish the Six Nations would act more briskly against the French; that about fifty years ago they

made a treaty of friendship with the governor of New York at Albany; and they showed me a large belt of wampum they had received from the said governor, as from the king of Great Britain. The belt was twenty-five grains wide and two hundred and sixty-five long, very curiously wrought. There were seven images of men holding one another by the hand—the first signifying the governor of New York, or rather, as he said, the king of Great Britain; the second, the Mohawks; the third, the Oneidas; the fourth, the Cajugas; the fifth, the Onondagers; the sixth, the Senecas; the seventh, the Owandats; and two rows of black wampum under their feet, through the whole length of the belt, to signify the road from Albany through the Five Nations to the Owandats; that six years ago they had sent deputies with the same belt to Albany to renew the friendship."

At the conclusion of the council, Weiser treated the assembled chiefs to a quart of whiskey and a roll of tobacco. The Indian seems always to have had a lively idea of his greatest needs, and the white man was peculiarly felicitous in ministering to them. The deputies present from the various tribes on the waters of the Ohio handed in the numbers of their fighting men. They were indicated by bundles of little sticks tied up, and varied from one hundred and sixty-five

to fifteen. The numbers footed up seven hundred and eighty-nine.

But, the goods having arrived, the neighboring Indians were sent for again, and on the seventeenth of September a general council was held. An address was made to the Indians by Weiser, in which he explained to them why it was that the government had sent out the goods instead of the weapons which had been promised; it was because "the king of Great Britain and the French king had agreed upon a cessation of arms for six months, and that a peace was very likely to follow." He also warned them of the deceitfulness of "a French peace;" assured them that the present which he had brought was intended "to strengthen the chain of friendship" between the English and the Indians; gave them some good advice on general principles, and devoted considerable attention to the liquor traffic among them. "You have of late made frequent complaints against the traders bringing so much rum to your towns," he said, "and desire it might be stopped; and your brethren, the president and council, made an act accordingly and put a stop to it, and no trader was to bring any rum or strong drink liquor to your towns. But it seems it is out of your brethren's power to stop it entirely. You send down your own skins by

the traders to buy rum for you. You go yourselves and fetch horse-loads of strong liquors; only the other day an Indian came to this town out of Maryland with three horse-loads of liquor; so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it. You know very well that the country near the Endless Mountains* affords strong liquor, and the moment the traders buy it they are gone out of the inhabited parts and are traveling to this place without being discovered; besides this, you never agree about it; one will have it, the other wont (though very few); a third says he will have it cheaper; this last, we believe, is spoken from your hearts." Upon this hit his auditors laughed. He then attempted to fix a price for which liquor should be sold. "If a trader offers to sell whiskey to you, and will not let you have it at that price," he says, "you may take it from him and drink it for nothing." And we may be sure the Indians never stood out for a second invitation. The council being ended, the goods were divided into shares, and so distributed as to give the Indians "great satisfaction."

Two days afterwards several Indians came as deputies to Weiser's lodging to return the thanks of the

* The Allegheny range, called by the Six Nations, Tyannuntaseta, or Endless Hills.

red men for his kindness. "Our brethren have indeed tied our hearts to theirs," they say; "we at present can but return thanks with an empty hand till another opportunity serves to do it sufficiently." They also informed him that they often had occasion to send messengers to Indian towns and nations on business of the tribes, and that they had nothing with which to recompense the messengers or to get wampum. "I had saved a piece of strand," says Weiser, "and half a barrel of powder, one hundred pounds of lead, ten shirts, six knives, and one pound of vermilion, and gave it to them for the aforesaid use. They returned many thanks and were mightily pleased."

On the nineteenth of September, Weiser set out on his return, and ten days later we find him at Pennsburg, in Cumberland county, writing out the report of his mission.

POST'S FIRST VISIT TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

About the middle of July, 1758, Christian Frederick Post received orders from the governor of Pennsylvania to proceed to the western part of the province and endeavor to withdraw the Indian tribes there from the French interest. Post was an unassuming Moravian preacher. He had come from Germany in 1742. For several years he had preached among the Indians, and he had married a baptized Mohican woman. His own temperament and his intimate knowledge of the Indian character caused him to be well fitted for the duty with which he was entrusted. He was accompanied by Tom Hickman (an interpreter), and a number of Indians, among them Pisquetumen and Wellemeghihink.* The Indians were at Germantown, a hamlet a few miles north of Philadel-

* In the Pennsylvania Archives we find his name printed *Willm McKaking*. See Volume III. page 520. In Proud's History of Pennsylvania it appears as *Willamegicken* and *Wellemeghihink*. See Volume II., Appendix.

phia. When Post arrived there on the fifteenth of July, he found them all drunk, except Wellemeghihink, who had gone to Philadelphia for a horse that had been promised him. Post waited until near noon the next day for his return, and when he came he was so drunk that he could get no farther, and Post was obliged to proceed without him. Post had a good deal of trouble to get his Indians off, as they made out to be generally either drunk or sick; but on the sixteenth of the month, he at length got properly started on his perilous journey. At Fort Allen, where he arrived on the twentieth, he met with serious opposition from King Teedyuscung. Two years before, at Easton, Teedyuscung had made a treaty of peace and friendship with the English. He was now about fifty years old. He is described in the records of the time as "a lusty, rawboned man, haughty and very desirous of respect and command." He had also a great capacity for fire-water. "He can drink three quarts or a gallon of rum a day without being drunk." Hence there is no telling what quantity he must have imbibed on those festive occasions when he became intoxicated, as at the council at Easton, when it is said that he and "his wild company were perpetually drunk, very much on the Gascoon, and at times abusive to the inhabitants."

He was also "full of himself, saying frequently that which side soever he took must stand, and the other fall."* He declared that he had been made king by ten nations, namely, the united Six Nations, and the Delawares, Shawanese, Mohicans, and Munceys. "He carried the belt of peace with him," he said, "and whoever would might take hold of it." At this treaty he declared that he was present by the appointment of these ten nations, and that what he did they would all confirm. Yet a day or two afterwards he qualified this statement. He was not sure that he could prevail on the Ohio Indians. "I cannot tell," he said, "that they will leave off doing mischief;" and he advised the English to make themselves strong on that side. He was right as to the Indians on the Ohio. His treaty was effective so far as regarded the Indians on the Susquehanna, but the tribes in the Ohio valley scouted his authority.

Teedyuscung now protested against Post's proceeding on his mission. "His reasons were," says Post, "that he was afraid the Indians would kill me, or the French get me; and if that should be the case he should be very sorry, and did not know what he should do." His opposition was such that but three of the party offered to go any farther with Post.

* Pennsylvania Archives, Volume II. page 724.

"We concluded," says Post, "to go through the inhabitants, under the Blue mountains, to Fort Augusta, on Susquehanna." This fort stood at Shamokin, where Sunbury now stands. It was built in the summer of 1756. Post arrived there on the twenty-fifth of July. "It gave me great pain," he says, "to observe many plantations deserted and laid waste, and I could not but reflect on the distress the poor owners must be drove to, who once lived in plenty, and I prayed the Lord to restore peace and prosperity to the distressed." At Fort Augusta the unpleasant news was brought by some Indians that the English army had been destroyed at Ticonderoga, which so discouraged one of his companions, "Lappopetung's son," that he refused to accompany the expedition any farther. This reduced Post's original company to only two men, Pisquetumen and Tom Hickman. He must here have recruited his force, as we know that he afterwards had at least four men with him. One of those whom he here picked up was Shamokin Daniel, and Shamokin Daniel afterward turned out to be a thorn in the flesh.* At the fort they were

*The Indians at Shamokin were a very depraved set. Good David Brainerd, who had visited them some years before, says of them: "The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous, and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner."—*Brainerd's Diary, Sept. 13, 1745.*

furnished with everything necessary for the journey, and on the twenty-seventh they "set out with good courage." After various adventures they came, on the seventh of August, in sight of Fort Venango.* "I prayed the Lord to blind them," says Post, "as he did the enemies of Lot and Elisha, that I might pass unknown." They slept that night within half gunshot of the fort. On the tenth they met an Indian, and one whom Post believed to be a renegade English trader, from whom they learned that they had lost the way, and that they were within twenty miles of Fort Duquesne. Upon this they struck off to the right, and slept that night "between two mountains." On the second day after this they came to the Connoquenessing, or, as Post writes it, the Conaquanoshon, where, he says, was an old Indian town, fifteen miles from Kushkushkee.† "The point at which Post saw the Conaquanoshon was probably about where Harmony now stands, as this village is just fifteen miles in a straight line from Newport, which occupies the site of Cushcushcunk, or Kosh-

*This was the French fort at the mouth of French Creek. It was called by the French, Fort Machault.

†This name is variously spelled in the old records. In Weiser's journal it is written *Coscosky;* in Washington's journal, *Kuskusko;* in Post's journal, *Kushkushkee;* while two other varieties of spelling are also here presented.

kosh-kung. If this supposition is correct there must have then been, in 1758, 'an old Indian town' upon or very near the ground on which Harmony is built."*

From this point they sent Pisquetumen to Kush-kushkee in advance of the party, with a message of friendship and explanation. About noon they met some Shawanese that had formerly lived at Wyoming. They knew Post, and greeted him very kindly. "I saluted them," says he, "and assured them that the government of Pennsylvania wished them well, and wished to live in peace and friendship with them." Before they reached the town, two men came out to meet them and bring them in. King Beaver seemed to be the chief man in the place. He received them, and showed them a large house in which they could lodge. The news soon spread, and the people gathered about to see them. There were about sixty young warriors who came and shook hands with them. King Beaver spoke to the people. "Boys," said he, "hearken. We sat here without ever expecting again to see our brethren, the English; but now one of them is brought before you, that you may see your brethren, the English, with your own eyes; and I wish you may take it into

* History of Butler Co., Pa., p. 15.

consideration." Then, turning to Post, he said: "Brother, I am very glad to see you; I never thought we should have had the opportunity to see one another more; but now I am very glad, and thank God, who has brought you to us. It is a great satisfaction to me." To this address of welcome Post replied: "Brother, I rejoice in my heart; I thank God, who has brought me to you. I bring you joyful news from the governor and people of Pennsylvania, and from your children, the Friends; and, as I have words of great consequence, I will lay them before you when all the kings and captains are called together from the other towns."

Messengers were at once dispatched to the surrounding towns and villages, but it was not until the seventeenth of the month that the different "kings and captains" could be got together. In the meantime, Post had been treated with the greatest kindness. The Indians seemed really pleased that he had visited them. They came to his lodgings, where they would remain and dance sometimes until after midnight. Some Frenchmen, who were in the town building houses for the Indians, also came to see him. Among those who came to the great council were two Indian captains from Fort Duquesne. They were very surly. "When I went to shake hands

with one of them," says Post, "he gave me his little finger; the other withdrew his hand entirely; upon which I appeared as stout as either, and withdrew my hand as quick as I could. Their rudeness to me," he adds, "was taken very ill by the other captains, who treated them in the same manner in their turn." With these two messengers from Fort Duquesne had come a French captain and fifteen men. But Post would have nothing to do with them; he had been sent to the Indians, he said, and not to the French. In the councils that followed, the Indians expressed a desire for peace. "All the Indians," said they, "a great way from this, even beyond the lakes, wish for a peace with the English, and have desired us, as we are the nearest of kin, if we see the English incline to a peace, to hold it fast." They entirely ignored Teedyuscung, however, and would not hear of any treaty that had been made by him.

But, as they said, they could not make peace alone; it was necessary that all should join in it, or it could be no peace. They therefore proposed to go to a neighboring town called Sawkunk,* and con-

*Sawkunk was an important Indian town that stood at the confluence of the Big Beaver and Ohio rivers. The name signifies "at the mouth," or where one stream flows into another. See Boyd's *Indian Local Names*, page 43.

sider the matter further there. To this Post consented, and they set out on the twentieth. The party consisted of twenty-five horesmen and fifteen foot. They arrived at Sawkunk in the afternoon. Post's reception there was not so friendly as at Kushkushkee. "The people of the town were much disturbed at my coming," says he, "and received me in a very rough manner. They surrounded me with drawn knives in their hands, in such a manner that I could hardly get along." They evidently thirsted for his blood, and seemed to desire some pretense to kill him; but some Indians coming up, whom Post had formerly known, who now greeted him in a friendly manner, the behavior of the others quickly changed. Here it was proposed that he should proceed to Fort Duquesne, as there were eight different nations there who desired to hear his message. To this Post earnestly objected, but in vain; the Indians insisted, told him he need not fear the French, that they would carry him "in their bosoms." They accordingly set out for the fort, but went only as far as Logstown that day. The next day, August 24, they continued their journey, and in the afternoon came in sight of the fort. They did not cross over, but remained on the north bank of the river. As they had come up the river from Logstown,

the place where they halted was, perhaps, a little below the point where the fort stood. Immediately all the Indian chiefs at the fort crossed over, when King Beaver presented Post to them, saying: "Here is our English brother, who has brought good news." Some of the chiefs signified their pleasure at seeing him; but one old, deaf Onondago denounced him. "I do not know this Swannock," said he; "it may be that you know him. I, the Shawanese, and our father do not know him." The next day, however, he acknowleged that he had been wrong; he said that "he had now cleaned himself," and hoped they would forgive him.

The French, and some of the Indians, demanded that Post should be sent into the fort; but the other Indians would not hear to this. On the twenty-fifth the chiefs assembled again and had a great deal of counselling among themselves. The French were still intriguing to get Post into their hands, but his friends would not give him up. He was told not to stir from the fire, for the French had offered a great reward for his scalp, and that some parties were desirous to secure it. "Accordingly I stuck as close to the fire," says he, "as if I had been chained there." The following day the Indians and a number of French officers crossed the river again to hear what Post had

to say. They brought with them a table and writing materials, to take down what might be said. Post stood in the middle of them and spoke at considerable length "with a free conscience." The French, he says, did not seem pleased with his speech. "Brethren at Allegheny," said he, "hear what I say: Every one that lays hold of this belt of peace, I proclaim peace to them from the English nation, and let you know that the great king of England does not incline to have war with the Indians; but he wants to live in peace and love with them, if they will lay down the hatchet and leave off war with him. We let you know that the great king of England has sent a great number of warriors into this country, not to go to war with the Indians in their towns, no, not at all; these warriors are going against the French. By this belt I take you by the hand, and lead you at a distance from the French, for your own safety, that your legs may not be stained with blood. Come away on this side the mountain, where we may oftener converse together, and where your flesh and blood lives. I have almost finished what I had to say, and hope it will be to your satisfaction. My wish is that we may join close together in that old brotherly love and friendship which our grandfathers had, so that all the nations may hear and see us,

and have the benefit of it; and if you have any uneasiness or complaint in your heart and mind, do not keep it to yourself. We have opened the road to the council fire, therefore, my brethren, come and acquaint the governor with it; you will be readily heard, and full justice will be done you."

After the council the French and Indians returned to the fort, except Post's companions, who were about seventy in number. One of the latter, however, Shamokin Daniel, went over to the fort, though his comrades disapproved it. Here he had some conversation with the commandant, and soon returned with a laced coat and hat, a blanket, shirts, ribbons, a new gun, powder, lead, etc. He was quite a changed man. He reviled Post and the English, and "behaved in a very proud, saucy, and imperious manner." Post was informed that as soon as they got back to the fort, the French proposed to the Indians to cut off Post and his party. To this the Indians would not consent. "The Delawares," said they, "are a strong people, and are spread to a great distance, and whatever they agree to must be." The French again insisted that Post must be delivered up to them; but the Indians refused to do so, except the traitorous Shamokin Daniel, who had received a string of wampum to leave him

there. Post's friends then determined that he should set off the next morning before day, which he did. They returned through Sawkunk, and arrived at Kushkushkee in the evening of the twenty-eighth. Pisquetumen, Tom Hickman, Shingiss, and the rascally Shamokin Daniel were of the party.

Though the Delawares had treated Post kindly, and had refused to deliver him to the French, they were not ready yet to surrender themselves to the English cause. They were suspicious of the English, and of their good intentions. "It is told us," said they, after they got back to Kushkushkee, "that you and the French contrived the war to waste the Indians between you; and that you and the French intended to divide the land between you. This was told us by the chief of the Indian traders; and they said further, 'Brothers, this is the last time we shall come among you, for the French and English intend to kill all the Indians, and then divide the land among themselves.'"

"I am very sorry," answered Post, "to see you so jealous. I am your own flesh and blood, and sooner than I would tell you any story that would be of hurt to you or your children, I would suffer death. And if I did not know that it was the desire of the governor that we should renew our brotherly love and

friendship that subsisted between our grandfathers, I would not have undertaken this journey. I do assure you of mine and the people's honesty."

In a council held on the fourth of September, the chiefs addressing him, said:

Brother, you very well know that you have collected all your young men about the country, which makes a large body, and now they are standing before our doors. You come with good news and fine speeches. This is what makes us jealous, and we do not know what to think of it. If you had brought the news of peace before your army had begun to march, it would have caused a great deal more good. We do not so readily believe you, because a great many great men and traders have told us, long before the war, that you and the French intended to join and cut all of the Indians off.

To this speech Post replied:

Brothers, I love you from the bottom of my heart. I am extremely sorry to see the jealousy so deeply rooted in your hearts and minds. I have told you the truth; and yet, if I was to tell it you a hundred times, it seems you would not rightly believe me. I do now declare, before God, that the English never did, nor never will, join with the French to destroy you.

Having performed the task that had been given him to do, Post now desired to return home; but the Indians, on one pretext or another, delayed him day after day. They were not entirely satisfied in their minds. "It is a troublesome cross and heavy yoke to draw this people," wrote Post; "they can punish and squeeze a body's heart to the utmost. My

heart has been very heavy here, because they kept me for no purpose. The Lord knows how they have been counselling about my life; but they did not know who was my Protector and Deliverer." At length, however, on the afternoon of the eighth of September, Post and his party set off from Kushkushkee and proceeded ten miles on their return journey. They suffered much from hunger and exposure on the way, and were in great danger from the enemy, but finally arrived at Fort Augusta, on the twenty-second, "very weary and hungry, but greatly rejoiced of our return from this tedious journey."

POST'S SECOND MISSION.

Post had but little leisure to recover from the fatigue of his journey when he was desired by the governor to proceed again to the Indians on the Ohio. Among his companions were two of the persons who had been with him before—the chief Pisquetumen and the interpreter, Tom Hickman. He was also accompanied by Captain Bull and Mr. Hays. He was directed to follow Forbes' army, in order to receive further instructions from the general. It was now the latter part of October. Post had a good deal of the same kind of trouble in getting off as in his previous journey. When he was about ready to start, he found Pisquetumen helplessly drunk, and the next day that worthy was so sick that Post was much discomposed. Mr. Hays had already preceded him with a company of Indians, some distance, and when Post, with the hopeful Pisquetumen, came up to them he found them also very ill—whether or not from the

same source as Pisquetumen's illness, is not stated. When they had recovered sufficiently to set out, they objected strongly to proceeding after the army, and insisted on going through the woods. Post reasoned with them, and they at length reluctantly consented to go. Post left the plantation of Conrad Weiser, about fourteen miles west of Reading, on the twenty-eighth of October, and in the afternoon of the seventh of November, "before sun set," he arrived at the Loyalhanna, where he was "gladly received" by General Forbes. He remained here until nearly noon of the ninth, awaiting his instructions from the general. While here he was asked by some of the "colonels and chief commanders" how he could rule and bring these people to reason, "making no use of gun or sword," and he replied that it was done "by no other means than by faith."

About noon Post resumed his journey. He was escorted by a company of one hundred men under command of Captain Haslet. They did not attempt to proceed by a direct course to Kushkushking, which was Post's objective point. Only a few weeks before the enemy had made a vigorous attack on the post at Loyalhanna, and though they had been repulsed, the woods toward Fort Duquesne were swarming with them. Hence Post and his escort made a

detour to the right. The next morning, having conducted them into a region of at least comparative safety, Captain Haslet, with the greater part of the force left him, but directed Lieutenant Hays with fourteen men to accompany Post to the Allegheny river. Post's party, on the morning of the eleventh, passed through Kekkeknepalin, an old Shawanese town, which stood on the site of the present town of Johnstown, in Cambria county. Post describes it as being so "grown up thick with weeds, briars, and bushes," that they could scarcely get through. It was the same place called by Conrad Weiser, ten years before, the "Showonese cabbins." It had no doubt been long abandoned. The inhabitants had gone farther west, and a week later, at Kushkushking, Post met the chief Kekkeknepalin, for whom the town was doubtless named. At three o'clock of the same day they came to Kiskemeneco. Post describes it as "an old Indian town, a rich bottom, well timbered, good fine English grass, well watered, and lies waste since the war began." Where this interesting town lay it is impossible to say. It was somewhere on or near the Kiskiminetas, and somewhat more than half way between Kekkeknepalin and "an old Shawano town" that stood on the east bank of the Allegheny. The distance from Johns-

town to the mouth of the Kiskiminetas is not less than sixty-five miles, following the course of the stream, yet Post reached the old Shawano town, which we presume was a little below the mouth of the Kiskiminetas, at one o'clock of the next day after he passed through Kekkeknepalin. Although they had not yet reached the Allegheny, yet at Kiskemeneco they agreed to allow Lieutenant Hays to depart with his detachment.

The old Shawanese town on the bank of the Allegheny was not a very inviting place. Post remained there over the night of the twelfth ; " the wolves and owls," he says, " made a great noise in the night." They rose early the next morning, got breakfast, and then finished some rafts which they had begun the evening before. They then crossed the Allegheny, and landed " near an old Indian town." This town was probably Chartier's old town. The evening of the next day they heard the great guns at Fort Duquesne. " Whenever I looked towards that place," says Post, " I felt a dismal impression ; the very place seemed shocking and dark."

On the sixteenth they met two Indians on the road, who sat down with them to dinner. That day they reached Kushkushking. One of the two Indians they had fallen in with, rode before to let the people

in the town know of Post's arrival. But there were very few people in the town, only two men and some women. These, however, received him kindly.

When Lieutenant Hays parted from Post, he marched away to his fate. On that same day a party of Indians under Kedeuscund, attacked the van of Forbes' army under Colonel Washington, about three miles from the camp at Loyalhanna, and were driven away.* In their retreat they came across the squad under Lieutenant Hays, about twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. What Lieutenant Hays was doing within twelve miles of Fort Duquesne, unless he had lost his way, it is impossible to determine. At all events the savages fell upon him, killed the lieutenant and four of his men, took five prisoners, while the other four men made their escape. In the evening of the seventeenth, the day after Post's arrival at Kushkushking, the chief Kekkeknepalin came in from the war, and reported the affair of Lieutenant Hays. He also informed Post that one of the men taken prisoner, who was then at Sawkunk, had been condemned to be burned at the stake. The doomed man was Sergeant Henry Osten. Post at once set to work to try to save him from this terrible fate. He had some difficulty to find a messenger who would go to

* History of Western Pennsylvania, p. 139.

Sawkunk, but at length he prevailed upon an Indian named Compass, for five hundred black wampum, a shirt, and a dollar, to go. By the nineteenth of November many of the warriors had returned home, and the town was now full. On the twentieth, Sergeant Osten was brought to Kushkushking, where the poor fellow was compelled to run the gauntlet, and was dreadfully beaten. "It is a grievous and melancholy sight," says Post, "to see our fellow mortals so abused." By dint of much speech-making and diplomacy, however, Post succeeded in saving him from the stake.

But it was a precarious time for Post himself. "We were warned not to go far from the house," he says, "because the people who came from the slaughter, having been driven back, were possessed with a murdering spirit, which led them as in a halter in which they were catched, and with bloody vengeance were thirsty and drunk." In the afternoon of the twentieth, all the chiefs to the number of sixteen met in council, and sent for Post, that they might hear his message. They received it with great satisfaction. Later in the day runners came in from Fort Duquesne with a string of wampum and a message from the French king. "My children," said he, "come to me, and hear what I have to say.

The English are coming with an army to destroy both you and me. I therefore desire you immediately, my children, to hasten with all the young men; we will drive the English and destroy them." On the twenty-second word was brought that Forbes was within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne. This so pleased the Indians that they danced around the fire until midnight. On the twenty-fourth, Post put up the English flag, in spite of the French officer who was present. That same day King Beaver came home, and received Post in a very friendly manner. "As soon as I heard of your coming," said he, "I rose up directly to come to you. It pleaseth me to hear that you brought such good news, and my heart rejoices already at what you said to me." "Brother," replied Post, "you did well that you first came here before you went to the kings, as the good news we brought is to all nations, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, that want to be in peace and friendship with the English." The next day Shingiss returned, and welcomed Post. A council was summoned, at which about fifty warriors were present. King Beaver spoke first. "Hearken, all you captains and warriors," said he, "here are our brethren, the English. I wish that you may give attention, and take

notice of what they say, as it is for our good that there may an everlasting peace be established. Although there is a great deal of mischief done, if it pleaseth God to let us, we may live in peace again." After some further preliminary speech-making, Post delivered his message from Governor Denny and General Forbes.

"If you are in earnest to be reconciled to us," said the governor, "you will keep your young men from attacking our country, and killing and carrying captive our back inhabitants, and will likewise give orders that your people may be kept at a distance from Fort Duquesne, that they may not be hurt by our warriors, who are sent by our king to chastise the French, and not to hurt you. Consider the commanding officer of that army treads heavy, and would be very sorry to hurt any of his Indian brethren. The chiefs of the United Nations, with their cousins, our brethren the Delawares, and others now here, jointly with me send this belt, which has upon it two figures that represent all the English and all the Indians now present taking hands, and delivering it to Pisquetumen; and we desire it may be likewise sent to the Indians who are named at the end of these messages, as they have all been formerly our very good friends and allies, and we desire they will all go

from among the French to their own towns, and no longer help the French.

"Brethren on the Ohio, if you take the belts we just now gave you, in which all here join, English and Indians, as we do not doubt you will, then, by this belt, I make a road for you and invite you to come to Philadelphia to your first old council-fire, which was kindled when we first saw one another—which fire we will kindle up again, and remove all disputes, and renew the old and first treaties of friendship. This is a clear and open road for you; fear, therefore, nothing, and come to us with as many as can be of the Delawares, Shawanese, or of the Six Nations. We will be glad to see you; we desire all tribes and nations of Indians, who are in alliance with you, may come. As soon as we hear of your coming, of which you will give us timely notice, we will lay up provisions for you along the road."

"I am glad to find that all past disputes and animosities are now finally settled and amicably adjusted," said General Forbes, "and I hope they will be forever buried in oblivion, and that you will now again be firmly united in the interest of your brethren, the English. As I am now advancing at the head of a large army against his Majesty's ene-

mies, the French, on the Ohio, I must strongly recommend to you to send immediate notice to any of your people who may be at the French fort, to return forthwith to your towns, where you may sit by your fires with your wives and children, quiet, and undisturbed, and smoke your pipes in safety. Let the French fight their own battles, as they were the first cause of the war and the occasion of the long difference which hath subsisted between you and your brethren, the English; but I must entreat you to restrain your young men from crossing the Ohio, as it will be impossible for me to distinguish them from our enemies. This advice take and keep in your own breasts, and suffer it not to reach the ears of the French."

Notwithstanding this request of Forbes, the French officer at Kushkushking was present at the council. Post had objected to his being admitted; but King Beaver and Shingiss had desired him to be present. There was no longer need to keep the secret from the French, for, as they said, the "French were beaten already." And so they were. That very day they had fled from the ruins of Fort Duquesne, and Forbes' army had taken possession of the place.

The messages gave great satisfaction to all except

the French captain. "He shook his head with bitter grief, and often changed his countenance." Things went along smoothly. "We ended this day," says Post, "with pleasure and great satisfaction on both sides." But the matter in hand was important, and the Indian never hurries important business. There were several knotty points to be arranged. Kedeuscund, one of the chief counsellors, informed Post that "all the nations had jointly agreed to defend their hunting place at Allegheny, and suffer nobody to settle there; and as these Indians are very much inclined to the English interest, so he begged us very much to tell the governor, the general, and all other people not to settle there. And if the English would draw back over the mountain, they would get all the other nations into their interest; but if they stayed and settled there, all the other nations would be against them; and he was afraid it would be a great war, and never come to a peace again." But all points were at length arranged in a manner satisfactory to the red men. On the twenty-eighth, King Beaver arose early, before day, and desired his people to rise and prepare breakfast, "for they had to answer their brethren, the English, and their uncles, and therefore they should be in a good humor and disposition." At 10 o'clock they met together,

and King Beaver said: "Take notice, all you young men and warriors, to what we answer now. It is three days since we heard our brethren, the English, and our uncles*; and what we have heard of both is very good; and we are all much pleased with what we have heard. Our uncles have made an agreement, and peace is established with our brethren, the English, and they have shook hands with them; and we likewise agree in the peace and friendship they have established between them."

Having so well succeeded in his mission, on the second day of December, Post and his party set out for Fort Duquesne. They passed through Logstown, and lodged for the night on a hill in the open air, eight miles from Pittsburg. All the Shawanese towns between Sawkunk and Pittsburg had been deserted by their inhabitants. A number of Indians accompanied Post. They arrived opposite Pittsburg early on the third of December, but as there were no boats they had no means of crossing the Allegheny river. The Indians at length found a small raft hid among some bushes, and upon this Mr. Hays with two Indians crossed over. The next day about noon Mr. Hays returned with a raft, upon which the Indian chiefs went over to the fort. Upon their arrival,

* The Six Nations.

Colonel Bouquet called a council, in which the question of allowing the British garrison to occupy the place was discussed. Post was not at the council, as he did not get over the river until the meeting was about ended. Post inquired of King Beaver, Shingiss, and Kedeuscund, what they had concluded to do in the matter. The chiefs replied: "We have told them three times to leave the place and go back; but they insist on staying here; if, therefore, they will be destroyed by the French and Indians, we cannot help them." In the report of the conference itself, King Beaver, speaking for the chiefs, is represented as saying: "We gave it as our opinion that when the general had driven the French away from this place, that he should take his men away over the great mountain, till we had driven the French away out of our country, then to come and build a trading house here; but, brother, as you tell us the general has left two hundred men here to support and defend the traders, you will send to trade with us, we assure you it is agreeable to us, and we will give them all the assistance we can." These stories are contradictory, but we incline to think that that which the Indians told Post is the true version; for a month later, at a council held by Colonel Hugh Mercer, the commandant at Fort Pitt, with a delegation of chiefs from up the Allegheny

river, he attempts to apologize for the presence of the British garrison. "Our great man's words are true," said Colonel Mercer; "as soon as the French are gone, he will make a treaty with all the Indians, and then go home; but the French are still here. Our great man has ordered me to stay here; if the French should come, I will be strong and make them run away once more."

On the sixth of December, Post set out from Pittsburg, and arrived at Fort Ligonier in the afternoon of the eighth. Here he found General Forbes, to whom he made his report. The general was very ill, and was scarcely able to see him. He remained at Fort Ligonier until the twenty-seventh, when he departed with General Forbes and his escort for the east. He continued with the general's company until the eighth of January, when he "begged the general for leave to go to Lancaster." They were then at Carlisle. Permission to go was granted, and on the tenth, in the afternoon, Post arrived in Lancaster, "and was quite refreshed," he says, "to have the favor to see my brethren."

THE STOLEN PLATE.

CELORON, upon setting out on his trip through the Ohio valley, was provided with at least seven leaden plates. We do not know that he had any more. They were about eleven inches long, seven and a half inches wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick. They all bore the same inscription, the letters stamped in capitals, with blanks in which to inscribe such names of places and such dates as should be necessary. The first of the leaden plates which they prepared to deposit was spoiled by inserting the name *Chautauqua* instead of *Conewango*. This plate, sometime afterwards, fell into the hands of the English. It bore the following inscription :

In the year 1749, during the reign of Louis XV., king of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Gallissoniere, commander-in-chief of New France, to restore tranquility in some savage villages of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tcha-da-koin,* this twenty-ninth of July, near the

* Chautauqua, formerly written also Chatacoin, Jadachque, etc., etc.

River Ohio, alias "Beautiful River," as a monument of our having retaken possession of the said River Ohio and of those that fall into the same, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, as well as of those of which preceding kings of France have enjoyed possession, partly by the force of arms, partly by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix-la-Chapelle.*

In December, 1750, this plate was delivered to Colonel William Johnson, at his residence on the Mohawk, by an Indian chief, and shortly afterwards it was sent to Governor George Clinton, of New York. The Indians represented that they had stolen the plate from Joncaire, one of Celoron's officers, at Niagara, "when on his way to the River Ohio." † This story, however, is quite improbable. Let us examine it.

It was the fifteenth of June that the expedition set out from La Chine. On the sixth of July they reached Niagara, and on the sixteenth of the same month they arrived at the point on the shore of Lake Erie where they turned southward. After a very tedious and toilsome passage, they arrived about noon, July 29, at the confluence of the Conewango and Allegheny. Here they determined to deposit the first plate; but in filling in the names the name

* This is the translation of the inscription as we find it in the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, Vol. V. p. 510.

† Governor Clinton to Lords of Trade, Dec. 19, 1750.

Tcha-da-koin was erroneously inserted in the place of *Conewango*. It was such an error as, under the circumstances, might easily occur. The party had only recently navigated both streams, and in the mind of the artist both names were present, and he inadvertently inserted the wrong name. The error, we may believe, was quickly detected, perhaps by the keen eye of Celoron himself. The plate was spoiled, and was thrown aside as useless. Another plate was at once prepared, and buried "at the foot of a red oak," as Celoron has recorded it, on the left bank of the Allegheny, opposite the mouth of the Conewango. This latter plate has never been found. Celoron's party likely remained here until the next day, when they proceeded on their way down the Allegheny. Some months afterwards, we will suppose, some straggling Indians passing the spot where Celoron had encamped, found the plate that had been thrown aside, and carried it off. Such we believe to be the true history of the affair. That the Indians stole the plate from Joncaire, at Niagara, we think altogether unlikely, for the following reasons:

First, the mere improbability of the thing. The Indians who were in Celoron's party, or who were in league with the French, would not likely steal it; in the first place, because it was a thing that would be

of little value to them if they had it; and because to steal it would have been such a breach of trust and friendship as they would not have been guilty of. Other Indians than those above specified would have no opportunity to steal it; besides they were alarmed by the expedition and kept aloof from it as much as possible; in fact, they generally, as we have seen from the history of the expedition, fled at the approach of the French. They certainly showed no disposition to loiter about and pilfer from the French camp.

Secondly, the Indians who brought the plate to Colonel Johnson were very much exercised over it, and very anxious to know the meaning of "the devilish writing," as they called it, on the plate. Now, it is inconceivable if they were in such a frame of mind they would have retained the plate in their possession for nearly eighteen months before attempting to learn the meaning of it. It is very much more likely that they did not have the plate long in their possession, but hastened off with it to Colonel Johnson, the agent of the English among the Indians, to have the matter explained. We infer, therefore, that the plate was not found until the latter part of the year 1750, or more than a year after it had been thrown aside by the French.

In the third place, so far back as the sixth of July,

when the expedition was at Niagara, they could not certainly have known that they would be on the bank of the Allegheny river, and prepared to deposit the leaden plate on the twenty-ninth of July. They had not been over the route before. Their way was beset with difficulties and dangers. Their progress was evidently much slower than they had anticipated. They could not predict with certainty that they would arrive there on the twenty-ninth of the month, and not on the twenty-fifth or the twenty-seventh, or any other particular day, and hence it would not occur to them to insert a specific date, so long before, and at a distance so remote, in a leaden plate, which they would know could not be changed if the facts in the case should afterwards require it. This consideration alone, we think, amounts to a moral demonstration that the plate had not been stolen, as reported by the Indians.

But the question may arise, why should they say they had obtained it in this way if they did not? We can only answer that possibly the Indians who first came in possession of the plate, did not so report. It may have been several weeks in reaching Colonel Johnson, and it may have passed through many hands while *in transitu*; and as there was no written record of the manner in which it had been

obtained, the true account may have been lost or perverted in the meantime. In short, it may have been only a variation of the old story of "The Three Black Crows." Or otherwise, while it may not be necessary to assume that the Indian is abnormally untruthful, yet, under certain circumstances, he may so far resemble his white brother as to be led into a misstatement of a fact, if he believed that the result would somehow redound to his own glorification or advantage. To the mind of the savage it might have seemed much more in keeping with the character of an Indian brave to steal the plate from an enemy, or to procure it "by some artifice," as they reported it to Colonel Johnson, than to obtain it in any such simple, matter-of-fact way as picking it up from where some one had thrown it.

Why they should represent that they had stolen the plate from Joncaire, rather than any one else, may not be a difficult question to answer. Joncaire was well known to the Indians of Canada and New York. He was a brave, resolute, enterprising man He understood the language of the natives perfectly, and had great influence among them. He, no doubt, had charge of the Indians attached to the party. An effort had been made to enlist a larger Indian contin-

gent, of which he was to have had the command,* but it was not successful. The other French officers were, perhaps, unknown, or but little known, to the tribes of western New York. Joncaire, as we have seen, was well known, and to their minds represented the expedition. To say, therefore, that they had stolen the plate from Joncaire was equivalent to saying they had stolen it from the French.

From the foregoing considerations we are led to the conclusion that the leaden plate was not stolen from Joncaire, at Niagara, in July, 1749, but was found at the mouth of the Conewango in the latter part of the year 1750.

* See Letter of Governor Clinton to Governor Hamilton, July 24, 1749, in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Volume II. page 32.

Early Virginia Claims in Pennsylvania.

EARLY VIRGINIA CLAIMS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The early inhabitants of Pennsylvania seem to have been doomed to trouble. Besides the Connecticut claims, which took in almost the entire northern half of the province, Virginia laid claim to a large portion of the western part. The origin of this claim dates very far back in the history of the country.

The charter of 1607 granted to the London Company all the territory in America lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude.* In 1609 the charter was amended and enlarged, so that it comprised a region stretching two hundred miles north and the same distance south of Point Comfort, and extending "up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest." In 1623 the London

* Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. I. p. 120.

Company was dissolved by a decree of the King's bench, and the territory above described, except where grants had been made to private individuals, reverted to the crown. But the Virginians never fully accepted this decision. Penn's grant was respected; but any other territory within the limits of their charter they continued to claim, notwithstanding the action of the King's Bench. To explore and occupy this vast domain was one of the most fascinating objects to the early Virginians.* It was to vindicate their claim to the valley of the Ohio that the youthful Major Washington was sent to the French posts in 1753. The authorities of Pennsylvania, however, now began to contend that the claims of Virginia overlapped the charter granted to William Penn, and some correspondence on the subject took place between Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, and Governor Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, in the years 1752 and 1753.

In the early part of the year 1754, the Virginians undertook to secure possession of the country about the forks of the Ohio against the common enemy, the French, by building a fort on the point of land where the city of Pittsburg now stands; but the latter, under Contrecœur, descended the Allegheny,

* See "The Knights of the Horseshoe," by Dr. Wm. A. Caruthers.

drove them away from the unfinished work, and themselves built a stronghold at the same place, which they called Fort Duquesne. The disputed territory remained in the hands of the French until the fall of Fort Duquesne, in the latter part of the year 1758. No revival of the dispute took place until January, 1774, when one Dr. John Conolly, whom Bancroft describes as "a physician, land-jobber, and subservient political intriguer," came from Virginia with authority from Lord Dunmore, the governor of that colony, and took possession of Fort Pitt, which had been dismantled by the British government, and named it Fort Dunmore. He also issued a call to the public to assemble as a militia at Pittsburg.* For this conduct he was apprehended by Arthur St. Clair, a magistrate of Westmoreland county, afterwards a distinguished officer of the Revolutionary and Indian wars, and thrown into jail at Hannastown. He was not held in durance long, however, but was released on bail and returned to Virginia. Here he was appointed by Dunmore a justice of Augusta county, which the Virginians contended embraced the territory in debate, and shortly returned to Pittsburg with a tolerably strong force. He captured the court at Hannastown and at Pitts-

*Colonial Records of Penn., Vol. X. p. 141.

burg, on the ninth of April, 1774, and arrested the justices Æneas Mackay, Devereux Smith, and Andrew McFarlane, and sent them prisoners to Staunton, Virginia.*

Conolly's high-handed proceedings called out a letter from Governor John Penn to Lord Dunmore, in which he points attention to the performances of Conolly, and, after complimenting his lordship by assuring him that he understands his character too well to admit the least idea that he "would countenance a measure injurious to the rights of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania, or which might have a tendency to raise disturbances within the Province," he proceeds to describe the boundaries of Pennsylvania. "The western extent of the Province of Pennsylvania," he says, "by the royal grant is five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware, which is its eastern boundary." From the two hundred and thirty-third milestone on the line run by Mason and Dixon, he continues, "a north line hath been since carefully run and measured to the Ohio, and from thence up to Fort Pitt," etc. From the various data, he says, "the most exact calculations have been made by Dr. Smith, provost of our college, Mr. Rittenhouse, and our surveyor-general, in order to ascer-

* Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 169.

tain the difference of longitude between Delaware and Pittsburg, who all agree that the latter is near six miles eastward of the western extent of the Province." He adds that if his lordship should still entertain any doubt respecting the matter, he hopes he will "defer the appointing of officers, and exercising government in that neighborhood, and suffer the people to remain in the quiet and undisturbed possession of the lands they hold under this Province," until some temporary line of jurisdiction can be agreed on, or until the "affair can be settled by His Majesty in Council."‡

To this reasonable letter Dunmore made answer March 3, 1774, in which he contravenes the opinion of Governor Penn with respect to the boundaries of Pennsylvania, and adds, "In conformity to these sentiments, you will easily see I cannot possibly, in compliance with your request, either revoke the commissions and appointments already made, or defer the appointment of such other officers as I may find necessary for the good government of that part of the country, which we cannot but consider to be within the Dominion of Virginia, until His Majesty shall declare the contrary." His lordship also resents the arrest and commitment of Conolly, and demands

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 149.

the dismission of St. Clair, "who had the audacity, without any authority, to commit a magistrate acting in the legal discharge of his trust;" unless, indeed, Mr. St. Clair can prevail by proper "submission," on Mr. Conolly, "to demand his pardon of me."* To this, on the thirty-first of March, Governor Penn replies in a long letter, in which he recapitulates the history of the claim, etc., from the beginning. He declines, however, to dismiss Mr. St. Clair from his office; and as it does not appear that the latter ever attempted to make any "submission" to Mr. Conolly, it is likely he died at last without the benefit of Governor Dunmore's "pardon."

On the seventh of May, James Tilghman and Andrew Allen were appointed commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania to settle the question in dispute, and on the nineteenth of the same month they reached Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. At a conference with Governor Dunmore, he requested them to present their proposition "in writing," which they did on the twenty-third. The substance of the paper which they submitted was, that a survey of the Delaware River should be made as soon as convenient, by surveyors appointed jointly by the

* Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 156.

two colonies, from the mouth of Christiana Creek, or near it, where Mason and Dixon's line intersected the Delaware, to a point on the river in the same latitude as Pittsburg, "and as much farther as may be needful for the present purpose." That Mason and Dixon's line should be continued to the end of five degrees from the Delaware, and that from the end of that line a line or lines should be run corresponding in direction to the courses of the Delaware, and drawn at every point at the distance of five degrees of longitude from that river; and that Mason and Dixon's line thus protracted, with the said line or lines "similar to the courses of the Delaware," should be accepted by both parties as the line of jurisdiction between Virginia and Pennsylvania, until the boundaries of the latter province should be run and finally settled by "royal authority." † This proposition would have made the western boundary of Pennsylvania of the same form as the eastern.

In reply to this, Dunmore, the next day, gave it as his view, that it could not possibly have been the intent of the Crown that the western boundary of Pennsylvania "should have the very inconvenient, and so difficult to be ascertained shape, as it would have, if it were to correspond with the course of the

† Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 182.

river Delaware." He then proceeds to describe the boundaries of Pennsylvania as he understands them; namely, on the north by a straight line from the Delaware on the 42d parallel westward five degrees; on the south by a straight line westward from the circle drawn at the distance of twelve miles from Newcastle to a meridian line which should pass through the western extremity of the northern boundary line; that meridian line being, as he says, "the limits of longitude mentioned in the royal grant, and no other, as it appears to me."* It is a fact worthy of remark that Governor Penn's proposition gave to Virginia nearly all that she claimed, while Dunmore's gave to Pennsylvania far more than she demanded; the boundary lines as he defined them being almost if not quite identical with those at present established.

Some further discussion on the subject passed between the commissioners and Governor Dunmore, but no agreement could be reached. With respect to Fort Pitt, Dunmore absolutely refused to relinquish his authority over that place "without his Majesty's orders," and as the end of the controversy he regretted that he could do nothing "to contribute to reëstablish the peace and harmony of both colo-

* Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 184.

nies," and to evince his good intentions as well towards the one as the other.*

Meanwhile Conolly's conduct was outrageous. He not only oppressed the people along the border, but stirred up a war with the Indians,† who committed great barbarities. Governor Penn did all he could to conciliate the Indians, but to little purpose. On the twenty-eighth of June he wrote to Lord Dunmore deprecating an Indian war, and begging that his lordship would join with him in endeavoring to "prevent the further progress of hostilities." He also complains bitterly of the "behavior of Doctor Conolly," who, among other acts of outrage and lawlessness, "seized upon the property of the people without reserve, and treats the persons of the magistrates with the utmost insolence and disrespect," and is about sending out "parties against the Indians, with orders to destroy all they meet with, whether friend or foe."‡ The records of the time are full of accounts of the "great confusion and distress" of the inhabitants of Westmoreland county. In June, John Montgomery writes from Carlisle that he had just returned from Westmoreland

* Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 190.

† Penna. Archives, Vol. IV. p. 528.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 193.

county, and that many families were returning to the eastern side of the mountains, while others were about "building forts in order to make a stand."* About the same time, Æneas Mackay writes from Pittsburg of "the deplorable state of affairs" in that region, and says, "We are robbed, insulted, and dragooned by Conolly and his militia in this place and its environs." Further, he says, "We don't know what day or hour we will be attacked by our savage and provoked enemy, the Indians, who have already massacred sixteen persons to our certain knowledge."† Against these evils the law could furnish no protection. In February, 1775, the magistrates addressed a statement to Gov. Penn, in which they say: "Our difficulties on account of the Conolly party are now grown to an extreme. * * * Any person applying for justice to us, may be assured to be arrested by them. James Smith, Captain, was taken and bound over to the Virginia Court, for only applying to the laws of Pennsylvania for to have a banditti of villains punished for pulling down his house."‡ It was in the course of the war incited by Dunmore and Conolly that the family of

* Penna. Archives, Vol. IV. p. 505.

† Penna. Archives, Vol. IV. p. 517.

‡ Col. Rec., Vol. X. p. 234.

Logan, "the friend of the white man," were killed at Captina and Yellow Creek.*

As the difficulties between the colonies and the mother country developed, Dunmore and his lieutenant in mischief took strong sides against the former. In April, 1775, Dunmore threatened to free the slaves, and turn them against their masters. This threat caused great horror and alarm throughout the South, but could not stay the progress of events, and he himself, on the night of June 7th, 1775, was compelled to seek safety on board the "Fowey," an English man-of-war, at York, and "thus left the Ancient Dominion in the undisputed possession of its own inhabitants." † Conolly soon joined Dunmore in his place of refuge. The further history of this worthy pair is not connected with our subject, and we cheerfully dismiss them from our page.

In December, 1776, the legislature of Virginia proposed a line of demarcation a little different from either of those that had been already suggested. Their proposition was to extend the boundary of Virginia northward from the western extremity of the line run by Mason and Dixon to the fortieth parallel of north latitude, then due west to the curved

* Doddridge's Notes, p. 232.

† Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. VII. p. 386.

line proposed by Governor Penn. This was not accepted by the Pennsylvanians. In the meantime matters continued in the same unsettled state as before—the inhabitants of Westmoreland county were still distracted by the controversy, and the common cause of the colonies against Great Britain was "injured by this jangling." As the years went by, the matter pressed more and more upon the authorities, and it became necessary to do something. Finally, in the early part of 1779, George Bryan, John Ewing, and David Rittenhouse, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison and Robert Andrews, on the part of Virginia, were appointed commissioners to agree upon a boundary between the States. They met at Baltimore on the thirty-first of August, 1779, and after a thorough consideration of the subject of debate, they agreed as follows: "To extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the River Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian, drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern limit of said state, be the western boundary of said state forever." * This agreement, with some conditions which it is not necessary to specify here, was ratified and confirmed by the legis-

† Col. Rec., Vol. XII. p. 213.

lature of Virginia, June 23, 1780, and by that of Pennsylvania, September 23, 1780. *

In 1782, commissioners appointed by the two States interested ran the lines accordingly, but of course it was objected to by some of the Virginians, who claimed that it was only a temporary line. It was determined then to locate the lines permanently, and for this purpose, in 1783, the following commissioners were appointed: David Rittenhouse, John Lukens, John Ewing, and Captain Hutchins, on the part of Pennsylvania, and Dr. James Madison, Andrew Ellicott, Robert Andrews, and T. Page, on the part of Virginia. The lines were again run, and clearly and definitely marked on the ground, by cutting vistas through the woods, and setting up stone pillars at regular intervals. This work was accomplished in 1784, and ended all dispute in the matter.

* Penna. Archives, Vol. VIII. pp. 352, 570.

THE END.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