IN AUGUST, 1774, Augustine Prevost kissed his two young sons and his wife Susannah farewell, mounted his horse, and rode off from his rented countryseat near Lancaster. Many tedious miles of travel and much discomfort from the broiling summer sun lay ahead of him as he jogged along en route to Pittsburgh and a rendezvous with his father-in-law, George Croghan. The road he took brought back memories of the French and Indian War, for he had traveled it early in his military career while that conflict was either in progress or just over. His trip also reminded him of a more recent visit to Pittsburgh, a journey necessitated, as was the present one, by embarrassing financial problems. Like so many others, he had become enmeshed in the web of George Croghan’s unfortunate real estate speculations.

Augustine Prevost came from a Swiss military family. Born on August 29, 1744, at Geneva, he had been raised by his aunts until, at the age of thirteen, he was sent to a military school in England.1 His

1 Most of the genealogical data on the Prevost family is drawn from Vol. 16 F, Brant Manuscripts, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Donald H. Kent of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission kindly made available its microfilm of this material. See also Severo Mallet-Prevost, Historical Notes and Biographical Sketches Regarding the American Branch of the Mallet Family (New York, 1930).
future seemed bright, for England was at war with France and foreign officers were being welcomed to the British army. Shortly after Parliament had authorized the formation of ten new regiments to combat the nation’s ancient foe, it approved a bill early in 1756 establishing an additional regiment to be raised on a novel plan. According to Horace Walpole, this plan was proposed by “one Prevost, a Protestant refugee,” who advanced the idea that commissions be granted to foreign Protestants who would in large part officer four battalions of Swiss and provincials in America. Out of Prevost’s proposal was born the celebrated 60th Regiment of Foot, known until the end of the Revolution as the Royal Americans. Its connection with Pennsylvania was close, because that colony was designated as its recruiting area.\(^2\)

Walpole neglected to mention Prevost’s first name, but it was probably James, for Colonel James Prevost was given command of one of the four battalions. Others among the original officer cadre were the Colonel’s brothers, Major Augustine Prevost and Captain James Marcus Prevost. All three served in the 1st Battalion, where, two and a half years later, they were joined by yet another member of their family, Augustine, the Major’s son. On July 24, 1758, a few days after the bloody defeat at Ticonderoga, in which the 1st Battalion had been engaged, the junior Augustine Prevost was commissioned in England as ensign. He was not yet fourteen years of age.\(^3\)

When Ensign Prevost came to America is not known, but it may have been before his promotion to lieutenant on May 6, 1761, his father having previously been advanced to lieutenant colonel. Augustine’s hopes for a military career were dashed at the end of the war two years later when the 3rd and 4th Battalions of the Royal Americans were disbanded, and many officers of the 1st and 2nd Battalions, including Prevost himself, were put on inactive duty at half pay. With financial help from his father, however, young Prevost returned to duty in the spring of 1764. The method of reinstatement was simple. By paying the difference between a half-pay and a full-pay commission, he exchanged places in his battalion with another


\(^3\) For military appointments, see pertinent years of the army lists, and Nesbit Willoughby Wallace, *A Regimental Chronicle and List of Officers of the 60th, or the King’s Royal Rifle Corps* (London, 1879).
officer. Several months later, he was traveling west on the Forbes Road, evidently headed for Pittsburgh.\(^4\)

Western Pennsylvania was not to be the area in which he would see extended service, although he must have spent some months near Lancaster, where he married Susannah Croghan at St. James Episcopal Church on April 15, 1765.\(^5\) The young couple, the groom not yet twenty-one and the bride not yet fifteen, were soon on their way to his station at Albany.

Susannah had lived at Lancaster from time to time because her father, deputy Indian agent to Sir William Johnson, was almost constantly in the far western country exercising his charm on the Indians. No man was as experienced, as able, and as well liked by the western tribes as was George Croghan. It was Croghan, for instance, who was sent out to pacify Pontiac when others failed. The Indian agent was on this very mission while Augustine and Susannah enjoyed their honeymoon. Although tomahawked by the Kickapoos before he reached the Ottawa chieftain—Croghan credited his thick skull for his escape from death—this remarkable man succeeded in returning to Detroit bringing with him the now docile arch villain of the recent uprising. “Pondiac & I is on extreame good terms,” wrote Croghan, “& I am mistaken if I dont ruin his influence with his own people before I part with him.”\(^6\)

Had Croghan concentrated his energies on Indian affairs all would have been well; instead, he devoted much of his time to monumental land speculations, which were to prove his ruin. One of these ventures lay in New York, where he eventually gained control of about a quarter of a million acres, including a tract of 100,000 acres at Lake Otsego. A brilliant future for the development of this area was uppermost in Croghan’s mind when he persuaded his son-in-law to join him. Few men were capable of withstanding the Indian agent’s


\(^5\) See records of St. James Episcopal Church, Lancaster, in the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. The original marriage certificate is at the Crawford County Historical Society, Meadville, Pa.

\(^6\) Nicholas B. Wainwright, George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959), 222.
optimism, certainly not Prevost, who sold his commission in 1767 to take title to a magnificent gift from Croghan of more than 6,000 acres at the head of the lake. At the other end of Lake Otsego, site of present-day Cooperstown, Croghan was soon creating his own wilderness paradise, aptly named “Croghan’s Forest.”

And so for a time, the Prevost family lived at Lake Otsego in a one-story log house lined with rough boards. Prevost cleared upwards of eighteen acres for farming and erected a sawmill. More ambitious improvements characterized his father-in-law’s establishment at the foot of the lake, but, alas for Croghan, he had not yet paid for his New York patents, and in 1770 his credit collapsed. Little better than a bankrupt, he fled to Pittsburgh, where he was the largest landowner, although there again his titles were suspect because they were direct purchases from the Indians. Pennsylvania’s western boundary had not yet been run, and Croghan, who well knew that Pennsylvania would not recognize Indian titles, began to claim that Pennsylvania’s limits fell far short of Pittsburgh. According to him, his lands in that vicinity lay in Virginia.

With Croghan in debt, the whole foundation of Prevost’s fortune was shaken. How could he do better than to accept his father’s advice and rejoin the army? Prevost sent a messenger early in 1771 to “Croghan Hall,” his father-in-law’s plantation near Pittsburgh, to announce this determination. Later in the year, he sold his lands at Otsego to pay some debts, and moved his family to “Croghan’s Forest,” where they spent the winter of 1771–1772. Probably all four of their children were with them: Susannah, born at Quebec in 1766; two promising boys, George William Augustine, born at Schenectady in 1767, and John Augustine, who had been ushered into the world at their former Lake Otsego homestead in 1769; and, finally, the infant James Francis, born at the lake in August, 1771, and soon to die.

8 Frank W. Halsey, A Tour of Four Great Rivers (New York, 1906), 34.
10 Ibid., 207–208. Various letters written by Prevost between November, 1771, and March, 1772, were sent from “Croghan’s Forest.” See ibid., VII, 312, 315, and VIII, 426.
Although the date of Prevost's reinstatement in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Americans, now under the command of his father, was June 25, 1771, he did not give up his residence on the lake until nearly a year later, when he engaged a boat to take his family down the Mohawk River. Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent, was sorry to see the tall, agreeable young man depart, and regretful, also, to learn that the 1st Battalion had been alerted for a change of station to Jamaica.11

Leaving his wife at Elizabeth, New Jersey, where on August 28, 1772, she gave birth to Frederick, who survived but three days—the second child they lost that year—Augustine hurried to Pittsburgh. The visit was inconvenient, but Croghan had insisted on it and Prevost had to go. After all, Croghan had promised to give him the valuable "Croghan's Forest" property. Moreover, there were other business matters of importance to be discussed, not least of which were obligations entered into by Prevost on behalf of Croghan and still unpaid.12

By the latter part of 1772, the Prevosts and their two boys were settled at Kingston, Jamaica, with Augustine serving as adjutant of the battalion. Ill fortune, however, continued to haunt him. He had to send his wife back to Lancaster in the fall of 1773: news of the death of her seven-year-old daughter Susannah at Montreal had "contributed much to impair her health." With her she took her boys, whom she was to leave in Lancaster under the charge of a governess when she returned to the West Indies in the spring.13

Meanwhile, Prevost's financial problems remained unsolved. Nothing that Croghan could do succeeded in straightening out the complications in which he had involved him. It was to enable his son to see Croghan again on these matters that Colonel Prevost sent him to Pennsylvania to recruit for the battalion. The diary, which follows, tells the story of Augustine Prevost's trip.

His subsequent career merits a brief description. On leaving Croghan, whom he never saw again, at Pittsburgh in September,

11 Johnson to Croghan, June 11, 1772, Boston Public Library.
12 Augustine Prevost to Johnson, Mar. 20 and July 7, 1772, Johnson Papers, VIII, 426, 531–532.
13 Prevost to the Gratzes, Kingston, Nov. 10, 1773, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP); Robert Boyd to unnamed correspondent in Lancaster, May 25, 1774, Society Collection, HSP.
1774, when the diary ends, Augustine returned east and sailed for Kingston in November. He had recruited twenty-one men, who, he said, "are not recruits but vagabonds of deserters which I am purging the country of, & a few recruits just to take care of them." Prevost's time had run out and he was too much pressed to await the birth of his daughter Susan, an event which took place that month at Lancaster. His wife did not rejoin him for nearly a year, when she brought poor Susan with her. The baby died in Jamaica shortly after her arrival.

Thus, of the Prevost's six children, only George and Augustine survived, and for them their father was planning a conventional calling—the army. In 1775, when Augustine Prevost was promoted to captain, he was already soliciting an ensigncy for George, a robust lad of eight. The ensigncy was secured, but not until 1779 when George was nearly twelve. His younger brother John Augustine, ten years of age, was also commissioned as ensign that year. While these military careers were being launched, Susannah bore child after child, seven more between 1776 and 1789. Three of them died in infancy. Among those who grew up were two boys, James and Henry.

During the Revolution, Augustine served under his father, who achieved the rank of major general, in Florida, at the siege of Savannah, and in Charleston, where he spent several years as deputy inspector general of provincial forces and earned the rank of major. On the evacuation of Charleston in 1782, he went to New York, arriving in time to learn of Croghan's death. Since Susannah was Croghan's heir, Prevost dedicated himself to efforts at unsnarling the estate. He obtained a leave of absence and remained in America when the British army departed. Later, he resigned from the service so that he could continue his attempts to recover his father-in-law's property, which he estimated to be of enormous value. During most of the 1780's, the Prevosts lived at the lovely "Mill Grove" estate near Philadelphia—famous later as the home of John James Audubon. It was there that Susannah died on the day before Christmas, 1790.

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14 Prevost to the Gratzes, Oct. 7, 1774, and to Barnard Gratz, Nov. 22, 1774, Gratz-Croghan, I, 39, 42, HSP.
15 Memorial of Augustine Prevost, October, 1790, HSP.
16 Susannah Prevost's tombstone at St. James Protestant Episcopal Church, Evansburg, Pa., records that she died "Dec. 24, 1790. Aged 40 Years."
Prevost moved to New York, married again, and had another
dozent children, most of whom died young. As years passed, he
relinquished the pursuit of the Croghan estate to his sons, principally
to George, who had retired from the British army as a major. His
second son, John Augustine, continued in the service, reached the
rank of lieutenant colonel, and was lost at sea. His two youngest
children by Susannah, Lieutenant James and Lieutenant Henry
Prevost, were both killed in 1811, fighting in Portugal under
Wellington.

Death, in turn, came to Augustine Prevost at “Hush Hush
Farm,” his home in Greenville, New York, on January 17, 1821.
While he had not attained the distinction of his younger brother
Sir George, a lieutenant general in the British army and governor of
Canada, or of his two other half-brothers, Jones, an admiral, and Sir
William, K.C.B., who had served with such distinction in the
Peninsula War, still Augustine had led an interesting life. During his
many years of retirement, he had had ample leisure to muse over the
past. A portrait of the celebrated chief Joseph Brant hung on his
walls, a token of his close friendship in Lake Otsego days with one of
the most influential of Indians, a warrior who curiously enough
married George Croghan’s Indian daughter Catharine, and thus be-
came Prevost’s unacknowledged brother-in-law. Very likely, the old
army officer recalled his visit to the foremost of western Indian
agents in 1774. What a scene of confusion Pittsburgh had presented.
What a state of anarchy had seized the western country! It was
not that there were no laws. On the contrary, there were two sets
of them, Pennsylvania’s and Virginia’s, for both colonies claimed the
area. To recognize either authority was dangerous, faction was so
violent.

Because of his extensive western land claims, Croghan had been a
central figure in this situation. For years he had been anxiously
awaiting the establishment of a new colony, Vandalia, of which he
was to be a proprietor. This colony would encompass his lands and
guarantee their titles. But by late 1773, Croghan had begun to doubt
that the colony would ever come into being. Lord Dunmore, the
ambitious governor of Virginia, convinced that the colonial scheme
had failed, seized much of the Vandalia territory in the name of
Virginia, and also proclaimed Virginia’s authority over an area
administered by Pennsylvania—its newest and most western county, Westmoreland.

In January, 1774, Dunmore’s agent, Dr. John Connolly, a man much in Croghan’s debt, took over Fort Pitt, which had been inactivated by the British army two years before. Connolly raised the local militia in Virginia’s name; Fort Pitt became Fort Dunmore. While Pennsylvania magistrates struggled against Connolly’s measures, Croghan lent the doctor-turned-soldier his full support. In return, the appreciative Dunmore appointed Croghan senior magistrate for Virginia’s new western district.

Meanwhile, the Shawnees, irritated at the encroachment of the Virginians, turned hostile. They murdered some traders and plundered their cargoes. In retaliation, some white men attacked parties of Indians and more blood was spilled. Croghan took immediate steps to neutralize the Delawares and Mingos, but Connolly’s rash conduct did much to thwart Croghan’s efforts to preserve the peace. A wave of alarm swept the western country, and many settlers fled in panic. When Croghan joined with Pennsylvania authorities to raise a company of rangers to restore confidence, Connolly was infuriated at this invasion of his authority. Becoming increasingly arbitrary, interfering with the Indian trade, and evidently representing Croghan as the villain of all the disturbances at Pittsburgh, Connolly and his militia gang kept the frontier in a turmoil. No doubt influenced by Connolly’s representations, Dunmore turned against Croghan, and Croghan, in turn, broke with Connolly.

It was at this point that Dunmore decided that he had to chastise the Shawnees. He ordered Colonel Andrew Lewis to march a body of militia to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, or Wheeling, while Dunmore himself went to Fort Dunmore with another force which was to descend the Ohio and join Lewis.

Such was the situation in August, 1774, when Croghan wrote to Augustine Prevost urging him to come immediately to Pittsburgh. An intimate picture of subsequent events is chronicled in Prevost’s diary. Additional information follows the diary in the form of letters preserved in George Croghan’s personal papers and in a letter of

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Prevost’s, all of which are owned by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

It is interesting to note that Augustine Prevost’s death in 1821 did not bring to a close his family’s military tradition. His diary was inherited by Colonel de Teissier Prevost, whose son Major W. Prevost presented it on December 11, 1923, to the London Library, which has graciously consented to its publication.

Philadelphia

Nicholas B. Wainwright

Kingston, Jamaica

16th Apl. 1774 Embark’d on board the Nancy Capt. Hans with Mrs. Prevost, Dun. Campbell & Mr. Priddie for Philadelphia, 19th. The wind not serving to go through the keys, remd. at anchor opposite Port Royl.

17th [April] Weigh’d anchor at 4 o’clock A.M.

20th [April] Met with & spoke the brig [Sally], Capt. Hunter from Phila. 20th Sent our boat on board of him, & got a letter from Miss Connor & the children. This day judged ourselves 4 leagues off Navasa Island.

26th April 1774 This evening entered the Cape Nicha. Mole, 21st having had for three days constant strong north gales, which rocked us most prodigiously.

27th [April] Went on shore. The place or settlement here is small not containing above 200 houses or huts, all of them shops or billiard houses. Went to one Mr. Caton, an American who has been allowed to setle & to carry on trade. Heere was a French frigate of 36 guns & a prodigious number of American brigs & sloops. Saw the

18 In transcribing the diary, as well as the letters which follow it, care has been taken to preserve the spelling as found in the original manuscripts, but capitalization and punctuation have been altered to make them more readable. The Prevost diary was brought to our attention by Louis Leonard Tucker, to whom the editor is particularly indebted.

19 Capt. J. Hanse commanded the Nancy. Pennsylvania Gazette, June 1, 1774. Duncan Campbell, possibly the Capt. Duncan Campbell of the Royal Highland Emigrants who was jailed in Philadelphia in 1775, was returning to his home in Pennsylvania. Dunlap’s Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 29, 1776. Philip Priddie later sailed from Philadelphia, evidently returning to Jamaica, ahead of Prevost. Prevost to the Gratzes, Oct. 7, 1774, Gratz-Croghan, I, 39, HSP.

20 Capt. A. Hunter of the brig Sally. Pennsylvania Gazette, Apr. 6, 1774.

21 The Nancy left the Windward Channel between Cuba and Cape St. Nicolas, Haiti, to take refuge at Môle St. Nicolas, where Columbus had landed on Dec. 6, 1492.
guard, the soldiers appeared to me to be under good discipline, & very clean. The comandant, I was informed, was a chevalier the St. Louis & rank of Lt. Col., a town major, Capt. of the Port & 150 men.22

28th [April] In the evening weighd anchor again.

15 May At night had a most violent gale accompanyd with incessant flashes of lightening & loud peals of thunder.

16th [May] In the night appearance of another gale from the west & lightening which brought us to lay to upon our bear poles.


22d [May] Entrd the Delaware Bay.

24th [May] Arrived in Philadelphia where we found everybody in great confusion [illegible] by an express came from Boston soliciting the advice & assistce of the people of this province.23


26 [May] Dinned at Mr. Gratz's & sup'd with Mr. Fr. Wade.25


28th [May] Arrived there & found Geo. & Aug. in health.

7th June Took a small country house near the town, where we removed with the children.

19th [June] Mrs. Ward arrived at my house & took up their lodgings with us. She informed me that Mr. Croghan was gone to Virginia, & that he desir'd her to tell me that I should follow him there.26

22 A French fort protected this sugar port.
23 In retaliation for the Boston Tea Party of Dec. 16, 1773, Parliament ordered that the port of Boston should be closed on June 1, 1774, until the tea was paid for. On May 19, 1774, Paul Revere arrived in Philadelphia with this news and the request of the Bostonians that all trade with Great Britain be stopped until the blockade of Boston harbor was lifted. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, May 23 and 30, June 6, 1774.
24 Robert Boyd. See his letter of May 25, 1774, Society Collection, HSP.
25 Barnard and Michael Gratz, Jewish merchants of Philadelphia, had become deeply interested in western trade and land and were business agents for Croghan. Francis Wade, another of Croghan's friends, was a Philadelphia brewer who lived at the corner of Fourth and Race streets. Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 12, 1774.
26 Mrs. Ward was the wife of Croghan's half-brother, Edward Ward. Croghan had become so upset at John Connolly's behavior that in June, 1774, he left for Williamsburg to complain to Dunmore. The settlers, however, interpreted his trip as a sign that an Indian war was about to break out, and Croghan in order to disabuse them of this fear returned to his plantation on the Allegheny near Pittsburgh. Arthur St. Clair to John Penn, June 16, 1774, Pennsylvania Archives IV, 520; letter from Fort Pitt, June 19, 1774, Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, July 11, 1774.
25th June  Left my house in company with Mr. Priddie to proceed in our way to Williamsbourgh. Previous to our departure, I dined the 20th with Mr. Tea, the chief judge of the circuit courts in Pensilvania, who informed me that he did not doubt of the Provinces taking part & defraying the expenses already incured in the defence & protection of the back inhabitants & that powder & ball had been orderd up at Capt Sent Clairs request.

27 [June] Arrived in Baltimore in Maryld where I saw Mrs. Ralfe & some more friends. I found this to be a pleasant and agreeable town bidding fair to increase, trade flourishing, etc., a good markett, & a great number of whores. Left this in the evening in a pilot boat which we had hired for 9 pistoles to carry us down to Williamsburgh in Virginia. [Some notes on rates of currency exchange follow.]

28th [June] In the afternoon, I landed at Anapolis 30 miles from Balt. This is the seat or residence of the Lt. Govr. & chief courts of justice. Here we found but little trade, only one snow in ye harbour. The most of the building seem large & well built, of brick. The streets must be very dirty in bad weather as they are not paved. We went to the coffee house where we saw but few people & those very warm in a debate about the situation of the Bostonians.

We left this about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 29th with a strong gale against us, stormy & rain, thunder & high winds, which obliged us to shelter ourself under an island called . Here we catched a great number of crabs. I never had a more disagreeable voyage, my friend traveller Doctor Priddie having the evening of our departure from Baltimore been taken sudenly with vomiting & purging which made him think & say frequently that it was a colore morbus. I thought it him very bad, & wanted to put back but our skipper would not, nor indeed was there a possibility as there was no wind. Towards morning he was better, slept little, and all this time confind in a little stinking cabbin of 7 feet long & 3 broad in the clear, which was hardly sufficient for our portmanteaus and

27 Richard Tea.
28 Arthur St. Clair (1736-1818), a former British army lieutenant, was a large property owner in western Pennsylvania and acted as an agent for the Penns in those parts. A major general during the Revolution, he had the misfortune later to command an American army which was decisively defeated by the Indians in 1791.
29 Perhaps the wife of James Ralfe, who had been a lieutenant in the Royal Americans.
30 A snow was a small sailing vessel resembling a brig.
sadle baggs. The Doctor's constant purging, his being delirious, very fractious, made it very uncomfortable. The next day he was better, but in the evening was troubled with a prodigious pain in one of his feet, occasioned by the wearing of a very tight Jimy pair of boots. The pain was so excessive that he was obliged to take 30 drops of laudanum, which procurd him a little sleep. The next day, the want of a dish tea & coffee put him a little out of humour.

30th June Weighed anchor. Contrary winds, but our boat being an excelent sailor got near fifty miles, made the Doctr a dish of coffee, & proceeded, & about ten at night, it suddenly lightend & thunderd, which brought on a fair northerly wind, which however was so strong as to oblige us to hawl down all our sails except the foresail reefd. Could not get any sleep all the night. About morning we found ourselves near 30 miles on the opposite side of the bay, & reckond we had runed our distance if not beyond it. The sky's lookd angry and a strong tumbling sea, however our little boat crossed that distance in less than 3 hours. Both my fellow traveller & myself where under prodigious trepidation. We got in a fine river, which our pilot took to be York River. We touched ground, whered about & got into deeper water. A little further we spoke to a small shalloop who informed us that we were in Piankintin River or Milford Haven R. which was a prodigious disapointmt., as we might in the time we took up to cross the bay & to search the channel of this river have got to York Town 30 miles farther. We imedy. tacked about, but getting out run ourselves aground just at the time the tide was spent, which would have left us there a long time, but fortunately the boat we had spoke to came to our assistance & got us off by removing some of the ballast. My fellow traveller & his squire got a logerhead, fretted himself hungry, eat some [illegible] & milk, then turned in to his bed where at present he is snoaring happy dreams to him.

1st of July Enterd the River York, but having but little wind we did not get up to the town before 11 o'clock. Dinned heere. The

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31 In sailing down the Chesapeake Bay, Prevost's boat had been blown over to the far shore and had to cross the bay to reach the mouth of the York River. It had not, however, quite "runed" its distance.

32 Piankatank River lies between the Rappahannock and York rivers. Milford Haven is just south of the Piankatank.
place is smal & of little consequence. After diner hired 3 horses wh. caryd us to Williamsburgh where we arived about five o’clock. The appearance of the houses tho chiefly of wood & boards make a neat pretty appearance. The capitol is a large building where the statue of their late beloved Govr. is erected of marble, Lord Botetourt, and where the Assembly & Council meet. There is a court besides for the town.

The next moring., 2 July, waited on the Earl of Dunmore, the Governor, who received me very politely, asked me to dinner. His palace is a comodious building tho not ellegant, with a cupilloe on the top. I went to see the College, the Bedlam house, all worth the attention of a stranger.

4th July Dinned with his Lordship. His Lady is a most agreable pretty woman, has a large family, two of her daughters being 11 & 12 years of age. Lady Catherine, the eldest, sings & plays extreemely well on the harpsicord & sticado. The youngest also plays well. My Lady was very agreable & afable. His Lordship is I believe a consumate rake & does not pay that attention to his Lady that she seems to deserve. She is extreemely jealous I am told of a young lady, whom it is reported was very dear to him previous to her Ladyship’s arrival & the scandalous chronicle says his Lordship is very great there still.

5th [July] Dinned with the Attorney Genl., who bears a most estimable good character from his generous & hospitable disposition.

33 Lord Botetourt was governor of Virginia from 1768 until his death in 1770. “His administration was, on the whole, so beneficent that, after his death, a marble statue was erected in his honor. This still stands in the quadrangle of the College of William and Mary.” Dictionary of American Biography, II, 468.

34 John Murray, Earl of Dunmore (1732–1809), governor of Virginia.

35 The governor’s palace was built between 1706–1720, with a rear wing added in 1749–1751. Destroyed by fire in 1781, it was rebuilt in 1931–1933. In the 1770’s the palace was considered out of date architecturally. Thomas Jefferson agreed with Prevost’s opinion about it, writing: “The Palace is not handsome without: but it is spacious and commodious within, is prettily situated, and, with the grounds annexed to it is capable of being made an elegant seat.” Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (Paris, 1784–1785), 280.

36 “The only public buildings worthy mention [in Virginia] are the Capitol, the Palace, the College [of William and Mary] and the Hospital for Lunatics, all of them in Williamsburg . . . The College and Hospital are rude mis-shapen piles which, but that they have roofs, would be taken for brick-kilns.” Ibid., 280–281.

37 Sticcado, a kind of xylophone.
He has two daughters who are the two greatest beauties in America.\(^{38}\) The youngest sings to admiration, & the oldest plays on the harpsichord & guitar in a masterly manner. In the evening went to the Lodge, where the Speaker of the House of Assembly presided.\(^{39}\) Saw Mr. Priddee. Passed & received.\(^{40}\) They seem to carry on the work of the Lodge with decency & fervor, tho a little remiss in their observations of material things. They treated us with a supper where the evening was spent in mirth.

6th [July] In consequence of a promise made to Capt. Montegue, Comr. of the Foix man of warr,\(^{41}\) we went in company with the Miss Randolphs & their father to breakfast on board. We had 4 miles to ride, the ship laying in James River. We were elegantly entertained, left the ship at 10 o'clock, parted with the ladys, & arrived at York about noon, where we prepared for our return.

The Virginians from this specimen appear to me to be a generous, genteel, & hospitable sett of people. Scarcely during our whole stay in the province we did not hear of any politics nor any undecent reflections upon King or Government.

7th [July] Mett with a prodigious squall from the N. West, butt by the prudence of our skipper wethered it without any danger, tho I expected the boat would have been blown out of the water. It lasted about one hour, then the sky grew serene. We got into Annapolis in the night & breakfasted the 8th in that town. Got to Baltimore in the evening.

9th [July] Left that town at 4 o'clock in ye afternoon. Was accompany'd by Mr. Saunderson\(^{42}\) which happen'd luckily enough as my fellow traveller Mr. Priddie happen'd to be in a very pensive mood at the stage. Having got there before him, & having united

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\(^{38}\) John Randolph (1727 or 1728–1784), later a reluctant Tory, was attorney general and father of the two famous beauties, Susanna and Ariana.

\(^{39}\) Peyton Randolph (1721-1775), brother of John, had been speaker of the House of Burgesses since 1766 and was the most popular leader in Virginia in the decade before the Revolution. In 1774, he was made provincial grand master of the Masonic Order in Williamsburg.

\(^{40}\) Prevost, a Mason, had to pass an examination before being received by the Williamsburg Lodge.

\(^{41}\) Capt. George Montague of the *Fowey*. Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index, 1736–1780* (Williamsburg, Va., 1950), II, 776. It was to the *Fowey* that Dunmore and his family fled in June, 1775, to escape the tide of Revolution.

\(^{42}\) Probably William Saunderson returning to his home in Sherman's Valley, Cumberland Co. Provincial Delegates, I, 63, HSP.
to order coffee, put him in a very fractious humour, at which I took no notice of which did not a little vex the poor man.

Slept at one Mr. Rogers, a private gentlemen's house, where I was taken very ill with the disentery.


11th [July] Got to Lancaster at 12 o'clock where I found my family in health, 2 letters from Mr. Croghan & one from C. P.________t.43

N. B. Heere is a lapse of six weeks which I spent with my little family.44

25th August 1774 Left Lancaster in consequence of letters from Colo. Croghan to proceed to Pittsburgh. Slept at B. Hughes' old place.45


27th [August] Stay'd heere all this day.

28th [August] Left Carlisle in company with Mrs Sample47 & slept at Shippensburgh.


43 Col. Augustine Prevost.

44 During this time, Prevost learned of the death of Sir William Johnson, which occurred on July 11, 1774. Prevost sent a messenger with this news to Croghan. There were those who thought Croghan had a slight chance of succeeding Johnson as Indian superintendent. Michael Gratz to Barnard Gratz, Aug. 5, 1774, property of Edwin Wolf 2nd.

45 Barnabas Hughes, a former Indian trader who had moved to Baltimore, once lived about midway on the road between Lancaster and Harris' Ferry. The location is marked on Nicholas Scull's *Map of the improved Part of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1759).

46 Croghan's half-brother Edward Ward had been in turn an Indian trader, a provincial soldier, an Indian agent, and a land speculator. His wife was Hannah Sample, a sister of Samuel Sample, who owned the tavern at Pittsburgh. Margaret Pearson Bothwell, "Edward Ward—Trail Blazing Pioneer," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XLIII (1960), 102.

47 Mrs. Samuel Sample of Pittsburgh.

48 "Litletown" was the site of former Fort Lyttelton built by Pennsylvania authorities early in 1756 and garrisoned by provincial and regular troops until 1760. In 1764, it was described as "deserted and in ruins." William A. Hunter, *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1755* (Harrisburg, 1960), 410. The tavern in Path Valley where Prevost dined was kept by Francis Elliot near the present location of Fannettsburg. The road from Shippensburgh to Lyttelton, crossing the mountains just west of Upper Strasburg at Cesna's Gap, was a new one, the Three Mountain Road, today's State Route 533. For assistance in identifying Elliot and Cesna's Gap, the editor thanks Dr. John V. Miller of Dillsburg, Pa.
31st [August] Laid by at this place part of the day to rest & on acct. of the great heat, which this & the two foregoing days was excessive. Yesterday met Capt. Thompson with Cayashutta, the Indian Mingo chief at the top of the Sidling Hill, the latter on his way to Coll. Guy Johnson relative to the present disturbances to the westward. Slept at the foot of the Alegany, 13 miles from Bedford. The house was newly erected—no flour—occupied by a young fellow & his sister, a likely hussey of 18 years of age. Our company, Mr. Elliot, Mr. McKinney, the surveyor, & a pack horse driver, besides two or three families moving back to their abandon’d settlements near Pittsburgh. There was in one room two beds. Mrs. Sample took one—about 2 feet from hers was myne & Mr. McKinney’s—the pack horse man slept on the flour in the same room. Mr. Elliot disposed of himself to the best advantage. The families removing where in the other room. Thus we where desposed of at bed time.

The candle was no sooner out than we where assailed by a legion of Fleas. I had kept on my leather breeches. They got into them & tormented me in such a manner as to occasion my making several plaintive exclamations. Mrs. Sample groaned, my bedfellow cursed & scratched by turns, all which did not a little render it uncomfortable. After two hours spent thus, the ratling of the partition, the short breathing of some busy couple so near us, I must allow added much to my already disagreeable situation. I dont know how Mrs. Sample felt, but it is easily supposed as she had been kept awake by the same incidents. More noise, a young child bawling & crying. Damn you, says a female voice, you have trod upon the baby—come be quiet & let me alone or I will awake my husband. [Next six lines heavily

49 Capt. William Thompson, Indian trader, land speculator, and a magistrate of Westmoreland Co.
50 Cayashutta, Guyashuta, Kiasuta, etc. This Seneca chief exercised the most influence of any Indian in the Ohio country in 1774. He was on the closest terms with Croghan.
51 Guy Johnson (c. 1740-1788) was a nephew of Sir William Johnson, one of his deputies from 1762, and his successor as Indian superintendent in 1774.
52 In May, 1774, many settlers fled Pennsylvania's western borders in fear of an Indian war. "Elliot" was evidently the young Indian trader of that name who had recently left Philadelphia to return to Pittsburgh. He was probably Matthew Elliott. Penn to St. Clair, Aug. 6, 1774, Colonial Records, X, 203. "McKinney, the surveyor" was presumably Robert McKenzie.
When I lent him such stroke with my elbow as made him yell out—holo what's matter—nothing but a cursed flee's biting me—such was the night spent without my closing my eyes. Fleed by the flees etc, etc.

1st September Got to Ligonier was detained there by rain till the 2d at 12 o'clock. Reached Hannastown, 20 miles from Ligonier.

3rd Sepr. Reached Mr. Croghan's house three milles above Pittsburgh situated on the Alligany River. I found him laid up with the gout & reumathism. One Capt. White Eyes was with him, a Delaware chief. My Lord Dunmore was expected hourly. A few days ago two or three Virginia militia fired upon three Delaware Indians returning from the town to Mr. Croghan's unarmed, killed two & the other gott off. Runing along he mett two woman & some children. He immediately took up a piece of wood, intending to dash their brains out, but changed his mind saying they had done him no harm & why should he hurt them. Then proceeded to Colo. Croghan fences where he swam across the river.

Major McDonald, an officer in the Virginia service, hapening to be there, he imedy. offerd a reward of 50£ for aprehending the offend-ers. They are suspected but the want of discipline among such a sett of lawless vagabonds renders it impracticable to secure them as him or them would be imedy. rescued. Through Colo. Cro. means, they are intended to wait the arrival of his Lord---p before they retaliate upon the white poeple, which is a happy circumstance.

Hannastown, named for Robert Hanna, was located on the Forbes Road about thirty miles east of Pittsburgh. It was the first county seat and the point where English courts of justice were first established west of the Alleghenies. Charles A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (New York, 1911), I, 286.

White Eyes (Grey Eyes) was a prominent Delaware chief appointed by his tribe in May to stay with Croghan to find out what the white people intended to do about a war with the Shawnees.

The Delawares were "massacred on their way from this place [Pittsburgh] to Mr. Croghan's, in cool blood by notorious villains that premeditated the matter before hand, and stationed themselves behind brush near the roadside." Aeneas Mackay to St. Clair, Sept. 4, 1774, William Henry Smith, ed., The St. Clair Papers (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1882), I, 343.

Maj. Angus McDonald (c. 1727-1779), a man of strong personality and a rigid disciplinarian, had arrived just before the murder with a small party escorting supplies for Dunmore's expedition against the Shawnees. Ibid.; Reuben Gold Thwaites and Louisa Phelps Kellogg, Documentary History of Dunmore's War (Madison, Wis., 1905), 152, hereinafter cited as Dunmore's War.
4th Sepr. This day Capt. McKee & Messrs Ross & Smallman came to dine with me, the Colo. a little better & sat at the table.

5th Sepr. I went to the town. I alighted at Mr. Sample's. They imedy. made Major Conoly & wife acquainted with my being there. They soon after made their appearance. Our meeting seemed very sincere & friendly, & not wi[th]standing the many accounts I had heard to his prejudice, I could not help to wish that he might be wronged, but in a few hours after was soon convinced of his little worth, & that he was capable of doing what he was accused of. Capt. White Eyes went in with me. Soon after he was cautioned to be gone & to take care of himself & the young fellow along with him. This made me very uneasy as well as the traders his friends. They aplyd to Conoly who imdey. orderd a party to go & scout the road between the fort & Mr. Croghan's, after which White Eyes & the young Indian went away. I was myself accompd. part of the way by Messrs McKee & Ross. When I arreved, I found the whole familey in confusion. Some of the poeple had seen the party mentd. above, & suspecting they were in quest of the Indians at the Colo.'s, they had given the allarm, but which I soon quieted by informing them of what had been donne by the Comandant.

6th September Yesterday, Conoly informed me that he had left my L_d at the Big Meadows, that he would be in aboutt 6 days, if nothing unforseen should prevent him, that he had between 3 and 400 men along with him besides 12 waggons, but no money.

The troops under the comand of Conoly are in the Fort, but such lawless villains there never was the like. Both offrs. & men are poeple of the most infamous and abandonned characters, & I doubt much

57 Alexander McKee, formerly an assistant to Croghan, had been appointed deputy agent on Croghan's retirement in 1771. In general, however, the Indians continued to look to Croghan rather than McKee, who subsequently fled to Detroit and acted in the British interest.

58 Alexander Ross had formerly been a partner in the Indian trade with McKee, and was probably still quietly involved with him in that business.

59 Thomas Smallman was a cousin of Croghan's and his business associate at this time in the Indian trade. Most of their hides and furs were sold to Joseph Simon in Lancaster.

60 Connolly had married Sample's sister Susanna, known as Sukey, a woman of violent temper.

61 The Great Meadows on the Cumberland Road, ten miles east of present Uniontown, Pa., site of Fort Necessity and Washington's capitulation to the French in 1754.
if my Lord will not have more trouble to manage them or to disperse them then he thinks of, but that's his business, tho I apprehend much that the poor inhabitants will suffer most.

This day spent mostly in gunning & walking.

7th [September] This day I propose entering upon business. Prevented by Mr C_____’s indisposition. He is a great deal better. Yesterday made me a present of a handsome French fusee mounted with silver, but I am at a loss how to carry it down. Just arrived McKee & his two mess mates. They dinned here & made ourselves very jolly with tody only. This prevented my mentg. business. The Colo. staid in his own hutt. He seemed a good deal displeased at McK. & Sm____n on account of their great indolence, at the last especially. I was invited to dine the next day with them at the redoubt. This evening came some messengers from the Shawanese to Mr. Croghan & McKee.

I came to the resolution of staying heere till the arrival of his Lords____p, for I by no means think Mr. Cro____ safe from the malignity of the poeple under Conoly.

8th Sepr. [Eight lines crossed out] I hope on my return to have something worth entering, till then I refer it. This afternoon Mr. Cro____n’s clerk returned from Philada. He brought me a large bundle of letters from Jamaica, & from the country. I heard no news at the town except that L____d Dunm____ was expected tomorrow, & that several of the gentlemen intended to go & meet him.

I was given to understand that matters now where drawing to a chrisys, that the Indians where all exceedingly allarmed, that a party of Mingos where now out 14 days in order to strike somewheres; but God knows where, perhaps this place, or perhaps some poor innocent familys nigh to this. I wish myself & my worthy friend well out of this infamous nest of cutthroat, for he runs more risks of his life from these ruffians & plunderers then from the natives, a number of whom are constantly about his house living & supported by his generosity.

62 The word “fuses” was an English corruption of the French word fusil, both being pronounced the same and signifying a light flintlock musket or rifle.
63 McKee had been remiss in his reports to Sir William Johnson. As for Smallman, Croghan had supported him in more than one business endeavor without achieving much success.
64 John Campbell.
I was sorry to find that Mrs. [ ] bore the character of a_______, that one S. G. was supposed to be much in her good graces. Lord what infamy, further that he expected much from her intimacy with ________.

She has a sister whose apartts. where contiguous. This ________ is at present abroad, but [h]as permitted her husband's vagrant crew to take possession of one [of] the rooms, never removing her sisters affects. She has another with whom she appears to be more gracious. She keeps a ________ and has the reputation of having her [word crossed out] under good disposition.

The Major talks of taking a sea trip in the fall. I believe there will be a necessity for it as his safety will greatly depend on his absconding as soon as matters are likely to be terminated.

9th Sepr. Mr. C. communicated to me his letters from Messrs. Thoms. & Saml. Wharton, wherein it is beyond doubt but that matters must be terminated this fall. He likewise shewed me a deposition made by one ________ Cook of his having been tampered with to go & assist to kill Colo. Cro_______ & the Indians about him. Such villainys I never heard of before.

He likewise assured me that my place at Otsego Lake should be reserved & not be sold, that he had given positive orders to Barnd. Gratz about it. If he can adjust his affairs so as to unincumber that patent, I sett that tract of myne to be worth £3,000 Y. curcy. but there are many events that may clip this fair expectation on account

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65 Evidently, Prevost refers to Mrs. Connolly, whose marriage with John Connolly was soon to break up.

66 Probably Simon Girty, Indian trader and interpreter. During the Revolution, Girty, a Tory, earned the name of the White Indian for leading war parties against the settlements.

67 The sister may have been Mrs. Edward Ward, then at Carlisle. When the British evacuated Fort Pitt, Ward took possession and occupied the fort until Connolly and his Virginia militia moved in. "Deposition of Major Ward," Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Documents, 1652-1781 (Richmond, Va., 1875), I, 277-278.

68 Croghan believed that Connolly kept trouble brewing as the only means he had of maintaining himself in power. Croghan to St. Clair, June 4, 1774, St. Clair Papers, I, 303. Connolly disbanded the Fort Dunmore garrison in June, 1775, and left Pittsburgh. In November, 1775, he was thrown into jail for his Tory activities.

69 The matters to be terminated were those of the ill-fated colony of Vandalia, of which Croghan was a proprietor and on which his fortunes hung. The brothers Thomas Wharton (in Philadelphia) and Samuel Wharton (in London) kept him informed of Vandalia's progress in letters preserved among Croghan's papers. Cadwalader Collection, HSP.

70 New York currency.
of the delays with respect to the new province, upon which all de-
pends, & the many risks he runs by living at this place.

10th Sepr No governor as yett arrived. I am very solicitous
to be gonne as my stay heere will not avail or any sooner procure my
[sentence unfinished].

This evening the G_____r arrived in three small canoes down the
Monongehela. Went to the Fort where Con____ had prepard him
appartments. His coming in this maner totaly disapointed the poor
Com____d____t, who had with vast pain & labour introduced a new
mode & sistem of dissipline amongst his veterans, and had intended
to receive his L____p with all the pomp etc imaginable. The
centry at the gate, I am told, upon seeing him come layd by his rifle
went up to his L____p, & with his hatt off welcomed him heartily,
which made my L____d laugh heartily. The whole of his evening was
spent tete a tete with the Com____d____t, the result of which con-
versation was, I am assured, visible in his countenance the next day.71

11th [September] This morning I spent in gunning. Mr.
Cr____n dined at the upper house, was very agreable & talkative.
Him & I being left alone, he took occasion to talk of the necessity of
my not hurying back. I showed him my father’s letters wherein he
urges my speedy return even as I valued my interest in the Regi-
ment. We farther talkd of the Otsego matters. He talked of fixing
that matter, writting to B. G[rat]z on the occasion. In short said
every thing I could expect relative to his & myne affairs. Approved
much of my removing my family to Elizth. Town in the Jerseys,
etc., etc.

This instant the Depy Agent of Indn Affairs72 & Mr. Ross are
come from the Fort. They seem to think that C____y has so farr
succeeded with his L____p as to lead him to adopt his measures
& ways of thinking with respect to the Shawnese, that that nation
had a long time since maltreated the Virginians, that the latter had
never scourged them for it, & that now he was come with the troops
of that Province to chastise them. The Dy. Agt. acquainted him that
there where deputys from the Delawarres, Mingos, & Six Nations
come to intercede in behalf of the Shawnese.

71 Considerable drinking seems to have accompanied this conversation.
72 Alexander McKee.
It's expected his L——p will pay some regard to this. His L——p this day has issued a proclamation by beat of the drum, offering 100£ reward for apprehending the perpetrators, or their associates, of the murder committed lately on those two Delawarres already mentd. & requiring everyone that knew any thing relative to that catastrophe to appear the next day at 10 o'clock to give their information etc. His L——p intends proceeding down the River. He has orderd some troops that he expects to build cannoes, with which he proposes going against the Shawnese.

Methinks his L——p scheme & plans of operations are very like those of a novice, & of a man that is ignorant of the matter [he] is upon. He has no store either of provisions, amunition, or, what is worse, money, & the House of Burgess are very unwilling to grant him any. His own salary is not sufficient to defray such a burthen of expences. A few individual trader[s] have indeed undertaken to pay off his soldiers & offrs. with goods out of their stores, provided they might charge a large, very large, advance such as 300 pr. ct. What can be the result of such measures?

He has sent the Dy. Agt. to the deputys Indians incamped on the opposite side of the Aligany at this place to let them know he wanted to see them tomorrow. They require some time to deliberate on such a message, as they are, or I do not altogether think it safe so to do, where there is such a banditti about him.

At Mr. Cro——n's request I propose paying my respects to his L——p tomorow morning, otherwise I would willingly have been excused of doing it as Mr. Cro——n & him are upon bad terms. I am invited to dinne at the Dy. Agents where his L——p is to be.

Mr. Cr——n, I observe, was very severe upon M[c]K[ee] upon his great indolence in not asking with proper spirit, & as became the dutys of his office & the honor of the Department, and more especially the generall good of his country.

12th Sepr. 1774 I waited on his Lordship. He received me very civilly tho not I believe very cordially. After some indiff. conversa- tion & my telling him that the poeple of the country seemed very happy at his L——p's arrival as they hoped to see peace & tranquility restored in this part of the country, he then told me that with respect to Indian matters those would be easily accomodated, but that the other troubles fomentted by a parcel of bad poeple
1961 TURMOIL AT PITTSBURGH

where not likely to be so soon adjusted. I understood he meant the disputes between the two Provinces.

The Commandant was empld. in holding a court of inquiry upon one Mr. Butler,\(^73\) a trader confined for 14 days upon pretence that he was carrying goods (which where seized) to the enemy—all a pretence for they knew well it was intended for the new lay’d out town called the Kitaning, about 30 miles above Pittsburgh.\(^74\)

Imediately after followed the examination relative to the murder above related, but notwithstanding almost facts of proof etc yet nothing was made of it, & his L____p thinks that it was comitted by Pensilvanians as a stroke of policy in order to throw the odium upon the Virginians.

I dined with his L____p & Colo. Steevens, a gentleman who had accompanyd him & who had seen some service during last war who bears a worthy good character.\(^75\) Prior to my going to dinner I had got Mr. Conoly upon my hands. Therefore caryd him to Samples Tavern & call’d for a bowl of toddy, & then enterd upon conversation, viz:

P. But Major how comes it that you and the Colo. are upon such unsociable terms as the world says you have received favours of him.\(^76\)

Coy. I tell you what Mr. P. I have known the Colo. a long time. I am acquainted extremely well with his disposition. I have waited on him twice in the begining of these broils, but he has taken such an antipathy against me and even strived to ruin me & my character by writting & accusing me of a num-

\(^73\) Richard Butler (1743–1791), one of the principal traders at Pittsburgh, a man strong in the Pennsylvania interest, was confined for "attempting to carry on an unlawful correspond-ence and trade with the enemy," a trumped-up charge. *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV, 573. During the Revolution he attained the rank of general.

\(^74\) In July, 1774, when Croghan realized that Connolly intended virtually to stop the Pennsylvania Indian trade at Pittsburgh, Croghan recommended that a new trading town be laid out at Kittanning, today the county seat of Armstrong Co. Gov. Penn approved this plan on Aug. 6, 1774. *St. Clair Papers*, I, 326, 341; *Colonial Records*, X, 202.

\(^75\) Adam Stephen (c. 1730–1791) commanded a Virginia regiment in 1759 which served in the Pittsburgh area. A major general during the Revolution, he was held responsible for a blunder at the Battle of Germantown and was dismissed from the service.

\(^76\) The favors, at least in part, were financial, with Croghan saving Connolly from a debtor's jail. John Baynton to Croghan, May 12 and June 25, 1770, Cadwalader Collection, and Prevost to the Gratzes, Aug. 26, 1792, Gratz-Croghan, II, 59, HSP.
ber of crimes that I thought it was high time for me to break off with a man who aimed at my very vitals.

P. But Major, where have you received your information? Phaps. some malicious designing people have acted between you, but supposing the whole to be as you have represented it. You must certainly have given him some reasons, otherwise he never could have acted towards you the part he has. As you cannot have forgott how often he has relieved yr. necess- sities, advised you as if you had been a relation. You yourself have confess'd all this. If so, should you not have put up with a little infirmity & perhaps a little ill nature from so worthy & generous a man bended down at this time by the vissicitudes of the world, and the painfull sufrance of the most acute disorders. Consider that, Major, & tell me candidely wheter your conscience does not reproach you for having been so precipitate in aspersing & misrepresenting his character to his L______p

Cony. That I deny, I never did.78

P. Well then, Major, dont you think that you would have some merit in healing the apparent breech that seem to subsist between them, as the world say heere that you have a great influence over him.

In short, it was agreed that he would consider upon it, & give me an answer, & further told me that supposing that he should come to the house & Mr. Croghan should be still refractory & perhaps abuse him. I stopt him heere & pledged him my honor I should attend to this circumstance, & prepare the Colo. for his reception in such a manner as to have no reason to complain. So much for that matter.

After dinner we went to the Govr. room where the Indians where assembled to speak to his L______p. Capt. White Eyes in behalf of

77 Thus, Connolly was not a relative of Croghan's. Washington has confused historians by referring to Connolly as Croghan's nephew. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington (Boston, 1925), I, 447.

78 Despite this denial, it is doubtful that Connolly spared Croghan in his letters to Dunmore. On learning that Croghan planned to visit Williamsburg, Connolly wrote to Washington on June 7, 1774: "You must well know how specious he is, but you may be assured that his business there is not for the publick good, but to answer private & ungenerous designs." Stanislaus Murray Hamilton, ed., Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers (Boston, 1898), V, 8–9.
himself & King Custalogue & the several other nations, comple-
minted him upon his arrivl, in these troublesome times, that their
hearts, & their wives & children where once more rejoiced to see the
great man of Virginia & the older bro[ther] of the other provinces,
that they now hopped & wanted to assist him in healing up the
breach that had been made in the chain of friendship by some rash
young poeple of both partys, that they where the few remainder
sachem or chiefs of the former numerous number of chiefs of the
Delawarres, etc., etc.79

The Govr was much pleasd. with their speechs & promisd. an ansr.
This day Capt. St. Clair arrived from the Kitaning, & proposed
having a conference with the Govr. of V____a, & in behalf of the
Gov____r of Pens____a80 was to demand one of his L____p’s
offrs. who had comitted a murder upon the body of a Delawarre
Indn. & for which there is a procla[m]ion offering 50£ as a reward
to apprehend him. St. Clair is lookd upon to be a clear sighted sensible
man, much in the interest of the Proprietors, & upon good terms with
the Colo.

13th Septr Was prevented going to town this morning by rain.
Wrote yesterday to Mrs. P. by Mr. O’Hara.81

14th Sepr 1774 This day went to town. I alighted at Samples—
sent word to Conoly that I was come. I had much at heart a recon-
ciliation between Mr. Croghan & his Lordship. Mr. Conoly imedy.
came to me. We again had the former subject upon the carpett. He
agreed to go in imedy. into the Fort & to speak to his L____p. He
shortly after that returned. Told me that he had acknowledged to
my L_d, that as he had received many obligations from Mr. Crog.
that it gave him vast deal of uneasiness to find that he was looked
upon to be the author of the enimity subsisting between his Lords____p
& Mr Cro. Begd of the former that if the causes of complaint he had
against Mr. Cro. could admit of a reconciliation between them that
he humbly begd his Lords____p to agree to an interview. His L____p

79 Custaloga was chief of the Wolf Tribe of the Delaware Nation. His town was located near
French Creek, about sixteen miles above Venango. For White Eyes’ speech, see Peter Force,
80 Gov. John Penn (1729-1795), a grandson of William Penn.
81 James O’Hara, a Pittsburgh trader who operated in the Shawnee towns on the Scioto
River.
gave him to understand that he would be glad to see Mr. P. oftener. Asked if he was come to town, & that he would be extremely happy to converse with me on the subject.

Maj. Conoly imedy. waited on me with these tidings. I instantly went to his L______p, who received me very politely and as soon as we were left alone I imedy. enterd upon my business. I told him I was exceedingly sorry to find that Mr. C. had had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure that it was to be supposed some malicious person had misrepresented his conduct. “Oh Lord, not at all,” says my L____d. “I have it from undoubted authority that he has slanderd as far as he had it in his power my private character, saying that prior to my getting this Gov____t I had been a bankrupt, etc, etc, that the warrants I had granted, etc, where not legal nor where they worth a sixpence, etc, etc, that I had occasiond all this broil between the Indians & the colonys in order to serve as a tool or the purpose of ministry. That he has strove to sett the Shawnese upon the backs of the Virginians by his insiduous & dangerous speeches—in short that he is the sole author & sole cause of all their present disturbances, & that he had deny’d the jurisdiction of the Provce. of Virginia tho apointed the chief or first magistrate\textsuperscript{82} in these parts, & that he had constantly acted a duplicate part throughout the whole tenor of his conduct, & that this confirm’d what Conoly should have said on his own acct., etc, etc.”

I then expressed my astonishment at what I heard. Assured his L______p that I was persuaded that if Colo. C. had an interview with him that he could easily vindicate his conduct and exculpate himself of those injurious accusations. “It’s not possible,” he imedy. reply’d. “It is disagreable Mr. P. to tell you all I know & my sentimts. of his behaviour as you are relations, but this I will tell you that you may & have my liberty to make use of what I have said.” “My Lord,” I reply’d, “it is needless since you will not give him an oppor-tunity of refuting the charges you aledge against him.” “Well then, I’ll tell you what, let him through you or in writting deny or exculpate himself from any of the already mentd. accusation & then I can have

\textsuperscript{82} Croghan’s name headed the list of magistrates appointed for the new district of Virginia’s Augusta Co. on Mar. 15, 1774. Lyman Chalkley, \textit{Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia} (Rosslyn, Va., 1912), I, 177. For Croghan’s acceptance of this position, see his letter to Dunmore, Apr. 9, 1774, which follows on pages 144–146.
no objection to seeing a gentleman that is desirous of acquitting himself of so many complicated malpractices.” He prior to this, & after mentiond his having been happy in his compy., his having received even civillitys from Mr. C. two years ago, etc, etc.

My L_d insisted on my dining with him this day. I objected by reason of my wanting to communicate our confabulation to Mr. C., who consented to write to him, wherein he just acquaints him of my information, that the whole is groundless & injurious, that he is ready to convince his L____p of the falsity, etc, as soon as he appoints an interview. I returned with this; gave it to his L____p. Dined with him & Colo. Steevens & his Major Domo. After dinner, receiv'd his ansr. in writting, acquainting Mr. C. that he would be glad when his time would permit him to hear him exculpate himself of the diff't. accusations exhibited against him. Agreed with Maj. Conoly that he should the next morning make the first advance in his behalf by waiting on Colo. Croghan.

Yesterday, Mr. Butler, the trader in confinement as already mentd. was try'd, or rather examined, when nothing criminal could be found against him they remanded him back to his prison untill his L____p could be informed of their proceedings. They all seemed to apprehend the consequence of his inlargement, but my L_d was not long at a loss how to extricate them out of this dilema, which showd his superior sagacity & the profound knowledge of his understanding. He orderd the culprit to be told that as soon as he would give suficient security that he would never prosecute his oppressors that he should imedy. be released.

Yesterday also Capt. St. Clair waited on his L____p, whom he happend to meet on the parade, presented him with a packett from Gov____r Pen with which my L_d retir'd without any further ceremony on either side. Such rudness to a country[ma]n! Hear it ye manes of my ren[owne]d ancestors, and judge of the indignity.

15th Sepr. This morning, Majr. C____y came. Breakfasted with me, had a little explanation with the Colo., acquaints us that his

83 Dunmore must have called at “Croghan Hall” during his visit to Pittsburgh in the summer of 1773. “Lord Dunmore hath done us the honor of a visit.” Connolly to Washington, Pittsburgh, Aug. 29, 1773, Letters to Washington . . . , IV, 253.

84 See Croghan's letter of Sept. 15, 1774, to Dunmore, which follows on page 158-159. The date of this letter is in error; it was written on Sept. 14.

85 See Dunmore's letter of Sept. 14, 1774, in reply to Croghan, which follows on page 159.
L____p would be satisfyd with a deffence in writtg. to the charges already mentd. The Colo. wrote his deffence\textsuperscript{86} which I carryd to my L____d, whom I found at table in compy with Mrs. C[onnoll]y, tossed off most prodigiously fine, but her complextion & features appeared to me to be infinitely ugly. In a decent, plain garb, she appeared tolerable. Her temper in appearance seems to be a very diabolical one. In short, to sum up her character, she has all the gesture & conduct of a s[er]p[en]t.

I walked with his L____p along the banks of the Alegany, but not a word on the subject of Mr. C. The Indians seemed much disatisfyd. at his L____p delaying answering their speeches. Sent him word by the Depy. Agent that they would wait till 12 o'clock next day for his ansr., & then would be gonne. They have not a high opinion of him. They think likewise that he keeps them there till he is ready to go down the river, & then phaps then give them an evasive ansr. by which they seem prodigiously uneasy. Not an ounce of provision, powder, and other necesstys.

16th [September] This morning Major Conoly came heere & brought his L____p’s complemts. to Mr. Crog. & me, & requested the favour of our compy. to dinner. The Colo. not being up, I kept the Majr. to breakfast. After which I carryd him to the Colo. who refused the invitation for that day upon pretence that his legs where again swelled. They discoursed a long time upon the subject of Mr. Crog’s titles, etc, & that afternoon I carry’d said titles to his Lord____p for his perusal, who allows them to be good, & that as soon as he gott down & consulted the Council he would grant him a wart. of survey & have the lands put under the quits\textsuperscript{87} of Virginia, etc, etc.

17th Sepr. This morning, I accompany’d the Colo. to town on horse back. We alighted at the tavern, where I fetched Colo. Steevens, who went with him to his L____p, who received him with much civilitys. Soon after, the Indians were called to receive his L____p’s answer to their speech of the 12th inst.

His L____p begun by condolling with them for the loss they had sustained through the rashness of some vagabonds—\textit{a present}—then his Lordship thanked them for their forbearance in not retaliating upon the white poeple. Then proceeded to acquaint them with his

\textsuperscript{86} See Croghan’s letter of Sept. 15, 1774, which follows on pages 159-161.

\textsuperscript{87} A quitrent was a small rent paid by a freeholder in lieu of feudal services.
reasons for wanting to go down the Ohio. He enumerated the number
of murders the Shawnese had committed upon the Virginians in ex-
press contradiction to the treaty of peace concluded with Genl.
Bouquet in 64 before any of their blood was spilt by any of his
peopple, in short that he left it to them to advise what they deserved.
Assured them of his sincere good will & friendship, etc, etc, etc.

I made an apology to his L____p for not dinning with him
haveing engaged myself with the mess. Soon after dinner, the compy.
left the Gov____r & Mr Cro____n together, when they had all old
sorres talked over. His L____p acknowledged his having too pre-
icipitately given belief to the wispers of sycophants. Mr. Cro____n
exculpated himself to his own satisfaction. They drank one botle
hand to fist. The one requiring the other's assistance in managing
the Indians, upon wh. he frankly owned he believed the whole suc-
cess of his expedition depended, that he knew his influence over those
nations, etc. The other promised it to him, & in return required the
other to grant him a proclamation to forbid peopple to incroach upon
his property. They parted good friends, & his L____p promised to
dinne with us Munday the 19th and as often as his business & stay
would permitt, etc, etc. Thus is matter terminated. The whole coun-
try had an eye upon these transactions for they expected to see
Colo. Croghan at least sent down to Wmsburgh in irons for being
accused to be the author of all the disturbances in these parts, when,
on the contrary, had he abandoned his seat the whole country would
have fled to the interior part of the country. Now, by this reconcilia-
tion he not only serves himself, but also the country, for the Indians
have such a defferance for him that they will now be guided intirely
by his advice, etc.

We returned home about 8 in the evening, the Colo. in a great flow
of spirits. This day I told him that now matters where come to this
pass that I must think of leaving him to return home, & that I would
prepare against Wednesday 21st, to which he ansd. I, we shall think
of it.

88 Henry Bouquet (1719-1765), like the Prevosts, had a French-Swiss background. At the
urging of Col. James Prevost he had accepted the lieutenant colonelcy of the 1st Battalion,
Royal Americans, in 1756. A brilliant soldier, he saw much service in Pennsylvania. At the time
of Pontiac's Uprising, he defeated the Indians at Bushy Run in 1763, and in 1764 sealed a
peace with them at the forks of the Muskingum. He was a brigadier general at the time of his
death. For Dunmore's speech, see Force, American Archives, 4th Ser., I, 871-872.
18th [September] Capt. Pipe\(^89\) sent to the Shawnese with a speech returned to Colo. Croghan's. The Shawnese are willing to come to terms, desire to know the terms required of them. They are willing to make restitution as soon as they are permitted to go out a-hunting.

19th Sepr. This morning his Lordship came up the Alighany in two boats accompanyd by Colo. Steevens & Maj. Co____y, a couple French horns & a S_tch piper, with the Union Flag desplayd.

I received his L____p at the water side & Mr. Cro____n received him on the top of the bank. He was extremely facetious & free. As he had his fusee, I proposed taking him to shoot pidgeons & squirrels, to which he agreed. After killing five or six we returned & found dinner waiting. Mr. Cro____n made me take the head of the table, his L____p on one side & the Colo. on the other. I gave him 7 bumper toasts which he could not refuse. Everybody was happy. After dinner, we rose up & went to fire at [a] mark with rifles & pistols. I lost one botle to my L_d, occasioned by my arms having been too long loaded & my being a little more affected with my drinking than he was. In the evening they returned, Mr. Cro____n & him having had previously a long conference together relative to the Shawnese. He has told in confidence to the Colo. that if the Shawnese would make restitution for the plunder they had made upon the Virginians, & give hostages for their future good conduct that on those terms he would make a peace with them. The deputys are to have a conference with the Colo. on the occasion, as they have sent him word they proposed consulting of him upon the ans[wer] they intended returning to the Gov____r of Virginia. The Colo. [h]as requested of his L____p to send Majr. Cony. & the Agt. to be present when he advised them.

20th Sepr. This morning had a smal chatt with respect to my going, but he again told me that Wednesday he wanted me to go in town with him, Thursday he would write, Friday do a little business, & Saturday I might then do as I please. He showd me two young maires, which he told me he kept for breeding—that they belong'd to my two boys, etc.

21st Sepr. This day I spent at home and vexed at being detained, determin'd to sett of 23d in ye afternoon, tho I dont see

\(^89\) The Pipe was a Delaware chief and Custaloga's nephew. In 1773, Croghan had been instrumental in appointing the Pipe to succeed the aged Custaloga. Wainwright, 293.
any thing preparing by Mr. C., he having told me he would write
down the country to his brother,\textsuperscript{90} etc.

About 12 o’clock, as I was walking along the bank, I discoverd his
Lordship alone with his fusee slung & his hound.\textsuperscript{91} I was a good deal
surprised. I met him & brought him to the house where the Colo.
was as surprised to see him alone as I had been. He discoursed for one
hour alone with the Colo. I accompany’d him back to the Two Mile
Run, amusing ourselves a shooting of squirels. He wanted me much
to go to the Fort & dine with him but as I had not shirteds \textit{sic} de-
clined the invitation, but next day required I would bring Mr.
Crog\textunderscore n & dine with him. This sociable visit pleased Mr. Cro\textunderscore n
much. On my return found him waiting dinner for me, after which I
made a copy of his intended speech to the Confederate Indians much
to this purpose, viz: That he had been a long time a servant of the
Crown, that he was very sory to see the difficultys the Shawnese had
brought upon themselves, that he had heard their speeches & those
of the Governor, that the demand of the latter were very just & mild,
that he flatterd himself they would consider them well & lay fast hold
of the chain of friendship, and that they would with heart & hands
second his L\textunderscore p’s measures toward restoring peace & tran-
quility between the white poeple & themselves, etc, etc, etc.

This evening Mr. Croghan told me that I must not absolutely
think of going before Sunday the 25th.

22 Sepr. Early this morning the Colo. went to town in order
to forward the business with the Indians. I am to follow him about
dinner time. The Colo. is now determined that if he does not hear
certain & satisfactory accounts of the new government to put his
lands & take claim in Virginia, by which means he will be able
instantly to sell to the amount of 8 or ten thousand pounds ster[lin]g.
This I have advised him, & rather to make this sacrifice then always
remain in the disagreable situation he has so long layd under. His
reconciliation at this time has paved him the way towards accom-
plishing this.

Just returned from the Fort. His Lordship entertained us with
very trifling chat till 5 o’clock.

\textsuperscript{90} Edward Ward at Carlisle.

\textsuperscript{91} Dunmore was “short, strong built, well-shaped with a frank & open countenance, easy &
affable in his manners, & a great lover of field sports.” \textit{Johnson Papers}, VII, 945.
I don't know what to make of him, of his measures, or of his conduct. He has issued a proclamation setting forth his intention of exercising the jurisdiction of the laws of Virginia as far as the foot of the Laurel Hill, about 54 miles from this towards Philada., which cuts off a whole county from the Proprietors of Pensilva. This has set the whole country in a blaze. His Lordship pretends that he acts by sanction of Lord Dartmouth, 1st Lord of Trade.

This country is now in the greatest anarchy imaginable. This conduct cannot last, and at the winding up of these affairs, I fear, it must affect the reputation of [Dunmore] and be the ruin of the tools employed in this base act of oppression.

23rd Sepr. This morning Mr. Cro. ret'd to town to finish the Indian council, & to explain the boundaries of his tract to his L___p. I went a shooting & kill'd a very numerous number of squirrels. The Colo. returned at dinner time. He told me that the Indians dep[ut]y from the Delawarre, Wyandotts, & Six Nations, had returned an ansr. to his L____p's speeches. They spoke to the purpose already mentioned, at which he seemed extremely pleased. His L____p expects some canoes down the Monongehela this evening, when it is expected he will immediately set off with them & go to join Colo. Lewis, who comm[an]ds the militia who was to have march'd from the frontiers & met his L____p at the mouth of the Canawa.

An old Delaware chief a few days ago seeing his L____p, ask'd "What old little man is that yonder playing like a boy?"

His Lordship may & has it in his power to make an honorable peace with the Shawnee. The Delaware, the Wyandotts & Six Nations will be his guaranty.

His L____p wants a peace.

92 Early in 1773, Westmoreland Co. was carved out of Bedford Co. It lay west of the Laurel Hill and included the whole southwest corner of Pennsylvania. Dunmore attempted to take over this area, calling it the District of West Augusta.

93 William Legge, Earl of Dartmouth (1731-1801), served as Secretary of State for the colonies and president of the Board of Trade and Foreign Plantations from 1772 to 1775. Dunmore did not have Dartmouth's sanction for his adventures. In letters of Sept. 8 and Oct. 5, 1774, Dartmouth rebuked Dunmore and ordered him off the domains reserved for the projected colony of Vandalia. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th Ser., X (1871), 727-728.

94 On July 24, 1774, Dunmore ordered Col. Andrew Lewis, commander of Virginia's southwestern militia, to raise an armed force and meet Dunmore "at the mouth of the Great Kanawha or Wheeling, or such other point on the Ohio as may be most convenient for you to meet me." Dunmore's War, xvii.
His L——p will its thought make peace provided his evil counselors & his own very weak etc will not blind him.

His L——p must be at Wmsbg the 3rd Novr. Its now the 23rd Sepr. He has 500 miles to go to the enemys town. He has little or no provision, only a few canoes, very few bad men & those all inclined to quit him & return to their habitation—no money. All these circumstances, weighed or not weighed, must show the inconsistencies, the ignorance of his L——p's measures.

His L——p in a private character is by no means a bad man. On the contrary, he is a jolly, hearty companion, hospitable & polite at his own table, but as a G——r, or the com——r of an exped——n, the most unfit, the most trifling and the most uncalculated person living. The annals of Virginia will show the truth of one, & the event of his conduct in the later capacity will sufficiently evince that of the other.

So much for a leisure hour. This moment the Colo. sends to speak with me. I was just going to bed. Capt. White Eyes, a Delaw——e chief is just returned from the Fort. He says that the Gov——r again convened them together, & told them he thanked them for the officious & good part they wanted to take, that he would soon sett off & first go to Wheeling, 60 miles hence, where he would stay a few days, thence to thence to [sic] Litle Canawa, then to Big Canawa [ ] miles,95 & then down the river.

They imedy. replyd "Brother, we thought you was inclined to peace. No[w], if we are to act as mediators, name a place where we may depend to meet you, as the generals & great men before you was used to do, & then we will be answerable to bring you the Shawnese to treat, & subscribe to the terms you limitt, otherwise we have nothing to say." After a little consultation between his L——p & C——y, the first said "Well, brethren, I appoint to meet you and them———.96

95 According to the table of distances compiled by Thomas Hutchins under the direction of Capt. Harry Gordon in 1766, the Little Kanawha River was 173¼ miles down the Ohio from Fort Pitt, and the Big Kanawha River was 80¼ miles further down. Beverly W. Bond, ed., The Courses of the Ohio River taken by Lt. T. Hutchins (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1942), 77.

96 The meeting place assigned by Dunmore was Wheeling "or, if they should not meet me there, at the Little Kenhawa, or somewhere lower down the river." Dunmore's reply as printed in Force, American Archives, 4th Ser., I, 876. Shortly after this conference, Dunmore with about 1,200 men went down the Ohio to the Shawnee country, where Dunmore negotiated a peace, the Shawnees having been defeated in battle by Col. Lewis before Dunmore's arrival. Dunmore's War, 383-386.
24th Sepr. 1774  Just as I had got out of my bed, Mr Crog. (true to his word) came to room & opend upon our business. We examined all the accounts wherein I have any concern in the County of Albany. He gave me all the satisfaction I could expect. He has wrote a letter to Mr. G[ratz] requiring of him to disengage me of every incumbrances for a 12 month, and explains to him how he will make it worth his while etc.\textsuperscript{97}

He gave me up my agreement with the overseer at Croghan's Forest, Otsego Lake, that I might renew as I pleased with the same or any other person I thought proper.\textsuperscript{98}

\textit{Letters and Documents relating to Affairs at Pittsburgh, both before and during Prevost's Visit, with a Concluding Letter from Prevost on His Departure for Jamaica}

\textbf{George Croghan to Lord Dunmore}\textsuperscript{99}

Fort Pitt, April 9, 1774

My Lord:

A fitt of the gout in my hands and feet for above two months past has till now prevented me from returning your Lordship my thanks for the honor you do me in appointing me a Magistrate of the Colony of Virginia.

Captain Connolly having ordered the militia and inhabitants of this part of the Colony to give him in their applications for their lands, that he might send them to Mr. Lewis of Agusta\textsuperscript{100} to come up to survey them, that your Lordship might give grants for them, I take this early opportunity to apply to your Lordship, and his

\textsuperscript{97} Prevost carried to Barnard Gratz a letter from Croghan dated Sept. 24, 1774, which is preserved in Gratz-Croghan, I, 38, HSP.

\textsuperscript{98} See Prevost's letter of Nov. 22, 1774, to Barnard Gratz, which sums up his visit to Pennsylvania. Printed on pages 161-162.

\textsuperscript{99} Copy of letter retained by Croghan, written in a clerk's hand. Cadwalader Collection, HSP.

\textsuperscript{100} Thomas Lewis, surveyor of Augusta Co. and a brother of Andrew Lewis. Wm. Terrell Lewis, \textit{Genealogy of the Lewis Family in America} (Louisville, Ky., 1893), 6.
Majesty's Council, to direct Mr. Lewis to survey all my property in this part of the country, as I am ready to comply with the terms of the Colony, and have my property put on quit rent as the rest of His Majesty's subjects. The property I hold here, I purchased from the natives in the year 1749, and was then put in possession, and on part of which I made very valuable improvements, which is well known to many gentlemen in Virginia.

In 1768 at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Six Nations & all other nations their confederates ratified my former purchase by a deed of confirmation agreeable to His Majesty's instructions, to which Colo. Andrew Lewis and Doctor Walker, then commissioners for the Colony of Virginia, were evidences, with a number of other gentlemen attending that treaty, and in 1769 his Majesty was pleased when that treaty was confirmed to confirm those grants to me. Just at this time, the Proprietors of Pennsylvania set up their claim to this part of the country, which they had denied allways before, and begun to make incroachments on His Majesty's territories purchased by Sir William Johnson for the King at the above mentioned treaty, and sold large quantities far beyond even their claims, and amongst the rest a great part of my little property.

The people who thus purchased of Mr. Penn's agents made forcible entries on my lands, by which means I have been deprived the use of my property and had no means of relief or expectations till the Colony of Virginia should extend their jurisdiction or His Majesty should grant a new colony. I have often had thoughts of applying to the Colony of Virginia for redress, but was of opinion I could not with propriety till the laws of the Colony were put in force here, and a stop put to the incroachments of Pennsylvania.

I now request that your Lordship and His Majesty's Council will take my application into consideration, and give me redress by

101 Col. Andrew Lewis (1720-1781), who was to defeat the Indians on Oct. 10, 1774, at the Battle of Point Pleasant, and who in 1776 as a brigadier general in the Continental Army was to fight Dunmore.

102 Dr. Thomas Walker (1715-1794).


104 At an earlier time, the Pennsylvania Assembly had expressed uncertainty whether the Pittsburgh area lay within Pennsylvania, as Croghan then insisted was the case. The attitude of the governors of Pennsylvania was that Pittsburgh was part of their colony.
directing Mr. Lewis or whatever surveyor is employed for this part of the country to lay off my lands agreeable to the limits of my title from the natives proprietors, or otherways as you shall judge proper, that those invaders of my property may be convinced they have no right by any purchase made from Pennsylva. or otherways.

I flatter myself that your Lordship and His Majesty’s Council will look on my request as founded on justice, and as soon as the lands are surveyed under the Colony by your order, I will wait on your Lordship & Council with my title, and give you every satisfaction you require with respect to it.

I am with great respect,
Your Lordship’s most obediant humble servent

INTELLIGENCE RECEIVED AT PITTSBURGH

Pittsburg May 1st, 1774

One Stephens who had proceeded in the trader’s cannoe (who was attack’d the 16th last month by the Cherokees) in order to have carried her to the Sciota, returned to this place with the following acctt:

That on the 26th last month upon his way down the River, and near Whealing, he observed a cannoe coming up the River, which, suspecting to be Indians, made to the opposite side to avoid them, but upon his approach near the shore was fired upon and a Shawanese Indian in the cannoe with him was kill’d. Upon a second fire from the shore, a Delaware Indian who was also in the cannoe was likewise killed. The said Stephens says further that he cou’d not perceive who it was fired upon him, as they lay conceal’d in the weeds; and he having thrown himself into the River observed the cannoe that was coming up to be white people, upon which he made towards them, and found it to be one Michael Crissop with a party of men who

105 Two copies of this intelligence are preserved in Croghan’s papers, Cadwalader Collection, HSP. It has been published from another contemporary copy in Johnson Papers, XII, 1095-1098, as part of McKee’s journal of Indian transactions sent to Sir William Johnson.

106 Michael Cresap (1742–1775), a frontier leader, had begun to clear land and erect houses in the neighborhood of Wheeling on the Ohio. Learning, so he said, from Connolly that the Indians were on the war path, he took aggressive action, and was among those responsible for bringing on Dunmore’s War.
denied knowing anything of what had happened to them, although upon circumstances he, the said Stephens, is well convinced that the above murder was done by some of said Crissop's associates. Stephens likewise informed me that whilst he was in company with the said Crissop, he heard him make use of threatening language against the Indians, saying that he wou'd put every Indian he met with on the River to death, and that if he cou'd raise men sufficient to cross the River, he wou'd attack a small village of Indians living on Yellow Creek.¹⁰⁷

The same evening, one Major McDaniel of Virginia¹⁰⁸ (who had been down the River as low as the Little Kanawway) return'd to this place with an accott. that a skirmish had happen'd between a party of Virginians and the Indians near the Big Kanawway, that a number was killed on both sides which had occasion'd all the surveyors & land hunters from that colony to return. And, that on his way hither the 27th last month, he was at Michael Crissop's house at or near Whealing when an accott. was brought to said Crissop by one McMahan that five Indian cannoes had stopped at his house on their way down the River, containing fourteen Indians who asked him, the said McMahan, for some provisions, which he refushed to give them, and told them that two of their brethren had been killed by the white people the day before. The Indians replied that if it was so they knew nothing of it, and then proceeded down the River. Upon this information, the said Crissop collected fifteen men, pursed them and overtook them near Grav[es] Creek, where they had stopp'd, and drawn up their cannoes in the mouth of a creek that was hardly perceivable on accott. of the bushes, where they had prepared themselves to receive the white people, suspecting that they wou'd be follow'd, after what McMahan had told them, and that upon the said Crissop's observing the Indians, he fired upon them, upon which a skirmish ensued between them, but the Indians retired after loosing one man, and one man was killed also on the white peoples' side. Crissop and his party found sixteen keggs of rum, two saddles, & one bridle in the deserted Indian cannoes.

¹⁰⁷ Yellow Creek let into the Ohio River from the west side, about fifty miles below Pittsburgh.
¹⁰⁸ Maj. Angus McDonald.
Information received from Capt. Crawford\textsuperscript{109} and one Mr. Nevill from Virginia:\textsuperscript{110} That on their way to this place, they mett a number of the inhabitants settled below this moving off, among whom was a party who presented several Indian scalps, and related their having taken them in the following manner: That a number of Indians having encamp’d at the mouth of Yellow Creek,\textsuperscript{111} some men of the name of Gritthouse and Baker\textsuperscript{112} with others had collected themselves at the house of the said Baker opposite to the said Indian camp, and decoyed two Indian men & two women over to their side of the river to drink with them, who upon finding them intoxicated knock’d them on the head & scalp’d them. That soon after, two other Indians came over to see what had detain’d their friends and were served in the same manner. And after this, the Indians appear’d uneasy, and six of their men were coming across the river to see after their people, who approaching near the shore observed them the said white people where they were laying in ambush for them, & attempting to return to their camp were fired upon & two of them killed who dropp’d into the river, and two others, they observed, fell dead in the can noe and the fifth, upon their landing, they cou’d discern to be very badly wounded so that he cou’d scarce gett up the bank, and that they heard the women and children at the camp raise a very melancholly cry. Among those who were killed was an Indian woman, the wife of one of our traders,\textsuperscript{113} who had a young child upon her back which she had bore to him, and after some altercation between these murderers, whether they shou’d put the child to death, they agreed to take it along with them. The said Mr. Nevill asked the person (in whose custody the child was) if he was not near enough

\textsuperscript{109} Capt. William Crawford (1732–1782) later served as a colonel during the Revolution. He was captured by the Indians in 1782 and tortured to death.

\textsuperscript{110} John Neville (1731–1803), a large owner of land near Pittsburgh, later served as commandant at Fort Pitt during the first two years of the Revolution, ultimately reaching the rank of brigadier general.

\textsuperscript{111} These Indians included the family of the celebrated Mingo chief Logan, who lost all his relatives in the subsequent massacre.

\textsuperscript{112} Daniel Greathouse appears to have been the leader in these events. Joshua Baker kept a tavern of sorts where he sold liquor.

\textsuperscript{113} The trader was John Gibson (1740–1822), a man long associated with the Pittsburgh area. Dunmore’s War, 11.
to have taken its mother prisoner without putting her to death in that inhuman manner. He answer'd that he was about six feet distance and that he had just shott her in the forehead and cut the strap by which the child's cradle hung at her back, and that he intended to have dash'd its brains out, but that he was struck with some remorse on seeing the child fall by its mother. That one of his companions recommended their taking it along with them that they might have an opportunity of sending it to its father to be taken care of. And that after they had perpetrated this barbarous murder, they made off with their families. Also, they further said that by this time the whole country was deserted as Michael Crissop, who committed the first mischief was likewise then on his way to Redstone.\textsuperscript{114}

\textbf{George Croghan to John Connolly and Alexander McKee}\textsuperscript{115}

[Groghan Hall] May 4, 1774

\textit{Gentlemen:}

Kayshuta stayed with me an hour yesterday evening, and told me that the determination of the Six Nations was to take no part with the Shawanese, & he was shure the Delawares was so likewise, that they would join us in sending one message to the Shawanese & that if they would not listen to reason they ought to be chastised. He says for their parts & the Delawares, they have been for some time past determmined never to quarrel with their brethren the English, and that he is shure they will live and die with us. He thinks the Governor of Virginia should build a fort at the mouth of Cannaway to keep them in awe, and that the people should put in their crops and be guarded by some of the militia till we see what part the Shawanese will act. He is shure no other nations will join them, as he is certain all other nations are displeased with the Shawanese conduct this twelve months past. He says likewise that if the Shawanese comes up this way to do any mischief that they and the Delawares he is shure will resent it. This he desires may be made knowen to all his brethren the English up the river to Redstone & every where,

\textsuperscript{114} The mouth of Redstone Creek on the Monongahela River, about thirty-seven miles above its juncture with the Allegheny River. Cresap had a store at this place.

\textsuperscript{115} Croghan's retained copy in the hand of a clerk, Cadwalader Collection, HSP. McKee copied the text of this letter into his report to Johnson. \textit{Johnson Papers}, XII, 1099.
and desires that none of the People may fly or be afraid as the Shawanese by themselves cant do much mischief.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

George Croghan

George Croghan to John Connolly and Alexander McKee

Gentlemen:

I have had a good dail of conversation with the chieffs of ye Dalaways last night. They are of the same opinion with the Six Nations wh. I wrote you yesterday, & will do every thing in thire power to make this diference up wh. they say will nott be dificult to do as ye Shannas must know that all the other nations are deter-mined nott to brake thire paes with ye English & they think what has hapend. must bring them to reflect on thire one imprudence. They are likewise of opinion that the Shannas wont dear to hurt one of ye traders in thire towns, butt indever to make up this mater as soon as they can. Capt. White Eyes is ordered to stay hear with me & some others att ye Mingo Town in order to give intelegance to thire pople of what hapens.

They desier that all thire brethren up ye Monohongela & down to Ligoner may be imedatly infermd of thire determination & make themselves easey till we hear from ye Shannas, as they are of opinion they wont dear to do any mesthffe.

I desire gentlemen you will indeaver to provide some provisions fer those frendly Indians who has none & I have nott a bushell of corn left butt what I have unready given them. Plese to inferm Mr. Anderson that I have spoke to ye Indians on his acount & that all will be well with him. Ye Dallaways is gon to the Six Nations & I expect them all hear about 12 o’clock & am of opinion you ought to

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116 Croghan’s retained copy in his own hand, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
117 Although there was a Mingo settlement at the mouth of Pine Creek near “Croghan Hall,” the town referred to is presumably the Mingo Town located about seventy miles down the Ohio from Pittsburgh near the present Mingo Junction, Ohio. Information courtesy of Donald H. Kent.
be up & bring ye condolence presents, as ye sooner this ceromony is perfermd & known ye beter.\textsuperscript{118}

I am, Gentlemen, yr most Humble servant,  
G. C.

**George Croghan to Lord Dunmore**\textsuperscript{119}

[Croghan Hall, May, 1774]

My Lord:

The calamity which at present threatens this part of the country from the indiscretion of some white settlers upon the Ohio lays me under the necessity of troubleing your Lordship upon this occasion.

Every step has been taken on our parts to reconcile the several nations for the losses they have sustained by condoling with them agreeable to their own custom, and assuring them that the outrages perpetrated against them was not done by the knowledge or countenance of government, and no doubt a sufficient authority would interfere and bring the offenders to condign punishment, as well as other measures being taken to convince them of the justice & uprightness of their brethren the English.

The chiefs of the Six Nations and Delawares present appeared satisfied upon this, & some of their principal chiefs undertook to mediate matters with the distant tribes by proceeding to them with the condolance speeches, & joyning with us in every other measure to restore the tranquility of the country, and as a convincing proof of their sincerity they have left with us their women & children as hostages for the performance of their engagements.

Their chiefs have informed me that some few of the foolish young men of the Senecas and Shawanese appeared dissatisfied at the proceedings of Captains Bullet\textsuperscript{120} & Thompson\textsuperscript{121} last year by surveying and marking their hunting country, as they considered it in that light, & they apprehended those gentlemen had no authority from government for what they were doing as they had not heard from

\textsuperscript{118} The condolence ceremony took place later on in the day. *Johnson Papers*, XII, 1100.

\textsuperscript{119} Croghan's retained copy in the hand of a clerk, Cadwalader Collection, HSP. The letter was probably dated about May 9. See the Indians' speech of that date printed on page 154.

\textsuperscript{120} Capt. Thomas Bullitt of Virginia saw service in the French and Indian War as early as 1754 with Washington and was later to serve as a colonel in the Revolution.

\textsuperscript{121} Capt. William Thompson of Pennsylvania.
their Brother the Governor on that undertaking, but that it was contrary to the intentions of their wise people that any mischief shou'd be done, & that they had been labouring constantly to prevent it.

The sale of spirituous liquors in so great abundance in their towns deprives them of having that influence often which they desire over their young men. This complaint is general with all Indian nations, & has been frequently made by them without redress, and I wou'd take the liberty also of observing to your Lordship that if any measure could be fallen upon to prevent this pernicious practice of carrying rum amongst the natives it would infallibly have a very agreeable tendancy towards preserving the good order of the country, & that even if the trade cou'd be confined solely to this place without permitting so many traders amongst them it would certainly make them more depending upon us.

As Mr. McKee has transmitted to Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, his transactions with the informations relative to the massacre of the Indians, doubtless your Lordship will receive a full representation of matters from that quarter. But as an inhabitant of this country, I thought it incumbent upon me at the request of the Indian chiefs to forward their speech. As to the particulars of what has happened, I must refer your Lordship to Captain Connolly's letter, who has joyned with Mr. McKee and me in every measure that could be fallen on with the natives to restore the tranquility of the country.

I have the honor to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE CROGHAN TO MICHAEL CRESAP

[Croghan Hall, May, 1774]

Dear Sir:

Your favor I have just received by Major Smallman and observe its contents, & now answer it, whether I am believed or not, as far as I am acquainted with the circumstances, with truth and sincerity.

122 McKee to Johnson, May 6, 1774, Johnson Papers, VIII, 1150-1152; Journal of Alexander McKee, Apr. 16-May 5, 1774, ibid., XII, 1087-1100.
123 Printed on page 154.
124 Croghan's retained copy in the hand of a clerk, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
125 Cresap's letter evidently contained criticism of Croghan and Connolly with regard to Indian affairs.
Ever since Capt. Bullet went down the River last year to survey about the Falls of Ohio, a number of the Shawanese appeared discontented, and declared they were displeased with settlements being made there. Their chiefs has spoke to them, & the most thinking men amongst that nation has done every thing in their power to perswade those young men to think nothing of such settlement, but to take care & preserve their friendship with the English. From those disputes in that nation, which has in a manner divided them in their Council, it was natural for every person who was acquainted with those disputes and wished for the peace of the country to fear or apprehend that some of those foolish young men might attempt to insult some of the canoes going [down] to the Falls, but I assure you and every other person with you that I have not heard any Indian this three years past complain or dislike any settlements between this and the Big Cannaway.

Since the late differences, the chiefs of the Six Nations and Delawares came here, has been condoled with, and given the strongest proofs of their sincere desire to preserve their peace with the English, and have undertaken & sent deputys to oblige the Shawanese to the same, & as those two nations have lost more people than the Shawanese, I apprehend their deputys will meet with but little difficulty in accommodating everything, which Captn. Connolly & Mr. McKee will make publick as soon as the deputys return, & I flatter myself the peace and tranquility will quickly be restored, provided no more differences arise on our side. Mr. James Innis\(^{126}\) happened to be here two days ago, when two messengers arrived with very agreeable intelligence, & he saw the speeches and can inform you of the contents.

I make no doubt but aspersions has been thrown at me, which I cant help, but if people would but cooly reflect & consider, that I have more private property to lose in this country by an Indian war than perhaps any other single subject has at present, they would soon alter their opinion and see that an Indian war would ruin my affairs.

And I dare say you will be soon convinced that Doctor Connolly has not in word or act done any thing that can justly give offence. I am, dear sir, with much regard

Your most humble servant,

\(^{126}\) James Innis of Westmoreland Co., later Washington Co., Pa., was named by Croghan in 1782 to be one of the executors of his will.
INDIAN SPEECH TO LORD DUNMORE

Pittsburg, May the 9th 1774

A speech delivered by several chiefs of the
Six Nations and Delawares:

Brother, the Governor of Virginia:

No doubt you have been informed by the officer commanding at this place of the misfortunes which have lately happened in this country, and we now declare to you, as well as all our brethren the English, that we had no suspicion of so much mischief being done, as we have always on our parts made it our constant study to promote the peace subsisting between our brethren the English and us, and we do also assure you that we still continue to preserve that chain of friendship, and we hope such of you our brethren the white people who are in authority will do everything in your powers to prevent your rash people from committing hostilities upon us. Brother, we have to request you in a particular manner to be strong and consider what may be best to be done with those flagrant offenders of our peace.

As to us, we have the satisfaction to inform you that we have received a message from the Lower Towns informing us that all the Indians there remained quiet and that they have submitted the loss they have sustain’d to the candour & justice of your wise people.

A Belt

LORD DUNMORE’S REPLY TO THE INDIANS

Williamsburg, 29th May 1774

Answer to the speech of Indians of the Six Nations and Delawares dated Pittsburg, May 7th, 1774

Brothers:

I have been informed of the misfortunes which have lately happened in the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, and have received your

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127 Croghan’s retained copy in the hand of a clerk, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
128 The Shawnee towns.
129 According to the Indian custom, a belt of wampum represented their speech, and one may have accompanied the written message.
130 Croghan’s copy in the hand of a clerk, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
131 There is a confusion here in the date, which perhaps should be May 9. If not, then the Indian speech to Dunmore should properly be dated May 7.
speech on the occasion, and I lament no less those that have befallen my brethren the Indians than those that have happened to my fellow subjects the English.

From the accounts I receive, however, the Indians have been the aggressors, and thereby the occasion of the fatal consequences which have ensued. But as you my brethren say that you always on your parts have made it your constant study to promote the peace subsisting between you & us, & still continue to preserve that chain of friendship, so I take this opportunity of assuring you that your brethren the Virginians do cordially love you, and hope always to live in peace, amity, and good correspondence with you. And to that end, if you can point out the offenders against our peace, we will on our parts omit nothing in our power to overtake the transgressors on our side with the punishment due to such crimes.

I rejoice at the information you give me of the good disposition of the Indians of the lower towns, and you may assure them that their complaints, when they reach us, shall be attended to with that candour and justice to which they submit them, and which is due to them.

Dunmore

JOHN CONNOLLY TO GEORGE CROGHAN

Fort Dunmore, June 2d, 1774

Sir:

Understanding that you in conjunction with some officers of the Government of Pennsylvania have embodied a number of men in arms, and imagining (that perhaps) this service might be requisite, I am to desire you & the other persons employing the men alluded to, to send them down here in order to their being regularly enrolled & have the invasion act read to them, as the laws of this Government requires. I have also sent a sergeant of the militia to signifie my orders to the people so assembled.

I am, sir,

Your most obedt. servt.

Jno. Connolly

132 Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
GEORGE CROGHAN TO JOHN CONNOLLY

[Croghan Hall, June 3, 1774]

Sir:

Your letter I received last night by a sargant & party of the militia in answer to which I now inferm you that I have subscribed with a number of gentlemen both of Virginia & Pensylvaine to hier a number of men to reconiter & scout along ye River Ohio towards Ligonier in order to protect our felow subjects from flying down the cuntry as itt apearres that a general panick has sased the whole cuntry. I have likewise hierd a fiew men to live with myself heer & protect my property in case there should be any danger & I presume every subject has a right to do so.

As nothing has ever been ment or intended by those meshers [measures] but to strenthen & gard the cuntry for and in case of necesety, phaps those pople may be usefull to you & yr. militia if you chuse to accept of thire service.

I have now infermd you everything I know of those meshers & am sorrey to find by yr. leter that you are apt to blive every flying repert.

I am Sir, yr most humble servant.

G. C.

JOHN CONNOLLY TO GEORGE CROGHAN

Fort Dunmore, June 3d, 1774

Sir:

I received your letter, & am really astonished at the manner of your proceedings. I am now to acquaint you (sir) that my instructions from His Excellency Lord Dunmore are to repel every insult offered to this Government, which by a Proclamation he has fully

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133 Croghan's retained copy in his own hand, ibid.
134 On May 29, 1774, St. Clair wrote Gov. Penn: "From what I saw it was evident to me that the country must very soon be totally evacuated unless some thing was done to afford the inhabitants the appearance at least of protection. I therefore consulted with some of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, and Mr. [Aeneas] Mackay, Mr. [Devereux] Smith, Colonel Croghan, Mr. [William or Richard] Butler and myself entered into an association to raise victuals and pay a ranging company of one hundred men for one month. . . ." St. Clair Papers, I, 301.
135 Cadwalader Collection, HSP.
enabled me to do. I must likewise acquaint you that no act of govern-
ment, or in behalf of government, is to be exercised by the officers of
the Proprietary Governor; & altho you say that officers of Virginia
& Pennsylvania both are acting in concert in the measures you are
now pursuing, I must assure you that whatsoever officers of Virginia
may be thus acting, that their conduct is entirely opposite to the
established laws of this colony & as the association is with men of
avowed principles repugnant to the welfare & intentions of this
Government, that the practice is unlawfull, unwarrantable, &
affrontive. I have desired the officer sent to take a list of the men in
arms at your house as the law directs.

I am, sir,
Your most obed. servt.,
Jno. Connolly

GEORGE CROGHAN TO JOHN CONNOLLY

[Croghan Hall, June 3, 1774]

Sir:
I have received yr. leter by an offiser & party of the milita & now
inclose you a list of the pople about me wh. I blive you have a list
of as they were the first men on the perade att your first gineral
muster.

As to my acting in ye maner you sugest, you will find to be a jest,
tho I make no doubt but you may have been so infermd. However,
if I have acted anything contrye to the laws of the Colony of
Verginia I must, no doubt, be acountable. I have no men in arms
about me butt my own famely and Mr. Labat's servants whom he
left in my care with two or three jobers, all of whom is litle anouffe
to do my own busness & trust that no laws of the Goverment of
Verginia will deprive me the liberty of hiering pople to do my own
busness.

I am, Sir, yr. most humble servt.
George Croghan

136 Croghan's retained copy in his own hand, ibid.
137 Ignatius Labat.
George Croghan and Alexander McKee’s Speech to the Delaware Chiefs

[Pittsburgh] Augt. 3d 1774

To the Chiefs of the Delawares, Brethren:

Some Six Nation deputies being arrived here with three large belts of wampum, two of which is to inform them of the death of Sir William Johnson, and that they would make it known to all the western nations, and at the same time to desire them to observe a strict adherence to their antient friendship with their brethren the English, and that another wise and great man would soon be raised in Sir William Johnson’s place to take care of their councils. The other is a large belt from the Six Nations themselves enjoining Colonel Croghan, A. McKee, with Keyashuta and the chiefs of the Delawares to be strong in taking care of the Council Fire at this place and preserving the peace & friendship of the country, which they declare is their firm intention to do, and that nothing can oblige them to let go the strong hold they have of the chain of friendship with their brethren the English.

The above, brethren, is the purport of those belts, and as they appear to be of great consequence in the present circumstances of affairs, we have to request Captn. Pipe, with some other of your chiefs to come to this place with all possible dispatch, in order to hear this news from the bearers of it themselves, that you may be the better able to forward it immediately to all nations in amity with us. And brethren, as it will be necessary for us to answer the Six Nations, we desire you to collect as many white belts of wampum as can be found for this purpose, and they shall be replaced to you in anything that may be suitable.

Geo. Croghan
A. McKee

George Croghan to Lord Dunmore

[Croghan Hall] 15 Sepr., 1774

My Lord:

Mr. Prevost has just now informed me of a conversation he had the honor to have with your Lordship. The part he has taken, tho

138 Croghan’s retained copy in the hand of a clerk but signed by Croghan and McKee, Cadwalader Collection, HSP.

139 Croghan’s retained copy in the hand of Augustine Prevost. The date of this letter is in error for Sept. 14. Ibid.
unknown to me, yet I have approved. The present time will not admit of my entering into the particular defence of your Lordship's accusation, but can with great truth declare them to be groundless & injurious, and which I am ready to convince your Lordship of whenever you allow or admit of my attendance.

I have the honor to be with due respect,

Your Lordship's
Most obed. & most hble. servant

**LORD DUNMORE TO GEORGE CROGHAN**

Fort Dunmore 7 ber [September] 14th, 1774

Sir:

I shall be well pleased when your time will permit you, to know what answer you can give to my accusations, & I assure you I wish you may be able to acquit yourself fully, & I am, Sir,

Your most obt.

& very hble. servt.

Dunmore

**GEORGE CROGHAN TO LORD DUNMORE**

[Croghan Hall, September] 15, [1774]

My Lord:

Majer Connally having informed me this morning that your Lordship would be satisfied I would commit to paper what I had to say respecting your charges made against me to your Lordship, I sit down with pleasure to do so.

With respect to my exciting the Shannas to commit hostilities on his Majestys subjects of ye Colony of Virginia, its so far from truth that I have been ye only person in this country for four years past that has ever taken notice of thire conduct in publick council & have engaged the other nations round them to do the same. I have likewise charged the traders publickly with thire ill conduct in purcchessing ye skins and horses wh those people plundered from the

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141 Croghan's retained copy, mostly in his own hand but about one third in Prevost's, *ibid.*

142 The Shawnees were reported to have been told by Croghan that they were "to kill all the Virginians they could find on the River & rob & whip the Pennsylvanians." This false report aroused much animosity. *Dunmore's War*, 7.
Virgina hunters, purticklerly when I hard that one Rusel & his party was merdred I declaird my sentiments to such of them as I have had an opertunity of seeing that I thought Goverment ought to take notice of them fer nott imedielly removing themselves & effects from a nation wh they knew continewd to commit hostilitys on thire fellow subjects. My conduct on those ocations being disagreeable to ye traders, they have taken every opertunity to paint my conduct to that nation in so bad a light as thire enemy that several of the Shannoes have publickly treatend to take my life.

As to the part I have acted sence ye apointmt of Majer Connolly between the two colonys, I trust he will do me justuse in, & I flater myself itt will apeer to yr Lordshipe from what he will inferm you & the copy of my letter of ye 9th of Aprile last to you & wh I have furnished him a copy for your perusal, when it must appear that I have no rason to be pleased of my treatement from that Goverment [Pennsylvania]. Tis true that when the panice of the pople became so great as to sett the pople aruning between this & Ligonier, & Capt. St. Clair & some other gentlemen proposed the hiering of some men to stay the pople from runing over the mountins, I did subscribe that in case they could not prevail on their Govert. to reimburse that I would pay my share of the expences, & if in that case I have incurred yr displeasure & have acted contrarey to the laws of Virginia, I can ashure your Lordshipe I had no maening more than the good of my fellow subjects in another colony & ye desier I had to promote ye peace & tranquility of the cuntry. As soon as yr Lordshipe extended ye juridiction by raseing ye militia, I deny'd that of Pensylvaine & have never sence acknowledgd itt. Nor do I intend to do so unless oblidg to itt by a decision of ye limits of boath colonys wh I blive will nott be in favor of Pensylvaine.\footnote{Croghan was wrong. When Pennsylvania's western line was at last surveyed, it was found that his lands lay in Pennsylvania, not in Virginia.}

Now My Lord, I shall with the same truth acknowledge my having as a British subject, & perhaps in a moment of ill nature to be alone atributed to my interferittys passed my opinion & may be too incautiously on your Lordship's measures, and called them the result

\footnote{Henry Russell and James Boone were killed by the Indians on Oct. 10, 1773, in Powell's Valley, Va. \textit{Ibid.}, 375.}
of ministerial politicks, but then My Lord I was aggrieved by the disappointement of long looked for expectations, repeated intelligences of your L———p's threatening to use me on yr arrival in these parts in a manner to which I thought not to deserve. These, I say My Lord, might have been my expressions at an unguarded moment not alone as my own opinion, but those of some corespondant, & given not with an intention to injure or reflect upon yr. Lordship's private character, too well established to admitt of the probability of my having made use of the expression of calling yr L———p a bankrupt etc. No, My Lord, this language ill becomes a man who has for a series of years been employd in the service of his King & country, and during that time maintained a fair character. Every man, My Lord, has enemys, anyone at this time have not been wanting to asperse & calumniate my activities, but I despise them.

I have said, My Lord, that you had expended a very large fortune, its true, but at same time expressed my feeling on yr accesion, having had formerly the honor of an acquaintance & recd civilitys from some of your family.

This, My Ld., is my deffence to the principall parts of my accusations & which Majr. Conoly told me was what he believed you required. I am ready to justify myself publickly of these & every other accusations that can be laid to my charge.

Augustine Prevost to Barnard Gratz

Delaware River 22d Novr. 1774

Dear Sir:

When I parted with you, I omitted acquainting you with several little matters relative to the Otsego matters, as you seem'd to hint that it would be necessary that I should leave orders for you to bid at the time of sale. As this is so contrary to any thing my father in law has given me to understand, I must referr [defer] giving you my

145 Dunmore's western activities in 1773 aroused Croghan's concern that Vandalia's charter might be endangered. He evidently suspected that Dunmore was encouraged by ministers unfriendly to the new colony.

146 Gratz-Croghan, I, 42, HSP.

147 In his letter of Sept. 24, 1774, to Barnard Gratz, Croghan simply wrote, "... after I see you I main to sell the Ottsago tract & gett don with that part of ye country." Perhaps he intended to give Gratz verbal instructions about saving "Croghan's Forest" for Prevost. Ibid., I, 38.
answer till you return from seeing him, when if things are in that situation as to render the sale of the place he gave my family at the foot of the Lake, then perhaps if other matters are settled I may strive to come at it by the assistance of some friends or by the sale of my commission, as I am bent upon doing my utmost to retain it, as it will certainly be a place worth much more than the paltry sum it would now be sold for.\footnote{Prevost never did secure “Croghan’s Forest,” which ultimately, under circumstances Prevost thought to be barely legal, was acquired by Judge William Cooper of Burlington, N. J., the founder of Cooperstown and the father of James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist.}

For God’s sake, do your utmost endeavours to have those matters settled, for which you have received my bond for; 700 & odd pounds is more than I can well even think of, the knowledge of which to some people would perhaps ruin my credit—if not in the end my poor family—God avert that.

You will be so good as to send for to Hicks for my books, my boy Thoony, & such other things as Mrs. Prevost has there & which is her own immediate property.

You will oblige me imedy. on your return to let me know how you found the Colonel if recovered from his illness, & if I am to expect any thing being done in those confounded matters to the Northward. You cannot imagine the weight & anxiety it will relieve me from. Take care of my letter. I am sorry I had nothing worth writing to him upon, but you will make up for my deficiency.

I don’t remember any thing more worth adding except wishing you safe up & a speedy return to yr friends, & am with best compliments to Mrs. Gratz & Michl, & believe me to be with regard your very sincere hble servant

Aug. Prevost

in a very great hurry as you may see by the scrawl.

I have got 21 recruits safe, but what with the delay of the ship, the latness of the season, & immense expense they have put me to, will make my profitts little if any thing at all, & as to my bills, the comission etc has swallowed up the profits which will render this jaunt to the continent extremelly expensive. I have spent with my travelling & my familys expences 200£ Sterg., & that in 7 month. I must work hard to make up this sum & will leave me very bear for some time.