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I

March on Pittsburgh, 1794

The Pennsylvania Whisky Insurrection of 1794 was a curious, seriocomic event in our history. A word or two will serve to recall it.

In 1791 Congress enacted an excise law levying a tax on whisky. This measure was vigorously resented by the western Pennsylvanians who claimed that they produced most of the whisky and that the tax fell too unfairly upon them. Serious disorders which broke out in 1794 when the federal government undertook to enforce the law led to organized rebellion. Consequently Washington felt called upon to restore the government's authority by a show of armed might. Some 15,000 militia who were raised from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia marched to Pittsburgh from rendezvous at Carlisle and Fort Cumberland. Awed by such an overwhelming force the malcontents offered it no resistance and the insurrection collapsed.

The following diary, which has been recently acquired by The Society, was kept by Quartermaster John Hugg Clunn, a member of the Jersey troops. It furnishes a rather full account of the march, from the crossing of the Delaware at Trenton through its various stages to Pittsburgh and return. Though born in Lamberton on the Delaware in 1770, the son of an innkeeper, Clunn was brought up in Trenton where he died in 1798. His diary has come down through successive generations of his family. Its most recent owner, Mr. Lewis D. Cook of Princeton, N. J., has kindly furnished us with notes on the Clunn family.

This story is presented in its original form; however, liberty has been taken with punctuation and paragraphing to make them more readily understandable to the reader.

N. B. W.
Marched from Trenton on the 30th day of Sept., 1794, with the Artillery in front. Crossed the Delaware in great Spirits and paraded on the opposite side in the Rain. Took a relish of Cold Beef, Cheese & bread with good butter at Mr. Hapeny's of whom we purchased a Cheese Weig\(^6\). @ 1/6- is 19/2\(^d\), in partnership between Major Ogden,\(^2\) Capts. Elmer,\(^3\) Fithian,\(^4\) Lucas,\(^5\) & myself. Was ordered to march on the flanks of the troops and order them to Slope Arms as they entered the lane, in which Order they proceeded to Doct'. Wynkoop's plan, where I left them in order to lay out the Encampment. Proceeded to Newtown and was in some difficulty with regard to the Front. Could not from the situation of the ground front our enemy agreeably to general Orders, therefore lay it out in two lines fronting the Town. Just as I had finished the troops appeared in sight. Went and met them and conducted them on the ground. The tents were pitched irregular, however for the first night thought it of little consequence. The Bucks C\(^7\) Militia & Artillery had marched a short time before we arrived. Supped at Talbert's, with the Field & other officers. Cost thought it too much.

10 Miles.

Nov. 1st. On the Issuing of our provisions found a want of Still-yards.\(^8\) Endeavoured to purchase a pair in Town & could not procure. Tried to borrow which I had almost failed in unltil accidentally falling in with Col°. Hanna\(^9\) he was so obliging to loan me his for this morning, tho', by the by, the Qr. M's. business being so great, they were packed up with the provisions in the Waggon, and I could not get to them without great trouble, therefore we brought them on. Told the Col. the circumstances who s\(^d\), it was no matter, and I

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1 Probably Mark Hapenny who had previously, 1787-1792, operated a hotel in Newtown. W. W. H. Davis, *The History of Bucks County* (Doylestown, 1876), 744.
3 Capt. Eli Elmer in command of an artillery company attached to Gen. Bloomfield's brigade.
4 Capt. Seeley Fithian, 1st. Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia.
6 Probably Dr. Nicholas Wynkoop, 1770-1815, a son of Judge Henry Wynkoop who lived to the northwest of Newtown. *A Collection of Papers Read Before the Bucks County Historical Society* (Riegelsville, 1909), III, 214.
7 Since the 1790 census does not list this name for Bucks County, Tolbert may have been intended. Five Tolbert families were located in Bucks.
8 Scales.
promised to return them on our return. Qr. Mr. Hunn\textsuperscript{10} joined us this morning. Marched at 8 oclock. Rode on a head with the other Qr. Mr. & the Dv. Com\textsuperscript{10}. Called at the halfway house where was Squire somebody, not sober but the Contrary. Our forage I wish to be silent on. Arrived at the Crooked Billet\textsuperscript{11} & saw five or Six Girls travelling to & fro thro the House. There was pretty but one (& her only), the rest as they are found. I hate illnature and cannot bear to cast a reflection on the deserving without attoning for it; I found the others to be kind, goodnatured girls, one some say was too much so. It is a pity, but the frailties of human nature cannot at sometimes be avoided. The troops came forward and encamped in a regular manner. Came on to rain very hard. Could not get lodging at the tavern, not even on the floor. I therefore took the Tent and layed very conveniently, only the Rain came on my Head.

Rose at Revelee beating, and the Detachment was in motion at a little after Sunrise. The distance marched yesterday was 11 Miles. Mr. Tindal\textsuperscript{12} & myself rode on before the troops. After leaving them about two Miles overtook a young woman on Horseback. Rode wth her a mile w[h]ere the road fork\textsuperscript{d}. & we parted. On looking back to see how she went, my Creature made a stumble, fell on her head and away went I, I knew not where untill I found myself almost covered with mud and my mare on my back. Seeing which I scabbled up as well as might be. Found one ring of my sword broke, the Nose & fore knees of my [sic] badly scratched, as myself. I felt well but very dirty. Arrived at Norristown being 19 Miles and encamped in a fine piece of Ground. Had great difficulty in procuring Straw. No Lodgings to be had in Town, therefore took the Tent and caught a severe cold. Norristown is a Handsome little place, a few of the few, very good buildings, a fine Court-house & Joal.\textsuperscript{13}

Oct\textsuperscript{r}. 3\textsuperscript{rd}. Proceeded on our March over\textsuperscript{14} the Schuylkill river. Qr. Mr. Vanpelt\textsuperscript{15} & myself arrived at Pottsgrove\textsuperscript{16} just as the Bucks

\begin{itemize}
  \item Adrian Hunn of the staff 1st. Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia.
  \item Tavern which gave its name to the village. Now Hatboro.
  \item Probably Pvt. Isaac Tindall of the 3d. Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia.
  \item Built in 1787 and taken down in 1855. In 1795 Norristown consisted of only twenty buildings.
  \item Over may have been written in error for up. The stage route ran up the eastern side of the Schuylkill through Trappe to Pottsgrove and saved two crossings of the river when one was en route to Reading.
  \item William Van Pelt of the staff 3d. Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia.
  \item A prosperous post town of ninety dwellings. Now Pottstown.
\end{itemize}
County Militia was marching out. Spoke a few words to uncle Jos. They seemed to be as much pleased as myself. Took our encamping ground in a Meadow on the banks of the Schuylkill. Could procure a very small portion of Straw, however they appeared to be in general satisfied. Pottsgrove is a fine Village, some elegant buildings and the Streets broad. Came 21 Miles.

Oct. 4th. March'd to Reading being 17 Miles. Found it very cold Riding. Drew Knapsacks, Provisions, etc. Went to the Baker's for to hurry the Baking of the bread. Found a pretty Girl there, the man's Daughter. Asked her to go over to the tavern to dance which she would have willingly done, but her father set her at making Biscuit. She seemed to understand it and handled them with great dexterity. Chatted 'till ten oclock & went to my Lodgings & found Dr. [bottom of page torn off, causing the loss of two lines on each side] for another and began one of great length, when I had finished the greatest part of the Gen'. were asleep. The Doc. said it operated as a dose of Laudanum. Went to bed & arose at Breakfast.

Dress'd myself in Stile, powdered hair and silk stockings. Dined with a young man & woman. They were going to Church; concluded they were going to be married. Had an invitation to sup with Col. Morris. He is a very polite man and has a Handsome, accomplished little wife. Was treated with great civility & requested me to call often on him during our stay here, and not to forget on my return. I am sure I shall not, for where Civility comes from the very heart it cannot pass unnoticed. Went to Church in the evening & offered up a Prayer, which most surely was accepted, to Shower down the blessings of Health & Happiness on this Couple—it was the fervent wish of my Soul.

Stayed in this Town two days during which I was in almost every part of it. It is a fine Town—a handsome Court & Market house. Our encampment was on a hill, but one adjoining was immensely

17 Capt. Joseph Clunn, 1743-1816, removed from Trenton to Bristol, Bucks County and at this time commanded the Bucks County Artillery Company.
18 Probably Benjamin Morris who had recently settled in Reading. He served as an Associate Judge of Berks County before moving permanently to Phoenixville. Robert C. Moon, The Morris Family of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1898), II, 453.
19 Built respectively in 1762 and 1766. History of Reading (Reading, 1898), 15.
higher. All around this Town in every Quarter the Ground is High, rough & Rocky.

Oct. 7th. Crossed the Schuylkill and marched to Womeldorf Town & encamped in the Woods. It is in Berks County as well as [is] Reading. There is a New Dutch church on a beautiful Eminence on the side of the Town. The Town contains about 50 Houses mostly built of log. The Church was built by the Lutheran’s & Presbyterian’s for their joint use. Cursed Bigotry and old fashioned prejudice, where will you reside if the people of the World should all follow the example of the Dutch at Wummeldorf?

Oct. 8th. This morning at 6 oclock Wm. Wright & Jacob Horner, two deserters who were apprehended at Reading, were brought forward to this post. Wright was tied and received 20 Stripes. Horner, a young man, from the examination appeared to have been over-persuaded, in consequence of which he was reprieved. They were both of Salem County, N. J. Arrived at Moyer’s Town, a Village built of Log. Rode on by the Canal. The Lock is remarkably curious. An Irishman (well known for assurance) very humbly pulld of [sic] his Hatt and asked if I knew the Custom when Gen’l came to see the Works. I saw plainly it was 2/ out of my pocket & without further ceremony gave it him—took another look thought it worth 4/, and rode on Contented and arrived at Lebanon in Dauphin County about sundown. Walked thro’ the Town. There are two Churches, one built of Log, about 40 Houses mostly of the same. Passing a fine house I stopped a moment to view it. A young woman in the Door desired me to walk in, which I accordingly did and was

20 Mount Penn.
21 Womelsdorf.
22 The Lutheran and Reformed of Womelsdorf united in building a stone church in June, 1792. Lutherans in Berks County (Kutztown and Reading, 1923), 342. Its dedication as Zion’s Union Church took place in 1794. P. C. Croll, Annals of Womelsdorf, Pa., and Community, 111.
23 Jacob Horner served as a private in the 1st. Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia, but William Wright is not listed.
24 Myerstown.
25 Several miles of canal on the summit level to link Quitipihilla Creek and Tulpehocken Creek for the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Navigation Company had been recently completed. An Historical Account of The Rise, Progress and Present State of The Canal Navigation in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1795), 48.
27 Scott, op. cit., gives “300 dwellings, a number of which is of brick and stone.”
placed by a fine fire. She appeared to be in great Spirits & soon after informed me that her Sister, the Gen’s wife who owned the house, lay Dead. I laughed at her and would have she was punning, adduced as a Reason the house being open, the shutters of the windows not closed, and she being in such a merry humour. However my curiosity being somewhat excited and expressed a wish to see the Corps [sic]. She led me into the room, & Ye Gods! there she lay. I cannot describe my feelings; they were distressing and [I] hurried away as soon as possible, tho the Girl made me promise to call on my return. If a young man should travel from Reading to Lebanon and not covet the Daughters of the Land, it would not pass (with me) as a proof of Virtue in that Particular.

9 Octr. Arrived at Hummelstown. Conducted the Landlord’s daughter and three other young women to Camp. They were much pleased with this attention and afterwards behaved extremely civil and obliging, one was very pretty.

Octr. 10. Arrived at Harrisburgh. Dined on Salmon & Rock fish and drank some good wine. Mr. H. was ordered on and the whole Qr. Mr. business devolved upon myself. It was a post of Honor, but troublesome enough. A. Berryhill Esq. treated me with great civility. He invited me to Breakfast and eat very hearty. Our lads behaved somewhat ill at the Tavern—they had Drank too freely.

October 11th. 1794. The troops were on the move at 3 oclock and the whole crossed by 7 oclock over the Susquehanna. Some Gen’s on Horseback forded; it is said to be better than a mile wide. Halted at Col’s. Chambers’s to refresh. I rode on to Carlisle. Saw Gen. Washington, who was just going out of Town. Encamped on a fine piece of common near the Barracks which are will contain 10,000

28 A flourishing village of some 90 buildings. Ibid.
29 Washington noted in his diary for October 3, 1794, while in Harrisburg, “The Susquehanna at this place abounds in the Rockfish of 12 or 15 Inches in length and a fish which they call Salmon.” John C. Fitzpatrick, The Diaries of George Washington (Boston & N. Y., 1925), IV, 210.
31 Washington, who had been in Carlisle since the fourth of October, was returning to Philadelphia. Fitzpatrick, op. cit., IV, 217. He later rejoined the expedition at Bedford but did not continue on with it from there.
32 Believed to be grounds now occupied by Dickinson College. Thomas G. Tousey, Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks (Richmond, 1939), 165.
Men. Pay Master Stewart introduced me to an acquaintance of his, a Mr. Sam Gray, Merchant of this Town from Ireland. Breakfasted with him on the 12th. being Sunday, and intended going to Church but was disappointed. I saw several good looking Girls. Betsy Davis at the Tavern was somewhat Handsome tho’ very young & bashful. Fell into a milk punch club who were very lively. About Eleven o’clock moved for visiting the Col. Com. with a flute & violin and form a serenade. We were arraigned, forming in Sections, making about Twenty Capt. & Sub. On our arrival played a March, Huzza’d, went in, and was treated with kindness & Rack punch. Returned in disorder; felt Shagreen’d. They broke a chair, overset a large table, and began playing the —— took my Departure. Lodged at an Irish House, not very comfortably—have seen worse beds, but they were rare in our parts. Found my acquaintance Mr. Stewart of singular use. We had got into an Irish settlement, the affection between those people are remarkable, and we faired the better. Mr. S. was educated in the College at Edinburgh. He is a man of Sense and Letters, and a very pleasing Companion.

Marched on the 14th. Oct. and arrived at Shippensburg. The Baggage did not arrive until 9 oclock at night which throws all out of Sorts, in consequence of which had to tarry a day. Lost my Knapsack, two Blankets & a pair of Boots. I had only an old Sentiment to console myself, “I am the offspring of distress and every child of Sorrow is my brother.” My friend found out a family so much like my Ideas have always formed which alleviated every pain and I felt myself almost truly happy. Yes, my dear ——— had you been here and seen me you would have certainly acknowledged the situation as an agreeable and pleasing one—an amiable

33 Possibly an exaggeration since that same autumn the barracks were described as simply “5 big and well made buildings.” Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, Cassero Journal 1794 (Haverford, 1922), 55.
34 Samuel R. Stewart is officially listed as Brigade Quartermaster.
35 A candidate for political office. See Gazette of the United States for October 23, 1794.
36 Presumably the daughter of James Davis, tavern keeper.
37 A punch made from rack or arrack, a spirituous liquor distilled chiefly from rum and flavored with eastern fruits or plants.
38 From Shippensburg west through Bedford to Pittsburgh the expedition had the doubtful benefit of an improved state wagon road which followed the general direction of the Forbes’ Road. William H. Koontz, History of Bedford and Somerset Counties, Pennsylvania (New York, Chicago, 1906), I, 287.
young woman with a disposition the most accommodating in the world, well read and blessed with a Sentiment too feeling for common understanding to sport with, they might be taken—and had I not left what I fear is behind, I know not how the Consequences would have been. When I bid adieu I fear she was distressed. She hung on me as if unwilling to part. In short had she have been in a Villains hands in the situation of myself, I would have feared for her, but I knew too well the Sentiments of her Heart to harbour an Idea of her Straying from the paths of Virtue. Indeed she was Chastity itself.

16 Oct'. Arrived at Strasburg and encamped on the Hill before the Town. This Town lays in a hollow, contains forty Houses all built of Logs. Was introduced to two young Ladies. Promised to spend the evening, but Gen'l. B's arrival, who overtook us here, in some measure prevented. Drew flour for the first time and eat unleavened bread.

Started on 17th. Oct'. Crossed three large mountains called the white Mountain but supposed to be a chain of the blue mountain. From the Top of the last the prospect is elegant, the fine Meadows, cleared Land, and the grain in a promising condition Strikes the Eye so elusibly that an Imagination fertile would have soared her bounds and could have brought forth a production which would have been admired. I thought that had I:

On the side of yon mountain a cot
With a moderate competence blest,
I would bless my Kind Stars thank Heaven for my lot
And consider the world as a Jest.
Behold the young prattlers that sport on the green,
Little known to the troubles of Life,
Contented and free from envy or spleen
And Happily blest without Strife——
And plenty adds zest to each Joy
And pleasure thro' every countenance opened
With contentment that never shall cloy.

Arrived about sunset at Fort Littleton 18 Oct. One of our waggon's was missing and the Com'. ordered me to seize one for to accom-

41 The road at this point was known as the Three Mountain Road. M'Cauley, *op. cit.*, 219.
42 In 1784 this place consisted of only one house behind which were the remains of the Fort. Alfred J. Morrison, *Travels in the Confederation* (Philadelphia, 1911), 223.
moderate the carriage of the provisions were drawn here. It is not a very pleasing task to force people to do what they have but little mind to. Rode the greater part of day before we could procure one. At length fell in with one at 6 oclock & it was near sunset before it was loaded and ready for a start. Rode a head. Left the waggon in charge of a guard and put up at tavern on this side of Sideling hill a half way up which the waggon stalled & the man went off with his Horses in the night. Had to procure four in the morning & arrived over the Hill just as they were striking tents & preparing for marching. It is a very Rocky, rough Hill. The encampment was at a Spring, a desolate place not a House within miles. The troops had to gather up the Bushes & Leaves to make beds of.

The 19th. Oct. marched Eleven Miles & arrived at Margaret’s tavern; had a very fine encampment on the side of a Hill.

Marched early on the 20th. and arrived Bedford about one oclock. The Dust flew so in the streets it was with difficulty to see from one end of a Com to another. Marched into our encamp Field in Order & was reviewed as we passed by Gen. Lee. Went in search of Uncle. After night found him at upper end of town at a M’ family of Trenton. Lodged next door with M’ James Taylor. P. M. Stewart & myself agreed to make that our Quarters & Lodge & eat there during our Stay, which was two days. I wanted my bill but M” Taylor informed us she was ordered to take nothing, and could not find the man & therefore went off without paying. Shall call on my return and endeavor to make them Receive something. Rec’d. one months pay and was not pleas’d with our Wages. Adj. Lyle & myself had concluded to go and offer up our com Gen. B. heard it & said we should be accommodated in that instance.

This is generally spoken of as the worst hill on the road. An English traveler years later complained that its name should be “headlong.” Mrs. Anne Royall, Mrs. Royall’s Pennsylvania (Washington, 1829), 241.

Possibly a tavern kept by Margaret Fraser. Koontz, op. cit., I, 214.

Light-Horse Harry Lee, Governor of Virginia, Major General of Virginia Militia and in command of the combined expeditionary forces.

James Taylor, 1766-1844, came to Bedford County in 1793 from Dauphin County. Koontz, op. cit., I, 522.

As an indication of the pay scale Paymasters of the Pennsylvania Militia received $6.67 a month. Egle, op. cit. (1895), II, 310.

Adjutant of the 3d Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia. First name not listed.
Therefore marched on the 23rd. Oct. Joined the Parks49 (the light Choir50 [sic] had started the day before). Took up our line of March to foot of Longridge where the whole body of the Right Column51 encamped together composing about 1600 Men. The greater part of our men were without Straw. This place is at the foot of Longridge.

Marched on the 24th. Oct. and began to mount the Long Ridge. It was 3/4 a day continual march of Assension. Came 10 Miles and stationed at Hughes Encampment.53

On the 25th. proceeded in the Rain as before and began to climb the Allegany Mountains. Altho' it is supposed to be the highest Mount we have come over yet the assent was scarcely perceptible when we got to the White Horse54 7 1/2 Miles distant. The N. Jersey Brigade of Cavalry, The Brigade Infantry and the Artillery of 5th. State to the right hand Road and were under the immediate Command of Govr. Howell.55 Whilst the Pennsylvania Troops took the left hand toward Berlin56 under the Command of Govr. Mifflin. Our troops proceeded to a place called Blacks on the top of the Alle-

49 The artillery moved as a unit in the center of the column. United States Gazette, October 29, 1794.
50 Light Corps. This corps under the command of General Frelinghuysen was formed to lead the advance of the column. It consisted of Philadelphia cavalry units, Macpherson's Blues, Taylor's Riflemen and other units. Ibid., October 24, 1794.
51 The army moved in two columns on October 22. The right column at Bedford was preceded by Frelinghuysen's Light Corps and consisted of the Pennsylvania and New Jersey militia under the immediate command of Governor Mifflin. The left column at Fort Cumberland was preceded by General Morgan's Light Corps and was composed of Maryland and Virginia troops. It was accompanied by General Lee, commander-in-chief of the expedition. Ibid., October 29, 1794.
52 The one in front of the six appears to have been inked in at a later date. Actually 6,000 would be nearly correct. A letter from Bedford dated October 19 states that about 5,500 troops were there at that time and some 6,800 at Fort Cumberland. Ibid., October 24, 1794.
53 Since no early settler by the name of Hughes can be located at this place, it is suggested that Clunn was guilty of a phonetic error intending a tavern keeper with the appropriate name of Boone who is known to have been in business prior to 1800 at this location. Koontz, op. cit., II, 206.
54 A famous inn whose real heyday was in the turnpike period. Ibid., II, 206.
55 Governor Richard Howell, in command of the New Jersey militia.
56 A few miles west of Bedford the right column left the old Forbes route and took a southern road known as the Glades Road, a newer road, shown on Reading Howell's Map of The State of Pennsylvania, 1792. The road to Berlin taken by the Pennsylvania militia paralleled the Glades Road, rejoining it at Jacob's Creek.
57 Possibly James Black, the only one of that name listed for Bedford County in the 1790 census. In Howell's Map, op. cit., Black is shown to have been located on Stony Creek.
ghany and encamped, having marched 15 Miles over Rocks, Mud & thro' a torrent of Rain. Rec'd. a small portion of Straw, lay very cold and uneasy.

Oct' 26th. The Genl. being beat, the signal for striking Tents, a number of the men in the Brigade upheld by their Officers refused to obey, which made considerable trouble. The Artillery was ordered to take of their Guns and prepare to suppress the Disturbance if they still continued to disobey the Genl. Orders, but by the intercession of some of the Offrs. & the Art'y. taking up the line of March they reformed & proceeded on to Shaffers at the foot of Laurel Hill. Such Roads were never known (with me) there was nothing but Rocks first & then Mud almost middle deep, yet with all these inconveniences they marched 16 Miles. Only two Companies baggage came forward and near 5000 troops lay in damp fields, mostly Meadow, without any covering save the Heavens during an incessant rain which continued all night. I really felt for them tho' it was with difficulty I procured a birth for myself which was in a Tent with eight Companions. If it had not been for Whiskey many a poor fellow would have given up. They were somewhat elevated & seemed to Pass the night with them very agreeably. Large fires were built & there was Singing in all Quarters.

Oct' 27th. Orders were issued for the troops to tarry this day and an Extraordinary Ration of Whiskey to be Issued. About 12 oclock the Tents arrived and the whole were satisfied.

Oct' 28th. The Road from Hughes's to this Station is bad beyond all description. Continued on 10 Miles to Jones's in Segner Valley on Indian Creek, the Roads worse, some excellent Meadow, but the Land mostly barren. We have descended greatly near this Station. This by some is thought to be the foot of the Alleghany on this Route, & the foot of Long hill may be considered the Eastern extreme on our march. The Penna. are to our left & about one days March in the Rear. Genl. Frelinghuysen is 2 Miles advanced of us. The Weather very dark with some Rain. On Laurel Hill are found at

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59 The village of Jones' Mills marks this location.
60 An example of the author's phonetic spelling. Ligonier Valley was intended.
61 Major General Frederick Frelinghuysen, in command of the Light Corps of the right column.
this season fine, Large Strawberries of spontaneous growth & the same Vines or Cluster, have them in all stages from bud to full Ripe, & equal to those cultivated in the gardens with us. The people say they never saw any before & seem to think it a kind of Omen. Ye superstitious dupes, whose cowardly Souls Shrink back at every danger, persuade yourselves of the fact and let self convicted Conscience punish your ill Deeds.

29th. Oct. Lay still. This day was Rainy. Wrote to my Sister Peggy. Geo s'd. he would forward it to Phila.

30th. Continued our March over Chesnut Ridge to Edgar's tavern near Bonnet's fields, which is Head Quarters, about 2 Miles in our Rear. There was a heavy rain last night, the brooks considerably raised. Near here is Jacob's Creek which empties into the Youghigany which empties into the Monagahela which embraces the Allegany at Fort Pitt or Pittsburgh. All those Waters being Joined takes a different Course & are called the Ohio. I had remarked before the badness of the Roads, which would have been unnecessary if an Idea had been formed of this days march for they were much worse. The Land here is rich & good said to be worth 8 to 10 D's. [an] Acre. There appears an extensive level Country looking S. W., West & N. W. The advanced troops are ¼ of a mile in our front—The Penn. in our Rear one Mile. This is Westmoreland County & Township. It is s'd. that on the Allegany there has not been more than 2 days dry weather at a time this three Months & at this place for twelve days they have had a continual Rain.

Oct. 31. Lay still. Went out & siezed a waggon load of Straw. Brought it to Camp and divided it.

Nov. 1st. Lay still. Doct. Harris joined the Army who came in the capacity of Chaplain. Genl. B. gave him a furlough untill Monday. Gov. H. said he was willing of a furlough would be established as a custom in this case & at this time every week.

62 It is suggested that the presence in those days of large forests sheltered the strawberries from the cold. They were noted in Westmoreland County and "all small berries and fruits grew more abundantly and were more luscious than now." Boucher, op. cit., I, 216.

63 Margaretta Clunn, who died in 1813, aged 47.

64 Possibly John Edger of Mount Pleasant Township. See 1790 census.

65 John Bonnet of Mount Pleasant Township, a founder of the first school in that section. Boucher, op. cit., I, 408.

66 Not officially listed in the N. J. records as a member of the expedition.
Novr. 2nd. Uncle Jos. & Capt. Crooks called to see us. They were well. This afternoon went over to their camp & was treated very politely by Genl. F——n but drank too much of his Brandy, had a headache. Took the business of every kind in Hand. Started before day and obtained four ammunition Waggons & Joined our Park cons. of 7 Pieces of Artillery or Ordnance. The Prices of the foll. articles are not out of the way: Fowls p p. 1/; Butter p lb. 1/; Cabbage @ 3d. 4d; Potatoes 3/ p Bu.; Hay 50/ T.; Salt 45/ p Bu. & scarce. There are few who do not profess a particular attachment to Government in this Vicinity, & they say many have been compelled against their Inclination by Force, Threats, Insinuations, & Persuasion to Join & meet the Insurgents. Glass or Chimney of brick or Stone are very rare to be seen. There are grand Iron Works on Jacob's Creek near here belonging to a Mr. Turnbull of Phil. The only Church we have heard of since our departure from Carlisle is within about a mile. The Minister is said to have taken his Text from Proverbs C. V., the words of which were "And ye will go on." In discoursing on the Subject he said the persons determined to go on were the wicked, the place to which they were going was Hell, & all this contrary to the pleasure of the Almighty, the wish of the Devil or the Inhabitants of Hell. It has been ludicrously observed in Camp that the meaning of the parson was that the Jersey Blues will go on to Pittsburg Contrary to the pleasure of the Almighty & ag't. the wish of the Inhabitants of that Place,

67 Capt. Lt. George Crooks, second in command of the Bucks County Artillery Company.
68 Salt was imported from Kentucky or Maryland, generally in trade for whisky. At this time it commanded a very high price in Westmoreland County. Boucher, op. cit., I, 223.
69 William Turnbull and Peter Marmie built a furnace and forge in 1789, a mile or two above the mouth of Jacob's Creek on the Fayette County side. It was known as the Alliance Iron Works and operated until 1802. Later Marmie committed an iron master's suicide by plunging into the mouth of a heated furnace. Boucher, op. cit., I, 447. See HowelFs Map, op. cit.
70 Possibly the Mount Pleasant Presbyterian Church presided over by Dr. James Power.
71 The Jersey Blues in their expedition to Pittsburgh were heartened by a six-verse poem in their honor, written by Governor Howell. Its first verse:
To arms once more, our hero cries,
Sedition lives and order dies;
To peace and ease then bid adieu
And dash to the mountains, Jersey Blue.
which in a Political Sense is likened to *Hell* Because Brackenridge,\(^72\) the worst devil of all the Insurgents, resides there. A Heavy rain, Cold & Cloudy.

Nov\(^5\). 4\(^{th}\). Marched at Nine oclock & arrived at Silus Clark’s\(^73\) about 3 oclock. This Country is good, Hilly but fine farms.

Nov\(^5\). 5\(^{th}\). Marched 4 Miles and encamped about 2 Miles from Budd’s Ferry on the Youghigany river \(^w\). runs due North as I judge. The Land is exceedingly good. Saw one decent house built of Stone. The Maple Sugar trees are plenty.

Nover. 6\(^{th}\). Lay still. Rode a mile off the road. Found the handsomest Girl I have seen since we left Shippensburg. Persuaded her to wash my linen & promised to call in the evening to set an Hour or so but neglected it. Called on the 7\(^{th}\)., miss Betsey was out. The Old Lady I tho’ imposed on me. Demanded 6\(^d\). p piece besides pay for ye soap which she s’d. I ought to have furnished. It was a new custom & but a Trifle therefore I paid her without any words of dispute tho’ within myself I concluded not to call on her Niece. It was shameful for the Girl was not to blame. Felt chagrin’d with myself. Tho’it illnatured, therefore enquired where she had gone & would most assuredly have gone to see her but just before starting was informed Gen\(^1\). Lee was coming to review us and had to tarry. Gen\(^1\). Frelinghuysen crossed Semerell’s ferry\(^74\) this day. Gen\(^1\). Morgan\(^75\) with his light Choir has crossed the Monogahela above Parkinson’s ferry\(^76\) & has entered Washington County. The weather is fine and warm.

Nov\(^7\). 8\(^{th}\). Gen\(^1\). F. crossed the Monogahela. Brakinridge is still at Fort Pitt. Major Butler\(^77\) commands there. Bradford\(^78\) is gone off &

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\(^72\) Hugh Henry Brackenridge, a gifted and eloquent lawyer, was unjustly condemned at the time for his part in the Insurrection.

\(^73\) Probably a newcomer since his name is not listed in the 1790 census for Westmoreland County.

\(^74\) Possibly named for John Somervail of Rostraver Township. See 1790 census. On Howell’s Map, *op. cit.*, which also shows Budd’s Ferry, the name is shown as Somrals, marking the crossing several miles north of Budd’s.

\(^75\) Major General Daniel Morgan commanded the Virginia Militia and led the Light Corps of the left column. After the withdrawal of the main army from western Pennsylvania he remained on in command of the district.

\(^76\) Now Monongahela City.

\(^77\) Maj. Thomas Butler.

\(^78\) David Bradford, a politically ambitious lawyer who assumed the boldest front of all the leaders opposed to the excise. Upon the approach of the troops he fled down the Ohio to Louisiana. Gallatin characterized him as an empty drum. Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin* (Philadelphia, 1879), 96, 97.
left his family behind. A Sergeant & Corporal belonging to Col°. Copperthwait's\textsuperscript{79} Reg\textsuperscript{t}. Penn\textsuperscript{a}. Militia received 100 Lashes each this morning for Mutiny.

Nov\textsuperscript{t}. 9\textsuperscript{th}. Lay still. Rode to the ferry; staid half an hour & returned.

Nov\textsuperscript{t}. 10\textsuperscript{th}. Order for Marching issued. Marched at 9 o'clock before which a soldier in Col°. Furman's\textsuperscript{80} Reg\textsuperscript{t}. wanted his discharge & was permitted to depart 'tho' accompanied with the Drum & fife and a few Huzza's, a shameful dismissal. Had , somebody I know of been served so, it would have been no matter. If it is disgraceful for a Soldier to leave the Service how much more so for an Officer.\textsuperscript{81} Rode out of the way some miles. Fell in with the troops who had got before. Passed them and within a mile of our Station saw a flock of Wild Turkies supposed to be about 50 in number. Chased them near half a mile before they flew. Took our station at Brown's ferry\textsuperscript{82} on the Youghiogany. There is one flat & a canoe. Two young women said they were the ferrymen. They meant, I suppose, that they did the duties of the men. One was pretty and she pushed a Canoe over the River with amazing dexterity.

Nov\textsuperscript{t}. 11\textsuperscript{th}. The River here is near as broad as at Budd's. Gov. Howell & the N. J. Cavalry are encamped opposite us. Dined on a fine turkey & have felt very unwell since, owing to a Cold which I have caught. Orders for holding ourselves in readiness were issued.

Nov\textsuperscript{t}. 12. Orders contramanded about 11 o'clock and staid here all day. We have had a small sleat of Snow this day. Lieut. Polhemus\textsuperscript{83} came down with a boat & some regular troops to escort the two Gov's., Mifflin & Howell, to Fort Pitt. We have marched on the 10\textsuperscript{th}. 10 Miles & are no more than \( \frac{3}{4} \) of a mile from our late station. The girls say Kissing is uncustomary, however they do not mind breaking the rules sometimes. Orders where [sic] received to March tomorrow


\textsuperscript{81} An indication that the author had reconsidered leaving the service because of his dissatisfaction with the pay.

\textsuperscript{82} The troops had halted on November fifth at a fork in the road two miles east of Budd's Ferry on the Youghiogheny. On the tenth they took the right fork and proceeded northwest down the eastern bank of the river past "Semerell's ferry" to Brown's. Brown's Crossing, like the others, is shown on Howell's Map, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{83} Lt. John Polhemus.
moré. A number of Officers are wishing to enter in the Q. M. Service. Many have offered. I should like it but I fear am outlimited, my application would be too late, therefore expect to return. The after Orders of this day were for the Brigade to be under Arms at the firing of a Gun from the Artillery, each company of which was to take post within ¼ of a mile of the other. In consequence of which Order on the moré. of the 13th. before Day break the troops were under Arms & the Artillery stationed as ordered in wth. position they continued until 11 o'clock when the Gov. made his appearance. The troops were dismissed & the marching order contramanded. This day is appointed by the Inhabitants here as set apart for Thanksgiving & Prayer. 20 & five of the Insurgents were taken last night. I crossed the Youghigany in a flat & paddled myself back in a Canoe. There is a small store kept by a Mr. Lockwood. His prices are very high merely for getting change. I purchased a silk Handkerchief @ 8/6 & 2 lb. Butter 1/11/2d.

Novem't. 14th. Orders for marching verbally delivered last evening. A small sleet of Snow began about day light and continued increasing that when we left our ground of encampment it lay two inches thick on the Ground. Continued about ½ a mile beyond Hellman's where our ground was provided. Dined on Quail & chickens very heartily and waited with great expectation of the arrival of the troops until sunset. Returned a Mile back told Gen'l. B the situation of the place, no Straw of Consequence. Conceived it hard for the poor fellows to return thus far & Carry their Straw. Laid out the impracticability of proceeding. Therefore he concluded we with the Artillery shd. station at Hellman's where we had excellent fires and an abundance of Straw, 1200 Bunds. where [sic] here provided, & the whole N. Jersey Brigade half a Mile advanc[ed] have but 70 Bunds. to supply upwards of 2000 Troops. I thought, pitied & suffered for them. Indeed they must have been badly off where the snow was some inches deep, no Tents or Blankets, & the Snow still falling. One Ammunition Waggon is in the Rear. A ration of a Gill of Whiskey extraordinary was by Gen'l. Orders issued to the Troops to ameliorate the fatigue of the March.

Novem'. 15th. Applied to Col°. R. the Govr's. aid de Camp &
wished to know by what means we should procure one horse for each of our pieces of Ordnance. He knew no other method than pressing. The Gov'r. & his Suite have started for Fort Pitt which is 15½ Miles distant. The field wherein Braddock was defeated lays about four miles from hence on the mouth of Turtle Creek, which empties into the Yough'y. where the Y'y. joins the M'a.86

Novem'r. 16th. Marched very early this morning through Snow and Mud, over hills & Rocks. Came 9 miles & encamped near Col'o. McNair's.87 Col'o. Crane88 with his Reg't. is advanced of us about 1/8th of a Mile. There appears to be a different set of Inhabitants here and in the Vicinity. They are considerably improved, Genteel & Polite to Strangers. Went out and pressed Six Horses yesterday for the purpose of expediting the march of our Ordnance. It is a disagreeable act to a person of Tender and humane feelings, but we were in a starving condition, our provisions out & none within eight miles, therefore necessity which has no Law impelled us to it.

Monday Nov'r. 17th. A number of Officers from the Brigade went forward to Fortpitt.89 We arrived there at 12 oclock. Had some excellent Spirits & Brandy; it was quite refreshing. Found it difficult to get accommodated with feed for our Horses and Dinner for ourselves. Lodging or Stabling was out of the Question. Enquired of Mr. McLane90 who promised us Dinner in an hour, but it was not ready on the Table untill Sunset. Went to see the Fort.91 The ditches were small, not more than five feet across, the barricades strong with a musket hole every few feet. There are three block Houses, we were in one. They are built in four triangles with a port hole in each, here is a double fortyfied Six pounder about Ten feet long and large in proportion. The ground inside of the fortress is smooth, level & clean, and every other thing appears in nice order. The light troops arrived here from the other side of the Monagahela with Sixty prisoners. In Gen'l. B. brigade we have about fifty pris'n. What will be their fate

86 Actually Turtle Creek empties into the Monongahela below the mouth of the Youghiogheny River.
87 Lt. Col. Dunning McNair, commanding the 2d. Regt. of Allegheny County Militia.
89 Pittsburgh at this time consisted of some 200 dwellings plus a few other buildings.
91 The fort had been rebuilt in 1792 and was known as Fort Fayette.
we know not.\textsuperscript{92} The part of the Town that fronts the River is pleasantly situated.

Novem\textsuperscript{r}. 18\textsuperscript{th}. Lay still. Wrote to my Sister Peggy. Wrote to Mr. P. Collin. The Off\textsuperscript{rs} who are appointed to stay the 9 months are beating up for Volunteers and almost every Soldier is in arms between List or not list, and the officers are in a dangerous situation, for will we be or shall we not be is a consequence of importance. And after that is settled another stool must most certainly take place, shall we get our complement of Men or shall we not, and during those few days I fear our Gen\textsuperscript{'s} officers lay in \textit{Suds}. That they were washed clean it is most wished, and established as the Military Laws of the United States directs.

The field wherein Braddock was defeated is about 3 miles from here, which is the encamping ground that the French & Indians occupied before they made their attack. There are a number of trees standing in the field very much shattered & torn with the balls that flew that day. There are also found bones on the ground and with digging about a foot under the Earth there is abundance. One entire Jaw bone was taken by Gen\textsuperscript{1} B. intended to be lodged in the Library at Burlington.\textsuperscript{93} The passage to the field is very narrow which Braddock went up with two grand eminences on each side which his opponents took possession of and fired down upon him. It is surprising a Gen\textsuperscript{1} of his abilities should expose his troops to so great a disadvantage.

Novem\textsuperscript{r}. 19\textsuperscript{th}. 94. We are anxiously expecting orders to return. The Pennsylvania troops are homeward bound this day. They have all passed us. Wrote to D. Munn by Dr. Wynkoop.

Nov\textsuperscript{r}. 20\textsuperscript{th}. A very wet Snow fell this day. The ground where we lay was very wet. S. Herriman\textsuperscript{94} was appointed Cap\textsuperscript{1} of the Artillery with whom I should have stayed in the Service. He recanted. The Command was offered on the 21st. Capt. Minthorn\textsuperscript{95} was proposed

\textsuperscript{92} About two hundred persons were arrested by the military. Of these twenty-two were indicted but only one was convicted, and he was pardoned by the President. Wayland Fuller Dunaway, \textit{A History of Pennsylvania} (New York, 1935), 415.

\textsuperscript{93} General Bloomfield presented this relic to the Library Company of Burlington on November 21, 1795.

\textsuperscript{94} First Lt. Samuel Herriman of Capt. Israel Canfield's Co. of Artillery.

\textsuperscript{95} Sgt. Henry Minthorn, 4th Regt., Inf., N. J. Detached Militia, is the only soldier of that name listed.
& appointed. The difficulty of the short notice prompted a refusal. Recommended Mr. J. Parvin,\textsuperscript{96} my Q. M. Serg.*, for first Lieut. who was accepted and left us.

22\textsuperscript{nd}. Marched on our return. The Roads were exceedingly rough. The air was cold, some of our baggage behind and no flour for the troops which we are fearful will impede our March tomorrow. I felt unwell or should have went to Pitt on business. Capt. Elmer staid behind in order to bring on the Guns which were to be put in Wagons & conducted home in that Order, the Limbers & Carriages by themselves. This evening heard he would be on early in the Morning. Procured Lodging at Hellman’s, was unwell. Spent a disagreeable night but felt better in the morning of the 23 Nov.

Lay still all day. Rode 5 Miles on our road for Lodging and could procure none. Returned to camp and lay in a Tent. Felt on the morn\textsuperscript{8}. 24\textsuperscript{th}. but Middling. Continued our March thro a rough road to Greensburgh.\textsuperscript{97} Had to billet our Brigade in Houses. The P. striped the way leaving scarcely anything untouched. For the Officers we got good Quarters & lodged comfortably and warm—too much so.

Lay there the 25\textsuperscript{th}. to have our Horses shod and other necessary articles put in Order. A Gill of whiskey by Gen\textsuperscript{1}. Orders was issued to each man in the Brigade to Drink Gov’s. Howell’s health in Consequence of his reelection. This town has two cross streets, contains about 120 Houses, the greatest part built of Log—not more than two of boards. Gen\textsuperscript{1}. Jaques\textsuperscript{98} is head here. There is excellent brandy and every good thing necessary to eat & Drink. They receive their liquors from Baltimore and sell by retail reasonable—Brandy 15/ p Gallon etc. Orders for marching tomorrow morning as early as possible issued.

Novem\textsuperscript{\textdegree}. 26\textsuperscript{th}. Marched to a Mr. Dickey’s\textsuperscript{99} on nine Mile run.\textsuperscript{100} This is a fine pleasant day. The land adjacent improved and good.

\textsuperscript{96}Sgt. Josiah Parvin. The record shows that he “engaged in the six-months service.”
\textsuperscript{97}This, the principal city of Westmoreland County, contained 100 dwellings. The return route to Bedford was by the state wagon road rather than by the Glades Road.
\textsuperscript{98}William Jack, Brigadier General of the Westmoreland County Militia.
\textsuperscript{99}Probably Robert Dickey. See 1790 census.
\textsuperscript{100}Two, Four, Nine, Twelve and Fourteen Mile Runs, tributaries to the Loyalhanna, all crossed the road. Their names are suggested by their distance west of Fort Ligonier. See Howell’s Map, \textit{op. cit}. 
Have felt a deal out of humour and have reasons for omitting particulars. This is only a memorandum for fear it should be forgot for it shall not pass unnoticed.

Novem'. 27th. Marched before Sunrise. Arrived at Fort Ligonier at 12 oclock & encamped 3 miles beyond at about 3/2 after one oclock. This is a beautiful day. But Chesnut ridge which we crossed was very bad. I rather exceeded in the description of the day. It was moderate, clear and fine, but I was thinking of the fair females left behind, Which Oh! Heavens, I had almost exceeded the bounds and was going to say they were preferable to the day, the air, in short every kind of our good accommodation was lost in the Idea.

On the morning of the 28th. marched before Sunrise. Arrived at Wells’s. Found Straw & Wood enough, a pleasant days march. We crossed Laurel Hill. It was not near as bad as on the other road where we came before on our route forward.

Novem'. 29th. Marched beyond stony Creek & encamped at near the bottom of the Allegany mountains, West side.

On the 30th. Marched to on the top of the Allegany where all the Officers in the Brigade was invited to an entertainment by Gen'. Bloomfield. There were about 100 Com'd. Offrs. in the pleasures of Conviviality & Friendship. Sunday was lost and all was jocund, free and good humoured. In short I have not (since the Campaign) seen so many merry faces. The evening concluded with a number of fuddled persons.

1st. Dec'. Marched on a level space of ground on the top of the Allegany for near 4 Miles, a fine strait road. Remarked the Clouds striking the Mountain, splitting as it were in two, each dividing & taking a different course perceptible to the Eye below us. It was a sight worth a £. The Coldness of the weather would not permit us taking that Satisfaction which was wished. Arrived at the foot of the Allegany at Ryans.

Dec'. 2nd. Marched 1 1/2 Miles beyond bedford. We were comfortably situated but I could [not] enjoy it, not even was I able to go in to Town that evening to see my friend Taylor. Promised to Breakfast with him on the 3rd. Could not turn out before 11 oclock. when necessity

101 Howell’s Map shows this location to have been just to the east of Laurel Hill. James and John Wells lived in that neighborhood at that time. Koontz, op. cit., II, 70.
102 Possibly Burkets or Callenders Meadows. See Howell’s Map.
obliged me, having to draw Cloathing, Provisions etc. It was very cold with Snow. Eat nothing until 4 o'clock when I called at my friends and dined on Venison. Felt something better.

Marched on the 4th. to the Juniato. Crossed with difficulty in Flatboats. The river was high. Encamped ½ Mile on the E. side near Mr. Lilly's—a very pleasant days march.

Marched the 5th. Dec'd. before Daylight. A fine day appeared, good Roads & had orders for going two Distances—24 Miles. Eat nothing this morning until we had rode 20 Miles and breakfasted at Col'o. Bird's who keeps an excellent house, few in our parts to compare with it. Crossed Sideling Hill this day. Encamped at Jameson's tavern or the Burnt Cabins.

On the 6th. Marched by day break. Crossed the three mountains which are called the North Mountain. At the bottom of the first there is a fine settlement in the Valley, the Land much improved and appears to be well cultivated. On the Road at this place is 8 or 10 very good and passable houses for Log buildings. There are four Taverns & one Store. Arrived at Strasburg at 11 o'clock & encamped. We have been upwards of 40 Days in the Wilderness eating unleavened bread. I felt much rejoiced when we arrived here and involuntarily exclaimed, "Strasburgh—Success & Happiness attend thee and thy Inhabitants henceforward & forever," and I am sure should any of you pass thro my native Town with a heart so elated as my own at the present, there is no doubt of your making a similar exclamation. farewell the rugged hills, the pleasant dales & Valleys, & farewell ye rough hewn Rocks whose threatening appearance throws us every moment into danger.

Decem't. 7th. Marched early, a fine day. Arrived at Shippensburg. Called on my friends, the fair females I have mentioned before and whom I said was so happily situated. The hours of life's uncertain, and changeable all happiness. That once thought happy family are now within a short time plunged into tears. They have lost their father and only parent. And say ye whose hearts are Stout and

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103 Joseph Lilley. See 1790 census for Bedford County.
104 Probably Benjamin Burd, in 1794 Brigade Inspector of Bedford County Militia, and later Major General of the Pennsylvania Militia.
105 Since it was the practice of the majority of settlers living near the road to hang out a tavern sign some of these taverns are now difficult to identify.
106 Path Valley.
Hardened, is it a weakness to drop a tear and try to soothe the anguish of distress where it is occasioned from the pure effect of fraternal affection? If it is a fault I have committed it and feel well satisfied that many may do a good action but few can enjoy it. With this sentiment I acquit myself. I slept ill. Was locked in a house from the front door with an amiable young woman, and there being only one bed the matter was how to accommodate each separate. It was quite out the Question. There was no other way then lying together which was soon adopted without any vaunted Ceremony. Therefore to bed we went with most of our Cloths on, and had she been placed along side of the Chaste Diana she could not have been treated with more decency & respect.

Rose on the morning of the 8th. The door not being unlocked had to Spring out of the Window. Marched 1½ Hours before Day break & arrived at Carlisle at 11 o'clock, a pleasant day but Cool. The Troops were ordered in the Barracks. Lodged at a Mr. Davis's. Cap: Johnson107 was there who we heard was dead.

Nov: [sic] 9th. Stayed at this place. The whole of the Brigade were mustered but received no pay nor is expected to untill their arrival at Trenton. Col: Postlewait108 is a man of abilities and exceeding kind—was treated by him with great politeness. In the evening entered at a game of Leui, the first game I have played at since our departure from Trenton—won something. Lodged uneasy and rose quite unwell which continued through the day of the 10th. Tarryed, nothing of consequence happened this day. Orders for marching on the 11th. Some difficulty happening with the Wagons the troops did not march before 12 oclock, and halted 10 Miles distant at a place called Silver's Springs.109 Took quarters at Oliver Pollock's Esq.110 and was used extremely well, and was treated with as much Beer as we wanted Gratia. Lost a p'f. Wo. Gloves—it was a Loss this cold weather.

Marched 12th. Crossed the Susquehanna. The Artillery with the 1st. & 3rd. Regts. were ordered to Hummel town and where [sic]

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108 Col. Samuel Postlethwait.
109 Now Silver Spring.
110 Trader, planter, financier. See James Alton James, Oliver Pollock (New York, 1937).
billeted. Saw S. Potts\textsuperscript{111} in Harrisburgh. Supped on fresh Salmon at Mr. Crab's tavern, sign of the Ship.\textsuperscript{112}

Started on the 13\textsuperscript{th} and arrived at Hummelstown before the troops had marched. Proceeded on to Lebanon & billeted. The Girl who played me the trick was out of Town and Joy go with her. I esteem a person of feeling.

Marched on the 14\textsuperscript{th} and arrived at Wummeldorf Town & took Quarters. Felt unwell. This is a fine pleasant day. Yesterday crossed the River Sweetara.\textsuperscript{113} It is shallow and a clear stream. When we went thro' this Town before there were few Girls. Today they turned out like birds in a Collary, & had it not been Sunday their pipes no doubt would have tuned to drown the sound of the Drum, for they appeared to be much pleased—every countenance carried a degree of satisfaction.

Marched on the 15\textsuperscript{th}. Crossed the River Schulkill and arrived at Reading. An Esquire is always higher than a Baker in Rank and as much as the first is superior, so is the Daughter of one more handsome than the other. Miss Nogle,\textsuperscript{114} she understands music, can sing well, plays on the guitar, Forte piano, etc. She presented me with a noble apple which shall be kept for remembrance until we cross the Delaware. B. Rogers, S. M.,\textsuperscript{115} who died last night was buried here this afternoon with the Honors of War. Called on Col\textsuperscript{9} Morris. It is unnecessary to say I was used well, his known politeness would warrant that.

Dec. 16\textsuperscript{th}. Marched, a fine morning but dull in the afternoon, the wind high, roads dusty, but good travelling. Took out my Apple, looked at it, "Thou dear pledge of a female's offered friendship, and a Stranger too." It is realizing the good old mandate, "I was a

\textsuperscript{111} Stacy Potts, 1731–1816, came to Harrisburg from Trenton in about 1790 and assumed an active role as member of the legislature, president of the Mechanical Society, etc. He returned to Trenton in 1805 and later served as mayor. William H. Egle, \textit{op. cit.} (1881), Part I, 79 and Part II, 132. Also see \textit{Oracle of Dauphin and Harrisburgh Advertiser} for December 8, 1794.


\textsuperscript{113} The name Swatara is said to derive from the Indian \textit{where we fed on eels}. Luther Reily Kelker, \textit{History of Dauphin County} (New York, Chicago, 1907), I, 14.

\textsuperscript{114} Since Clunn forgot the girl's first name he may have been wrong on her last. There were a number of Nagle and Nagel families recorded in the 1790 census but no Nogles.

\textsuperscript{115} Probably Sgt. Maj. Richard Rogers whose date of discharge was not recorded.
Stranger & they took me in.” Could not touch it and put it by for further remembrance. Arrived at Pottsgrove and Quartered at a tavern two miles beyond the Town. Saw Doc'. Couzins here with a number of young Ladies.

Marched on the 17th. to Norristown and encamped two miles a head.

Marched 18th. & arrived at the Crooked Billet.

19th. The Troops marched within two m's. of Yardley's ferry.

Crossed on the 20th. & marched in Order to Trenton where they were billeted.

Thus ended a Campaign (if it may be so called) of near three months without action. Yet I verily believe we had hardships and troubles to overbalance, as I feel firmly persuaded our troops would have rather encountered an Army of disciplined equal in number to themselves and trusted to the Issue, which is the Honor of our Countrymen (there would have been no fear of a defeat on our part), rather than have encountered the hardships we have all undergone. It was bad, visibly unaccountable and what few Armies before have ever accomplished, in so short a time, even with shedding of blood—Suppressing an Insurrection in their Country.
II

An Unpublished Benjamin Rush Manuscript

In the archives of the South Carolina Historical Commission may be found a manuscript which merits publication not only because it was signed by Benjamin Rush but also because of its highly interesting contents.

The text is as follows:

To the Honorable the President and Members of the Senate and the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives of the State of South Carolina in general Assembly met, &c

The Memorial and Petition of the Delegates from the several Societies, formed in different parts of the United States, for promoting the abolition of Slavery, in Convention assembled in Philadelphia on the seventh day of January, 1795

Respectfully shew,

That, having been deputed, and having convened, for the purpose of considering, and carrying into effect, the most proper measures for the abolition of Slavery; and being forcibly impressed with a sense of the dangers to which the Citizens of the United States are exposed, while a numerous class of Men exist among them, deprived of their natural rights, and forcibly held in bondage;—we think it our duty to address you, as Men, fellow Citizens, and Brethren, and earnestly to request your attention to the means of avoiding the evils naturally resulting from the abovementioned circumstances.

The first step which we take the liberty of suggesting to you, is, an entire prohibition of all traffic in Slaves, between your State and every other Nation or State, either by importation or exportation. This is the first and principal object of our Memorial—an object which we the more earnestly recommend to your attention as we

1 Slavery files No. 1, South Carolina Historical Commission, Memorial Building, Columbia, S. C.
are informed that the law of your State, prohibiting the importation of Slaves, will expire sometime in March next.²

In considering this subject, many methods of conciliating the affections of this unfortunate people, and preparing them for that state in Society, upon which depends our political happiness, suggest themselves:—such as, an amelioration of their condition and a diffusion of knowledge among them. But, as nothing can be effectual while the number of Slaves may be daily increased by importation, and while the minds of our Citizens are debased, and their hearts hardened, by contemplating these people only through the medium of avarice or prejudice (a necessary consequence of the traffic in Man) we confine the prayer of this Petition to the total prohibition of all traffic in Slaves, between your State and every other Nation or State, either by importation or exportation; which we respectfully solicit you to grant, having full confidence, that, independent of other considerations, you will see the evident policy of the measure.

(By order of the Convention)

Philadelphia 14 Jany 1795
[signed] Benjamin Rush—Presidt

Attest
Walter Franklin Secretary

New York

HERBERT APTHEKER

² This is inaccurate. The relevant facts concerning South Carolina slave-trade laws are as follows: In November, 1788, it was provided that no slave was “to be imported or brought into this State, either by land or water, on or before the first day of January, 1793” under penalty of forfeiture and fine, but this act did not apply to interstate movement of slaves (Thomas Cooper, ed., The Statutes at Large of South Carolina [Columbia, 1838], V, 91-92). In December, 1792, because it was “deemed inexpedient to increase the number of slaves within this state,” this was extended for two more years, expiring 1 January, 1795, and, in addition to prohibiting importation of slaves “from Africa, the West India islands, or other place beyond sea,” none might be brought in from any of the other states, unless the master was migrating to South Carolina for purposes of settlement therein (Acts of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina from February, 1791 to December, 1794 [Columbia, 1808], I, 215-218). In December, 1794, this was extended for another two years, again in 1796, 1798, and 1800 (ibid., I, 391-393; II, 90-91, 215-216, 339). By December, 1802, however, the aforesaid laws were felt to be “too rigorous and inconvenient” and some changes were made, while the next year they were repealed. Slaves, however, still were not to be imported from the West Indies or South America (ibid., II, 449-451, 509-514). Other anti-slave-trade laws were passed during these same years by the federal government and by most of the slave states. Important precipitants of these acts were the slave rebellions in the West Indies and the evidence of increased disaffection among the slaves of America. See H. Aptheker, American Negro Slave Revolts (N. Y., 1943), 73-74.
III

The Jefferson-Madison Vacation

Gilbert Chinard, in both his Thomas Jefferson and Honest John Adams, infers that Jefferson’s decision to go on a journey with Madison to Lake George and Vermont, in 1791, was made soon after Paine’s The Rights of Man, Part I, had been republished in Philadelphia, in order to escape the unpleasant situation expected from the appearance (unintended) of his introductory note in the pamphlet, favoring the contents as combating recent aristocratic “heresies”—a term that John Adams would certainly take as a slur at his Davila essays. Chinard says, “His abhorrence of dispute was so real that, at this juncture, he decided to leave Philadelphia for a trip north.”1 This “juncture” occurred on May 8, 1791, when he had written an explanatory letter to Washington. In the biography of Adams, Chinard says the same, and adds, “hoping perhaps to avoid an unpleasant explanation with Adams.”2

Thus the reader is given to understand that this vacation, involving much advance preparation in the way of horses, saddles, supplies, maps, and careful planning, was suddenly conceived on or about May 8, shortly after the Rights pamphlet appeared. Aside from the minor point that a personal explanation with Adams was not imminent, as the Vice-President was probably in Braintree, Madison had been in New York for two or three weeks, planning the trip and getting supplies for it.

The explanation advanced by Chinard seems improbable, but it is now no longer necessary to entertain it, as a hitherto unpublished letter, which Madison wrote, probably to Monroe, makes clear:3

Philada. April 12, 1791.

Dear Sir

... I expect to leave this at a pretty early day, and shall in company with Mr. Jefferson make a trip as far as Lake George. Whether I shall go into the Eastern States I do not yet decide ...

Js. Madison Jr.

1 Thomas Jefferson (Boston, 1929), 259.
2 Honest John Adams (Boston, 1933), 236.
3 Madison Papers, Library of Congress.
And so is done away another misconception about the various unexplained acts and omissions of Thomas Jefferson. He did not run away from Adams in this instance, though he had no relish for a conflict with that robust opponent.  

As to the journey, historians have often referred to it as purely, or almost purely political, for the purpose of "mending political fences" before the summer and fall elections, implying that the botanical purpose was a subterfuge. There is no evidence to support such an explanation, and much to indicate the innocence of a simple vacation in search of health and botanical knowledge. Jefferson's letters of this period discuss chiefly the pleasures of the trip, and are definitely non-political.

Jefferson first mentions the journey in a letter to his daughter Mary, on May 8, 1791. On the next day he wrote to Madison that "Rittenhouse will probably not go. He says he cannot find a good horse." The fact that David Rittenhouse, a non-political scientist, was originally to go along indicates the non-political nature of the proposed journey. On May 15, Jefferson wrote to Washington of the trip as being undertaken "to get rid of a head ach." In fact, it seems that health was a prime reason also for Madison, who had been subject, as always, to extreme biliousness. On May 19, he wrote to his brother Ambrose, "Mr. Jefferson is here & we shall set out in a day or two." Evidently Jefferson arrived in New York on May 18 or 19, and the two men left the city on the twentieth or twenty-first. There could hardly have been time for political calls.

Jefferson's letter to his daughter Martha, from Lake Champlain on May 31, describes Lakes George and Champlain, the route ahead, and the climate (as no improvement on that of Virginia), and closes with kisses for "little Anne." There is no suggestion of anything but the pleasures of a vacation. From Bennington on June 5, he wrote

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4 He wrote an elaborate explanation to Adams, July 17, 1791. Then, receiving a forceful reply, he denied (August 30) what he had already written to Washington and others, that he had Adams' _Davila_ and other writings in mind when he wrote the commendatory note. Good Jeffersonians must find this denial awkward to explain. For the Adams letter, cf. _Works of John Adams_, C. F. Adams, ed. (Boston, 1853), VIII, 506.

5 For example: James Schouler, _History of the United States of America_ (New York, 1894), I, 194, "Though ostensibly bent on studying rocks and trees . . . "; S. E. Morison, _The Oxford History of the United States_ (London, 1928), I, 133, "It was _Clintonia borealis_, apparently, that they were in search of."

6 All the letters of Jefferson without references mentioned here may be found in the standard editions of Ford or Lipscomb.

7 _Madison Papers_, Library of Congress. Also in _The Writings of James Madison_, Gaillard Hunt, ed. (New York, 1906), VI, 45.
to the President about disturbances in Vermont caused by British examinations of American ships; but there is no mention of politics. On the same day he wrote his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, going into detail about botanical objects "unknown or rare in Virginia," the limestone deposits east of Lake Champlain, and the numerous small red squirrels in Vermont—and again, no mention of politics. On June 19, he was back in Philadelphia, having arrived in much improved health:\(^8\)

I wrote to each of you once during my journey, from which I returned four days ago, having enjoyed through the whole of it very perfect health. I am in hopes the relaxation it gave me from business, has freed me from the almost constant headache with which I had been persecuted through the whole winter and spring.

Hunt says that the travelers returned to New York on June 16.\(^9\) If this is correct, with one night allowed for rest, and a day and a half to reach the national capital, it requires an extremely elastic imagination to conclude that there was any time left for mending political fences, or seeking the "Clintonia borealis" in New York or elsewhere.

Madison who likewise found his health improved, but only temporarily, was confined to his rooms in New York until late July with a severe return of his ailment, so that he was forced to abandon his proposed trip into New England. Jefferson's first letter to him after his arrival in Philadelphia, is chiefly taken up with money matters, a debt of $25.94 to Madison for a deficit in the shared expenses, gossip of the President's return from Mount Vernon, Henry Lee's report of the Virginia attitude toward the excise, and a matter-of-fact discussion of the plants which they had observed:\(^10\)

I am sorry we did not bring with us some leaves of the different plants which struck our attention, as it is the leaf which principally decides specific differences. . . . The Balsam tree at Govr. Robinson's is the Balsam poplar, Populus Balsamifera of Linnaeus. The Areola I can only suspect to be the viscosa acknowledged to grow with us. I am sure it is not the nudiflora. The white pine is the Pinus Strobus . . .

Political discussion related to the trip is simply nonexistent. As, during July and August, the friends exchanged a series of intensely political letters, the absence of such discussion during or concerning the vacation journey is a striking contrast, and a silent rebuke to historians who would read into every activity of Thomas Jefferson a subtle political motive.

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9 Writings, op. cit., VI, 51, note.
10 Letter of June 21, 1791.
Monroe's Draft of the Defense of Freneau

If any additional evidence were needed to prove that Monroe was the author of the “Vindication of Mr. Jefferson”—which appeared in John Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser (Philadelphia) in answer to Hamilton’s attacks on Freneau, editor of the National Gazette, on Jefferson, and on the latter’s appointment of Freneau to a translatorship in the Department of State—a manuscript by Monroe now supplies it. It is among the Monroe Papers (1792, October) of the New York Public Library—an undated first draft of the defense of Freneau, which appeared in the “Vindication” series as No. III, October 20, 1792. On its back, in Monroe’s hand, is the notation, “defense of Mr. Jefferson as secy of State.”

The William and Mary Quarterly for April, 1946, in “Madison’s Defense of Freneau,” by the present writer, carries the full text of this number. In the discussion it was concluded, because of Madison’s evident collaboration with Monroe, his intimate knowledge of Freneau and the National Gazette’s “birth,” as well as a difference of style within the essay, that he wrote the greater part of it. The Monroe draft, though containing a section like the printed form, is otherwise different, has many corrections, and breaks off incoherently, as if the writer had essayed a subject too difficult. Monroe’s letter to Madison, October 9, 1792, in which he says, “The piece you read me will be applicable now. I heartily wish you wo’d come down as soon as possible,” suggests his need of help on the subject. As the final form appeared in print eleven days later, it seems that Madison provided the assistance promptly.

The portion of the draft most similar to the printed version reads thus:

If the office is necessary wh. is always to be presumed when created by law I know of no other criterion by wh. the propriety of the nomination or appointment is to be

2 The Writings of James Monroe, S. M. Hamilton, ed. (New York, 1898-1903), I, 245.
examined than that of the fitness of the person to fill it. If he possesses the requisite qualifications there can be no well founded objection to his appointment. To fill this office but few are necessary [illegible] in addition to the great prerequisite of morality without wh. no man shod. be appointed to any office—

1st. That he shod be a citizen & possess a knowledge of foreign languages—That he shod. be a citizen & if not a native a resident for sufft. term to prove his attachmt. seems absolutely necessary, for whatever belongs to the department of state in wh. affias. [?] with foreign nations are translated may pass thro' his hands—He shod therefore be a person in whom the proof of a superior attachment to this over any other country shod. be unequivocal—That he shod. possess a knowledge of foreign languages seems equally necessary for without this he wod. receive a compensation without rendering any service.

If a strict adherence to the first requisite be observed [his well known crossed out] it [will crossed out] must from necessity diminish the required [?] proficiency in the other, for tis well known that but few americans in any ranks or circumstances of life possess a general knowledge of foreign languages—In this situation the person best qualified must be preferred, and I am persuaded that no one willing to accept the office could have been procured better qualified than the gentn. now in it—He is admitted to be well skilled in the French language the nation with whom we have the most intimate and extensive [political crossed out] communication, and whose language has [been crossed out] become the general medium of political negotiation throughout Europe. In other respects [the crossed out] his qualifications [of this gentn. crossed out] must be Deemed inexceptionable—His education at Princeton was liberal [at Princeton crossed out], and his conduct that of a man of good reputation, a whig, and a republican. Thus qualified and well recommended by gentn. of high estimation, not by one only but several, and they [his poem crossed out] the companions of his early youth, he was taken into that office. If his morals personal qualifications in other respects gd. what objection [then crossed out] can possibly be raised agnst. this appointment—[agnst his general qualifications. crossed out] if any it must apply to his occupation; [that at Princeton crossed out] does it go to all occupations generally, or is it confined to that of the press? If to the former it [will crossed out] is to be observed that the [limited crossed out] extent of the compensation, being only 250 dollars per annum, precluded the possibility of procuring a suitable person, out of business who wod. accept of it, and that the nature of the duty being only [?] occasional made it unnecessary that the sphere of [illegible] shod. be so much narrowed—The predecessor of this gentn. was a merchant [illegible] his occupation and no complaint was ever heard agnst the appointment on that acct.—

A comparison of this portion of the draft with the final form indicates a similarity of style, though the draft is far cruder and less specific. Whether the draft was written without Madison’s help, or was a first attempt after a special conversation with him, is purely conjectural. Probabilities appear to suggest the former supposition, and that, shortly after October 9, when Monroe appealed for help, Madison called and assisted in writing the final version. Apparently Monroe was responsible for a greater portion of the essay than was
at first believed. Nevertheless, as Freneau's college friend and the "persuader" who induced him to set up the National Gazette in Philadelphia and suggested that Jefferson appoint him translator, Madison undoubtedly furnished most of the information, and probably guided it into the finished form.

More interesting perhaps are Monroe's manuscript condemnations of Hamilton's motives in attacking Jefferson, so extensively expressed here that they tend to overshadow the defense of Freneau. They were largely dropped or softened in the printed form, but are worth reading as revealing Monroe's attitude towards any attack on his idol.

Charges of this kind, in case they should be multiplied [with crossed out] hereafter may be more easily supported or rejected [hereafter crossed out], by knowing precisely their intent. If any thing is to be understood by it, it must be, a desire to subvert [to subvert crossed out] the government, and establish some other in [the crossed out] its stead . . .

. . . In the lengthy catalogue of appointments of this kind, [it seems crossed out] does it not seem strange that this, which for [only crossed out] an occasional duty [only crossed out], receives the lowest compensation, shod. be the only one complained of or inquired into? does it not seem still more [strange crossed out] entry. that from so trifling an incident such extensive and important deductions shod. be drawn,? that it shod. be relied on to establish the [monstrous view crossed out] charge of hostility to his country against the uniform tenor of a life wh. from the earliest shape of manhood had been dedicated to honor and the public service? . . .

. . . will any honest citizen hesitate a moment to pronounce aginst the malignity of this charge & is the author more careful than others of the publick safety, or has he given proof, of more disinterested patriotism philanthropy & benevolence to authorize a superior solicitude in public [illegible]? Even if his past life had [given crossed out] reserved (?) him the regard of his countrypeople in those respects what doubt yet does he not now furnish the most satisfactory proof by this [an crossed out] contemptible attack that he has suffered these to yield the governed (?) to a disappointed ambition to a low and degrading envy? does it not at least furnish gound [sic] to believe that his mind has become strangely infected with fears, that his imagination has perverted his judgment, and that he trembles at the vibration of a shadow—

will any honest citizen hesitate a moment
If you get a man constantly of low character—

Here the writing ends in an incoherent but vivid demonstration of the second compelling motive for writing the "Vindication"—namely, Monroe's hatred of the man who had dared to charge Thomas Jefferson with opposing the Constitution and government of the United States. In the succeeding numbers of the debate between
“Catullus” (Hamilton) and Monroe (who used no signature), it was Monroe who won. He forced his more brilliant opponent to take cover, for the truth was on his side. In the face of a scornful challenge to reveal himself or confess an error on one charge—that Jefferson had recommended a transfer of the debt to France, to a Holland company—“Catullus” subsided into a silence that was generally accepted as a confession of defeat.

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