

## *John Badollet's "Journal of the time I spent in Stony creek glades," 1793-1794<sup>1</sup>*

**J**OHN (Jean Louis) Badollet was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1757, four years before his lifelong friend Albert Gallatin. As fellow students there, they were impressed by the American struggle for independence and the opportunities the new nation might offer. Gallatin made his way to America in 1780 and in 1785 settled at Friendship Hill, in the southwest corner of Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where within a year Badollet joined him.<sup>2</sup>

Badollet soon married a local girl, Margaret Hannah, and their first child, Albert Gallatin Badollet, was born in 1788. Gallatin himself married in 1789, but his wife died not long afterward. In the 1790 census both men are listed in Springfield Township, Fayette County, Gallatin single and Badollet with his wife and a young son.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently Badollet acquired a farm on the opposite side of the Monongahela, then in Washington County but after 1796 in Greene County.

Gallatin, the more ambitious and outgoing of the two friends, was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature in October 1790, was married in 1793 to a daughter of Commodore James Nicholson of New York City, and moved into wider fields of interest and activity; but he

<sup>1</sup> The original manuscript is among the Badollet Papers in the Byron R. Lewis Historical Library, Vincennes University, Vincennes, Indiana. A photocopy and a typed transcript were provided by Director Robert R. Stevens; the French translations are by Liliane Krasean, wife of the previous director. Related information, including the reproduction of the 1792 Reading Howell map, was provided by the Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC).

<sup>2</sup> "Gallatin's" (place of residence) is marked on the 1792 Reading Howell map.

<sup>3</sup> *Heads of Families . . . 1790. Pennsylvania* (Washington, 1908), 109 (cited hereinafter as "1790 census").

and Badollet worked together in local political and promotional matters, and although there was little association between their families, the two men remained close friends. Badollet undoubtedly benefited by Gallatin's greater prestige and political influence; in the 1790s he received several state commissions, and in 1804 Gallatin recommended him for the federal position of register of the new land office at Vincennes, then the capital of Indiana Territory. There Badollet spent the rest of his life. He and Gallatin apparently met only once thereafter, at Friendship Hill in 1825, but they maintained a close correspondence until Badollet's death in 1837.<sup>4</sup>

Badollet's exploratory adventures in 1793-1794, related in the present journal, were the consequence of a river-and-road Act passed by the Pennsylvania legislature on April 10, 1792. Section III of this Act provided for improving navigation of the Monongahela and Youghiogheny rivers. Section V included provision of £400 for opening a road from Jones's mill (near the northeastern corner of Fayette County) to Connol's ferry (present Connellsville). Section VIII provided £200 for laying out, improving, and opening a road from "Hughes' encampment across Allegheny Mountain to Speicker's" and £200 for a road from Cherry's mill (at the northernmost point of Fayette County) to intersect the Jones's mill-Connol's ferry road near Laurel Hill. Governor Mifflin promptly signed the bill and on April 18 commissioned Alexander McClean and John Badollet as "agents of information," Badollet for the river projects, McClean for the roads.<sup>5</sup> Badollet's work is probably the "expedition on the river Yough" referred to in the present journal under date of November 26; McClean's road surveys are preserved in the State Archives.<sup>6</sup>

These portions of the Act related to the "Glade Road," which, as shown on Reading Howell's 1792 *Map of the State of Pennsylvania*, branched off from the "Great Road" to Pittsburgh at "Bonnet's," a few miles west of Bedford. As well as providing an alternate route

<sup>4</sup> See *The Correspondence of John Badollet and Albert Gallatin, 1804-1836*, edited by Gayle Thornbrough (Indianapolis, 1963), Introduction. Other sources of biographical information are identified in footnotes.

<sup>5</sup> *Pa. Statutes at Large*, XIV, 298-305: Chapter MDCXIV (cited hereinafter as *Statutes*); *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ninth Series, I, 370 (cited hereinafter as *PA9*).

<sup>6</sup> Record Group 12, Records of the Department of Highways, items W2, W3, W4, and W17, Subgroup C, Records of the Bureau of Construction, Division of Archives and Manuscripts, PHMC (cited hereinafter as RG 12.)

to Pittsburgh, this provided access to the "Glades" country that so appealed to Badollet and, by connecting roads, to Fayette County. At Prather's ("Preatur's" on the map) the Glade Road itself divided into two branches that rejoined at or near Cherry's mill.<sup>7</sup>

One year later, on April 11, 1793, the legislature passed another Act of the same character, which in Section I provided \$300 for viewing and laying out a road from Prather's to Berlin and thence westward and \$200 for one from Spiker's to Cherry's mill. Section II allocated \$300 more to open and improve the latter road and \$500 to open and improve a road between Winding Ridge (on the Maryland line) and Uniontown. Finally, to promote work on the Spiker's—Cherry's mill road, Section III directed that the £200 previously provided for the Cherry's mill—Laurel Hill road be transferred to this later project.<sup>8</sup> Four days later the Governor appointed McClean, Badollet, and George Burckher commissioners to view and lay out the road westward from Prather's, and McClean, Badollet, and Benjamin Lodge for the road from Spiker's to Cherry's mill.<sup>9</sup>

Gallatin, re-elected a Representative in 1791 and 1792, was quite aware of these proceedings and wrote of them from Philadelphia on May 3:

I guess it will take you six weeks or thereabout; the pay two dolls. or 17/6 a day & your expenses paid. You must try to have both done before the next meeting of the house; but the most important to be done first is the road from Spiker's to Cherry's mill as there is money appropriated to open it after it is laid out which is not the case with the other road. . . .<sup>10</sup>

In the matter of time Gallatin was a poor prophet. McClean knew from long experience that summer is a difficult time to survey in wooded country, and he probably would have preferred to wait until

<sup>7</sup> Brief accounts of travel over both branches of the Glade Road are available in John W. Harpster, ed., *Penn Pictures of Early Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh, 1938). Johan David Schoepf and Peter Muhlenburg traveled the northern branch in 1783 and 1784; Mrs. Mary Dewees and James Elliott used the southern branch in 1787 and 1794.

<sup>8</sup> *Statutes*, XIV, 440-444: Chapter MDCXCIV.

<sup>9</sup> *P.A.*, I, 555. On Jan. 26, 1793, "James Black of the Township of Stoney Creek" contracted to lay out, open, and improve the road from Hughes' encampment to Spiker's (*ibid.*, 506).

<sup>10</sup> *Papers of Albert Gallatin* (microfilm edition, New York, 1969), roll 1, frame 666 (cited hereinafter as *Gallatin Papers*).

fall. On May 11, however, the Governor appointed him and Badollet to view the Winding Ridge-Uniontown road, about thirty miles of what later became the National Road.<sup>11</sup> The tone of the appointment implied some urgency, and the two men appear to have begun the survey promptly. By July 7 they were within a mile of the end of the road, and on July 23 Badollet wrote from Uniontown that "We have at last concluded operations with respect to the winding ridge road, but under what disadvantages we have laboured on account of the thickness of the woods can only be guessed at by such as have had any acquaintance with surveying."<sup>12</sup> Three months then passed before they set out, as recorded in Badollet's journal, to perform their assigned work on the other two roads. As McClean later protested, in explaining the delay in completing this work, it had to be done in "the intervals, at which the ground is in those mountains free from snow, & the trees & bushes free from leaves."<sup>13</sup>

As the legislation itself indicates, the two routes on which Badollet worked in late 1793 and 1794 were quite different from one another in character. That from Spiker's to Cherry's mill passed through settled country and was already in use as a road—though ill defined and unimproved—and it is shown as such on the 1792 Reading Howell map. The circumstances complicated the commissioners' work, as Badollet's journal records and as McClean later reported: "in the prosecution of this business we have been considerably embarrassed by the Various oppinions of the inhabitants."<sup>14</sup>

The first few miles of the other route, from Prather's to Berlin, were also part of a traveled road, but westward from Berlin it passed through almost unbroken wilderness; McClean's official return notes "The difficulty . . . of exploring a Country hitherto but little known," and it records only two settlers on the line of survey between Berlin and Laurel Hill.<sup>15</sup> The legislation did not specify the extent of this

<sup>11</sup> *PA9*, I, 573.

<sup>12</sup> Badollet to Gallatin, July 8, 1793, *Gallatin Papers*, roll 1, frame 678; *same to same*, July 23, *ibid.*, frame 685.

<sup>13</sup> RG 12, item W6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, item W5.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, item W6. Ignorance of the country is graphically illustrated by the 1792 Reading Howell map, which has a blank area in (then) southwestern Bedford County. Casselman River is missing (except its headwaters, identified as "Little Yoxhiogeni River") and its tributaries, "Cox's Cr." and "Middle Creek," are somewhat misplaced.

westward line from Berlin; however, a direct western line from that place passes very near Uniontown, in Fayette County, and the sequel shows that this was in fact the intended western terminus of the survey.

Badollet's journal touches on a variety of topics, including practical problems in crosscountry surveying and references to persons and landmarks of interest to local historians. Its chief interest lies, however, in the portrayal, in terms of Badollet's personal reactions, of the time and the place in which he carried out his "geographical operations."

It is significant that although his journal records travel across the width of two present counties, he identifies it particularly with the "Glades" of present Somerset County. Granting that "these glades . . . have a much colder climate & the ground is of inferior nature than other parts of the country," he saw them as a region where "a constant industry is certainly attended . . . with wealth & happiness." It reminded him of his native Switzerland, and he almost regretted "that Gallatin & I did not settle in this part of the Country."<sup>16</sup>

Settlement of the Glades was relatively recent, as compared not only with eastern Pennsylvania but also with some areas farther west that had been settled from Virginia as well as Pennsylvania. Philip Wagerlein, whose farm Badollet admired, just west of Berlin, is believed to have settled there in 1768; Herman Husband, a refugee from North Carolina, arrived in 1771; and a trickle of other settlers, mostly from various parts of southern Pennsylvania and Maryland, followed. Mills, marked on the 1792 map, are mentioned by Badollet, but the only town he saw (and admired) was Berlin, which had been laid out in lots by 1784.

The settlers themselves were of diverse backgrounds—Scotch-Irish and German for the most part—and were too recently arrived and too scattered to have merged into a homogeneous population. Badollet had no difficulty in making distinctions among them. Obviously, he felt closer akin to the Pennsylvania Germans than to the descendants of the Scotch-Irish.

These latter did not really consider themselves a distinct ethnic

<sup>16</sup> Journal, under date of Oct. 30 and Nov. 3, 1793.

group. They had no fond ties with "the old country"; their loyalties were strongly regional, and if their Revolutionary ardor has been unduly dwelt upon, the claim that none of them were Loyalists is probably well founded. Their distinctive characteristic was religious, a stubborn Calvinism that was as likely to be divisive as unifying in its effect. That their creed originated in his native Geneva did not endear them to Badollet.

The Pennsylvania Germans, on the other hand, combined ethnic unity with religious diversity. Brothers Valley, which became Somerset County, is believed to owe its name to an early settlement of German sectarians or Brethren; and the town of Berlin was founded by a cooperating group of Reformed (Calvinist) and Lutheran memberships. If Badollet's admiration of the "precious Germans" seems strange to modern ears, it must be remembered that Germany was not then a great power and, perhaps more important, that Swiss and German immigrants shared a Continental rather than a British tradition. It may be observed, however, that Badollet was not indiscriminate in his praise of German settlers.<sup>17</sup> A very few Friends or Quakers appear also in the journal, but the cheerful hunt-loving Jacob Beeson was not a resident of the Glades, and the eccentric and visionary Herman Husband was less a type than an example of the nonconforming individualism sometimes associated with the frontier.

Of the work done by the surveyors in the fall of 1793, that relating to the Spiker's-Cherry's mill road was of the greatest interest. Since this road evolved into part of the present Pennsylvania Traffic Route 31, passing through Somerset, it is instructive, before reading Badollet's journal, to take note of McClean's observations on the condition of the road as it was in use at the time he and Badollet worked on it:

we . . . recommend the opening of the Road in all low or Rich Ground, (especially in the high timbered parts of the Mountain) considerably Wider than will be necessary in firm or Stony Ground.— We have especially observed, that where the ground happens to be gravelly, or Stony, which seldom happens.— the durability of the Stumps, is another reason we would offer—as many of them if not dug out would in part remain as a

<sup>17</sup> For "precious Germans," *ibid.*, Nov. 17; for an unfavorable account, *ibid.*, Nov. 19.

nuisance for near half a century also the timber being lofty and withal thick set, the earth is much shaded— all which tends to keep the roads through such places continually wet, so that nothing but stone or timber can withstand the pressure —We would further beg leave to observe that the various windings carriages are obliged to make by reason of the Stumps, not being cut low enough to pass over, together with exceeding trenches produced by such confinement, is a great impediment, which cannot be prevented but by cutting the stumps exceeding low or a constant provision for filling up with stone or timber such places as become impassable in the manner mentioned. . . .<sup>18</sup>

If the occasion for Badollet's road work antedated the period covered by his journal, it is equally true that the outcome was delayed beyond the end of his account. At the end of the journal it is evident that the final course of the Bedford County portion of the Spiker's-Cherry's mill road had not been decided upon, and that the Laurel Hill section of the Berlin road had not been surveyed.

When the additional work was done is uncertain, but the return on the Spiker's-Cherry's mill road, signed by the three commissioners, is dated November 21, 1795, and that for the longer Berlin-Uniontown road is dated August 17, 1797. In both returns the map and the accompanying text are in McClean's fine and sometimes minute handwriting, and in both he offers explanations for the delay. Some of the factors cited were circumstantial—soggy ground in the Glades, mountains and dense woods elsewhere, disputatious settlers on the one route and lack of settlers on the other, but other factors were in the nature of historical events.

Outstanding in the latter class was the "Whiskey Rebellion" in 1794—as McClean phrased it, "the confusion in consequence of the western disturbances."<sup>19</sup> Badollet was not active in this affair, but he and Gallatin were among the twenty-four delegates who met at Pittsburgh on August 21–22 to urge a more lenient stand by the federal government.<sup>20</sup> (Herman Husband, on the other hand, was one of those arrested as ringleaders and taken to Philadelphia for trial; released in 1795, he died before he could return home.)

A second event was the creation of Somerset County, by an Act

<sup>18</sup> RG 12, item W5.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, item W6.

<sup>20</sup> Boyd Crumrine, *History of Washington County* (Philadelphia, 1882), 268.

of April 17, 1795, when Badollet was one of a committee of five men, not residents of the new county, appointed to select the county seat; and he was one of the four members who on September 12 reported their choice of "Bruners Town now called Summerset Town."<sup>21</sup> This, as McClean reported a month later, determined the course of the Spiker's-Cherry's mill road: "as the seat of Judicature in Somerset County is fixed near our direction—We have thought proper to pass through it— . . ."

A third event was the creation of another county, Greene, by an Act of February 9, 1796. Badollet was this time appointed an associate judge of the court of common pleas;<sup>22</sup> and this may be the explanation of McClean's reference, in the 1797 return on the Berlin-Uniontown survey, to "the business which one of the Commissioners (being a public officer) is daily obliged to attend to."<sup>23</sup>

In the end as in the beginning, the two roads are in marked contrast. The Spiker's-Cherry's mill route, the "Glade Road," already in use well before the commissioners determined its precise course, continued in constant use and in time was incorporated into the state highway system as part of Traffic Route 31. The proposed direct road from Berlin to Uniontown, on the other hand, surveyed through untraveled and little-known country, never was opened, and Laurel Ridge State Park preserves some of "the uncommon ruggedness of the Country, where rocks, briars, brambles [and] impenetrable thickets of Laurels & Locusts" impeded the commissioners' progress.

In transcribing Badollet's journal for publication, capitalization, spelling, and punctuation have been left unchanged. Raised final letters have been lowered, however, and periods inserted to indicate the abbreviation. Editorial additions, other than the numerals keyed to the footnotes, are enclosed in square brackets; empty brackets indicate blank spaces in the manuscript.

*Mechanicsburg, Pa.*

WILLIAM A. HUNTER

<sup>21</sup> *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1884), 390; see also *PA9*, II, 1021.

<sup>22</sup> *PA9*, II, 1077 (Mar. 17, 1796).

<sup>23</sup> RG 12, item W6. It may be a modest reference to his own work as deputy surveyor, though he did not cite this as a difficulty in the 1795 return.



*Journal of the time I spent in Stony creeck glades*

Started from home the thursday 24th. of October, & Mr. M'Clean being not ready I staid at his house till Monday morning.<sup>24</sup>

*Monday 28th.*

I set off in Company of Mr. M'Clean with a cold weather. We stoped at the new Iron works erected by Isaac Mason.<sup>25</sup> It was a strange sight for me who had never seen the like, but when I reflected upon the effects of human industry, when I reflected that a dreary solitude had been changed in the space of a year into a place of activity, where perhaps a hundred souls where [*sic*] kept busy & fed. The pleasing thought satisfied me. The spectacle of so much industry created where a little before nothing but wild beasts where [*sic*] to be seen, filled my mind with satisfaction. In the evening we alighted at Col. Isaac Mason's owner of the furnace, where we met with a hearty welcome & an equally hearty supper. That Gentleman's plantation forms a beautiful spectacle [*sic*], for a man fond of rural, scenes, of rural happiness & of rural plenty.

*Tuesday 29.*

We went on, met with Mr. Lodge<sup>26</sup> our colleague at Cherry's mill,<sup>27</sup> he appears to be a decent well bred man, & his company cannot fail of being highly agreeable to us. We continued our road & alighted at Peter Ankeny<sup>28</sup> in stony creeck glades, wealthy dutch farmer, where,

<sup>24</sup> Alexander McClean had a long career as surveyor. In 1786 he had completed the survey of Pennsylvania's western boundary, and in 1790 his appointment was renewed as deputy surveyor of a district including Fayette and part of present Somerset counties. He had settled near present Uniontown in 1776 and had been a resident of the town since 1783.

<sup>25</sup> Union Furnace, founded 1790 by Isaac Meason on Dunbar Run a short distance above (southeast of) present Connellsville. Meason's residence on Jacobs Creek is marked on Reading Howell's map as "Mason's."

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin Lodge, appointed June 18, 1792, deputy surveyor of a district including Westmoreland County south of the Bedford-Pittsburgh road; newly elected, October 1793, to a one-year term as State Representative from Westmoreland County. His residence in South Huntington Township is marked on Reading Howell's map.

<sup>27</sup> Ralph Cherry; his mill, at the northern corner of Fayette County, is marked on the Reading Howell map. From this point the three commissioners traveled the road they were to survey.

<sup>28</sup> About a mile west of present Somerset. Stony Creek is several miles farther east, but its name is applied broadly to the "glades" between Laurel Hill and Allegheny Mountain.

we eat, the most excellent supper, composed of beef stakes butter & coffee, the whole seasoned by an abstinence of a whole day. Here I saw an old woman, in a state of insanity, with all the tricks, attitudes, gestures & motions of an affected coquette, carried to a burlesque excess. My horse behaves exceedingly well, goes on light & courageous & eats very heartily.

Spent at the muster <sup>29</sup>	11/3	} 18.4.
At B.town <sup>30</sup>	3/9	
Paid for pencill &c	3/4	

*Wednesday 30th.*

We started this morning middling early & arrived against Breack-fast time at [ ] Spikers<sup>31</sup> term of our course. Here we had an opportunity to make a pleasing reflection viz, that a constant industry is certainly attended in this country with wealth & happiness. For these glades lying between two ranges of the Allegahany mountains, & considerably higher than the rest of the Country, have a much colder climate, & the ground is of an inferior nature than other parts of the country. A Colony of Germans<sup>32</sup> flying from their oppressors settled here, & by an unremitted labour have succeeded to form one of the most lovely settlements of the back Country: The heart is everywhere delighted with the spectacle of honesty, sobriety & real wealth. They all live in that degree of abundance, which is the best calculated for happiness, equally remote from the excess of luxury & the self denials of wretchedness. Their cattle is in great number, remarkably larger than in the English & Irish<sup>33</sup> settlements,

<sup>29</sup> The annual exercise of the Washington County militia. When the militia was reorganized in compliance with an Act of April 11, 1793, Badollet joined a troop of horse, "as unfit for anything else," and was commissioned second lieutenant. In 1796 he was commissioned captain.

<sup>30</sup> Beeson Town, present Uniontown; laid out in 1776 by Henry Beeson, as Beeson's Mill. The name Uniontown ("UNION" on the Reading Howell map) came into use about 1780, but the older name continued in common use.

<sup>31</sup> Christian Spiker, whose house, about two miles southeast of "Black's" on Reading Howell's map, marked the eastern "term" or terminus of the present survey.

<sup>32</sup> Brothers Valley (and Brothers Valley Township, which originally included all of present Somerset County) is believed to owe its name to an early settlement of German sectarians or "Brethren."

<sup>33</sup> Or Scotch-Irish. The hyphenated name was used occasionally in colonial times by the Ulster immigrants and others; it came into more general use in the later 1800s to distinguish their descendants from the later influx of Irish immigrants.

where want of care & scarcity of food have stunted that specie of animal to an amazing degree. They have a pretty little town called Berlin, of which hereafter,<sup>34</sup> where there is neither Potsdam nor Frederick.

After having eaten a hearty Breakfast composed of Coffee, beef stakes butter & honey, we set out with the chain & compass, following the actual road which could not be mended there to any advantage. The snow overtook us, but the weather being moderate we went on without too much trouble & arrived at one John Colepenny's,<sup>35</sup> where we met with same treatment as every where else.

*Thursday 31st.*

We set off, after the previous precaution of a good Breakfast, went on courageously, & even merrily, with rain & snow pouring upon us. But at last our courage giving way to the *greatness* of the difficulties, we quitted at Milford town,<sup>36</sup> cold, wet & overloaded with the weight of our clothes & repaired to the warm stove room of Peter Ankeny's. I have hitherto spoken of the usage we meet with in these glades, but did [not] say any thing about our horses, & if we were to depend upon them for any such information, they might very well leave us without any, as they are not very talkative & are satisfy to enjoy & not to boast. Shall I say what warm dry spacious stables they were put in, what fine hay & oats they had to eat? My Bitch, is remaining behind wherever she finds a stove room & children to feed her. The little ungrateful!

*Friday 1st. November*

The weather continuing so horribly snow & rainy, made it a matter of impossibility to explore the woods, (which we have now to do in order to find a tolerable passage over the Laurell-hill, it is so much more incumbent upon us to act with caution & impartiality, that the whole country is at war with respect to this road, every one wanting to draw it here or there in order to answer some particular purpose). We agreed to part till the weather would better, Mr.

<sup>34</sup> See the journal entry for November 14, when Badollet arrived in the town.

<sup>35</sup> Or Corpenning. Apparently where "Gilmore's" is marked on the Reading Howell map.

<sup>36</sup> Apparently a proposed town laid out by Herman Husband ("Husband's" residence on the map). The name is from Milford Township, which then included this area.

Lodge went home & is to join us again Monday next. M'Clean & staid at Ankeny's.

*Saturday 2d.*

Mr. M Clean went to his brother in law John Wells,<sup>37</sup> & took me along with him as far as one Hermon Husbands<sup>38</sup> to whom he introduced me & whom I had a great desire to know. That singular man, after having taken an active part in the troubles of North Carolina, was prosecuted in consequence of it & took, under another name, refuge in this part of the Country, then very wild & very calculated for the purpose, where he remained concealed till the revolution war broke out. Though a man of litterature & otherwise good sense, he is a strong instance of the frailty of Genius. By too constantly reading & musing oupon, the Scriptures, he is come to be compleately persuaded, that the prophecies of the old Prophets & unintelligible dream of St. John, find their application in these times & in this Country.

The Allegany mountains in his opinion, are nothing else than one of the four sides of the city spoken of by Ezekiel, the three other sides are as he supposes a ridge of mountains running at right angle westerly by N. till turning square Northwardly they run across the West river which breaks through them & thence turning Eastwardly they run in that direction till they strike the Alleganys on the N. The West River, Mississipy, Bourbon River & St. Lawrence river are the four rivers mentioned by the prophet &c. Every circumstance of the vision is in his opinion realised in this our continent. You must not laugh at the conceit, for he is in earnest & has published many pamphlets to propagate his romantical ideas, has attempted to have them adopted by the officers of the government & has actually persuaded his family, amongst whom his wife, who appears a woman of good breeding & of some degree of litterature.

The space contained within the four mountainous walls, above mentioned, was the Garden of Eden, theatre of creation, from which

<sup>37</sup> "Wells's," marked on Reading Howell's map, in Quemahoning Township. John Wells was appointed justice of the peace in 1796 for Somerset. In 1800 and 1810 the census lists John Wells, Esq., in Somerset Township.

<sup>38</sup> Biographical entry in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 427-428; see also *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXV (1941), 240-241, 253.

a persecuting spirit drove Adam & Eve & pursued Westerly till he left them in Asia, tired of the race I suppose, where they populated & their posterity comes in again from the East to those formerly happy mansions, & our foederal city will once be built in the middle of them.<sup>39</sup>

This is all I could pick from his conversation, for though fond of disclosing his great discoveries, he spoke very little with me, spying, as I suppose strong signs of unbelief in my Countenance. I staid all night here.

*Sunday 3d.*

I arose pretty early, & having laid hold of Cook's voyages,<sup>40</sup> I delighted with a kind of reading which was once a passion in me. A little while after appeared the *Allagany philosopher* (for so his wife informed me he was,) & inviting me to break fast imparted to me further details of his favourite topic, till at last tired of it I took my leave, & came back to Ankeny's who delighted me in a walk of an hour or two with truly satisfying spectacle of German industry & of the *bien être* which is the consequence of it. Not one house without several glass windows, without all those little implements of house furniture, common in Europe & so rare in our Western Country, tight houses, warm stove-rooms, large barns, cow stables, open glades, now & then diversified by groves of pines, contrasting romantically with the dull appearance of winter, extensive meadows, all this, with the contented look of the inhabitants, conveys to the mind a tolerable idea of Switzerland. I almost regret that Gallatin & I did not settle in this part of the Country, much more congenial to my mind than that I live in.

Remained the rest of the day in a State of perfect *ennui*, in the

<sup>39</sup> In the State Archives is a freehand map, undated but of this period and area and apparently by Husband, which carries a version of this notion written in the lefthand margin: "this Valley is Called by a Certain Antient Author of Great Repute Among Jews, Christians And Turks THE VALLEY OF THE MOUNTAIN and by an other one is described to be twelve thousand fields width in Length and Breadth—A field is Seldom Less than forty Perches Nor Larger than Eighty So that it May be fifteen hundred or two thousand Miles Square Admitting of Plantations. . . ." RG 26, Internal Improvements File, Road and Turnpike Papers.

<sup>40</sup> Published in 1773 and 1784; apparently volumes of one or the other date were in Husband's library. (Peter Ankeny, it will be noted, had "German Divinity books.")

middle of German Divinity books, the weather being too wet & muddy to take a long walk. However I ventured out & visited a lovely farm not far from the house enjoying the prospect of extensive artificial & natural meadows, now & then interrupted by groves of majestic pines.

*Monday 4th.*

Weather fine & warm it seems that we are in another climate. Mr. M'Clean arrived against diner time we went on from Milford's town, carried on our survey et quitted at the end of a new course which we were trying against night, found Mr. Lodge arrived & one Mr. Jones owner of the mill on the S. road,<sup>41</sup> he shewed us a map of the road we are running, which satisfied us, by convincing us that the place we are in at present is perfectly in the direction. Mr. H. Husband kept riding along with us on a modern Rossinante, who as well as his old patron never was seen to trot. The Philosopher himself, as far as it relates to his garments, seems to be of the Cynic order, his face seems sunk between two large locks of matted black hair, which do not appear to be ever disturbed by a comb, his clothes disorderly & unbuttoned & his whole person uncouth & extraordinary. He wants the road by his house, & which is common he covers his selfish & private views, by specious reasons of public conveniency. But we have no account to give to nobody of our conduct, have no body to please, & of course will follow our own heads.

*Tuesday 5th.*

The allarm has spread throughout, the whole country we are beset by number of people from all quarters, all able to shew us the best & shortest ground. Their hopes or fears have raised their passions to such a degree, that border upon being abusive, & [we] are obliged, in order to avoid every suspicion of prepossession or partiality, to comply with their wishes & to explore & survey several different courses. There is the old Mr. Husband, the most pertinacious & most dangerous, because knowing well the country, & acquainted with surveying, his arguments carry a weight along with them, & of course he must be confuted by actual & carefull observation &

<sup>41</sup> William Jones, "Jones's" mill on Reading Howell's map. The "South road" from Cherry's ran past here to Berlin; the road under study was the "middle road" from Cherry's to Spiker's.

surveys. Mr. M'Clean of Course went with [him] on a chace for a totally new Course. Mr. Lodge & I went along the middle road,<sup>42</sup> making the proper improvements on it & after having worked through the mud, the whole day cheerfully helped by a set of hearty & complaisant dutch boys, we at last alighted at one [ ] Naff's,<sup>43</sup> where we will stay all night & proceed on to morrow towards the Laurell hill.

Paid to the Girl }  
at P. Ankeny } £—1.10

*Wednesday 6th.*

Rain & Wind all night, the horizon of a uniform black in the morning & very little fit for our Business. However as we have little time to spare & the winter is on our heels, we started, after having sent our horses forward. Fortune here rewarded our fortitude, for the weather cleared up altogether, & a fine day succeeded to a most gloomy morning. We kept on our survey, with perseverance & against evening having met with two men who had just killed a bear, we proceeded with them as far as the house of one Lockhart's,<sup>44</sup> one of them, on the top of the Laurell hill, where we ended our day's work & ate a morsel, though but small in order to reserve a portion of appetite sufficient to play upon the excellent piece of bear, that was awaiting us for our Supper.

Wishing to explore a little a head, we mounted our horses & went on through the woods. Here fortune smiled on us again for the man that accompanied us killed a deer, & a minute after another one, we took one on our horse & left him behind running after the other, well pleased with the prospect of our supper fare.

The house in which we were wants some description, situated on the summit of the Laurell hill far from any other it may be termed a hermit's hutt. It contains two rooms each about 6 or 7 feet square

<sup>42</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>43</sup> Abraham Neff on McClean's return of the survey; just east of "North Branch of Laurel Hill Creek" on Reading' Howell's map.

<sup>44</sup> The 1790 census, page 18, lists William Lockart and Samuel Lockart in Bedford County but gives no precise location. McClean's 1795 return of the survey had "Widow Lockwoods" at this site, just east of the Westmoreland-Bedford county line; and the 1800 census lists "Hanah Logwood" in Somerset Township, with five children under ten years of age and three between ten and sixteen.

with a bed and a chimney in each. Forty travellers alighted there, waggoners & packers & having stretched themselves upon the floor, man & woman promiscuously, covered every possible inch of it, so that the cats in the night having no place to play upon, displayed their agility on our faces & awakened some of us in the utmost terror. Mr. M'Clean who had joined us at our arrival, gave us but discouraging tidings about Husband's road He is to meet him again to morrow & beat the locuts [*sic*] thickets another day with him.

*Thursday 7th.*

After a hearty breakfast made on coffee & bears & deer's meat, we started on in company of two men as pilots who wanted the road each of them by his house  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile distant. Their hopes & fears, their little manoeuvres, to draw us towards their respective sides were truly entertaining. At night we stoped at one of them Thomas Jones,<sup>45</sup> where we found an old man, who entertained us with many stories, delivered with the greatest perfection of utterance & in such a solemn & audible voice that he might have been mistaken for an orator at the bar. What corroborates the comparison is this circumstance, that designedly or not, he like his patrons, mixed falsehood & truth together in a most diverting manner.

Paid at Lockharts 4/6

*Friday 8th.*

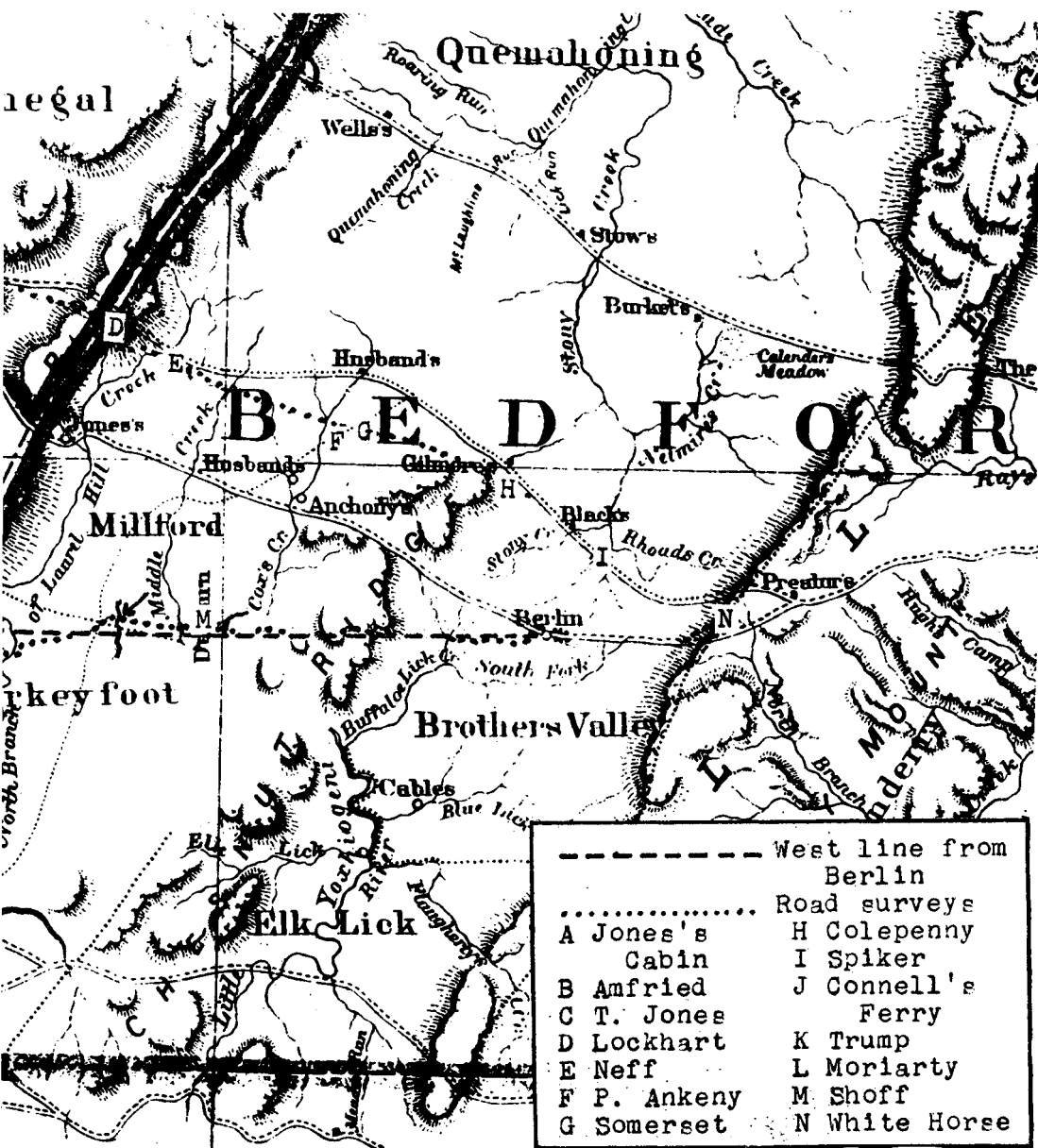
Nothing remarkable happened to day. We went on merrily, the greatest difficulties of the road being over & arrived full of appetite at one [ ] Amfried's<sup>46</sup> Dutchman, who found means to satisfy it. Here we made a little merry together, mes companions with Grog & I with good Cydar. From the begining of our jounay I had taken a great liking for Mr. Lodge my colleague & this evening increased it to a great degree. That gentleman formerly Captain in the American army, when it fought for liberty, now the deputy Surveyor of a part of Westmoreland County, unites the qualities of the Soldier & of the sensible & good man. He has that openness & candour, which attracts affection & his sound sense combined with a warm

<sup>45</sup> On "Salt Lick or Indian Creek," about five miles west of Laurel Hill.

<sup>46</sup> "Amfret" on McClean's return, about four miles east of Cherry's mill.







zeal for liberty, must render him a precious citizen. I will always look upon my appointment with him as a happy circumstance of my life. I lay hold of this opportunity, to record in this journal of mine, the impressions I felt in the company of that Gentleman, though they are better engraved in my heart.

*Saturday 9th.*

Mr. M'Clean having to go home, we agreed Mr. Lodge & me to push on the survey as far as Jone's Cabin<sup>47</sup> where from we had the survey in our hands to Cherry's mill, part of the road where no alteration are necessary. We went on therefore merrily, in order to have the more leisure to ride to Mr. Lodge's<sup>48</sup> where he had invited me till Mr. M'Clean would return. We had done at about 11 o'clock & went on according to agreement to his house, where I have been treated with the utmost kindness. Having lost unfortunately a worthy companion, he has married again lately as far as I can guess by his regrets for the former wife, he is compleately calculated to make the happiness of the latter.

*Sunday 10th.*

Nothing remarkable on this day. A decent but short family worship is kept by Mr. Lodge, which gives to his house a appearance of piety & order, much unlike the gloomy zeal of Presbyterian Bigot.

*Monday 11th.*

We worked all this day in platting our road & making the observations upon the ground waters &c Mr. M'Clean was to join us in the evening, he is not come yet, but will I hope be with us.

*Tuesday 12th*

Mr. M,Clean having not come as agreed, last night, we started Mr. Lodge & I & went to Cherry's mill but no Mr. M'Clean, we came back in the evening concluding he was sick, or some of his

<sup>47</sup> Within three miles of Cherry's mill. Here the commissioners fell in with the road previously surveyed by McClean from Cherry's mill toward (William) Jones's mill.

<sup>48</sup> See note 26 above.

family, but about 2 hours after night, were highly pleased to receive a letter from him, informing us that he had arrived there<sup>49</sup> with Jacob Beeson, & his hunting apparatus; so that we promise ourselves a good deal of Sport. We are to meet them at [ ] Amfrieds.

*Wednesday 13th.*

Mr. Lodge being so near the time that he must go to the Assembly,<sup>50</sup> concluded that he could attend us no more & expressed his sorrow in a manner extremely satisfactory to us. I took my leave from him with reluctance very early & found my colleague & Jacob<sup>51</sup> at Amfrieds. The company of this agreeable Quaker, is the more agreeable, that being of a merry temper, that nothing can ruffle, all the little crosses, that the inclemency of the season threatens us with, will be as many causes of merriment & laughter.

We saw to day a miserable waggoner, driving a most noble team so drunk that he fell from his horse & the waggon had like to roll over him.

We arrived a little after night at [ ] Naff's<sup>52</sup> where we got a hearty supper, very good cydar & many hunting tales of Jacob.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de rapporter ici une aventure à mes finances, ayant été si bien traité chez Mr. Lodge, je voulus faire une gratuité à sa Negresse, et n'ayant point de monoy a ma poche, je fus obligé de debourser un dollar, ou de me laisser jurer après.<sup>53</sup>

Spent à Mr. Lodge's £—7 6

Here we made an alteration to our plan of winter campaign. Considering that Youghiogeny might be impassable in such an inhospitable Country, & that the absence of Mr. Lodge leaves it in our power

<sup>49</sup> At Cherry's mill. Jacob Beeson was a brother of Henry Beeson (see note 30). The surveyors were about to turn their attention to the Berlin-Uniontown route, of special interest to residents of the latter place.

<sup>50</sup> See note 26. This, the first session of the "Fourth House" under the Constitution of 1790, was in session Dec. 3, 1793, to Apr. 22, 1794.

<sup>51</sup> McClean and Jacob Beeson.

<sup>52</sup> See note 43 above.

<sup>53</sup> "I cannot help but report here an adventure fatal to my finances; having been so well treated at Mr. Lodges, I offered to make a gratuity to his Negress, and having no change whatsoever in my pocket, I was forced to disburse a dollar, or else to allow myself to be sworn at."

to go about Berlin road, we concluded to go strait to Berlin, to lay off the road from Prathor's<sup>54</sup> to that place & then run our strait line of experiment from Berlin Westward as far as Youghiogeny then, to come back to our Spikers road, finish it & having crossed Youghiogeny at Conols ferry<sup>55</sup> to come round on the West side of it to the place where our strait line had struck it & after having calculated the width of the river to continue westwardly to the end. Thus if the weather becomes too severe, we might postpone till the spring & report progress.

Slept all night in a warm room on my blanket.

### Berlin road

#### *Thursday 14th.*

We started from our German Landlord's,<sup>56</sup> & after having got our diner at Peter Ankeny's, we there struck off the middle road to steer towards Berlin. We passed by Chrissley Ankeny's mill<sup>57</sup> situated on Cox's creeck in the middle of Lofty pines, & after having travelled on in a middling raw day, we at last arrived at Berlin late in the afternoon.

Berlin is a beginning town<sup>58</sup> situated at the foot of the Allegany, all peopled by industrious Germans & bidding fair to become a handsome place if ever that Glade settlement comes to be struck out into a new County.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> "Preatur's" on the Reading Howell map; "Thomas Preater" in the 1790 census, page 22. They were first to mark a straight westward line from Berlin; then to mark a possible roadway as near that line as practicable.

<sup>55</sup> Present Connellsville, Fayette County.

<sup>56</sup> Amfried's.

<sup>57</sup> Christian Ankeny was Peter's brother. His mill is marked as "Anchony's" on the Reading Howell map.

<sup>58</sup> The town was laid out in lots on land for which Jacob Kiefer obtained a patent in 1786, in trust for the Calvinist (Reformed) and Lutheran churches. The Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, on his way to Pittsburgh in 1789, encountered "a nice German, a tobacco manufacturer, who was about to move to Berlin with his family. He told us that in the new 2-year-old town, which lies in the Glades, there are 20 houses all occupied by Germans. . . ." Paul A. W. Wallace, ed., *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder* (Pittsburgh, 1958), 237.

<sup>59</sup> This came about on Apr. 17, 1795, with the creation of Somerset County. Berlin did not become the county seat, however.

*Friday 15th.*

In the morning after Breakfast we rode out to the white horse<sup>60</sup> where, our road is to begin & after having dispatched Jacob on a deer chace, we proceeded back towards Berlin & having laid out about three miles of our road, we mounted our horses & rode to Berlin, where Jacob joined us after having rambled all over the Allegany, having seen many signs of deers & bears & killed none, the day being too dry & leaves too apt to make noise.

*Saturday 16th.*

We after Breakfast, we started & walked to the place where we had stoped last night & after having begun our work we met with Jonas Beeson, who had come after us with Joseph M'CLean & John Cambell, to carry the chain for us,<sup>61</sup> which pleased me exceedingly as many of the people we had to employ as chain carriers, were not to be much trusted with. They brought us also a waggon cover to make a tent with, together with axes & other camp equipage. We arrived at Berlin a little before night & comforted ourselves with a hearty drink of excellent Cherry bounce.

Jacob Beeson who had gone to the Allegany again, came back with as little luck, though he had seen 5 deers.

The day before I had met with Wm Hudson my neighbour who was going home & promised me to send word to Peggy.<sup>62</sup>

*Sunday 17th.*

We were invited by one Mr. Waggerline<sup>63</sup> to go to his house about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from town. (Mr. Beeson could not resist the temptation of hunting a little more about the Allegany & having having [*sic*]

<sup>60</sup> The White Horse Tavern, at the top of Allegheny Mountain, rather than Prather's, marks the eastern end of the survey, as returned.

<sup>61</sup> Jonas Beeson was Jacob's son; Joseph McClean, then sixteen, was Alexander's son; John Campbell probably was the son of Benjamin Campbell, a silversmith then living in McClean's log house. Local help would not be easily found on the new line of survey. The only previous reference to chain carriers is under date of November 5.

<sup>62</sup> The 1790 census, page 106, lists a John Hudson in Georges Township, Fayette County; William may have been of that family. "Peggy" is of course Badollet's wife Margaret.

<sup>63</sup> Philip Wagerlein, mentioned in the Introduction. He and his son Philip, Jr., had patented some 450 acres of land adjacent to Berlin. Wagerlein was one of the nineteen "owners of the City of Berlin" who drew up the plans and regulations for the new town.

promised to join us in two days, he went with John Wells<sup>64</sup> to his camp on the top of the mountain, where he is surveying for a company at Philadelphia.) We repaired to his place in the afternoon, & though I had seen many beautifull farms in this country, I None that<sup>65</sup> remember conveyed to my mind such lively idea of the share of happiness that an industrious farmer can enjoy. Every thing about that man speaks plenty & contentment. Numerous & fat cattle, bouncing horses, yearling calves larger than my two years heifers, colts of a surprising size.

The house of the largest dimensions with number of compleately furnished rooms, is such that any other that I have seen did not afford me the same satisfaction nor convey such an idea of rural plenty. The barn about 60 feet long with stones stables underneath, for cows, calves & horses together with all the possible conveniencies, to manage them with ease & dispatch.

The man used us with kindness et that unaffected hospitality so precious & so rare & I went to bed with the pleasing thought, that if I was not yet, or did not know how to be quite contented, I had seen a man who had nothing to wish for. Another satisfying reflexion to a well disposed mind is, that all such a real wealth, is the effect of an unremitted & honest industry, & not of speculations rarely attended by strict honesty.

Precious Germans, if you do not shine amongst the learned & self-philosophers your form a more real treasure in the bosom of our infant Pensylvania.

Before we went to bed it began to snow, so that we expected a pretty white coat for the next day.

*Monday 18th.*

The Country is covered with 6 inches of snow, & the bushes so loaded that they obstruct the sight of the compass, so that this reason together with the necessary preparations for our encampments, forced us to delay till the next day.

I spent the day as merrily as I could, treated with wine by a rich Swizer, drinking cherry bounce & beer in the intervals.

<sup>64</sup> Previously mentioned under date of November 2.

<sup>65</sup> "None that" is a correction, incorrectly inserted; it should follow "remember."

Our stay in this town where our horses & ourselves fared exceedingly well did work a terrible whole in our purses, already weak & faintish.<sup>66</sup>

*Tuesday 19th.*

We at last set off after an early breakfast, after having sent our horses forwards, & set sail on our western direction. The snow was hanging on the bushes & the ground was covered with it. So that this circumstance together with our inflexible direction<sup>67</sup> in such a country as this made it a matter of great difficulty & fatigue to push forwards. However I found it not so hard as I expected. We went  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles & walked back  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to one [ ] Hoovers,<sup>68</sup> middling able Dutch farmer, where we were ushered in an abominable stove room where the air having been breathed in & out had not been changed perhaps for six months, & stunk in a very disgusting degree. My bitch there fared but poorly, the people of the house as deficient, as she thought in taste as in cleanliness, did not pay great attention to her tricks. We Mr. B.<sup>69</sup> & I slept under a heavy feather bed very warmly but with a reluctance arising from the consideration above mentioned.

*Wednesday 20th.*

We started about sun rise, the morning clear & cold & pushed on with courage. I say with courage, for our road required it, for whatever, stony chestnut ridges, stony mountains swampy grounds, water courses, one of which we crossed eight times, thickets covered with snow, through which we had to pierce, every difficulty seem to meet us in the face. However, as there is never no evil without some good to compensate it, we at last were led by our course to one John Shaff's,<sup>70</sup> whose house & family were as clean & the preceeding ones

<sup>66</sup> Writing to Gallatin on December 14 of this year, Badollet reported that "Mr. McClean & I left an account unsettled in Berlin." *Gallatin Papers*, roll 1, frame 726.

<sup>67</sup> The straight line west from Berlin; see note 54 above.

<sup>68</sup> The "Herman Husband map" (see note 39) also notes "Hoovers" at this location, but it also gives no first name.

<sup>69</sup> Jacob Beeson, who was to have returned this day.

<sup>70</sup> McClean's return of the survey (RG 12, item W6) places "John Shoff's" on the west side of Coxes Creek, near its mouth, which is not shown on Reading Howell's map; near present Rockwood.



were naughty, the usage we received there made large amends for the fatigues of the day.

*A*

*Friday 22d.*

(B) Started early as usual, went on as merrily as the cold weather, would permitt. The day was very fatiguing on account of hills to go up & down et Beeson left us & killed a fine spike buck. Against night we arrived upon the bank of the sandy run at the foot of two steep hills, where we had hardly room to stirr, we stretched our tent, our blankets & after having fed our horses & kindled a large fire we began our Cookery, viz we sharpened the ends of forked stiks & after having fastened to them a large luncheon of Deer's meat, we stuck the other end on the ground leaning towards the fire, where it broiled sufficiently & formed a tolerable piece for hungry stomachs.

*A*

*Thursday 21st.*

Though the weather was a little rainy, yet we started & went pretty easy, the woods being open, & a little before night we struck of our course & walked about 3 quarters of a mile to one Fisher's, young man, who settled there in the middle of the woods & is beginning a farm which will soon be a source of plenty & contentment. The house was small & we laid on our blankets, but the young woman was smiling & complaisant, the room warm & upon the whole we were comfortably. See the preceding page (B).

N.B. The last man<sup>71</sup> had a fight with a wild bear, by whom he had like to have been killed, but luckily his dog fought for him & himself when he was nearly spent & ready to give up, got hold of a stone lying on the ground, converted it into a weapon with which he succeeded to kill his enemy.

*Saturday 23d.*

I awoke in worse spirits than I had been before, the quantity of Deer's meat I had eaten operated as a purge & worked me unmerci-

<sup>71</sup> Fisher; see also the entry for Apr. 29, 1794. The 1884 *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties*, 526, tells a similar story of John Dull, of Milford Township, attacked by a panther.

fully. So that I grew weak & low spirited, that circumstance added to the uncommon ruggedness of the Country, where rocks, briars, brambles impenetrable thickets of Laurels & Locusts, presented themselves either all at once or successively on our passage, that circumstance I say rendered that day extremely fatiguing & painful to me. I could hardly bear my own weight & it was with the greatest satisfaction that at last we arrived at one Moriarty's<sup>72</sup> on the Laurell hill, about 1 mile from our line. The house appeared very little furnished & promised but a scanty share of the luxuries of life but still it was a house, a shelter preferable to our tattered tent & we were happy in having reached it.

I never saw such a wretchedness since I was in this Country. Of all the members of the family not one had any shirt or shift on, & the woman happening to stand before the fire I saw her nakedness through a thin petticoat the only one she had on. My first reflexion was a jovial one at such a sight, but soon recollected & checked that ill natured disposition to evok [?] merriment out of the distresses of another.

*Sunday 24th.*

After breakfast Mr. M'Cleane Burkher<sup>73</sup> & I rode to the salt works lying about 6 miles from Moriarty's. The place called so is a pretty bottom on Youg. at the end of a long & high spurs of the Laurel hill surrounded by the river & the opposite perpendicular hills, forming there a circular curve.<sup>74</sup> The spring which from which that name originates, was discovered on the very bank of the river, with apparent marks of its having been wrought before, but by whom the Lord knows. About [ ] years ago [ ] Wilcox<sup>75</sup> owner of the Land

<sup>72</sup> "Moriarties" on McClean's return; no other information found.

<sup>73</sup> George Burckher, the third commissioner for this road but not previously mentioned by Badollet. He was elected a Bedford County commissioner in 1792, and is listed (as George Burcher) in the 1796 Milford Township tax list. The Federal Direct Tax of 1798 records his residence in Somerset Township (created in 1796 from Milford and Quemahoning). The 1810 census lists George Burckher, a free white male with no family, in Union Township, Fayette County.

<sup>74</sup> About two miles southeast of "Ohiopile Falls" on the Reading Howell map.

<sup>75</sup> The site is included in a tract patented to Benjamin Chew and Alexander Wilcocks, Nov. 18, 1776, on a warrant of Oct. 18, 1776.

got one [ ] Rodes to make salt there in partnership, they furnished the money advances & he did his work. They made salt there for a while during the last war, but through misconduct, the undertaking was abandoned, as not compensating the advances. Now one [ ] Strickler & [ ] Stover, two able Germans are negotiating for the same piece of Land & in the mean while have begun to boil salt & actually make with the few kettles they have, about 1 bushel & a peck of salt a day.

The spring being on the bank of the river, & of course in danger of being drowned, they have dug a well about 30 feet deep & boxed 10 or 12 feet above the surface of the water, with a log crib filled with stones to defend it against freshes. A pump fixed in the well pours the salt water out into leading troughs, which convey it to the kettles. The present undertakers at present make use of the old implements, much out of repair, but it is hoped that they can purchase the Land & of course afterwards fix themselves in a better manner. Every good man ought to wish them success.

From the above mentioned hill, we had the dismal prospect of Yough hills & of the river itself for several miles in all its awfull ruggedness. They impress the mind with an idea of desolation & waste which has something agreeable in it. We might term such places as the french do *horrid beauties*.

#### *Monday 25th.*

After having got a supply of two hoe cakes, we set off with the full intent of crossing Yough on a raft, if we could strike it not too far from a place which the stillness of the water has caused to be termed the fishing hole. We struck it about 12 o'clock, but not knowing where we were, we went up from rock to rock, to make some discoveries, but after having performed that tedious rout, we convinced ourselves that we were above the intended place. We had of course to climb up the hills again, which is a work of much time & difficulty. At last we reached the top half spent & our horses miraculously alive & were piloted by the same Moriarty to the designed place through a new series of difficulties. But alas, we convinced ourselves when on the spot, that our attempt to raft the river at that place, would have been an act of madness. We left therefore the banks of that Stygian stream, where the ear is diverted only by the

roring noise of the repeated falls<sup>76</sup> & the croacking of ravins & the howlings of the wind through the trees, to exert our muscles afresh towards the summit of those inhospitable hills. We arrived at last tired & wearied, to a little hollow, sheltered from the storm by the surrounding hills, & there we prepared to camp & display our scanty provisions.

If the rugged scenes, we had been & were yet witnesses to, impressed our mind with grand ideas, they were soon sunk in this spot by the scattered remnants of the most compleat human wretchedness I had ever any idea off.

Here under a bark shelter, lived for two years a man with a large family, living upon hunting & fishing, deprived of all the comforts of life & sacrificing to such an unexpressible sloth all the endearments of society.

Set philosophers at the corner of a good chimney, enjoying all the comforts which God is pleased to reward an industrious life with, let them term such a way of living as they please, certain it is that it is receding from our nature, & bidding defiance to our maker, who bid the earth to produce at our command & to reward our toils.

*Tuesday 26th.*

Disappointed, as we had been, our last ressource, was to come to the mouth of indian creeck,<sup>77</sup> where [ ] Trump, (the dutchman I had seen in my expedition on the river Yough) keeps a canoe. Here our pilot in order to make our way shorter, took us along a course which requirred all the patience & industry we were masters off to get through. We did not reach the mouth of the creeck without hazarding our horses, who at lasst reached the place with more luck than I thought they could. But here a new disappointment arose, the canoe was on the other side & the river not ridable. I climbed up to Tromp's & taking along with me a pound of butter & a pone, came back in good spirits accompanied by Tromp himself. He directed me to a ford on which I ventured & having luckily crossed I brought them the canoe & we all got safe over. A repetition of the

<sup>76</sup> Presumably the "Ohiopile Falls," not specifically mentioned until May 4 [5], 1794.

<sup>77</sup> "Salt Lick or Indian Creek" on Reading Howell's map. Henry Trump (or Tromp) lived on the west side of the creek. As noted in the Introduction, Badollet's "expedition" probably was his survey of the Youghiogheny in 1792.

same toils ensued in order to go up the river again & repair to the place where our line struck it. We reached that night the bottom of a run called rocky run where the goodness of the food invited us to camp, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the end of our line.<sup>78</sup> Jacob took with him two horses & a boy & went to one [ ] Stuhl<sup>79</sup> for a supply of food &c.

*Wednesday 27th.*

We were proceeding on our line when Beeson came up to us with apples, brandy, pone & corn for the horses. That new recruit, raised our spirits & though we had been detained a good while we still made out a good day's work & camped on a spring on the W. side of the dividing ridge between Laurel run & Dunbar's<sup>80</sup> All the time past the weather proving pretty favourable.

*Thursday 28th.*

Started very early, the rain coming on us & a change threatening, we went on as fast as we could, but though the ground were uncommonly bad, steep & rugged, though the rain kept falling, the end of our journey approaching, we did not pay a great attention to those inconveniencies & arrived a little before night on the back part of Samuel M'Clean's place.<sup>81</sup> We quitted there & we walked to Beeson town where we arrived against night after a most forced march.<sup>82</sup> Burkher sayed [stayed] at M'cleans & I went with Beeson to his house where the most unaffected hospitality, & utmost kindness were as usual exerted towards me. Bless the man & all his concerns, may he always enjoy the happiness that he seems in possession off.

<sup>78</sup> Although Badollet does not say so, McClean must have run the direct westward line to the east side of Youghiogheny about three miles north of Ohiopile. Unable to cross there, they went down the river on the 26th, crossed at the mouth of Indian Creek, and then traveled up the west side of the river to a point about one and a half miles north of the line of survey.

<sup>79</sup> The 1790 Census, page 112, lists a "Paull Stull" in Wharton Township (on the west side of the river).

<sup>80</sup> The location is readily identified on the Reading Howell map. The camp was almost directly east of "UNION" but slightly farther north.

<sup>81</sup> Alexander McClean's brother; he and another brother, James, had settled in the vicinity of present Uniontown before Alexander's arrival there.

<sup>82</sup> They had covered about ten miles during the day, surveying most of that distance.

*Friday 29th.*

Started after breakfast, & arrived at home, where I found all my little concerns as I wished. May all the Batchelors be once sensible of the pleasure that a father enjoys, when he is met by a good wife & his children<sup>83</sup> after an absence.

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Mr. Burkher having come to me at my house on Monday 1st. December,<sup>84</sup> we next day set off towards Beeson-town, where we arrived in the after-noon, weather cold & threatening snow.

*Tuesday 2d.*

A deep snow & was spread over the country, telling us in as plain English as snow can speak that it was time for us to give up our geographical operations & to retreat to our fire side. Nevertheless the hint was broad enough, we courageously set off, to explore the country between Youghiogeny & Union-town.<sup>85</sup> The weather was piercing cold, & after a fatiguing ramble over Dunbars hills & deep hollows, which convinced us of the impossibility of a road that way, we encamped on the top of the Laurel hill,<sup>86</sup> amid the snow, having no other defence against the polar emanations, but a blanket a piece.

*Wednesday 3d.*

All that day agreeably employed in exploring the brushy summits of the Laurell hill, Jacob & Jonas in hunting, & all met against night at [     ] Stward, where we found, good brandy, talkative Landlord, good cydar, dirty landlady & a comfortable sleep upon the floor.

<sup>83</sup> Badollet and his wife now had two children: Albert (mentioned in the Introduction) and Frances, born sometime before Jan. 20, 1792. (In a letter of that date he refers to "Peggy & my two little ones"; in one of Nov. 13, 1809, he describes "Fanny" as "about 18 years old." *Gallatin Papers*.)

<sup>84</sup> It appears that Burckher may have spent the past four days at Samuel McClean's.

<sup>85</sup> This is Badollet's first use of the name in his journal; see note 30 above. Having completed the direct western line, they were now looking for the best route for the road itself.

<sup>86</sup> This "Laurell hill" appears to be the ridge between Dunbar's and Laurel runs, not the range at the eastern edge of the county.

*Thursday 4th.*

Walked from Stwards to Brinor's, thence to the river down Cumcumber run,<sup>87</sup> where we had the satisfaction to find what we were much in search of & in despair of finding, a good passage across the river & a tolerably good ground for a road up the river hill, Stayed all night at Brinor's.

Paid 5/7½

*Friday 5th.*

Explored going home the only remaining ground, which would admitt of a road, namely the dividing ridge between the Waters of Dunbar of red-stone creek & of Meadow-run & found it to answer our most sanguine expectation, excepting that we make rather too much southing, driven that way by the *fathomless* hollows of Dunbar's run.<sup>88</sup> Arrived at Beeson-town against night & the next day at home, determined to renew our work early in the spring.

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*April Tuesday 22d 1794.*

I set off from home & staid all night at Union-town, with our good Jacob Beeson.

*Wednesday 23d.*

I could hardly find courage enough to part with Savary<sup>89</sup> who was in a fine humour. At last I set off, with him who promised to convoy me about a quarter of a mile, but did not think of it, before we were

<sup>87</sup> The persons named probably are the John Stewart and Peter Brinner listed in Wharton Township in the 1790 census, page 112. Cucumber Run enters the Youghiogheny just below Ohiopile Falls.

<sup>88</sup> From Ohiopile they followed the divide between Dunbar's Run on the north and Great Meadow on the south, then the ridge between Great Meadow on the east and Redstone Creek on the west, until they could approach Uniontown without crossing Redstone's tributaries. The "southing" was occasioned chiefly by the necessity of crossing the Youghiogheny at Ohiopile.

<sup>89</sup> Jean Savary de Valcoulon, a Frenchman who in 1783 had accompanied Gallatin from Boston to Pennsylvania. Badollet, chronically short of cash, wrote Gallatin on Dec. 14, 1793, that "I borrowed from Savary till he would not lend any more." (*Gallatin Papers*, roll 1, frame 726.) By 1797 he had gone to Kentucky.

five miles off, at J. Finley's<sup>90</sup> where he left me. I pushed on & stayed at Woodruff's.<sup>91</sup>

*Thursday's 24th.*

Went on & arrived at Shoff's where after some searches, I at last found my colleagues.<sup>92</sup> They had brought the road as far as Coxe's creek.

*Friday 25*

Rain all day. Mr. Burkher left us to prepare for Philadelphia.<sup>93</sup>

Journey's expences, viz	
At Bees.t.	3/.
At Woodruffs	2/4
At Jones <sup>94</sup>	1/6

*Saturday 26th. & Sunday 27*

That day nothing remarkable happened, having brought our road as far as Shoaff's house, & explored further forward. C'est ici que mon Colleague Alexandre<sup>95</sup> fut coupable d'une impertinence que j'eus bien de la peine à supporter. Ayant été absent depuis Berlin ici, je n'avois aucune note de son travail dont il avoit tenu lui-même registre, comme c'est a moi que cette partie de l'ouvrage tombe en partage, afin d'être en état de continuer sans interruption, il me falloir copier dans ses notes ce qui précédoit mon arrivée, n'ayant point de temps, je lui dis que je les copierois le lendemain, qui devoit être un Dimanche. Sur quoi il répondit, que jamais personne avec lui ne s'occupoit un tel jour, que je pouvois prendre mon livre viz

<sup>90</sup> Probably the "James Finly" listed in Union Township in the 1790 census, page 111.

<sup>91</sup> Cornelius Woodruff, "Woodruffs" on the Reading Howell map, in northern Bullsken Township.

<sup>92</sup> Spelled "Shoaff" in entries for April 26 and 29. John Shoff, west of Coxes Creek; see note 70 above. The colleagues were of course McClean and Burckher, now surveying the course of the proposed road from Berlin westward.

<sup>93</sup> The purpose of his trip is not apparent, but it may have related to the legislative session that had ended on April 22. An Act that may have interested Burckher as a county commissioner was one of February 5, erecting Quemahoning and Stony Creek townships into a separate election district. *Statutes*, XV, 11; Chapter MDCCXIII.

<sup>94</sup> Jones's mill; see note 41 above.

<sup>95</sup> Alexander McClean.



la bible. A ces mots le sang me monta a la tête, je fus tenté de l'envoyer faire foutre, mais une pareille équipée ou nous auroit séparé ou auroit rendu notre compagnie reciproquement bien dés-agréable. Je ne lui repondis rien, les notes que je voulois copier étoient à lui, mais je lui mitonne le plaisir de me voir copier les miennes Dimanche prochain. Cette conduite me fir faire plusieurs reflexions relatives a ces presbiteriens, à la complexion ecossaise, qui ne furent pas à leur avantage, et qui devinrent plus picquantes, lorsque le même homme qui s'opposoit à me voir copier deux ou trois pages, ayant reçu une lettre d'affaires, partit immédiatement pour aller chez un Monsieur King,<sup>96</sup> dans l'intention de lui parler de ce qui en faisoit l'objet. Oh religion quand tu es mal comprise, d'un present celeste, tu deviens un objet de dégoût;

En partant, il cloua son fils<sup>97</sup> sur une bible avec injonction de ne pas quitter sa lecture, il n'eut pas plutôt tourné le dos, que le jeune homme decampa et alla s'amuser. Heureuse conséquence d'une conduite si sage! Pour prevenir une gaîté naturelle a la jeunesse et innocente en elle même, il fait naître un vice réel, le mépris de l'autorité paternelle.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Presumably Philip King, who had a mill on Middle Creek.

<sup>97</sup> Probably the "Bill M'Cleane" of the next entry; McClean's fourteen-year-old son.

<sup>98</sup> "It is here that my colleague Alexander was guilty of an impertinence that I had much difficulty enduring. Having been away since Berlin, I did not have any notes whatsoever of his work which he himself had recorded. Since this represents my share of the work, and to be able to continue without interruption, I had to copy from his notes that which preceded my arrival. Having no time to do so, I told him that I would copy them the next day, which was to be a Sunday. Upon which he answered, that no one with him would ever employ himself on such a day, that I could take my book, viz. the Bible. At these words, the blood rushed to my head. I was tempted to send him to blazes, but such a rashness would have either separated us or rendered our company mutually and utterly disagreeable. I did not answer anything to him, the notes I wanted to copy were his, but I am reserving for him the special pleasure of seeing me copy mine next Sunday. This behavior gave rise to several reflections on my part, relating to these Presbyterians with Scottish complexion, which were not to their advantage and which became more pointed when the same man who was opposed at seeing me copy two or three pages, having received a business letter, departed immediately to go to a Mr. King's, with the intent of speaking to him about its subject matter. O religion, when you are ill-understood, from a divine gift, you become an object of disgust.

"Upon leaving, he bound his son to a Bible with the injunction that he keep on reading it. No sooner had he turned his back than the young man left and went out to have fun. Blissful consequence of such a wise conduct! To prevent a cheerfulness natural to youth, and innocent by itself, he breeds a real vice, a contempt for paternal authority."

*Monday 28th.*

We pushed our road as far as middle creeck, & encamped upon its eastern hill. Bill M'Clean took our horses back to Shoaff's.

*Tuesday 29th.*

We continued on nothing remarkable against evening we repaired to [ ] Fisher,<sup>99</sup> the same man who fought the bear, who received us very kindly. The boys<sup>100</sup> chose to encamp.

*Wednesday 30th.*

Repaired early to the end of our line, continued on with success, passed through one [ ] Morton's<sup>101</sup> place, crossed the North fork of Turkey foot<sup>102</sup> pretty well, though the descent to it was pretty steep, but we wound it so that we reached the creeck without any place being too steep. Encamped on the West bank of the same.

*Thursday 31<sup>103</sup>*

The ascent of the hill on the West side of the creeck gave us a good deal of trouble, being so steep & rocky, however, we, by disposing our winds to advantage, got up tolerably well. We continued on, crossed a rocky run, thence across a very brushy, & thick locusty & briary point, to Sandy run. This last being at the foot of one of the easternmost spurrs of the Laurel hill, we found occasion to exert our ingenuity in ascending it. We endeavoured however to give to the road such an angle of ascension as it might be called an easy one. We encamped that night on the side of the hill. Our horses fared but poorly, no grass yet in these woods.

*Friday 1st. [2d] May.*

We met with no bad success till we came to the hill of Fish run, which we had hitherto mistaken for Sandy run, & after a good deal of time & fatigue spent in attempting to force a descent to it, we

<sup>99</sup> Previously mentioned on Nov 21, 1793.

<sup>100</sup> Presumably Bill McClean and the other chain carriers, unnamed.

<sup>101</sup> Possibly John Morton, Bedford County, listed in the 1790 census, page 25.

<sup>102</sup> "North Branch of Laurel Hill Creek" on the Reading Howell map.

<sup>103</sup> "Thirty days have September, April. . . ." The error is continued, undetected, through May 8 [9].

were at last obliged to relinquish it, the steepness of the hill, made all kinds of windings of little or no account. Obligated therefore to make here a stop, our only ressource, was to explore either the North part of our W. line, or the South of the point were [where] we had ended at. As it was growing late, we set off in haste, in order to encamp in the mapple glades, valley of a little run emptying in the Fish run before mentioned, which we effected after a good deal of fatigues scratching & tearings amongst briars & locusts.

*Saturday 2d. [3d]*

In the morning, we discharged the hands, intending to explore the country & be convinced of the practicability of a road before we streched the chain & put the state at any unnecessary expence.<sup>104</sup>

After that ceremony performed, we rode to Mariarty's,<sup>105</sup> where from after a short breakfast, we started back with a view of exploring the cranberry glades,<sup>106</sup> & came back having reason to believe, that we could not cross them, not only on account of their extent, but also on account of the steepness & ruggedness of the hill which we would then have to ascend. Arrived at Moriarty's against night. Saw four deers.

*Sunday 3d. [4th]*

No books nothing to do, that day appeared as an age. La compagnie d'un Presbyterien<sup>107</sup> dans ce pays est saintement ennuyeuse, ils prennent l'ennui pour la dévotion & les baillemens pour des actes pieux. J'espere que dans le paradis on sait s'amuser un peu mieux, autrement le temps doit paroître diablement long.<sup>108</sup>

*Monday 4th. [5th]*

Considering that we were at the end of our money & that we had to go home at all events for a recruit, we thought it would be proper

<sup>104</sup> At the end of the journal, this part of the road survey, over Laurel Hill, was yet unfinished.

<sup>105</sup> See note 72 above.

<sup>106</sup> McClean's 1797 return shows "Chew and Wilcocks Cranberry Glade" on the direct line of survey. The proposed course of the road, as surveyed sometime later, passes north of it.

<sup>107</sup> Specifically, Alexander McClean.

<sup>108</sup> "The company of a Presbyterian in this country is saintly boring; they take boredom for devotion & yawnings for pious acts. I hope that in Heaven one has a better idea of fun, otherwise time must seem diabolically long."

to lay the road from Moriarty's to the falls,<sup>109</sup> which being once done, would exempt us from coming again to these wild parts. Therefore we began, after having previously run a random line from our 22½ post,<sup>110</sup> in order to connect what we were about to do with what we had already compleated. We went on chearfully & easy & encamped by a good spring.

*Tuesday 5th. [6th]*

This day we met with an ill success that we had not experienced before. For after many doubt & uncertainties with respect to the ridge that leads down to the falls of Youghiogeny, we at last made a wrong choise & conducted our road upon another one, which error we did not discover before it was late in the afternoon, when Mr. M Clean going bravely forwards, came to a spot, whence he could discover the river, convince himself that we were on a wrong course.

We rolled up our chain & walked to the falls, were [where] we encamped, with an intent of proceeding thence upwards, conduct which would prevent mistakes & lead us to strike our line. We encamped a few hundred yards above the falls, close to the river, where the continual roaring of the water invited us to sleep, which we enjoyed with satisfaction. We went to see the falls, & I convinced myself that they were formerly a gread deal lower down, strong marks appearing of the rocks, wearing away, & detaching themselves in large pieces. The recoil of the water, when high has dug out a cave on the eastern bank, in a vein of soft rock or stone coal of about 1 perch depth. The rocks that form the falls & the banks of the river, are of a flawy nature & break easily, which added to the prodigious force of the water & ice in high floods, account for the alterations, that time operates in that plan. A notable change has taken place, there since the first time a [I] saw it.

*Wednesday 6th. [7th]*

We started from the bank of the river & were agreably surprised to find that point a handsome level piece of ground, where every conveniency may be obtained for a tavern, circumstance highly

<sup>109</sup> "Ohiopile Falls" on the Reading Howell map.

<sup>110</sup> The 22½-mile point, at which they had suspended their road survey on the east side of Laurel Hill. Since the road survey would be discontinuous, a "random line" had to be marked to establish the relationship between the two disconnected parts of the work.

advantageous in such a wild & inhospitable country. Another circumstance of great moment at a future period, is that from above the falls, across a neck of land, to the water below, the breadth is only 75 per[ches], & the circular course of the river about a mile & a half.

Such a mass of water, with such a fall seems to be pointed out by nature, for water works of a great magnitude.

Hence we proceeded on up the fall ridge, & met again our line against sun-down, from which we rode to Mariarty's, where we arrived after night very hungry.

*Thursday 7th. [8th]*

Youghiogeny being too high to be crossed with any degree of prudence, we set off early, breakfasted at [ ] Woodruff's,<sup>111</sup> where we had the most detestable coffee that can be drunk, & arrived at Beeson-town in the afternoon. I copied my notes partly in the evening, & stayed all night at Beeson's.

*Friday 8th. [9th]*

Finished my notes, which kept me till after dinner, & set off homewards, going by the mouth of George's creeck. Saw Peggy on foot yet, to my & I could see to her unspeakable satisfaction. Her timid mind was scared at the prospect of being alone at her lying in<sup>112</sup> & my arrival afforded her a great comfort.

Next weeck I shall remain at home, for my dear Peggy's sake, Mr. M'Clean undertakes to carry forwards & compleat, the road from Youghiogeny to Beeson-town, I shall join him duly Monday next a weeck.<sup>113</sup>

## *Appendix*

On December 14, 1793, eight days after his return home from the first season of surveying the two roads through the Glades and westward, Badollet wrote to his friend Gallatin, summarizing and

<sup>111</sup> See note 91 above. This obviously was a long detour from Ohiopile Falls to Uniontown.

<sup>112</sup> The impression given is that this event was imminent. In fact the child, Sarah (Sally), was not born until the beginning of September. Presumably, Peggy had feared that her husband's work would keep him much longer in the field.

<sup>113</sup> Monday, May 19, by correct dating. The journal does not continue, however; and events leading up to "the western disturbances," the Whiskey Rebellion, may have intervened.

appraising the work accomplished. Naturally enough, he gave more attention to the proposed road from Berlin to Uniontown; for he and Gallatin—as well as Jacob Beeson—had a greater interest in its potential benefits. The relevant part of the letter follows.

With respect to those roads, we have begun both & have far advanced in the business. We thought at first that Cherry's mill road would be soon finished, but the present road being in the mean while too long & bad, the inhabitants, whose hopes or fears were greatly roused, insist & in my opinion with some justice, upon our exploring other parts, where they affirm there will be a great gain in both respects. Therefore we surveyed the actual road, to calculate therefrom a general bearing of it, that we might by traversing the proposed alterations, to be enabled to discover how far they are admissable or not, supposing no material odds in the ground.

As to the Berlin road as the same tempests of self interests we had to brave, we thought proper in order to come up to our instructions & to obtain also a directory line to run a straight line, running westerly from Berlin. Its length is 39 miles & a fraction & ends about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile North of B. town. Therefore, as the calculations proved Berlin to be at the length of nearly 6 miles, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile south of the white horse, & Beeson town about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  or two miles South of the end of our line 39 miles long, we thought ourselves justifiable in throwing the whole road on the South of our line, obtaining thus a pretty general direction. We were the more induced to do so, that Connol's road being on our North & serving the purposes of the forks of Yough, we considered our road as being intended for the central part of Fayette & the upper parts of Washington, thence to branch out in every direction. . . . We cross Yough  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile below the falls at the place where we slept we found a ford, a fine place for a boat, & which is not of a small consequence, we ascend along the E. side of cucumber run's hills,<sup>114</sup> in an easy & quite unexpected manner, & thence reach Beeson town without a drop of water. With respect to the E side of Yough, we have no material difficulty to encounter.<sup>115</sup>

Our road will go through a part of the country hitherto unexplored, where it will spread activity & life, many signs of rich iron ore appearing frequently & fine streams favourable for work, & many good tracts of lands having offered themselves to our view. . . .

<sup>114</sup> Badollet first wrote "W. side of cucumber," and his directions are confusing if not confused. The route ran west on the north side of Cucumber and south of Laurel and Dunbars runs.

<sup>115</sup> Badollet disregards the fact that they had been unable to find a satisfactory way over Laurel Hill.